

# **Racial Integration in American Neighborhoods:**

**A Comparative Survey**

*NORC Report No. 111-B*

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## PREFACE

The research reported in this monograph originated in the personal experiences of the authors. In 1965 we were all living in racially integrated neighborhoods in Chicago and were active in our respective local community organizations. We were frequently asked by our neighbors to apply social science knowledge to help keep our neighborhoods stable. A survey of literature yielded some insights, but there was disappointingly little in the way of systematic research. There had been several studies of changing neighborhoods, but they provided little encouragement. We thus began to think about a study that would be a more systematic survey of racially integrated neighborhoods in the United States, and might, if we were successful, give us a better understanding of the characteristics and problems of integrated neighborhoods.

At a series of NORC seminars, the possibility of a national study of integrated neighborhoods was explored. There was much interest, but also some doubts about the feasibility of the study. The principal questions raised were whether it was possible to define a neighborhood and whether there were enough integrated neighborhoods to make a national study worthwhile.

With the help of a Ford Foundation faculty research grant from the Graduate School of Business of the University of Chicago, we were able to conduct a pilot study in three cities--Washington, D.C.; Atlanta, Georgia; and San Jose, California. The results of this pilot study (Sudman and Bradburn, 1966) were encouraging. With these results available, we applied for and received a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health for the first national study of integrated neighborhoods. This study was conducted in the spring of 1967.

Now, after the long delay that accompanies most national studies, here are the results of that study. As our readers and we are well aware, there have been changes in attitudes toward integration between 1965 and 1970, even between 1967 and now. These changes in attitudes are probably larger among blacks than whites, and perhaps are in the direction of separation rather than integration, although the evidence that attitudes have changed is meager at best. We believe that our findings and predictions are still essentially valid.

The study reported on here is primarily one of white's willingness to live in racially integrated neighborhoods. As the study shows, blacks live in integrated neighborhoods for reasons related to the quality of housing and the neighborhood, rather than because they want to socialize with whites. The degree of socializing between races was so low in 1967 that it is hardly possible to reduce it.

We would expect that the situation will change through time, and hope, if funds are available, to conduct a follow-up study in the next few years on what has happened since 1967. Unfortunately, the results of that study will also be a couple of years out of date by the time they are published.

Some of our readers may be disappointed that this is not a comprehensive study of black housing or of black attitudes toward integration but instead deals mainly with higher income black and white families in middle-class neighborhoods. We can only reply that we were not able to study all aspects of housing choice for the entire population and that the study design is very complex as it is. We believe that our study design is an important departure from that in the usual cross-sectional study of the population, and as such, sheds some new light on the problem of housing choice for both black and white Americans.



If we are to be criticized, we hope it is for what we have done,  
rather than for what we have not been able to include.

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The thousands of questionnaires were coded under the able supervision of Frances Harris. Solutions to complex data-processing problems and expert advice were provided by Earl D. Main and Frank Schilling of NORC's data-processing staff. Judson Lawrie undertook the laborious task of writing the necessary recoding and control card instructions.

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The first manuscript draft was reviewed by Rossi, James H. Lorie, and Harold Baron. Joseph R. Noel and Carolyn J. K. Rott-solk served as research assistants, and Chapter XIV was written by Noel.

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N. M. B.

S. S.

G. L. G.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the research reported in this volume is to investigate the characteristics of racially integrated neighborhoods and their residents. The adequacy of housing available to families and the character of the neighborhoods in which it exists determine in large part the kinds of interpersonal environments, access to job opportunities, and the amount and quality of community facilities available to household members. Restrictions on housing choices because of race put burdens on those discriminated against that reduces their ability to participate fully in the opportunities offered by society for economic and personal growth. Whether and under what conditions stable racially mixed neighborhoods can exist are important questions to answer if we are to determine the viability of a nation dedicated to freedom of opportunity for each individual to develop his fullest potential.

Although there has been very widespread concern for some period of time about the problem of discrimination in housing, there is remarkably little systematic data on the extent of interracial housing or on the processes that differentiate stable neighborhood integration from racial change. Using census data, the Taeubers (1965) have shown that there has been some reduction in segregation in U.S. cities, at least as measured by a statistical segregation index, but that the pattern is still overwhelmingly one of a high degree of racial segregation. Their study, however, was limited by the nature of the data to overall trends and could not investigate the factors that influence stability or change at the neighborhood level.

The most extensive series of reports on particular neighborhoods were those prepared for the Commission on Race and Housing. While these studies are extremely valuable in detailing the experiences of a substantial number of neighborhoods, they were done in the mid-1950s and were primarily concerned with neighborhoods in racial transition rather than with stably integrated ones. The principal exception to this generalization is the study done by Eunice and George Grier, Privately Developed Interracial Housing (1960), a study of new, privately developed, interracial housing based on interviews with builders conducted in 1955. Its major achievement was the location of a substantial number of integrated areas and the demonstration that such areas could be successful. While this study had the virtue of investigating a relatively large number of neighborhoods (fifty), the authors did not have the resources to draw systematic samples or to investigate differences between segregated and integrated neighborhoods. To our knowledge, no national study other than the one reported in this volume has used sample survey techniques directly to investigate the characteristics of integrated neighborhoods.

We believe that the absence of such nationwide studies has not been because of the lack of interest by social scientists in this area, but rather because of the difficulty in finding such neighborhoods to study. This is, of course, due to the complex interaction of historical patterns, attitudes, government policy, and, ultimately, economic differences between Negroes and whites. It is to the partial untangling of this complex of relationships that this study is directed.

#### The Definitional Problem

Any study of integrated neighborhoods, and most particularly one that attempts to be nationwide and systematic, is confronted with a difficult definitional problem. What is an integrated neighborhood? Are there in fact enough instances of

genuine stably integrated neighborhoods to be worthy of a nationwide study? Since there is no generally accepted definition of the term "integrated neighborhood," we must be careful to make extremely clear the way in which we are using the term.

We can distinguish two different uses of the term "integrated" as applied to neighborhoods. The first usage refers to the "state" of the particular neighborhood, typically expressed as a proportion of Negroes in the neighborhood. In this use of the term, a neighborhood is classified as integrated if the proportion of Negro residents in the neighborhood exceeds some arbitrary percentage, such as 5, 10, or 20 per cent, or is approximately equal to the proportion of Negro families in the total city or metropolitan area.

The use of a "state" definition also allows one to speak of neighborhoods comparatively as being either more or less integrated, the degree of integration being expressed as a function of the proportion Negro in the neighborhood. Such comparisons may be made on a simple percentage basis--for example, a neighborhood that is 20 per cent Negro is more integrated than a neighborhood that is 10 per cent Negro--or, on a more sophisticated basis, the degree of integration may be viewed in terms of the deviation of the percentage Negro from that expected if the Negro population of the city were equally distributed in each neighborhood. An extremely sophisticated variant of this type of measure is that used by the Taeubers (1965) in their segregation index.

The advantage of "state" definitions of integration is that they can be readily applied to cross-sectional statistical data such as that derived from the census or by fairly simple sample survey techniques. This advantage is, of course, an extremely important one, given the relative ease with which such data are available for comparisons among different places or across different time periods. Nevertheless, we feel that such definitions have several conceptual disadvantages that tend to



obscure the nature of the social processes taking place in integrated neighborhoods.

One of the disadvantages in the "state" use of the term "integrated" is that it obscures the differences between integrated neighborhoods and changing neighborhoods, i.e., those in racial transition. While it is possible over a period of time to distinguish between integrated and changing neighborhoods using this definition, there is no way of distinguishing them in the short run. This definition also puts one in the position of saying that neighborhoods are becoming more integrated up to a certain point, and then, as the proportion of Negro residents increases, saying that they are becoming less integrated or are on their way to becoming resegregated. Some cynical people regard this use of the term "integrated" as synonymous with "changing."

An alternative use of the term "integrated" is to focus on the process rather than on the state. This is the type of definition employed by Rapkin and Grigsby (1960) in their study of integrated neighborhoods for the Commission on Race and Housing. In the "process" type of definition, interest is focused not only on the current state of affairs, but, more importantly, on what is happening among those who are moving into the neighborhood, that is, new recruits to the neighborhood. In this use of the term "integrated," the critical variable is the openness of the neighborhood to both white and Negro potential residents. Rather than using the proportion of white or Negro residents, the "process" definition identifies integrated neighborhoods by the fact that both whites and Negroes can move, and are moving, into the area. Thus, under this definition a neighborhood that is 50 per cent white (or even 90 per cent white) would not be considered integrated if no new white families were moving into the area. Such an area would eventually become all Negro, and would be considered a changing area. This type of definition would also exclude predominantly white areas with a few isolated

Negro families if no other Negro families were allowed in. A neighborhood with a quota system that permitted new white and Negro residents in some definite ratio would, however, be considered integrated, even though there was not complete freedom of movement into the area.

With the use of a "process" definition of integration, the question of the proportion Negro in a neighborhood becomes a question for investigation independent of the integrated status of the neighborhood. Thus it would be an area of empirical interest to see differences among integrated neighborhoods that have differing proportions of Negroes and whites. Such differences, however, should be clearly distinguished from differences between integrated and changing neighborhoods. The "process" type of definition would consider changing neighborhoods to be segregated, regardless of the relative proportions of white and Negro residents.

Although it is less commonly used, we believe that the "process" definition of integration is the appropriate one to use because it embodies the central issue in discussions of discrimination in housing, that is, whether people are denied access to housing opportunities simply because of their race. We feel that the "state" definition causes confusion between the issue of the current proportion of Negroes and whites living together in an area and the freedom-of-access question regarding whether both Negroes and whites can move into an area.

The critical reader might note that we included in our "process" definition the fact that both Negroes and whites can move and are currently moving into the area. One might argue that the only relevant question is whether people can move into the area rather than whether they are actually doing so. By adding the further requirement that Negroes and whites are in fact moving in, are we not retreating into at least a quasi-"state" definition? While in theory there is some merit to this argument, it is difficult to evaluate claims of neighborhood

informants that all-white areas are in fact open to potential Negro residents when actually no Negro residents are moving in. Since there are many ways in which potential Negro residents may be discouraged from moving into all-white areas, it would be exceedingly difficult for us to classify accurately such areas into those that would in good faith accept Negro residents and those that would not. Thus we take what some readers may feel is a conservative approach and require that for a predominately white neighborhood to be integrated, some Negro families must have moved into the neighborhood in the recent past and there must be the expectation that other Negro families will be moving into it in the near future. On the other hand, other readers may feel that we are taking too liberal a position by not requiring that a specific proportion of the new residents in a white neighborhood be Negro.

There is one important qualification to the "process" definition that must be pointed out. In some southern cities Negroes and whites live in close proximity, and both Negroes and whites continue to move into these areas. However, the housing is not of comparable value, with that of the Negroes being far below that of the whites. Therefore, we do not consider these areas to be integrated. 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 neighborhoods integrated if the situation is stable, even if the Negro and white families have little or no social contact with one another. These two types of situations are important to note because they sharpen the boundaries of the "process" definition. This approach is focused on the willingness and ability of both Negroes and whites to live in close proximity to one another under conditions of social equality, i.e., in equal-quality housing. The question of housing integration, however, is to be sharply differentiated from that of "social integration" in the sense of the development of social contact, friendships, etc., between Negro and white families.

Whether such social integration occurs in conjunction with housing integration is a separate question that we have investigated in some detail and discuss in later chapters.

To summarize then, for this study we have adopted the following definition of an integrated neighborhood:

An integrated neighborhood is one into which both Negroes and whites can and are currently moving into housing of comparable value.

In the next section we shall discuss how this definition was operationally defined.

In the long run, all neighborhoods change, both in the types of housing they offer and in the types of residents they attract. Some of our stable integrated neighborhoods may ultimately change to all Negro or to all white, but such a change may also happen in neighborhoods that are currently white or Negro segregated. We consider a stable integrated neighborhood to be one that neighborhood informants believed would still have both Negroes and whites moving in during the next five years. Those neighborhoods that informants thought would change so that in five years only Negroes would be moving in are classified as Negro segregated and not as integrated, even if some whites are currently moving in.

#### Types of Integrated Neighborhoods

By defining neighborhoods as integrated, we do not wish to imply that such neighborhoods form a homogeneous group. It is clear from the work that has been done in race relations that the proportion of Negroes moving into an area will be a crucial variable in determining the nature and effects of integrated living. For this reason we have subdivided our integrated neighborhoods into five categories, based primarily on the proportion Negro. The estimates of the frequency of these different kinds of neighborhoods are given in Chapter III. However, the reader may, for some purposes, wish to use a different division of

neighborhoods and can regroup the categories if so desired. The categories of integrated neighborhoods as used in this study are:

Open--those with two or more Negro households, but less than 1 per cent Negro;

Moderately integrated--those with 1 to 10 per cent Negro households;

Substantially integrated--those with more than 10 per cent Negro households;

Integrated neighborhoods in localities with very few Negroes--those neighborhoods primarily in the North Central region and the West, in counties with less than 2 per cent Negro households (these are standard metropolitan areas such as Duluth, Minnesota; Phoenix, Arizona; or San Jose, California; or rural counties such as Grand Forks County, North Dakota);

Integrated neighborhoods in rural areas--those neighborhoods in southern rural areas that have a long history of integration, although neighboring urban areas are segregated.

The number of neighborhoods of each type is given in Table A.2, Appendix A.

#### Research Design

The research operations for this study, which began in the autumn of 1966, were divided into three phases as follows:

Phase I--The collection of data that would enable us to draw a sample of integrated neighborhoods in the 73 primary sampling units (PSUs) used in NORC's national probability sampling frame (Johnstone and Rivera, 1965).

Phase II--The collection of basic information about neighborhood characteristics through lengthy personal interviews with neighborhood informants. The interviews were conducted in 311 neighborhoods (230 integrated, 49 white segregated, and 32 Negro segregated) sampled from those identified in Phase I.

Phase III--The drawing of a sample of households within most of the sample neighborhoods and the questioning of residents by interviewing a member of each household drawn in the sampling.

We shall discuss each of these phases briefly. A more detailed description of the research methodology is given in Appendix A.

#### Phase I

The first step in our research procedure required that we develop field operations that would enable us to identify geographical areas as neighborhoods and to determine whether they were integrated or not. Approaches to the study of neighborhoods have ranged from an arbitrary grouping of census tracts, on the one hand, to more detailed investigations of social interaction patterns within small areas, on the other. The approach used in this study lies somewhere between these two extremes. Since we ultimately had to have precise geographical boundaries for sampling purposes, we started with census tracts and grouped these together (including partial tracts where necessary) according to the consensus of reports from local informants. Thus, the delineation of neighborhood boundaries was determined by local residents, community leaders, and realtors. We felt this procedure to be superior to arbitrary groupings on the basis of spatial contiguity because ultimately the local perception of neighborhood boundaries determines the grouping of housing units into related wholes, designated "neighborhoods." In this sense, "neighborhood" may be considered more of a housing market than a sociological concept.

Initially, NORC interviewers in each of the primary sampling areas (PSUs) in the NORC national sample classified 17,000 census tracts or census enumeration districts as containing or not containing an integrated neighborhood. The preliminary location of integrated census tracts depended primarily on the interviewer's ingenuity. As a start they were provided with maps that showed the proportion of whites and nonwhites by census tracts. This information was, of course, based on the 1960

census and by that time was six 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 containing both Negro and white households were potentially integrated according to our definition.

Next, interviewers were told to contact possible knowledgeable city-wide informants, such as officials in local human relations organizations, realtors, bankers, and members of civic, political, religious, housing, and school groups, as well as local newspapers. Since the kind of informants who have the necessary information varies widely from city to city, a most important asset was the interviewer's knowledge of her area. Once a few sources were located, they gave leads to others, yielding a "snowball" sample of informants. In all, 3,500 respondents were contacted.

Interviewers kept records of all contacts and recorded the information about each census tract on an individual work sheet. When all the work sheets were completed, the data were transferred to control sheets that summarized the information for the PSU. The specifications for this work are included in Appendix C. This initial phase was completed during the autumn of 1966.

The information collected had a high degree of accuracy, but was not expected to be (nor did it turn out to be) perfect. Some city-wide informants gave information that was out of date, some were confused, and some were just not informed. Most errors were caught by cross-checking, or by an interviewer visiting the neighborhood in question, but some slipped through and were discovered in Phase II, when the detailed study of the neighborhood was made. Readers should keep in mind that location errors made in this first phase do not bias the final results since they were corrected in later phases.

Those readers who are familiar with national probability samples that 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 having the field counter drive through an area to estimate the number of households in it. In the final or "listing phase," we made detailed studies of a sample of neighborhoods by the use of a neighborhood informant questionnaire to determine conclusively if the neighborhood met our definition of integration and to ascertain its boundaries. These data were collected in Phase II.

#### Phase II

The initial screening in Phase I located several thousand integrated neighborhoods. We selected a sample of 200 of these neighborhoods for study, as well as a sample of 100 control neighborhoods (50 white segregated and 50 Negro segregated) for comparison.<sup>1</sup> In this second stage, we interviewed an average of four neighborhood leaders in each neighborhood to determine its characteristics. Interviewers selected one neighborhood informant from each of the following four types of groups:

1. Churches--the clergyman of the active church in the neighborhood;
2. Schools--the principal or PTA president of a neighborhood school;
3. Community organizations--an officer or staff member of an active community group; and
4. Real estate--a realtor active in the neighborhood.

The results of these interviews will be discussed extensively in later chapters. We concern ourselves here with the

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<sup>1</sup>The final number of neighborhoods was larger than 300 because some areas originally thought to be one neighborhood were, on the basis of the informants' data, reclassified as two neighborhoods. Since some neighborhoods that were classified as segregated on the basis of Phase I data turned out to be integrated (and vice versa), the 50-50 split among control neighborhoods turned out to be 49-32.



responses that were used for estimating the number of integrated neighborhoods. The neighborhood informant questionnaire used during Phase II is reproduced in Appendix C.

We had expected that some of our city-wide leaders would be mistaken in their judgments about specific neighborhoods. We thought that in some cases they would believe a neighborhood to be integrated when it was not, while in other cases they would not be aware of integrated areas. Our neighborhood leaders interviewed in Phase II, who were well informed about their specific neighborhoods, were used to making fine-tuning adjustments to our estimates, as with the dial on a television set. The analogy fails, however, because city leaders did not err randomly in their judgments, but consistently underestimated the number of integrated neighborhoods. This underestimation occurred because they classified as Negro segregated or changing some neighborhoods that the local leaders and residents still thought were integrated according to our "process" definition.

It is possible that in some cases the city-wide informants were correct and the neighborhood informants wrong about the stability of their neighborhoods, but where we were able to check, the results mainly confirmed the judgments of the neighborhood informants. We analyzed the move-in dates of white and Negro residents in doubtful neighborhoods, and in most of these neighborhoods, a large percentage of whites had moved in during the few years preceding the study.

The neighborhood leaders were also used to determine whether the area was in fact a neighborhood and what its boundaries were. As we had expected from a pilot test (Sudman and Bradburn, 1966), there was substantial agreement among the neighborhood informants on the neighborhood name, but somewhat less agreement on exact boundaries. Where one informant was in considerable disagreement with the others on boundaries, additional interviews were conducted with other neighborhood leaders to

reach a consensus. Three areas where there was no consensus on boundaries and no common name were excluded from the study as not being neighborhoods.

The Phase II interviews with the neighborhood informants were used to determine the final classification of neighborhoods as integrated or segregated. On the basis of these interviews, a total of 30 neighborhoods that had been designated as segregated by the Phase I city-wide informants were reclassified as integrated, while a total of 11 neighborhoods that had been described as integrated by Phase I informants were reclassified as segregated. An exact breakdown of these changes in classification is given in Table A.4, Appendix A.

### Phase III

The final phase of the field work consisted of interviews with almost 4,000 households in the sample neighborhoods. Preceding this interview, three segments of about 20 cases, i.e., about 60 in all, were selected in each neighborhood and listed completely. Then lines on the listings were designated for interviews with white and Negro respondents. The sampling rate was higher for Negro respondents to insure an adequate sample of them for analysis. This listing was then used for estimating the number of households, both white and Negro, in the neighborhood. This method, although subject to sampling variability, yielded better estimates than could have been obtained from the 1960 census block statistics. Census estimates would have been more complete but by then they were seven years old and did not account for growth or decline since 1960.

The actual interviewing in Phase III was conducted in the spring of 1967. These interviews were not conducted with a probability sample of residents but with a probability sample of households, in each of which any knowledgeable adult resident served as a respondent. Since the bulk of the interview questions were concerned with experiences relating to housing choice and general experience with living in the neighborhood,

we did not feel that it was important to have an exact probability sample of individuals, although it was important to have a probability sample of households. Inevitably, then, this procedure resulted in a higher proportion of female than male respondents. The data from these respondents were used to make estimates of the characteristics of residents in these neighborhoods, as well as providing the data on which the analyses of the determinants of housing choices and experiences with integrated living were based. The resident questionnaire used in Phase III is reproduced in Appendix C.

#### Overview of Findings

In this section we summarize briefly the major findings of the study that are presented in detail in the subsequent chapters.

We begin in Chapter II with profiles of six neighborhoods that give the reader some feeling for the range of the integrated neighborhoods that were the subject of our study.

In Chapter III we present statistical estimates of the extent of integrated housing in the United States. On the basis of our data, we estimate that 36 million Americans, or 19 per cent of the population, lived in racially integrated neighborhoods in the spring of 1967. The total number of households in integrated neighborhoods is estimated at 11 million. There is, of course, considerable regional variation in these figures. For example, in the Northeast an estimated 32 per cent of all households resided in integrated neighborhoods, followed by the West (26 per cent), the North Central region (13 per cent), and, least of all, the South (11 per cent). About half the households in southern integrated neighborhoods were found in rural areas that have traditionally been integrated. Many of these neighborhoods are quite poor. Most of the southern integration, however, was found in the Border States and the Southwest.

For all households in integrated neighborhoods, almost one-third are located in the suburbs of metropolitan areas. Of this third, almost half are open neighborhoods, that is, communities where Negroes constitute less than 1 per cent of the population. A higher proportion of integrated neighborhoods in central cities than in suburbs are substantially integrated (more than 10 per cent Negro).

In spite of the large number of integrated neighborhoods that we found, the number of Negroes living in such neighborhoods tends to be small in comparison with the number of whites. Thus, a typical white resident of an integrated neighborhood lives in a community where he is in a very substantial majority. Of the estimated 11 million households found in integrated neighborhoods, only about 760,000, or about 7 per cent, are Negro. Half of the households in integrated neighborhoods are in ones where Negroes account for 3 per cent or less of the total population.

Since the median percentage of Negro households in integrated neighborhoods is so small, a smaller percentage of all Negroes live in integrated neighborhoods than is the case with whites. Such a pattern is particularly prevalent in the Northeast.

The statistical description of the prevalence in spatial patterning of integration tells us little about the process by which the integration occurred or the characteristics of the neighborhoods and their residents. The analysis of the experiences during the process of integration suggests that two variables are of great importance in influencing the neighborhood's subsequent history. These variables, which play an important role throughout this monograph, are the degree of Negro demand for housing and the reactions of white residents when the first Negro families moved into the neighborhood. Our analysis suggests that these two variables are not totally independent, although they are not necessarily joined together.

While it is clear that the extent of Negro demand compared to white demand for housing is an extremely important factor in determining both the relative proportion of Negroes in the neighborhood and the relative rates of increase in Negro residents, it is also clear not only from looking at the history of the integrated neighborhoods but also the history of Negro segregated neighborhoods that a hostile response on the part of white residents is also associated with a rapid increase in Negro occupancy. Since much of the data on past changes are retrospective, we are not able to establish definitively a causal chain. However, our interpretation of the data in Chapter IV is that Negro demand for housing plays a dual role in the process of integration. This demand has a direct effect on the proportion of Negroes moving into the neighborhood, and if it is extremely high relative to white demand, it may have an indirect impact by evoking negative reactions from the white residents. On the other hand, whatever the cause of such reactions, they appear to have the effect of reducing white demand for housing in the area and thus bringing about a more rapid increase in Negro immigration and white out-migration. The hostile and panicked white response has all the characteristics of a "self-fulfilling prophecy" in which the white residents act in such a way that they create a situation which brings about the very state of affairs they are afraid is going to happen.

Chapter V discusses differences in the demographic characteristics of residents in the various types of neighborhoods. Reflecting the disparity between Negro and white incomes in the country, we found that open neighborhoods have a median income that is higher and substantially integrated neighborhoods have a median income that is lower than the median income for all households in the United States. This difference is just one of many presented in this study which indicate that among all integrated neighborhoods the substantially integrated ones tend on the average to be "poorer" than the open and moderately integrated ones. We shall see this pattern reflected not only in

the median income of both Negro and white residents, but in the residents' occupational and educational levels and in the quality of the housing and general neighborhood amenities. Given that the majority of neighborhoods attract residents of similar economic backgrounds, such differences are the inevitable consequence of income disparities between groups.

Religion and ethnicity also are related to living in integrated neighborhoods. Even when regional differences are controlled, Jews and Catholics are more likely than Protestants to live in integrated neighborhoods. Ethnic group differences show a similar pattern. The nationalities that were the earliest immigrants, such as the Scotch and English, are least likely to be found living in integrated neighborhoods. While it is difficult to account definitively for these differences, there is some evidence that in addition to income differences, factors such as past history of discrimination against ethnic and religious groups and general attitudes toward integration play some role in producing these patterns.

On the whole, differences in life style, life cycle, and other characteristics of the residents in the different neighborhood types are small compared with those associated with socioeconomic status or religion. White households in white segregated and open neighborhoods tend to be somewhat younger and larger than such households in moderately and substantially integrated neighborhoods. The major difference among Negro residents is type of household. Almost all the Negro households in open neighborhoods contain a husband and a wife, compared with only slightly more than half of the Negro households in the substantially integrated neighborhoods. Negro household heads in open neighborhoods tend to be older than those in moderately and substantially integrated neighborhoods. These age differences mean that, on the average, Negro families will be in a different stage of the life cycle in differing types of

integrated neighborhoods, compared with the white residents of those neighborhoods.

While general economic-level differences are most dramatic, there is also some evidence that greater variability in religion, ethnicity, income, and education is characteristic of integrated as compared with white segregated neighborhoods. Although the data in Chapter VI clearly support the generally held view that white Americans prefer homogeneous neighborhoods, the data do indicate that the willingness of white residents to live in integrated neighborhoods is partially a reflection of a more general willingness to interact with people of all kinds. While there seems to be no overwhelming desire for heterogeneity on the part of white residents of integrated neighborhoods, there is some indication that at least the residents of integrated neighborhoods do not reject neighborhood diversity.

Chapter VIII examines the characteristics of housing in integrated neighborhoods, including such factors as size, age, value or rent, and ownership. The data indicate clearly that integrated neighborhoods have a higher proportion of renters than do white segregated neighborhoods. This is interpreted as reflecting in another manner the income distribution of Negro as compared with white households. It is important to note, however, that although there are more renters in integrated than in white segregated neighborhoods, the majority of white residents in all kinds of integrated neighborhoods are homeowners. Only among Negroes in substantially integrated neighborhoods do renters constitute a majority of the residents.

An interesting sidelight on the integration process was noted in the discovery that white segregated neighborhoods are more likely than integrated neighborhoods to have been built by a single builder. While historically the control over the initial marketing of housing units by a single builder has enabled him to establish a housing group on a segregated basis, enforcement

of antidiscrimination legislation could substantially reduce the extent to which that would be true in the future.

In Chapter VIII the focus of attention shifts to the attitudes of the residents toward integration. Rather surprisingly, these attitudes have relatively little relationship to the type of neighborhood in which one is currently living. There is some tendency for white residents of open and moderately integrated neighborhoods to be more pro-integration, while white residents in substantially integrated neighborhoods are more anti-integration than those in white segregated neighborhoods. These differences, however, turn out to be due to variables other than residence in a particular type of neighborhood. For white residents, integration attitudes are strongly related to the region of the country in which they live and their level of education. Beyond these two factors, the major variable that links residential experience with integration attitudes concerns changes in housing values in the recent past. It is only in those areas where property values have dropped or houses are more difficult to sell that there appears to be any substantial anti-integration sentiment. The weight of the evidence suggests that integration attitudes play only a minor role in the process of housing integration.

The attitudes of Negro residents of integrated neighborhoods do show some differences by type of neighborhood. In general, Negroes who live in open and moderately integrated neighborhoods are more militant in their views about civil rights and are more likely to have participated in civil rights activities than are Negroes who live in substantially integrated or Negro segregated neighborhoods. To some extent these differences reflect the higher educational levels of Negroes in open and moderately integrated neighborhoods, but attitudinal differences are not entirely explained by the differing educational levels. It would appear that the Negro families who are pioneers or who are moving into areas where Negroes are still a very small minority do tend



to be more active in civil rights activities, as well as having somewhat more militant attitudes on civil rights issues.

Chapter IX examines the housing decisions of residents currently living in integrated and segregated neighborhoods. We can detect no differences among residents moving into different types of neighborhoods in the criteria that they say they used in selecting new places to live. At least at the manifest level, the integrated status of neighborhoods is not a salient factor in the housing decision. On the other hand, there is clearly some kind of screening going on since we found an association between past experience with living in integrated neighborhoods and subsequent choice of such a community. Past experience with integrated living appears to have some relation to attitudes toward integration and, by means of this intervening mechanism, affects subsequent choice of neighborhood.

We also found for white residents that there was some relation between stage in the life cycle, housing type, and the probability of moving into an integrated as compared with a segregated neighborhood. Those whites who moved into integrated neighborhoods, in contrast with those who moved into segregated neighborhoods, were younger, had moved in more recently, and were more likely to have moved into rental units.

Regional factors were of some importance in determining the type of integrated neighborhood into which Negro residents had moved. In northern areas, Negroes were more likely to have moved into areas where whites constituted the majority, compared to Negro residents in the South who were more likely to have moved into substantially integrated neighborhoods. Controlling for region, however, eliminates racial composition of the neighborhood as a criterion that Negro residents applied in selecting a particular neighborhood in which to live.

In Chapters X through XIII we examine, in some detail, satisfaction with and participation in significant neighborhood institutions, such as schools, churches, and community

organizations. Perhaps the most outstanding conclusion of these chapters is a negative one--that there is in fact very little systematic difference between integrated and segregated neighborhoods. We were impressed with the great variance among neighborhoods in their problems and in their good and bad points, but, overall, the fact that a neighborhood is integrated as distinct from segregated makes very little difference.

Let us consider, for example, the area of schools, which are discussed in Chapter X. Although there are some differences among neighborhood types in the proportion of residents who have children attending integrated schools and in the proportion of Negro students in the schools, we were more impressed with the relatively small magnitude of these differences and the large proportions of residents in white segregated neighborhoods who have children in biracial schools. When one looks at the attendance of patterns of children in different neighborhoods, again there are some differences between attendance at public schools and at private or parochial schools and between those who attend schools in the neighborhood and out of the neighborhood, but the differences are not startling and do not suggest that school attendance patterns change dramatically with racial integration.

Ratings of the quality of schools in the neighborhood by both our neighborhood informants and the residents varied among neighborhood types. Schools in substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods were rated lower than schools in the other types of neighborhoods. These differences proved, however, to be almost entirely a function of the economic level of the neighborhood, with the poorer quality schools being in the poorer neighborhoods.

An examination of the role of the schools in the stability of the neighborhood suggests that schools play an important role only in a limited set of neighborhoods that have special characteristics. While schools were more commonly rated as a positive feature in white segregated neighborhoods than in any other

type of neighborhood, analysis of the data suggests that schools play a significant role in the future stability of the neighborhood only in those substantially integrated neighborhoods where there is high Negro demand for housing. In these areas rapid change in the proportion of Negro students in the schools or in the perceived quality of the schools may precipitate a decline in white demand for housing and upset the stability of the neighborhood. The data also indicate that there is no fixed tipping point for white residents but rather differing tolerance levels that change as a function of experience. The existence of a dynamic level of concern suggests that change itself is not necessarily a threat to stable integration as long as it does not occur too rapidly.

Chapter XI shows that churches turn out to be much more segregated than schools. Indeed, churches may be the most segregated of the voluntary organizations in any of the neighborhoods. Integration in the churches does not follow the pattern of integration in the schools. While the proportion of Negro children in the schools is almost a direct function of the proportion of Negro families in the neighborhood, the proportion of integrated churches is inversely related to the proportion of Negro families. While there are fairly substantial proportions of Negroes in the neighborhood, there is a tendency for Negro residents to attend an all-Negro church. This pattern has continued in integrated neighborhoods that have within them or around them a sufficient Negro population to support a church.

Catholics are more likely to attend "interracial" churches, that is, ones in which both races are members and Negroes constitute 2 per cent or more of the total. However, Catholics are not as favorable toward church integration as are Protestants who attend "interracial" churches. We interpret these differences as reflecting the differing structures of the two churches. Protestants are more free to select a congregation that is sympathetic with their integration beliefs, while Catholics are

constrained to attend the church in the parish in which they reside. Although Catholic respondents are more likely than their Protestant neighbors to attend "interracial" churches, there is evidence suggesting that for them behavior precedes attitudes. Among whites, Catholics are less likely to say they are "pleased" that their churches are attended by both whites and Negroes, and are substantially less likely to report that whites and Negroes mingle at church affairs. It appears that for Catholics attendance at "interracial" churches is influenced by factors other than personal preference; a prime factor is undoubtedly the tradition of observing rather explicit parish boundaries.

Consideration of participation in neighborhood organizations in Chapter XII reveals some interesting differences among neighborhood types. Although these differences are not strong, they do go against our expectations. In fact, among whites, those living in the segregated control neighborhoods have the highest degree of resident participation. It is also surprising to find that after controlling for educational differences, Negroes are in general more likely than whites to be members of neighborhood groups. Less surprising, however, is the finding that organizations in Negro segregated neighborhoods are more likely than those in other neighborhoods to be "action" rather than "social" organizations and to be concerned with the physical aspects of the neighborhood.

On the whole, participation in neighborhood organizations is low (about 15 per cent for whites and 19 per cent for Negroes). The participation of whites does not vary much by neighborhood type, but for Negroes participation ranges from 12 per cent in substantially integrated neighborhoods to 28 per cent in open neighborhoods. The kind of organization to which one belongs, however, does differ somewhat, with residents of white segregated neighborhoods being likely to belong to organizations that are relatively uninvolved in community affairs. These are organizations that are primarily oriented toward social activities,

members' interests, or leisure-time activities. The organizations to which white residents of integrated neighborhoods belong are somewhat more likely to be involved in community affairs or the physical environment of their neighborhoods.

We also obtained data on a wide variety of community services and facilities, which are discussed in Chapter XIII. In general, there are no differences among whites in the general satisfactions of living in integrated or segregated neighborhoods. However, Negroes who live in substantially integrated neighborhoods and were faced with hostile reactions of their neighbors when they moved in are least happy with their neighborhoods. On the other hand, Negroes in open or moderately integrated neighborhoods are as happy with their neighborhoods as are white residents.

There is little difference in the availability or use of recreational facilities in white segregated, open, and moderately integrated neighborhoods. The residents of white segregated neighborhoods are more likely, however, to use private facilities, while white residents of integrated neighborhoods are somewhat more likely to use public facilities. There are no major differences between facilities in substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods.

The general quality of recreational facilities is rated considerably lower in substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods, as might be expected on the basis of the generally lower median incomes. Among residents of the integrated neighborhoods, there is widespread dissatisfaction with recreational facilities, a major cause of which is the absence of facilities, particularly for teenagers.

Worries about crime are more likely to appear in integrated than in segregated neighborhoods. This is primarily true in the central cities, although integrated neighborhoods in suburbs also express some concern over crime. Part of the concern about crime

apparently stems from the proximity of lower-class neighborhoods. There is also some indication that it may also be a manifestation of general neighborhood worries in integrated areas.

In Chapter XIV we turn to a consideration of the degree of social integration that accompanies housing integration. The major conclusion drawn from the data analyzed in this chapter is that there is an extremely small amount of social interaction between the races in integrated neighborhoods. Although there is some evidence of an increase in interracial neighboring as the proportion of Negroes in the neighborhood increases, the higher level of intraracial as compared with interracial social contact is overwhelming.

While the prime factor related to the occurrence of interracial contact is the opportunity for it, three other factors are of secondary importance: (1) region of the country--there is more interracial contact in the North and West than in the South, (2) education--at least in the North and West those with higher education are more likely to engage in interracial neighboring, and (3) integration attitudes--those who are more pro-integration are also more likely to engage in interracial neighboring. The direction of cause and effect with regard to attitudes is not known.

There are small differences among neighborhood types both in general neighboring, which consists primarily of intraracial contacts, and in interracial neighboring. There is less general neighboring in substantially integrated neighborhoods than in other types of neighborhoods, even after controlling for a number of variables associated with general sociability. On the whole, general neighboring decreases as the percentage of Negroes in the neighborhood increases. This is at least partially because of the low level of interracial neighboring, which forms a segment of general neighboring. There is, in addition, some indication that general neighboring declines in areas where there is

high Negro demand for housing even though the neighborhoods themselves may contain a low percentage of Negroes. Precisely why this should be cannot be explained with the data available.

In the final chapter we consider the future of the integrated neighborhoods that we studied. In general, respondents apparently gave fairly realistic appraisals of the future of their neighborhoods. Both informants and residents in neighborhoods where there was a high Negro demand for housing, as indicated by being adjacent to all-Negro areas or having a relatively low proportion of those moving in be white, reported that there would be substantial changes in the proportion of Negroes in the neighborhood within the next five years. Compared with residents of other areas, in these areas residents showed much more concern about the neighborhood changing, although, of course, they felt that the neighborhood would continue to be integrated, by our definition, for at least five years. Overall, renters were more concerned about the neighborhood changing than were homeowners.

The expectations of the residents of white segregated neighborhoods appeared to us to be somewhat less realistic than those of residents in the currently integrated areas. Thus, while residents of segregated neighborhoods in which the housing market is tight are probably correct in thinking that there is a relatively small possibility of their neighborhoods becoming integrated in the near future, we were surprised to find no relation between Negro housing demand and the residents' expectations that Negroes might move into the neighborhood. When one controls for integration attitudes, however, there does appear to be some relation between Negro housing demand and expectations of future integration among those who hold low or medium attitudes toward integration.

In the final portion of Chapter XV we make predictions about the future of the white segregated neighborhoods during the next decade, based on complex interrelationships between

Negro housing demand and the attitudes toward integration of white residents of segregated neighborhoods. We estimate that the proportion of households living in integrated neighborhoods will rise slowly to about 35 per cent over the next decade. While some of the neighborhoods that are currently integrated will become segregated during that period, many of the presently segregated neighborhoods will become integrated. We expect that the proportion of Negroes in open and moderately integrated neighborhoods will increase modestly to a median of 5 per cent for open neighborhoods and 7 per cent for moderately integrated neighborhoods. On the other hand, a major increase is predicted for the substantially integrated neighborhoods in the North and West, with the Negro proportion rising to 40 per cent. We expect, however, that a majority of the neighborhoods in the country will continue to be white segregated for the foreseeable future.



## CHAPTER II

### NEIGHBORHOOD PROFILES

In this chapter we describe six of the integrated neighborhoods included in this report. All subsequent chapters rely almost exclusively on statistical summaries of the data. These thumbnail sketches, illustrating some of the materials to be presented in subsequent chapters, may facilitate the reader's understanding of the monograph's findings.

These sketches can add flesh and blood to the bare statistical bones that sustain the analysis. While percentages and means are necessary summarizations of data, they cannot capture subtle distinctions and may inadvertently inhibit a full understanding of the neighborhoods under study. In reading the statistical data, the reader should realize that there is diversity in the histories of these neighborhoods and in the forces that affect them. Categorizing individuals or areas may give the illusion that the resultant groupings are undifferentiated and homogeneous. Yet each community has its own flavor. Each is peopled by real families and is subject to unique influences from outside its boundaries.

In this account we rely primarily on a close reading of the informants' questionnaires. Four knowledgeable leaders (representing the schools, realtors, churches, and community organizations) were interviewed at length regarding the neighborhood, its history, racial relationships, and its future. When possible we supplement the informants' perceptions of the community response to the desegregation event with the views of the first Negro families who moved in.

The neighborhoods described in this chapter were selected to represent the broad classes of integrated communities that this investigation has discovered in the United States. These sketches may help the reader recognize that the operational definition of "integrated" employed in the study design yielded many neighborhoods that he might not have expected to find included in a study of "integrated neighborhoods." A community must still have been attracting white families to qualify as "integrated"; as a result, Negroes comprised only 3 per cent of the population in the median integrated neighborhood in this study, as the next chapter reveals. Thus, the reader should not be surprised that the majority of the integrated communities profiled here are overwhelmingly white.

Feeling that neighborhoods, as well as individuals, should be guaranteed confidentiality in research reports, we have disguised all names of communities and towns. Occasionally it has been necessary to identify the region or metropolitan area in which the neighborhood was located, but all specific place-names are fictitious.

It should be pointed out that these six sketches describe communities included in the main sample of 200 integrated neighborhoods. None of them are from the control samples of white segregated and Negro segregated neighborhoods that are included in subsequent chapters to afford comparisons with integrated areas.

#### Webster Township--Suburban Peace and Quiet

Webster Township is contiguous to Illiana, a medium-sized midwestern city and an industrial and educational center.

The township, an open neighborhood in this study, has an area of just over seventeen square miles; its population in 1960 was 15,000, of whom 45 were classified by the Census Bureau as nonwhite. The township exhibits the expected gradient in

density and land use for an area contiguous to an urban center. The southern quarter of the township is distinctly suburban with new homes in developments and on large wooded lots, and it is a part of the Illiana urbanized area as defined by the Census Bureau. As one drives north through the township, the land use becomes less dense and more semi-rural.

Census data for the township reveal little that is special, except for the high proportion of housing units that are owner occupied and in sound condition. Fairly rapid growth in the area is indicated by the fact that in 1960 slightly less than one-third of the housing units had been built in 1939 or earlier. One-fourth of the children in the township attended nonpublic, presumably Catholic, schools, and the average adult had eleven years of education.

A township trustee characterized the township in the following way:

It's not in the city--it is suburban living with most of the advantages of the city. It's not crowded. People have moved here because a lot of enterprising builders have developed new shiny residential districts. A fairly large part of the community represents the "old settler" complex of a fairly stable community with a long history.

When citing the most important reasons people like living in Webster Township, our informants typically mentioned the proximity to the city of Illiana and the spaciousness of the lots. As one informant put it, "People feel they are not living too close to anyone else."

The rapid and recent expansion of the urbanized portion of Webster Township is not an unalloyed blessing, however. The informants cited a number of problems stemming from the rapid growth of the area. A PTA president observed that the area "lacked a focal point to draw people together." She observed that although the people lived in Webster Township, their main interests were in the city so they took no responsibility for

local matters. From her point of view there was a lack of communication among residents.

Public services have not been provided at a level that the demand warrants. The sewers are not adequate, and building and health codes are inadequate and lack uniformity.

The township is evenly split between Protestants and Catholics; ethnic identifications have become so attenuated that none of our informants could identify or estimate the proportion of ethnic groups in the area. Few of the neighborhood facilities are racially integrated. The local Catholic church contains one Negro family, and there was no consensus among community informants whether individual public schools in the neighborhood were attended by both white and Negro children. Each time an informant did report that both whites and Negroes attended a particular school, the proportion Negro was estimated at less than 1 per cent.

Of our four informants, one reported that only whites were entering Webster Township; one said that although both Negroes and whites were currently entering the area, he did not remember how the residents reacted at the time the first Negro families moved in. The two who did recall the time of desegregation reported that there was no reaction at all on the part of the white residents, and they doubted that the whites were even aware that the township had been desegregated. These two informants dated desegregation at 1962. Each reported that whites constituted 99.9 per cent of the new residents of the township. The township trustee estimated the total Negro population at six to eight families.

The picture painted by our informants is that of a suburban fringe area of a moderately large city which, although it was originally settled some time ago, has experienced a substantial population increase with middle-class white homeowners comprising a substantial majority. There is a token amount of

relatively recent integration. However, in the eyes of the informants the presence of Negro families has never been a public issue.

The informants' data are sparse regarding the current racial situation in Webster Township and the history of integration there, and our understanding would be limited if these were the only sources of information available. Fortunately the residents' phase of our survey included interviews with five of the Negro households. Probably these families represented more than half of the Negro population of Webster Township.

The five Negro families were strikingly similar in many respects. Three of the men were physicians and two were attorneys. With the exception of one attorney who worked for a poverty program, all earned over \$15,000 a year. In no case did the wife work, and each family owned its home.

These five Negro families frequently referred to the spaciousness of their lots and the seclusion this afforded. The wife of an attorney in private practice explained, "We designed a house and went looking for a wooded area." She reported that they had a four-acre lot and added, "We know it will be built up around here. We'll just fence ourselves in for seclusion. We both like seclusion, peace and quiet." This family also included a child with a severe physical handicap, requiring that he be protected from physical contact with other children.

The wife of the other attorney gave the most important reason she liked living there: "The main reason is the quiet. After living in apartments we wanted to be in the suburbs so we wouldn't be talking right into our neighbor's apartment." One of the doctors' wives, in answer to the same question, stated, "Our closest neighbor is hundreds of feet away. It's quiet." Another doctor's wife said, "It's quiet. I like the openness and the air seems fresher."

The responses of our Negro residents strongly suggest that in selecting their new homes they placed a premium on the kind of privacy that could be gained from physical separation from their neighbors. It is possible that in their role as Negro pioneers they were seeking as much invisibility as possible in their new immediate surroundings. Four of the five reported that they were concerned about how the white families would treat them. Apart from this specific racial consideration, however, one gets the impression that the Negro residents were seeking many of the same perceived advantages as the whites moving into Webster Township, namely, freedom from urban noise, crowding, and inadequate housing.

Two of the five Negro respondents reported that there was no reaction from white residents when they moved in. However, in three instances there was some hostility to their arrival. The wife of one of the attorneys said:

I understand that one or two tried to circulate a petition to keep us out and that it took pressure on the owner and the real estate company to let us buy here. After they found out we didn't have tails we were accepted. I'm convinced now it was more the owner than the neighbors who rejected us.

One of the doctors' wives who moved into Webster Township in 1965 said that the community reacted emotionally. She reported:

They had several meetings and a lot of talk with the builder. A state civil rights director from the state capital came up [to mediate the situation].

Another doctor's wife, whose family moved in 1962, explained:

We received a few crank phone calls. There was quite a stir shortly after we moved in because another Negro family wanted to move in and I think that was blocked. Perhaps this wouldn't be true now.

Despite the apparent search for anonymity expressed in the housing choices of the Negro families, there was a fair amount of neighboring between them and their white neighbors. For example, a majority of the Negroes had "had dinner or a party together at their home or our home" in the past few months with "a white family living in the neighborhood." One of the attorneys' wives was a substitute in a ladies bridge club, but aside from this instance we have no evidence that the social contacts across racial lines were frequent or regular. One wife observed:

It is almost like two worlds here. The women are not at all friendly but the men are. The men stop and talk but the women stay aloof. Some families have moved out because there is this feeling of unfriendliness.

At first, according to this informant, other children did not play with theirs, but at the time of the interview there were frequently too many neighborhood children in the house.

This neighborhood represents a class of communities frequently encountered in this study, one which we feel will become fairly typical in future years. We shall see, in Chapter V, that Negro residents of open neighborhoods have uncommonly high status: median education is sixteen years, and almost half of these "pioneers" are classified as professionals. In higher-status neighborhoods some distance from the Negro ghetto, there is seldom organized group action on the part of white residents to oppose the first Negro residents in the community. As we shall predict in Chapter XV, more white segregated neighborhoods will get their first Negro families, and in most of the cases there will be no major reactions.

The trickle of middle-class Negroes to the suburbs has begun. Although it does not seem likely to accelerate rapidly, it is probably a permanent feature of American life and will provide relatively token integration to a large number of hitherto all-white communities.

River Vista--Stability through Social Control

Roughly two out of every five households in the New York metropolitan area are located in integrated neighborhoods. Many of the neighborhoods of New York City are characterized by intensive land use; they frequently contain many multi-unit structures in which the residents either rent or cooperatively own their apartments.

River Vista Housing Cooperative, a cluster of six high-rise buildings with approximately 200 apartments each, is located in an economically and ethnically heterogeneous area of New York City. All six buildings were built in 1964, and in this study they constitute one moderately integrated neighborhood.

A description of the neighborhood was given by our interviewer after an extended telephone conversation with the principal of the local public elementary school. She noted: "Very few children from River Vista are drawn into P.S. 99. The development is a middle-income co-op set squat in the middle of a poverty area. Most people [in the co-op] send their children to Jewish, Catholic, or private schools." The principal estimated that 60 to 70 per cent of the community surrounding River Vista is Puerto Rican, and the PTA president of P.S. 99 estimated that the elementary school is "80 per cent Spanish and Negro."

Internally the cooperative is very diverse. The heterogeneity is primarily based on ethnicity and age and is not economic. Half of the residents are Jewish, about 5 per cent are Oriental, and Negroes appear to comprise some 10 to 15 per cent of the 1,200 families. There are tensions between Jews and non-Jews that appear to be heavily overlaid by differences between the generations. The Jews are older. Indeed, the senior citizens' Golden Age Club was described by a member of the co-op board of directors as entirely composed of "older Jewish men and women."



This internal differentiation was cited by the pastor of the Episcopal church serving this section of New York. When asked to give "the three or four most important problems of the neighborhood," this clergyman, who lives in the River Vista development, responded:

There are religious tensions between the Jews and the Christians. There was a menorah and a Christian holly wreath during the recent holidays, and the wreath was torn down. These are cultural problems. Many aged Jewish couples and many young, free couples living together which causes a breakdown. There are quite a few interracial marriages and there is no common ground of communication between them and these older people.

The cooperative was integrated from the beginning, and there is no evidence that its integrated status was ever an issue. Our informants, to a man, either claimed they did not remember how the whites reacted or reported that there was no reaction at all.

The racial composition of River Vista has been stable and our informants thought it would continue to be stable in future years. They reported that, of all residents moving in during the past year, about 85 per cent were white and 15 per cent Negro. Further, when asked for an estimate of the proportion Negro in the development five years hence, each informant estimated a figure that was very close to his estimate of the present proportion. Internally then there is little prospect of a marked change in the present racial balance.

It is our general view that a neighborhood cannot be adequately understood without knowledge of the adjacent communities with which it shares facilities and through which its residents must pass in their daily activities. This is exceptionally true in this instance where, as we noted above, a new middle-class housing development coexists with a surrounding neighborhood in which the residents are poor and primarily of Spanish-speaking origin.

Tensions between River Vista and its immediate environment were quite salient in all of our informant interviews. Mutual distrust and hostility were evident in our informants' assessments of the "most important problem" facing River Vista. The Episcopal clergyman reported:

Kids from outside the complex come in from the slums and River Vista people want to keep them out.

The member of the co-op's board of trustees said:

Crime. We have a high crime area on the east. School is a problem for young couples, whether to use public schools, private schools or move out. The surrounding neighborhood is ugly and dirty.

The PTA president observed:

The children who don't belong in the neighborhood (River Vista) terrorize the mothers and children. I think the people who live in there don't want the surrounding community. They ask you "Do you live in River Vista?" There's not a real community relationship between River Vista and the surrounding community.

Three of the four informants, in response to a question about the degree of concern about crime, reported that the people in River Vista co-op were "very worried." None of them reported that the crime situation had improved in the past few years. Most of the incidents were crimes against the person such as mugging, purse snatching, and attempted rape.

Each informant was asked to enumerate the neighborhoods adjacent to River Vista and to provide information about each of them. The average proportion Negro in these neighborhoods was a little over 15 per cent, and all neighborhoods were ethnically very heterogeneous, with Puerto Ricans the single largest group. However, Ukrainians, Jews, and beatniks were also identified. When asked about tensions between River Vista and specific adjacent neighborhoods, the following comments were typical: "They feel others are getting breaks, they resent being poor, and the kids steal." Again, "The old people resent River Vista

being middle income instead of low income after the houses were torn down."

The churches and the voluntary organizations located in adjacent neighborhoods but serving River Vista indicate the heterogeneity to be found there: St. Cyril's Ukrainian Church, Upper Metropolitan Protestant Congregation, St. Killian's Roman Catholic Church, Trinity Lutheran Church, Holy Angel Russian Orthodox Cathedral, Emmanuel Synagogue, Hudson Street Settlement House, and one Jewish and one Catholic community center.

A fairly elaborate network of voluntary groups has evolved within this new housing complex. In addition to the River Vista Golden Age Club referred to above, there are three playgrounds on the premises and an indoor "pram room" for preschool children. In addition there is a River Vista community room, a River Vista Junior League baseball team for boys, and a dancing class for smaller children. It is probable that this proliferation of groups within the community results in part from the fact that the surrounding neighborhoods are hostile territory. Except where adult contacts are most superficial, it appears to be in no one's self-interest to participate in groups whose constituencies might include both those inside and those outside the boundaries of River Vista. Even if relations in such groups could be cordial, it is probable that the marked difference in life styles and ethnic backgrounds would make them rare and would give rise instead to social contacts within the development based on similar age and ethnic characteristics.

The River Vista development is a specific example of a more general set of circumstances under which stable integration is possible. It is an ecologically unique area, sharply differentiated from the surrounding communities with respect to housing costs and the economic status of its residents.

When an urban neighborhood is so sharply differentiated from others nearby, it is frequently because a unique combination

of resources has been brought together to establish or maintain it. Especially since federal funds for redevelopment have become available, substantial financial and political resources are employed not only to create new neighborhoods but also to control the characteristics of their residents. This can be accomplished either directly through imposing quotas or indirectly by constructing housing units with prices that can be met only by a narrow segment of middle-class society.

Thus the perceived future stability of River Vista is no illusion. One management firm handles all prospective occupants so there is more formal control over residency than under normal market conditions. Stability here, as in any area, depends on a strong demand from whites for housing. While the cost of River Vista housing may be somewhat high for Negroes, it is reasonable for many whites, for whom middle-income, conveniently located housing is difficult to find in the New York area. One of our informants mentioned that there is a long waiting list for housing in the area, an indication that the market will remain strong for some time to come.

The major lesson to be learned here, however, is that racial stability frequently depends on a unique convergence of factors which upset normal housing patterns. Where institutional, financial, and political forces combine to control the market effectively, stable racial occupancy is possible. This phenomenon is seen with increasing frequency in urban renewal and other new middle-class construction, especially in the central city where universities, hospitals, or other large institutions are ready, in cooperation with public agencies, to make extensive investments in the demolition and rebuilding of the surrounding residential areas.

Apex--Crossroads in the Rural Southwest

Census tract 33 is a rural section of Jones County, occupying about 100 square miles in the southeast corner of the county and containing a population of 5,100 persons, slightly over one-fourth of whom are Negro. The population is spread fairly evenly across the countryside, with a slight concentration along the county roads that crisscross it. Small communities have developed where two or more roads cross. The largest of these is Crockett, with a population of 1,700. Apex, the community we studied, has a population of 800; there are also a number of smaller crossroads settlements, such as Henry's Corner, Good Omen, Damascus, and Mt. Nebo.

Jackson City, with a population of almost 60,000, is situated in the center of the county about twenty miles to the northwest. The economy of the county depends almost entirely on its oil fields and cattle pastureland, which typify many areas in the southwestern region of the United States. As one informant put it, "When I grew up here fifty years ago, this area used to gin between eight and nine thousand bales of cotton a year. I don't know of any gins now. We went from a farm community to a cattle-raising community in the last twenty years."

The half of the census tract that has Apex as its center is one of the substantially integrated neighborhoods included in this study. However, because census data are not provided for an area as small as Apex and its environs, we have used information for the entire tract to apply to this "neighborhood." According to the 1960 census, the median educational level in the tract was slightly over eight years, and the average income about \$4,000 per year. The mean age of all adults was 51, and the median age of all residents was 38, figures that are higher by far than the average of all neighborhoods in this study. The median age of whites was 41 and that of Negroes, 28. The younger age structure of the Negro population in tract 33 is reflected in 1960 census data showing that whereas only

one-fourth of the whole population was Negro, 36 per cent of the residents fourteen or under were Negro.

Two-thirds of the housing units in the census tract were owner occupied, and the vacancy rate was lower than average. Slightly over half of the housing units were classified as in sound condition in the 1960 census. None were in structures containing three or more units. The mean value of owner-occupied units was \$5,000 and the mean monthly rental was \$41. Finally, the average number of persons per household was 3.0, a low figure compared to other neighborhoods in this study.

The recent history of Apex is aptly summarized by the president of the Apex Chamber of Commerce, from whom we quote at length:

We have an eighteen-acre industrial site. We sent a wire to the President of the New York Stock Exchange last year, offering them the site, tax free for ten years. He answered with a very nice letter and told us we would be considered. We have newspaper clippings from the papers all over the country about this. One said, "Apex would be a city of 800,000 by and by if it got the New York Stock Exchange."

We were an oil town around here and during the oil boom, there were 3,500 people. Then the town was going to nothing--it got down to 500 people back when we started our house drive in about 1956. So we [the Chamber of Commerce] decided to buy up some land tracts and cut them up into city lots and give them away to anyone who would build a home of \$5,000 or over. We still have some lots. Twelve of us got together.

I presented a plan to our Rotary group which doesn't exist now. They were getting ready to disband so they wouldn't do anything with it. So we twelve formed a Chamber of Commerce ourselves. [The informant showed the NORC interviewer an article headlined "The Druggist Who Saved a Dying Town."] We began with twelve lots. People began coming in so fast that our own property owners decided they might as well get some more money for their land. We have paid as much as \$400 an acre and turned around and gave it away. I thought it was possible the New York Stock Exchange would seriously consider us. A lot of people laughed, but I knew the publicity might bring others in. That's what a Chamber of Commerce is for--publicity.

The town's realtor also referred to the lots being given away by the Chamber of Commerce:

We have bought the third subdivision and we will give you a lot 85 x 123 for one dollar if you will build on it. Just gave one away last week. They are very attractive, nice lots too, on good streets, all facilities. We have built about fifty-five modern homes in the last seven years on these give-away lots. That is the way we have kept our town from completely sinking.

Apex's fortunes are looking up. The state is creating a new lake on its doorstep by damming up local streams. According to one informant, the dam is already completed; the new lake will be connected to an existing lake and between them they will cover 5,200 acres. Our informants were unanimous in viewing this as a healthy development for the Apex economy. As a potential resort and tourist attraction, Apex will require a wide range of secondary commercial enterprises.

As noted above, Negroes accounted for about one-fourth of the population in the Apex area. All of our informants reported that the Negroes were scattered throughout the area, although there was a slight concentration just outside of Apex. The racial composition of new residents, those who have moved in during the past year or so, closely approximates the existing racial distribution, that is, about three-fourths white and one-fourth Negro. According to the Apex High School English teacher, who served as one of our informants, "The proportions haven't changed greatly in a hundred years."

Both races have been present in the area since it was first settled during the mid-nineteenth century. The first Negroes were apparently employed by the whites, but their economic status appears to have improved over time, especially during the period of the oil boom when some of them benefited from a general increase in land values.

The rural communities adjacent to the Apex area are quite similar to the one in our sample. Each of them centers on a

hamlet and the population in each is one-fourth to one-third Negro. In all of these adjoining areas, this proportion was reported to have remained about the same in recent years.

The schools in Apex are in the process of desegregation. The industrial school, which has been the Negro school, at one time included all twelve grades. However, the high school portion was integrated into Apex High School so that the high school now contains 152 students, of whom slightly more than half are Negro. While the interviewing on our study was being conducted, the Taylor Times ran a picture of five seniors on the high school football team, which had just won a district championship; four of the five were Negro. The elementary schools were operating under a freedom-of-choice plan at the time of the interviewing so that the previously all-white elementary school was 15 per cent Negro, whereas the traditionally Negro elementary industrial school remained all Negro. However, the "colored school" was to be abolished as such, and a district-wide elementary desegregation plan was to be offered in the coming year. None of the informants reported any tensions between groups of students in the school; on the contrary, most of them seemed pleased that the integration of the school had gone so well, an attitude which corresponds to the evaluation of the situation by our interviewing supervisor in Jones County, who reported that "Apex High School has integrated--on the whole, everything progressing nicely in the southeast part of the county."

There is a minimum amount of integration in recreational facilities and none at all in the churches. A city park is used for picnics and band concerts, and contains play equipment for small children. While the majority of our informants reported that the city park was used by both races, our church informant differed:

They can [use it]--it is a city park but I have never seen any Negroes down there. It is one of those things. In



theory, they can but in procedure--whether they would take advantage--I have never seen any of them there.

The same lack of consensus about the racial use of other community recreational facilities suggests that Negro participation is minimal when it exists at all.

That there is substantial social segregation was suggested by the response of the church informant, a local Assembly of God pastor, who was reporting on the activities of the "colored Baptist Church." When asked how active this church was in neighborhood affairs, he explained that in answering he would "have to do a little segregating," and said that "in their own affairs, the colored Baptist Church is very strong," suggesting that there are separate patterns of associational life. Explaining the complete segregation of the churches, the pastor reported:

There is no animosity at all between the colored and white church-wise. I have heard them say that they want to go to their own churches. They worship differently and--well, you know, they do differently than we do and would rather go to their own.

Despite the fact that residential racial integration has typified this portion of Jones County, comments of the only real estate man in the Apex area suggest that racial considerations are still operative. He said that he couldn't sell property to Negroes "in the wrong place" and hope to remain in business. He reported that when "the problem comes up" he simply calls the white neighbor and asks him whether he wants a Negro buying next door. If he doesn't, the realtor tells the Negro prospect that he isn't handling that particular house anymore.

Our informants viewed the future of Apex with guarded optimism. New water facilities were being installed, the Chamber of Commerce program of free lots was attracting new construction, and the new lake promised to bring new money into

the area, both directly and through secondary commercial enterprises.

Although our informants were unanimous in predicting that the Negro population of the area would remain at its present proportion during the foreseeable future, the Chamber of Commerce ex-president observed that the proportion Negro might even decline in the future, saying that "we don't have many Negroes wanting to come here. They haven't been given any encouragement to want to come." Another informant remarked that "in our immediate area so many of our Negroes are going to California and Arizona. I read that they are decreasing here."

In summary, the Apex area is typical of one large group of substantially integrated neighborhoods included in this monograph, of which the majority of the American population may be only dimly aware. The residential patterns of southern rural crossroads communities seldom make national headlines. Yet both whites and Negroes are moving into an area of definable boundaries. Furthermore the housing is of comparable quality; at least one receives the impression that interracial differences in the quality of housing are less pronounced than are the differences within each race considered separately.

If one were to apply northern standards to the bare statistical data available, one would conclude that Apex was or soon would be a changing neighborhood. Its population is one-fourth Negro, and Negroes comprise a substantial minority of all areas contiguous to the Apex neighborhood. Yet the residential pattern is one of remarkable stability. The racial proportions have remained constant as long as the community leaders can remember, and it is difficult for them to imagine conditions under which racial change would occur. In part, the very low density of population helps maintain stability. There are no multi-unit structures and a good deal of physical space separates the average citizen of Apex from his neighbors.

In addition to the geographical separation afforded by very low population density, it is clear that there has been marked social separation in the institutions of the area as well as in social contacts. It is too early to tell whether the recent integration in the schools will make the Apex area less attractive to whites. Those who would want all-white schools for their children would have to move to Jackson City, where a more northern pattern of residential segregation exists.

A third factor suggesting continued stability is the absence of a well-defined expanding Negro community. Even if the Negro population should increase appreciably, which seems unlikely given Negro out-migration from southern rural areas, there is plenty of land available to accommodate such an increase. Negroes would not necessarily compete for white homes under conditions of high demand and short supply.

The spirit of Apex was captured by the local high school English teacher who said, "On the social level, I think everyone is pretty much the same. They all have the same interests, likes and dislikes. Everybody supports football, watches T.V., and attends church."

#### Wellington--The Neighbors Wouldn't Speak

Wellington is a town about twenty miles from a large New England city. The entire town comprised one open neighborhood in this study. According to the 1960 census, almost 13,000 individuals lived in Wellington. Twenty-nine of them were classified as "nonwhite." Of the four neighborhood informants, one, a past president of the Jaycees, reported that only white families were currently moving into the neighborhood. A second reported that both whites and Negroes were currently moving into the neighborhood, but he did not remember how the community reacted when the first Negro family moved in. This informant was the owner of a real estate firm and had been active in the town for the past fifteen years. Only two of the four community leaders knew that

Negroes were moving in and could report on the community reaction. This fact suggests that race was not an extremely salient community issue.

Census data for 1960 reveal nothing exceptional about Wellington. One-third of the residents were of foreign stock; the average adult had ten and a half years of education; almost half of the residents had lived in a different dwelling five years before the census; mean income was \$7,300; and the mean housing value of owned homes was \$13,000.

The town is characterized by owner-occupied dwelling units, which comprised four-fifths of all units in the 1960 census; only 2 per cent of the housing units were located in structures containing three units or more. Despite the fact that a high proportion of the homes were owner occupied, their average value of \$13,000, plus the fact that the median number of rooms per housing unit was only 5.3, suggests that the homes are not large.

The residents of Wellington are young. The mean age of the adults in 1960 was 43, and the median age of all residents was 24.5, a figure that is lower than all but a handful of the neighborhoods included in this study.

According to our informants' estimates, Protestants and Catholics each comprise slightly less than half of the total population, while Jews account for between 5 and 10 per cent of the total population. Ethnically, the neighborhood is quite heterogeneous; although the largest group appears to be Irish, they do not account for more than 30 per cent of the town's population. Although Catholics are well represented in Wellington, neither of the two large parishes maintains a parochial school; census data show that less than 2 per cent of the school children attend nonpublic schools.

When our informants were asked for the most important reasons people like to live in Wellington, they exhibited remarkable similarity in their responses. First, the town appears

to be a port of entry into the middle class for families moving out from the more congested metropolitan areas. As one informant put it:

We have no power class--what you might call the status group. No big professional class. Homes are not too expensive and one can afford for the first time to have a home of his own here.

Or, as the clergyman phrased it:

It's a less expensive community compared to others. It's supposed to be suburban. Most people came from more urban areas and they got away from city life.

The political aspects of small-town life were also emphasized as attractions of the community:

The people like and want the town-meeting form of government. We have a good, clean, controlled community government. The town votes for the qualifications of a chap, not who he is but what he is.

Finally, the informants were unanimous in citing the availability of the large metropolis just twenty minutes away via good highways. They were also proud of the local schools, which were "right up there with the best of them."

In short, our informants viewed Wellington as having the major benefits of both urban and suburban living. Its residents are spared living inside the large city nearby, although many of them work and shop there. They can enjoy the advantages of suburban living without paying the high cost of housing typical of nearby suburbs. Our real estate informant observed that a home which sold for \$20,000 in Wellington would be 20 per cent higher in a certain nearby town closer to the center of the metropolitan area. "You get a much better value when you move out further."

On the debit side, Wellington lacks recreational facilities and, according to a majority of the informants, the center of town is very unattractive and unappealing in appearance.

Wellington is a very active community. Our informants identified thirteen different "important neighborhood organizations" including, for example, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, Rotary, Lions Club, VFW and American Legion, and a "civic club." In addition, there is a full range of children's organizations, including a number of Boy Scout and Cub Scout troops, Girl Scout and Brownie troops, Campfire Girl groups, and a large number of church-related youth organizations.

Most of the community facilities are racially integrated on a token basis. Most of the main-line churches contain both whites and Negroes, but in each case our informants reported that Negroes account for less than one-half of 1 per cent of the membership. Indeed, the pastor of the largest Roman Catholic church gave "one-fiftieth of 1 per cent" as the Negro percentage in his congregation. Similarly, according to the superintendent of schools, each of the nine public schools is integrated, but in each case this integration is provided by one or two Negro students.

Wellington is surrounded by towns that are also virtually all white. All estimates of the proportion Negro in adjoining communities were 1 per cent or less. The average estimate of the distance to the "nearest predominantly Negro area" was sixteen miles. When asked what they felt the proportion Negro in Wellington might be in five years, all informants except one gave an estimate of one-half of 1 per cent or less; the school superintendent felt that the proportion might rise as high as 5 per cent.

As noted above, only two of the four informants reported that whites and Negroes were presently moving into the town and that they remembered how the community reacted to this event. These two informants, however, painted opposing pictures of the community's response to integration. When asked, "What was the community's reaction?" the school superintendent said, "Favorable, that's all I can say." On the other hand, the assistant

pastor of the major Roman Catholic congregation responded in this way:

Poor. The people were given a hard time. There was a lot of talk and no friendliness was shown to them. There was a petition passed around to keep the Negroes out but they moved in just the same.

When asked subsequent questions about the reaction, this church informant would not characterize the community's response as "panic," nor did he report that there were any organizations which tried to keep Negroes out of the neighborhood. There was no violence accompanying the Negroes moving in, nor did real estate brokers encourage white families to move out at that time. The pastor was the only informant to identify two groups that "generally favored the first Negro families moving into the community"--the Wellington Human Rights Commission and the Social Action Committee of the Methodist church. He also said these two groups were attempting to attract Negro residents to the community. He explained:

I hope and I think we may have a few more Negro families. We haven't had much luck in recruiting them. The people on the Human Rights Commission feel the town is being discriminated against by the Negroes. Those Negroes who can afford to move out of the ghetto prefer to move to a more affluent community, or they may want to look at a place where they are closer to their work.

Fortunately our data provided by the community informants regarding the history of integration in Wellington were augmented by an interview with the family that integrated the community. John Clay and his wife Dorothy live in a four-bedroom home with five children and Mrs. Clay's mother. Mr. Clay is a consulting engineer in electronics and chemistry and works from his home. Both he and his wife have Ph.D.'s, Mr. Clay in engineering and his wife in biochemistry.

His report of the reception he got when his family integrated Wellington corresponds quite closely to the report given by our church informant, who happened to be an assistant pastor

at the Roman Catholic church the Clays attend. Mr. Clay stated at a number of points during the interview that he selected this home because of the opposition he encountered from the white residents at the time he was considering the move, which occurred in 1955. He reported:

I bought it because of the opposition. The minute I looked at the house, there was a petition circulated to keep me out. At the time only 7,000 people lived in Wellington, but there were 10,000 signatures on the petition.

He also explained that the realtors in town threatened the bank from whom he obtained the mortgage that they would not send any more business in the bank's direction if the mortgage was granted. Mr. Clay further said that the realtors threatened to take their savings out of the bank in question.

When Mr. Clay was asked whether he remembered how the community reacted when the first Negro family moved in, he could speak from personal experience:

They pestered over the telephone in vulgar language. They wanted the stores not to sell me food. Little children asked their mothers at church, "Are those the Niggers you told us about?" That was enough.

Some neighbors wouldn't speak at all, while others would speak here in the neighborhood. But when we would meet them any place else, they would be busy looking the other way.

The clay family provides token integration for a substantial range of community facilities. Bobby is the only Negro boy at Fernwood Elementary School, and the Clay family comprises the entire Negro population of St. Agatha's congregation. When asked what proportion of the members of the church were Negro, Mr. Clay responded, "Just the eight of us." Bobby attends Boy Scout meeting every week and practices with the Little League baseball team several times each week. Mr. Clay reported that Bobby "was the most valuable player last year."

Mr. Clay's attitude toward the town of Wellington and its citizens is aptly summarized in his response to the question,



"Do you have any plans to move in the next few years?" He answered, "No, I will stay here and make the people like it."

There is clearly a discrepancy between Mr. Clay's personal report of the community's response to his arrival and the impression one gets from the community informants on this subject. If it is true, as Mr. Clay recounted, that 10,000 individuals signed a petition to keep him out of Wellington, it is difficult to imagine that such intense and extensive activity would slip the minds of three of our four informants, all of whom lived in the town and had been familiar with its affairs since shortly after the Clays moved to Wellington. Even accounting for some misperception on Mr. Clay's part on the one hand and the possibility that some of our informants had selectively forgotten some of the unpleasantness on the other, it still seems likely that the intensity of the negative white response was not completely apparent to white community leaders. Certainly the personal and private acts of discourtesy and hostility to which the Clays were subjected seem to have been lost on our informants, with the possible exception of the Catholic assistant pastor, who may have reconstructed his picture of the neighborhood response to desegregation from personal discussions with the major actor in the drama, his parishioner, Mr. Clay.

In summary, Wellington can be viewed as a suburban town, attractive because of its distance from the major city of the region, and the availability of homes modest enough for families who are seeking their first home to purchase.

There is virtually no Negro demand for housing in Wellington. It is a substantial distance from any concentration of Negro families, and all areas surrounding it are virtually all white. It is unlikely that Negroes will enter Wellington in substantial numbers owing to its distance from the center of the metropolitan area. It is quite possible, however, that a small number of Negro families will move to Wellington because its housing is priced at a level they can afford, and because it is

near new electronics and other light industrial firms. Further, the nineteen white residents whom we interviewed in Wellington scored comparatively high on the Integration Attitude Scale that we shall describe later, particularly in Chapter VIII.

Manor Homes--A Blue-Collar Development

I call the majority of people in there low white trash. The houses were cheaply built to begin with and put up in a hurry, and now most of them are very run down. It's a mess.

The speaker owned a real estate firm in a small town about an hour's drive from downtown Manhattan. She was referring to one of the open neighborhoods in this study, Manor Homes, which was built by one developer during the postwar building boom of the late 1940s. Manor Homes contains about 500 dwelling units and constitutes about one-half of the town of Hemlock. The eastern boundary of the neighborhood is the main north-south road passing through that portion of the state and the western boundary is formed by a river and some low mountains.

The 1960 census showed the population to be less than 1 per cent nonwhite, various measures of socioeconomic status were average, but the residents appeared to be slightly younger and slightly more mobile than average.

Two-thirds of the residents of Manor Homes are Catholic and their ethnic origins are quite heterogeneous. Each of our informants reported that the population was divided equally among the Irish, Germans, Poles, and Italians, and the estimate of the number of Negro families in Manor Homes ranged from six to eight.

The communities surrounding Manor Homes are virtually all white. The town north of Hemlock, it was agreed by all informants, is completely white and the town to its south is, at most, 2 per cent Negro. As noted above, the area to the west is undeveloped hilly terrain. The portion of Hemlock that is outside the Manor Homes development does contain a scattering

of Negro families, about one in every twenty. The nearest predominantly Negro area is at least ten miles away. Thus a substantial influx of new Negro residents into Manor Homes or the town of Hemlock seems very unlikely.

The first Negro families moved into Manor Homes in 1964. Each of our informants was present at the time the neighborhood was desegregated, and each reported that there was no reaction on the part of the white residents living there at the time. As the pastor of the Catholic church put it, "There was no community reaction. In fact we sort of expected some comment but there was absolutely nothing." The vice-president of the local bank, who was also an officer in the Chamber of Commerce, recalled:

There was no reaction at all. The Negroes that live there are children of families that have been in town for many years in a different area. I think a couple of whites may have put their homes up for sale but there was no other reaction.

The eight Negro families in Manor Homes were reported to be scattered throughout the development and, according to the realtor, were fixing up their houses. She added, "If you want to know, they are the nicest people."

The level of integration in community institutions reflects the token presence of Negroes in the town of Hemlock. A few Negro students attend the elementary and the high school. In the children's groups, Negroes participate only in the Boy Scouts, not in the 4-H club or the youth organizations of the Catholic church. All of the community organizations--the American Legion, the Catholic parish societies, and the women's club--are all white. However, the Lions Club, which appears to have an active program of service to the community, does contain Negro members.

Our informants were hard put to comment favorably on life in the Manor Homes development. They frequently used the phrase "in there" when referring to the neighborhood, implying that it was set apart from the rest of the community and had rather

unique characteristics. We asked our informants to give "the three or four most important reasons people like living in the neighborhood." Their responses to this open-ended question are instructive. The pastor of the Catholic parish commented:

The first reason would be to get away from congested city areas. The price of the house is reasonable to people who are not able to afford better housing. Other than the fact that they can live in a suburban atmosphere for a reasonable price, I'm at a loss to pinpoint any reason they like to live there.

In answer to the same question, the other informants were somewhat less charitable although their responses were similar to that of the Catholic pastor. The bank vice-president answered:

The only thing I can think of is that the types of homes are reasonable but small. Other than that I haven't the slightest idea why anyone would want to live there. I think it's like a jungle.

The real estate owner responded:

Because it's a low-income group. They can get reasonable housing in that section that they buy on GI or FHA financing with no down payment. It's convenient to everything. I can't think of any other reason--I wouldn't live there at all.

When describing the "three or four most important problems of the neighborhood," the informants were able to expand at greater length.

The Catholic priest said:

There is quite a turnover in there. A turnover of people and houses. The families are large and they outgrow this very small type of housing. What I would say is the single most important problem would be financial. They are in a sort of general category of low middle income--it's a struggle for a number of them. From this single factor come all the other things--lack of education, low standard of living, apathy and family bickering.

Among the three or four most important problems of Manor Homes, the banker included:

There are too many children for such a small amount of area. You take your life in your hands if you drive your car down one of those streets. The whole section was put up over night and the streets were made much too narrow. I guess the real problem is the people themselves. Most of them came in from the big cities--I think 50 per cent are from city slums and they have no pride of ownership about their property or any pride among themselves. There's a lot of drinking and fighting that goes on in there. When you get this kind of people into a small congested housing area, you're bound to have problems.

The realtor responded in almost precisely the same terms, and we began this profile of Manor Homes with her characterization of the neighborhood.

In summary, Manor Homes is a neighborhood where desegregation has proceeded more smoothly, and race is less of an issue, than would have been predicted from the characteristics of the white residents. Most of the white residents appear to be living on the margin, with a substantial part of their incomes going toward payments on their \$16,000 homes. If the judgment of our informants is accurate, many of the white residents are emigrants from the industrial central cities of the New York metropolitan region.

The constituency in Manor Homes is quite similar to that on the fringe of the expanding Negro ghetto in many cities; it is from this stratum of white society that the bitterest opposition to Negro entry is normally heard. Manor Homes, however, is different in that it is far removed from any heavily Negro concentration and Hemlock itself is surrounded by towns that contain only a sprinkling of Negroes. Further, the area immediately surrounding Hemlock is characterized by low density and, on one side, by nonresidential usage. Thus, there is low Negro demand for housing. The prospect of a substantial Negro in-migration is very remote; indeed our informants' projections on the proportion Negro in Manor Homes five years hence ranged from 2 to 10 per cent.

Thus Manor Homes exemplifies the crucial role played by the degree of Negro demand, sometimes termed Negro pressure, on a neighborhood. The same group of residents, faced with the probability of inundation from adjacent ghettos, would undoubtedly have reacted in a more hostile manner to the prospect of integration. Indeed, other neighborhoods included in this study where the socioeconomic status of the white residents was higher, but which were on the verge of substantial Negro in-migration, were frequently typified by panic and anti-Negro violence. The reader will note in subsequent chapters of this monograph that our Negro Housing Demand Index, which is a rough measure of the probability of significant Negro in-migration, is an important predictor of a variety of white attitudes and types of behavior.

#### Miller Hill--Facing the Bulldozer

Miller Hill is a neighborhood occupying a little over one square mile near the center of a medium-sized city on the eastern seaboard. The city itself lies within one of the nation's largest metropolitan areas.

The neighborhood, which was classified as open in this study, is virtually all white. Two Negro families have lived there since the 1940s. The head of one of these families held a position of authority in the city's fire department, while the other owned a small business. The principal of Central School, the major elementary school serving the neighborhood, reported that no Negro students attended her school. She also said that the second elementary school had a handful of Negro students. The informants agreed that the neighborhood was half Catholic and half Protestant, but they were generally unable to identify specific ethnic groups. When pressed, two of the informants mentioned the presence of Germans, Italians, Scandinavians, and Irish, but they could not even estimate the proportion that any one of these ethnic groups represented.

Census data reveal that in 1960 one-fifth of the white residents were of foreign stock; the mean education among all residents twenty-five and over was 8.4 years, and the mean family income was \$6,200. The average home had a value of \$7,100, and the mean rent for all occupied rental units was \$60. One-fourth of all dwelling units were rented, but less than 1 per cent were located in structures containing three or more housing units. Almost five out of every six housing units were constructed prior to 1940.

The demographic data available yield a picture of an older community that is in the central area of an industrial city and is occupied by a diverse group of lower-income, white families.

Miller Hill is faced with urban renewal. The City Council found enough blight in the area to warrant its demolition, and a developer proposed a \$150 million redevelopment that would require clearance of the entire area. At the time of the survey, the residents of the neighborhood had formed a committee to take their opposition to the redevelopment into the courts. At issue was the designation of the community as a blighted area, a designation that the residents disputed but that had been upheld in the State Superior Court. According to the local press, a state judge "said 53 per cent of the dwellings were substandard in the area the group maintained was not blighted. He added that other blight conditions also were present."

To the west of Miller Hill is a part of the city whose population was estimated by our informants as 80 per cent Negro. It is a neighborhood in which the Negro population has increased substantially in recent years. However, the residents of that neighborhood do not share schools or recreational facilities with Miller Hill, nor do the residents of the two communities socialize. The two neighborhoods do not actually have a common border but are separated by commercial use, which affects the relationships between them, according to the pastor who served as our church informant. As he put it, "The city dump and the

river are in between, but if we really bordered them, I think we'd have more problems."

At the southern tip of Miller Hill is a public housing project, Abbott Homes, whose presence is commonly viewed as a problem. Indeed, one of the informants explicitly excluded Abbott Homes from the boundaries of the community. The informants all shared a common attitude toward this housing project, a point of view best summarized by our real estate expert:

First, the village was federal housing, then during Roosevelt's last administration it was transferred to the city. So it is low-rent housing, and these children come to Lincoln School, and some people around here prefer Central School because of that element from Abbott Homes.

Every tenant I've ever rented to that came from the homes has proved to be a bad tenant.

What is happening now is that colored are demanding to live in Abbott Homes, so now they are putting Puerto Ricans and colored in there, and of course that is affecting Lincoln School. These are not especially poor people; some can afford to pay a good rent, but they are undesirable people. The city charges them for what they can pay.

The handful of new Negro residents in Miller Hill has not received a cordial reception. In one case, paint was thrown on the house of a Negro family who had moved in during the summer before our survey; in another instance, paint was thrown on an automobile. Our church informant, the local Episcopal pastor, reported:

The clergy went down and cleaned up the fellow's house. We took up money and had the other man's car repainted. I think all the clergy took part.

Or, as our real estate informant put it:

The Lutheran minister got the other ministers to clean it up. They even cleaned the inside of the house and she [the housewife] stood and watched. Most people have to clean their own houses when they move in.

The role of the Lutheran clergyman in the process of desegregation is unclear, for one of the informants claimed that



it was he who "got them to move in." But he added, "He's not here anymore because of all this."

These specific acts of vandalism against the property of the first Negro family can be viewed as an outcropping of general neighborhood hostility toward the desegregation of the neighborhood. The mildest reference to the community response was from our school informant, who reported "a little fuss." On the other hand, one informant, active in the Boy Scouts, used the term "community combustion" to characterize the response of the neighborhood at the time of desegregation and reported that the arrival of the first Negro family "caused great feelings of fear and unrest for a very brief time."

In sum, Miller Hill can be described as a neighborhood facing a range of problems that flow from the age of the housing and the characteristics of the neighborhood to the west of it. There are two components to its white population: the older, settled residents and the younger, more transient, and lower-income residents. Surrounded by railroad tracks, a city dump, and a polluted river, the older residents look forward with little enthusiasm to the neighborhood's future. The Boy Scout leader observed:

The moral fiber goes down as the influx of welfare recipients comes in. An apathetic feeling has come over the neighborhood due to the lowered economic standing of the newcomers.

The Episcopal pastor phrased it differently:

When a neighborhood is on the skids, well, the new people are not about to stay very long. This new group probably moved to get out of areas that are becoming more Negro, and they can't afford to go out to Cedar Heights or the nicer areas. This neighborhood is all they can afford.

Further, the residents of Miller Hill could view their community as "really the only section of the city that Negroes didn't come into" until recently. However, as we have noted above, the neighborhood has been desegregated with some strife,

and those who viewed it as a "safe" white community can no longer fall back on even this as an asset.

Finally, there is the issue of urban renewal. The residents have seen their City Council formally declare Miller Hill a blighted area as a necessary step in applying for urban renewal funds. The depressing effect of this action was undoubtedly intensified both by court action sustaining the City Council and by the attendant publicity that defined Miller Hill as a fit area for demolition. The prospect of demolition inhibits residents' investments in their homes and virtually cuts off the supply of new residents willing to make a long-term commitment to the neighborhood.

Miller Hill, therefore, is a community that contains, in extra measure, the problems confronting many communities in the core areas of urban America. Racial integration is but one of an entire set of problems that a neighborhood "on the skids" encounters.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE EXTENT OF RACIALLY INTEGRATED HOUSING IN THE UNITED STATES

I think in any neighborhood they wouldn't like it [if Negro families tried to move into this neighborhood]. The first reaction is we don't want them here. It would be true of all white neighborhoods. I speak from experience. I saw what happened where I lived.

School principal in white segregated neighborhood

There is widespread belief among Americans, regardless of their own attitudes toward racial integration, that stable racially integrated neighborhoods are a rare phenomenon. The mass media contribute to the perpetuation of such beliefs in their reporting on "pioneering" integrated neighborhoods and on the problems facing changing neighborhoods. For example, the New York Times, in a series of articles surveying housing integration in the nation, quoted a "knowledgeable authority" in St. Louis as saying: "There isn't a white neighborhood anywhere in St. Louis that you could have a colored family move in without it falling apart at the seams [Rugaber, 1966]." Even staunch supporters of integrated living who currently live in integrated neighborhoods believe that theirs is one of the few such neighborhoods in the country.

In this chapter we present results that contradict these widespread beliefs. We find that integrated neighborhoods are much more common than most Americans think. We estimate that 36 million Americans in 11 million households live in integrated neighborhoods. This is 19 per cent of the population, or almost one in five. While still a minority, it may help to put the number of households in integrated neighborhoods into perspective

by recognizing that it is about half way between the 14 million Roman Catholic households and the 7 million Baptist households, or, on a less serious note, just about the same number of households that have a home freezer or two or more cars, or watch a popular television program.

Since data are presented here that differ from widely held beliefs, many readers will want to examine the methodology of the study in detail. They are referred to Appendix A, where we give a description of the sampling and classification procedures, and to Appendix C, which contains the questionnaires and interviewer specifications.

#### Estimates of Housing Integration

Table 3.1 gives the estimated number of integrated neighborhoods and households in the United States. It may be seen from the table that among integrated neighborhoods, there are more households in open neighborhoods and neighborhoods in localities with few Negroes than in moderately integrated and substantially integrated neighborhoods.

While there are relatively more substantially integrated neighborhoods (1,830), the small number of households per neighborhood yields a national total of only 1.8 million households in such neighborhoods. Conversely, although the number of open neighborhoods is smaller (1,494), open neighborhoods have about twice as many households per neighborhood as do substantially integrated ones, with moderately integrated neighborhoods in between. The average open neighborhood contains 2,160 households, while the average moderately integrated neighborhood has 1,640 households and substantially integrated neighborhoods average 980 households. The integrated neighborhoods in localities with very few Negroes are like the open neighborhoods and average 1,940 households each, while the rural areas have only 420 households in an average neighborhood.

TABLE 3.1  
ESTIMATED NUMBER OF INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOODS AND HOUSEHOLDS IN THE  
UNITED STATES, BY NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, APRIL, 1967

Neighborhood Type	Estimated Number of:		Per Cent of Total Households
	Neighborhoods	Households	
Total integrated . . . . .	8,716	11,198,400	19.0
Open . . . . .	1,494	3,225,200	5.5
Moderately integrated . . . . .	1,493	2,451,200	4.2
Substantially integrated . . . . .	1,830	1,788,000	3.0
Integrated in localities with very few Negroes . . . . .	1,376	2,670,000	4.5
Integrated rural areas . . . . .	2,523	1,064,000	1.8
Total segregated . . . . .	36,884	47,601,600	81.0
Total . . . . .	45,600	58,800,000	100.0

Some of this difference is explained by region, size of place, and urbanization, as may be seen in Tables 3.2 through 3.4. In the South, where, for historical reasons, most of the residents of integrated neighborhoods live in substantially integrated neighborhoods, the neighborhoods are more likely to be rural and so have smaller populations. In the other regions, suburban and nonmetropolitan neighborhoods that have fewer substantially integrated neighborhoods also tend to be smaller.

Even after controlling for region, size of place, and urbanization, substantially integrated neighborhoods are still smaller in population than open neighborhoods. Two explanations are possible:

1. Some substantially integrated neighborhoods have smaller areas than open neighborhoods. These neighborhoods may have been developed by a single builder, while the open neighborhoods were built by several developers over a longer time. For other substantially integrated neighborhoods, which are bordered by all-Negro or changing neighborhoods, neighborhood boundaries may be redefined to exclude portions of the area that earlier had been considered as part of the neighborhood.

2. Some substantially integrated neighborhoods are less densely populated than open neighborhoods. The racial composition of the area may be less salient to the residents if the houses are far apart. Also, the density of an area is related to the proportion of rental units, so that it may be that white homeowners are more willing to live in (or less able to move out of) substantially integrated neighborhoods than are renters.

The density issue is not critical and is only raised here because we suspect that many readers would wonder, as we did, why there are more substantially integrated neighborhoods but more households in open neighborhoods.

TABLE 3.2  
ESTIMATED NUMBER OF INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOODS AND HOUSEHOLDS,  
BY REGION AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, APRIL, 1967

Neighborhood Type	Estimated Number of:		Per Cent of Total Households
	Neighborhoods	Households	
	Northeast		
Total integrated . . . . .	2,480	4,592,440	31.8
Open . . . . .	1,158	2,272,800	15.7
Moderately integrated . . . . .	773	1,543,360	10.7
Substantially integrated . . . . .	357	419,280	2.9
Integrated in localities with very few Negroes . . . . .	192	357,000	2.5
Total segregated . . . . .	8,720	9,854,560	68.2
Total . . . . .	11,200	14,447,000	100.0
	North Central		
Total integrated . . . . .	1,271	2,064,360	12.6
Open . . . . .	124	462,400	2.8
Moderately integrated . . . . .	208	319,040	2.0
Substantially integrated . . . . .	372	427,920	2.6
Integrated in localities with very few Negroes . . . . .	567	855,000	5.2
Total segregated . . . . .	11,429	14,346,640	87.4
Total . . . . .	12,700	16,411,000	100.0

(Table 3.2 continued)

TABLE 3.2--Continued

Neighborhood Type	Estimated Number of:		Per Cent of Total Households
	Neighborhoods	Households	
	South		
Total integrated . . . . .	3,765	2,050,720	11.3
Open . . . . .	42	120,000	0.7
Moderately integrated . . . . .	220	141,600	0.8
Substantially integrated . . . . .	980	725,120	4.0
Integrated rural areas . . . . .	2,523	1,064,000	5.8
Total segregated . . . . .	10,435	16,183,280	88.7
Total . . . . .	14,200	18,234,000	100.0
	West		
Total integrated . . . . .	1,200	2,490,880	25.6
Open . . . . .	170	370,000	3.8
Moderately integrated . . . . .	292	447,200	4.6
Substantially integrated . . . . .	121	215,680	2.2
Integrated in localities with very few Negroes . . . . .	617	1,458,000	15.0
Total segregated . . . . .	6,300	7,217,120	74.4
Total . . . . .	7,500	9,708,000	100.0



TABLE 3.3  
ESTIMATED NUMBER OF INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOODS AND HOUSEHOLDS, BY SIZE OF PLACE AND FOR SELECTED  
STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS (SMSAs), BY NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, APRIL, 1967

Neighborhood Type	Estimated Number of:		Per Cent of Total Households
	Neighborhoods	Households	
	Ten Largest SMSAs		
Total integrated . . . . .	1,948	3,578,920	23.9
Open . . . . .	693	1,514,400	10.1
Moderately integrated . . . . .	597	1,355,080	9.1
Substantially integrated . . . . .	658	709,440	4.7
Total segregated . . . . .	9,652	11,409,080	76.1
Total . . . . .	11,600	14,988,000	100.0
	New York SMSA		
Total integrated . . . . .	857	1,638,840	43.8
Open . . . . .	485	962,000	25.7
Moderately integrated . . . . .	208	549,640	14.7
Substantially integrated . . . . .	164	127,200	3.4
Total segregated . . . . .	2,049	2,108,160	56.2
Total . . . . .	2,906	3,747,000	100.0

(Table 3.3 continued)

TABLE 3.4  
ESTIMATED NUMBER OF INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOODS AND HOUSEHOLDS,  
BY URBANIZATION AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, APRIL, 1967

Neighborhood Type	Estimated Number of:		Per Cent of Total Households
	Neighborhoods	Households	
	Central City		
Total integrated . . . . .	2,510	5,072,920	28.2
Open . . . . .	740	1,623,600	9.0
Moderately integrated . . . . .	673	1,352,720	7.5
Substantially integrated . . . . .	755	1,104,600	6.2
Integrated in localities with very few Negroes . . . . .	342	992,000	5.5
Total segregated . . . . .	11,390	12,904,080	71.8
Total . . . . .	13,900	17,977,000	100.0
	Suburb of SMSA		
Total integrated . . . . .	2,362	3,278,180	16.4
Open . . . . .	732	1,513,500	7.6
Moderately integrated . . . . .	570	944,880	4.7
Substantially integrated . . . . .	818	485,800	2.4
Integrated in localities with very few Negroes . . . . .	242	334,000	1.7
Total segregated . . . . .	13,738	16,670,820	83.6
Total . . . . .	16,100	19,949,000	100.0

Regional Variation in Integration

While integrated neighborhoods are found everywhere, the highest percentage of households in integrated neighborhoods, 32 per cent, is in the Northeast, as shown in Table 3.2.<sup>1</sup> The West, with 26 per cent of households, is the next most highly integrated. The South is least integrated, although the difference between 13 per cent in the North Central region and 11 per cent in the South is small. Of the 4.6 million households in the Northeast who live in integrated neighborhoods, just about half, 2.3 million, live in open neighborhoods. Most of the rest, 1.5 million, live in moderately integrated neighborhoods, and only .4 million live in substantially integrated neighborhoods. Almost one-third of all these households in integrated neighborhoods are in the New York metropolitan area. To oversimplify, then, the Northeast may be characterized as a region where there are many integrated neighborhoods, but where the proportion of Negroes in any one neighborhood is typically small.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The regions are defined as follows, using the standard census definitions:

Northeast--Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania;

North Central--Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas;

South--Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas;

West--Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, Washington, Oregon, California, Alaska, and Hawaii.

<sup>2</sup>In evaluating these estimates, the reader should keep in mind that they are subject to sampling errors, estimates for which are given in Appendix A. While the relative error is only

A slightly different picture is observed in the West. Here a household in an integrated neighborhood is most apt to be in a locality with very few Negroes, such as Phoenix or San Jose. About 60 per cent of the households in integrated neighborhoods in the West, 1.5 out of 2.5 million, live in localities with few Negroes. The remaining million households are pretty evenly spread among the other types of integrated neighborhoods.

The North Central states are much like the West except that the overall level of integration is lower. Slightly less than half of the integrated households, .9 million, are in localities with very few Negroes. The rest, 1.1 million, are split among the other types of neighborhoods.

The southern pattern is substantially different than that in other regions, as might be expected. There is a bitter joke told by Negroes about whites that illustrates this difference. "In the South, they don't care how close you get as long as you don't get too big. In the North, they don't care how big you get as long as you don't get too close." Approximately half of the households in integrated neighborhoods, about 1 million, live in rural areas that, according to our informants, have traditionally been integrated. Many of these areas, although not all, are quite poor; and it is mainly in the South that poorer whites and Negroes live together.

The remaining million households are primarily in substantially integrated areas that have also been integrated for

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about 10 per cent on the estimate of the total households in integrated neighborhoods in the United States (1,184,000/11,198,400), relative sampling errors for regions are about two and one-half times as large as sampling errors for the U.S., and sampling errors for type of integrated neighborhood within region are five times as large. The data are presented in detail in the tables so that all the numbers will add to the total number of households, but small differences should not be taken too seriously. Most of our discussion is based on differences that are far larger than would be expected due simply to sampling variability.

a long time, according to our informants. There are very few open or moderately integrated neighborhoods in the South. While we do not have past survey data, our study, coupled with the Taeubers' (1965) studies of the South, suggests that in the cities, and particularly in the Deep South, whites and Negroes are more segregated today than at the turn of the century. Our definition of integration excluded those areas where whites lived in substantially better housing than Negroes, which was common earlier. Nevertheless, we do not find poor whites and Negroes living together in the cities, as they did when there were more rigid social class distinctions. Today, housing segregation in the South separates the races and serves the same function as the caste system did earlier.

What little integration there is in the South is mainly in the Southwest and in the Border States. Our sample contains no urban integrated neighborhoods in the Deep South and relatively little rural integration. An examination of migration trends makes it seem likely that the number of households in integrated rural neighborhoods has declined and will continue to decline as rural Negroes move to the North.

The Taeubers (1965, Ch. 3) also reach these conclusions using census data and a different definition of integration. They computed segregation indices from census block statistics for the 1960, 1950, and 1940 censuses. While their segregation indices are based on central cities and do not include suburbs or nonmetropolitan areas, they do show that in the Northeast and West there has been a decrease in segregation since 1940, in the North Central states there has been no change, and in the South segregation has increased. For their total estimate of segregation, they show a slight increase in the segregation index in central cities between 1940 and 1960, but this would not be inconsistent with an increase in integration due to new integrated neighborhoods in the suburbs.

Urbanization

Table 3.4 reveals that almost a third of all households in integrated neighborhoods are in suburbs of metropolitan areas. While suburbs still have a smaller proportion Negro than central cities, the fact that most households in integrated neighborhoods are in open neighborhoods suggests that future increases in integration, if they occur, will be more likely to occur in the suburbs. Of the 3.3 million households in the suburbs, 1.5 million, or almost half, are in open neighborhoods, and only .5 million are in substantially integrated neighborhoods.

In the central cities of metropolitan areas, households are fairly evenly divided between open, moderately integrated, and substantially integrated neighborhoods. This fact, coupled with the greater demand for Negro housing in central cities, would suggest that substantially more Negroes could move into the suburbs without affecting the stability of integrated neighborhoods. The growth of the suburban population relative to central cities and nonmetropolitan areas would mean an increase in the number of households in integrated neighborhoods in the suburbs, even if the proportion of Negroes in integrated neighborhoods does not change.

Outside of metropolitan areas, integrated neighborhoods are mainly in localities with very few Negroes, or in southern rural areas. The rural areas are not likely to become more integrated since there is no trend toward Negro or white migration into them. Today integration is a metropolitan phenomenon and it will probably become more so in the future.

The Number of Negro Households in  
Integrated Neighborhoods

It may seem paradoxical, but as Tables 3.5 through 3.8 demonstrate, a smaller proportion of Negroes than whites in the United States live in integrated neighborhoods. Most whites who live in integrated neighborhoods live in open or moderately

TABLE 3.5  
ESTIMATED NUMBER AND PER CENT OF WHITE AND NEGRO HOUSEHOLDS IN INTEGRATED  
NEIGHBORHOODS IN THE UNITED STATES, BY NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, APRIL, 1967

Neighborhood Type	White Households		Negro Households	
	Estimated Number	Per Cent	Estimated Number	Per Cent
Total integrated . . . . .	10,438,200	19.6	760,200	13.6
Open . . . . .	3,222,000	6.1	3,200	0.1
Moderately integrated . .	2,402,800	4.5	48,400	0.9
Substantially integrated	1,291,400	2.4	496,600	8.9
Integrated in localities with very few Negroes .	2,606,000	4.9	64,000	1.1
Integrated rural areas .	916,000	1.7	148,000	2.6
Total segregated . . . . .	42,761,800	80.4	4,839,800	86.4
Total . . . . .	53,200,000	100.0	5,600,000	100.0

TABLE 3.6  
ESTIMATED NUMBER AND PER CENT OF WHITE AND NEGRO HOUSEHOLDS IN INTEGRATED  
NEIGHBORHOODS, BY REGION AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, APRIL, 1967

Neighborhood Type	White Households		Negro Households	
	Estimated Number	Per Cent	Estimated Number	Per Cent
	Northeast			
Total integrated . . . . .	4,432,400	32.8	160,040	17.0
Open . . . . .	2,270,600	16.8	2,200	0.2
Moderately integrated . . . . .	1,511,200	11.2	32,160	3.4
Substantially integrated . . . . .	297,600	2.2	121,680	13.0
Integrated in localities with very few Negroes . . . . .	353,000	2.6	4,000	0.4
Total segregated . . . . .	9,075,600	67.2	778,960	83.0
Total . . . . .	13,508,000	100.0	939,000	100.0
	North Central			
Total integrated . . . . .	1,875,100	12.3	189,260	16.9
Open . . . . .	461,900	3.0	500	0.1
Moderately integrated . . . . .	311,600	2.1	7,440	0.7
Substantially integrated . . . . .	265,600	1.7	162,320	14.4
Integrated in localities with very few Negroes . . . . .	836,000	5.5	19,000	1.7
Total segregated . . . . .	13,412,900	87.7	933,740	83.1
Total . . . . .	15,288,000	100.0	1,123,000	100.0

(Table 3.6 continued)



TABLE 3.6--Continued

Neighborhood Type	White Households		Negro Households	
	Estimated Number	Per Cent	Estimated Number	Per Cent
	South			
Total integrated . . . . .	1,748,500	11.5	302,220	9.8
Open . . . . .	119,900	0.8	100	<sup>a</sup>
Moderately integrated . . . . .	140,000	0.9	1,600	0.1
Substantially integrated . . . . .	572,600	3.8	152,520	4.9
Integrated rural areas . . . . .	916,000	6.0	148,000	4.8
Total segregated . . . . .	13,405,500	88.5	2,777,780	90.2
Total . . . . .	15,154,000	100.0	3,080,000	100.0
	West			
Total integrated . . . . .	2,381,200	25.7	109,680	24.4
Open . . . . .	369,600	4.0	400	0.1
Moderately integrated . . . . .	440,000	4.7	7,200	1.6
Substantially integrated . . . . .	155,600	1.7	60,080	13.4
Integrated in localities with very few Negroes . . . . .	1,416,000	15.3	42,000	9.3
Total segregated . . . . .	6,877,800	74.3	339,320	75.6
Total . . . . .	9,259,000	100.0	449,000	100.0

<sup>a</sup> Less than 0.1 per cent.

TABLE 3.7  
ESTIMATED NUMBER AND PER CENT OF WHITE AND NEGRO HOUSEHOLDS IN INTEGRATED  
NEIGHBORHOODS, BY SIZE OF PLACE AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, APRIL, 1967

Neighborhood Type	White Households		Negro Households	
	Estimated Number	Per Cent	Estimated Number	Per Cent
SMSAs				
Total integrated . . . . .	7,809,200	22.8	541,900	15.0
Open . . . . .	3,134,000	9.1	3,100	0.1
Moderately integrated . . . . .	2,254,800	6.6	42,800	1.2
Substantially integrated . . . . .	1,131,400	3.3	459,000	12.7
Integrated in localities with very few Negroes . . . . .	1,289,000	3.8	37,000	1.0
Total segregated . . . . .	26,504,800	77.2	3,070,100	85.0
Total . . . . .	34,314,000	100.0	3,612,000	100.0
Non-SMSAs				
Total integrated . . . . .	2,628,000	13.9	219,300	11.0
Open . . . . .	88,000	0.5	100	<sup>a</sup>
Moderately integrated . . . . .	148,000	0.8	5,600	0.3
Substantially integrated . . . . .	160,000	0.8	37,600	1.9
Integrated in localities with very few Negroes . . . . .	1,317,000	7.0	27,000	1.3
Integrated rural areas . . . . .	915,000	4.8	149,000	7.5
Total segregated . . . . .	16,258,000	86.1	1,768,700	89.0
Total . . . . .	18,886,000	100.0	1,988,000	100.0

<sup>a</sup> Less than 0.1 per cent.

TABLE 3.8  
ESTIMATED NUMBER AND PER CENT OF WHITE AND NEGRO HOUSEHOLDS IN INTEGRATED  
NEIGHBORHOODS, BY URBANIZATION AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, APRIL, 1967

Neighborhood Type	White Households		Negro Households	
	Estimated Number	Per Cent	Estimated Number	Per Cent
	Central City of SMSA			
Total integrated . . . . .	4,651,600	33.0	421,320	10.9
Open . . . . .	1,622,000	11.5	1,600	<sup>a</sup>
Moderately integrated . . . . .	1,334,000	9.5	18,720	0.5
Substantially integrated . . . . .	736,000	5.2	368,000	9.5
Integrated in localities with very few Negroes . . . . .	959,000	6.8	33,000	0.9
Total segregated . . . . .	9,453,400	67.0	3,450,680	89.1
Total . . . . .	14,105,000	100.0	3,872,000	100.0
	Suburb of SMSA			
Total integrated . . . . .	3,157,600	16.6	120,580	12.7
Open . . . . .	1,512,000	8.0	1,500	0.2
Moderately integrated . . . . .	920,800	4.8	24,080	2.5
Substantially integrated . . . . .	394,800	2.1	91,000	9.6
Integrated in localities with very few Negroes . . . . .	330,000	1.7	4,000	0.4
Total segregated . . . . .	15,845,400	83.4	825,420	87.3
Total . . . . .	19,003,000	100.0	946,000	100.0

<sup>a</sup> Less than 0.1 per cent.

integrated neighborhoods, or in localities with few Negroes. The proportion of Negroes in these neighborhoods is less than the national average of 10.5 per cent. Most Negroes who live in integrated neighborhoods, however, live in substantially integrated neighborhoods. Thus, whites and Negroes who live in integrated neighborhoods observe substantially different racial proportions. Eighty per cent of the whites who live in integrated neighborhoods live in neighborhoods that are less than 10 per cent Negro, while two-thirds of the Negroes who live in integrated neighborhoods live in neighborhoods that are more than 10 per cent Negro. There is every reason to believe that this difference will affect attitudes and behavior, particularly social interaction between the races.

The regional analysis of Table 3.5 indicates that a higher proportion of Negro households are in integrated neighborhoods in the West than in the other regions. Almost a quarter of western Negroes live in integrated neighborhoods, while in the Northeast and North Central regions, one-sixth of all Negro households are in integrated neighborhoods. In the South, about 10 per cent of the Negro households are in integrated neighborhoods. Although the percentage is lowest, the total number of Negroes living in integrated neighborhoods is highest in the South. About half of this total live in integrated rural areas. Both in the South and West, the proportion of Negro households in integrated neighborhoods is about the same as the proportion of white households. In the North Central states, the proportion of Negroes living in integrated neighborhoods is higher than the proportion of whites, but the reverse is true in the Northeast. These differences merely reflect the different proportions of open, moderately integrated, and substantially integrated neighborhoods that we discussed above.

Proportion Negro

Since the proportion of Negro households in a neighborhood is believed to be so important for the future of the neighborhood, Table 3.9 presents information on the proportion of households in integrated neighborhoods, by percentage of Negroes. Households in integrated rural areas or in localities with few

TABLE 3.9  
PER CENT OF HOUSEHOLDS IN INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOODS BY PER CENT NEGRO, FOR THE UNITED STATES AND BY REGION, SIZE OF PLACE, AND URBANIZATION, APRIL, 1967

Per Cent Negro	United States	Region			
		North-east	North Central	South	West
Less than 1 .	42.1	56.2	38.2	5.8	48.9
1-5 . . . . .	26.1	24.0	33.4	13.6	34.4
6-10 . . . . .	9.9	10.4	7.7	20.0	2.4
11-19 . . . . .	7.9	3.9	9.1	20.9	3.8
20-29 . . . . .	8.3	1.5	1.5	30.5	8.2
30-49 . . . . .	4.0	4.0	5.2	6.0	1.5
50 or more . .	1.7	-	4.9	3.2	0.8
Total . .	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Median per cent Negro .	3	1	3	15	1
	Size of Place		Urbanization		
	Ten Largest SMSAs	Other SMSAs	Central City of SMSA	Suburb of SMSA	Non-SMSAs
Less than 1 .	42.3	51.1	45.2	50.7	26.5
1-5 . . . . .	26.9	25.8	23.7	30.1	25.8
6-10 . . . . .	10.7	2.4	7.0	4.3	21.4
11-19 . . . . .	6.8	9.1	7.3	9.4	7.4
20-29 . . . . .	6.5	4.4	6.3	3.8	17.1
30-49 . . . . .	4.9	5.2	7.6	1.2	0.9
50 or more . .	1.9	2.0	2.9	0.5	0.9
Total . .	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Median per cent Negro .	3	1	3	1	5

Negroes have been reclassified by the percentage of Negro households in the neighborhoods, and households in moderately and substantially integrated neighborhoods have been further subdivided. This table suggests no new conclusions, but it illustrates quite clearly that the median proportion of Negro households in integrated neighborhoods is between 1 and 5 per cent everywhere except in the South.

This small percentage of Negroes in most integrated neighborhoods may explain why our estimates seem so large compared with popular conceptions. If we think of integrated neighborhoods as only those that are substantially integrated, we would exclude four out of five of our neighborhoods. We believe that the broader definition is a sensible one because it focuses attention on who is moving into neighborhoods rather than on a fixed proportion of Negroes and whites. Since the concern for housing integration is primarily a concern for freedom of residence rather than for a particular racial distribution, we believe that neighborhoods which are currently open to both whites and Negroes should be properly considered as integrated.

Very few whites are currently willing to live in neighborhoods where Negroes are in the majority. Of whites in integrated neighborhoods of any kind, slightly less than 1 per cent live in neighborhoods that are more than 50 per cent Negro. There are, of course, other whites who live in neighborhoods with a large proportion of Negroes, but these are changing neighborhoods and will eventually become all Negro. At present, then, it would appear that the percentage of Negroes in the neighborhood is an important variable influencing the housing choice of whites.

#### Summary

We find that integrated neighborhoods are much more common than many Americans think they are. We estimate that 36 million Americans in 11 million households live in integrated neighborhoods. This is 19 per cent of the population, or just about one

in five. Since this is the first time that national estimates have been made of the extent of integration, we do not know whether the percentage of families in integrated neighborhoods is now higher or lower than it has been, but these estimates provide base-line measures for future studies.

The figure of 19 per cent is important and significant because the neighborhoods represented by these households are ones into which Negroes have indeed moved, and into which both races are currently moving. However, this figure becomes more meaningful when it is supplemented by data about the percentage of Negroes in the neighborhoods classified as "integrated." Half of the households in integrated neighborhoods are in neighborhoods where Negroes account for 3 per cent or less of the total.

Thus, 81 per cent of the nation's households are in segregated neighborhoods, while half of the balance live in integrated neighborhoods where Negroes represent 3 per cent or less of the neighborhood population. To use another cutting point, only 4 per cent of the households in the United States are located in integrated neighborhoods that are more than 10 per cent Negro.

It is probable that a substantial number of white residents of the integrated neighborhoods in our study, because they are in the overwhelming majority, have no social or community-based contact with the few Negroes who live in the neighborhood. It is even possible that in some of the neighborhoods which we found to be integrated, most white residents are unaware of the presence of any Negroes.

There are substantial regional differences in the proportion Negro. The Northeast is the most highly integrated, due in part to the high level of integration of the New York metropolitan area. Most of the residents of integrated neighborhoods in the Northeast live in open or moderately integrated neighborhoods with relatively few Negro households. In the West, which is the next most highly integrated region, most

commonly a household in an integrated neighborhood is in a locality with very few (less than 2 per cent) Negroes. The same pattern is observed in the North Central region except that the overall level of integration is lower. In the South, the pattern is quite different, with households in integrated neighborhoods being either in rural areas or in substantially integrated areas that have been integrated for a long time. There are few open or moderately integrated neighborhoods in the South, indicating that integration is probably decreasing in the South.

Most new integration seems to be occurring in the suburbs of metropolitan areas, and, if a small proportion of Negroes is a requisite for stable integration, there are indications that this will be the future trend. At this time, however, central cities are still substantially more integrated than suburbs or nonmetropolitan areas.

Finally, since the median percentage of Negro households in integrated neighborhoods is 3 per cent, compared to about 11 per cent nationally, the percentage of all Negroes who live in integrated neighborhoods is smaller than the percentage of whites. This is particularly true in the Northeast.



## CHAPTER IV

### THE HISTORY OF NEIGHBORHOOD DESEGREGATION

#### Introduction

A review of the history of racial desegregation in the neighborhoods under study serves two purposes. First, such an investigation can examine the prevalent stereotype of the desegregation process that includes tension, strife, block-busting, and the exodus of white residents that leads quickly to complete racial turnover. Undoubtedly this pattern prevails under certain conditions and can legitimately be viewed as a social problem. It is possible, however, that the drama and publicity attending these processes exaggerate their prevalence.

Second, the study of our neighborhoods' histories may provide insights into their present characteristics and the current behavior and attitudes of their residents.

In this account we rely primarily on the reports of the neighborhood informants, four of whom were usually interviewed in each neighborhood. Their responses were merged to yield a single neighborhood measure for each variable. Thus, the data are retrospective and pertain to events that occurred in the past, occasionally in the distant past. Consequently there are some limitations to the analysis, since we frequently must use data that refer to the present in attempting to explain an event that occurred in the past. We include in the analysis only our sample of integrated neighborhoods plus the control sample of Negro segregated neighborhoods.

This chapter is concerned with the following aspects of the integration history: the original racial composition of the

neighborhood, the approximate date of desegregation, and the reaction of the residents to the entry of the first Negroes. Then, using the reaction of the neighborhood as an independent variable, we assess current interracial attitudes and behavior, as well as the present proportion Negro in the neighborhood.

In Table 4.1 and in many subsequent tables we present data about the neighborhoods that were provided by our neighborhood informants. The reader's understanding may be facilitated if we explain how these data have been handled and presented.

The unit of analysis for these tables is the neighborhood, since the informants were responding to questions about one specific neighborhood. However, instead of giving each neighborhood a weight of one, we weighted each by an estimate of the number of residents. This was an attempt to correct for the fact that the neighborhoods varied widely in population. This sample weighting procedure was based on the idea that it is the number of families characterized by a certain neighborhood factor (for example, that the neighborhood was built by a single builder), not the number of neighborhoods so characterized, that is crucial.

A second procedure dealt with the fact that there was frequently a lack of consensus among the informants. For example, in response to a question on concerns about crime, two may have responded that residents of the neighborhood were "a little worried," while two reported that residents were "not at all worried." This problem was resolved by dividing the neighborhood resident weights described above into response categories according to the proportion of informants giving these responses.

As an example, consider Table 4.1. If all the informants reported that a neighborhood originally contained only whites, the entire weight for the neighborhood was allocated into this category. However, if three of the four informants said it was all white and one said it contained both races, 75 per cent of

the weight was allocated into the former category and 25 per cent into the latter. To yield the percentages shown, the weights were summed within each category and these sums were divided by the total of all weights.<sup>1</sup>

TABLE 4.1  
ORIGINAL INTEGRATION STATUS OF NEIGHBORHOOD AND LENGTH  
OF TIME SINCE DESEGREGATION, BY REGION AND  
PRESENT INTEGRATION STATUS OF NEIGHBORHOOD  
(Per Cent of Households: Data from Informants)

Present Integration Status	Original Integration Status				Number of Years Since Desegre- gation <sup>a</sup>
	Contained Only Whites	Contained Only Negroes	Contained Both Races	Total	
Integrated . . Negro segre- gated . . .	North and West				
	84	0	16	100	16.8
	66	16	18	100	12.4
	South				
	29	6	65	100	17.6
	4	18	78	100	9.0

<sup>a</sup>Data not obtained if neighborhood contained only Negroes when first built.

We have adopted the convention in table headings of stating "Per Cent of Households: Data from Informants." While it is technically true that the neighborhoods are the units of

<sup>1</sup>A computer program was written especially for this procedure by Earl D. Main, then of the NORC data-processing staff, whose efforts and skill are gratefully acknowledged.

analysis, the phrase "per cent of households" communicates the fact that, in weighting, each neighborhood's contribution is a function of the number of households living there. To use Table 4.1 as an example again, it would be true to the way the data were handled to say that "29 per cent of the households of southern integrated neighborhoods lived in neighborhoods that originally contained only whites." However, we shall frequently use a shorter statement in the text, e.g., "29 per cent of the southern integrated neighborhoods . . . ."

In summary, we applied two procedures to the raw data about neighborhoods as provided by the informants: (1) instead of simply distributing neighborhoods in our tables, we distributed weights that represent the population of the neighborhoods; (2) these weights themselves were divided and allocated into the categories of the variables in the proportion that reflected the degree of consensus among the informants for that neighborhood.

#### Original Racial Status

All neighborhood informants were asked to report on the history of desegregation in their neighborhoods. Unless they responded that only whites were presently moving in, they were asked about the racial composition "when this neighborhood was first built" (Informant Q. 32). Further, unless they reported that there were substantial differences between white and Negro housing, they were asked, "In what year did Negroes move into housing comparable to that of whites?" (Informant Q. 34).

Table 4.1 presents the data yielded by these two questions for the North and West and for the South.<sup>2</sup> We further

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<sup>2</sup>Throughout most of this monograph we have treated the regions dichotomously, with the North and West on one hand and the South on the other. Hence, in most cases references to the North (or northern) should be understood to include the West (or western).

distinguish between the sample of integrated neighborhoods and the matched sample of neighborhoods that are Negro segregated. The most striking finding pertains to regional differences. Of the northern and western integrated neighborhoods in the sample, 84 per cent were all white when first established, while the balance were integrated from the beginning. In the South, by contrast, only 29 per cent of the neighborhoods were originally established as all-white communities, while the clear majority, 65 per cent, were biracial from the beginning. These data alone suggest sharply divergent histories and patterns of change. In terms of sheer physical proximity of the races, the data suggest change in the North and West and stability in the South. Similar North-South differences emerge when the Negro segregated neighborhoods are considered. In the North and West, two-thirds of the neighborhoods now identified as Negro segregated were all white when first built, a process that implies complete racial succession. In the South, only 4 per cent of the Negro segregated neighborhoods exhibit a history of complete racial succession.

These data cannot be accurately assessed, however, without understanding that these two variables, original status and present status, do not measure exactly the same phenomenon. To have qualified as presently "integrated," a neighborhood must have been one where both whites and Negroes were now moving into housing of comparable quality. This last proviso was established precisely because of past observations in the South, namely, that while close physical proximity of whites and Negroes has characterized southern residential patterns, the housing of the Negroes has been distinctly inferior. It is proximity alone, however, that was obtained by our question dealing with the original status of the neighborhood. The data for southern neighborhoods document the fact that, from their inception, Negroes have at least been physically present.

Thus, it is not quite accurate to imply that there has been no change in those neighborhoods in the South that originally "contained both races" and that are at the present time "integrated." It is likely that in most of these instances, there has been a process of Negroes moving from housing that was comparatively inferior into housing that is at the present time of similar quality to that occupied by white residents.

It is with this perspective in mind that we consider the second variable in Table 4.1, the number of years since Negroes moved into "housing comparable to that of whites" in the neighborhood. It is clear that this question, which was true to our definition of integration, referred to two different processes, depending on the region. In the North and West, this question undoubtedly identified the year in which Negroes actually first began to move into the neighborhood from elsewhere. In the South, it is likely that the year mentioned marked an upgrading of the housing available to Negroes within the neighborhood rather than the arrival of new Negro residents within its boundaries. This seems especially likely given the low-density, semi-rural nature of many of our southern integrated neighborhoods, where land is still plentiful and homes are scattered.

These factors, taken together, explain why there is virtually no difference between northern and southern integrated neighborhoods in the length of time since "desegregation" first occurred. In the North and West, it has been an average of seventeen years since the first Negroes moved into the neighborhood; in the South, it has been about eighteen years since Negroes moved into housing comparable to that of whites, although in almost two-thirds of the neighborhoods Negroes have been present physically since the neighborhood was first built up. These data indicate a longer period of interracial stability than would have been predicted on the basis of popular conceptions.

Further insight into the process of desegregation can be gained by observing that Negroes moved into the Negro segregated neighborhoods more recently than they did into neighborhoods that are still stable and integrated. As noted above, in the North and West the integrated neighborhoods (into which whites and Negroes are still moving) saw the arrival of the first Negro family about seventeen years ago on the average. Remembering that the median per cent Negro in our integrated neighborhoods is 3 per cent, it seems safe to predict that most of these neighborhoods will continue to attract white residents and remain integrated, at least, in the foreseeable future. (See Chapter XV on the future of integration.) In contrast, the Negro segregated neighborhoods in the North and West (into which no whites are moving) saw their first Negro in-migration only twelve years ago, and this tells a story of rapid change from an all-white status to a changing or mostly Negro status.

A final perspective can be gained on the northern and western integrated neighborhoods by referring to their location within standard metropolitan statistical areas (SMSAs). Of those within the central city of an SMSA, 90 per cent were established as all-white communities, while the balance contained both whites and Negroes. Among those in the suburban portion of an SMSA, 79 per cent were all white from the beginning, while the balance contained both races. That more suburban than central-city integrated neighborhoods contained Negroes from the outset may at first seem paradoxical given the contemporary difficulty most Negroes encounter in moving from central-city to suburban areas. However, most metropolitan areas have historically had some suburban Negro residents whose origins can be traced back many generations, in some cases to a period when the locality in question had a semi-rural aspect rather than the current "suburban" middle-class character. In some instances, these areas were terminal points for the underground railroad used by some southern Negro slaves to migrate

to the North. Whatever the historical reasons, slightly over one out of every five northern suburban integrated neighborhoods has contained at least some Negroes from the time it was originally built.

#### The Neighborhood Response to Desegregation

Neighborhood informants were asked about the community's response to the advent of the first Negro family if, earlier in the interview, they had reported that both whites and Negroes were presently moving in and that they did remember how the community reacted. The data were elicited by the open-ended question, "What was the community's reaction?" (Informant Q. 35A). A set of six categories was established for the purpose of coding the responses. The data are presented in Table 4.2 for three neighborhood categories: northern integrated neighborhoods, of which there were 108 for which at least one informant provided information; southern integrated neighborhoods, of which there were 11; and northern Negro segregated neighborhoods, of which there were 17. While the latter are not a random sample of all Negro segregated neighborhoods, they were selected to be comparable to the integrated neighborhoods with respect to their location and socioeconomic status, and are thus included in Table 4.2 to afford a comparison with the northern integrated neighborhoods.

Although the 11 southern integrated neighborhoods are separated out and presented in Table 4.2, their small number does not permit further discussion or comparison with northern areas.

The reader should recall that each neighborhood does not have equal weight, but instead is weighted by an estimate of the number of households living there. Thus, the experience of a populous neighborhood will count more heavily in the tabulations than one containing fewer households. Therefore, while it is technically correct to say that "20 per cent of the



households live in neighborhoods" with a given characteristic, we shall use the less cumbersome statement that "20 per cent of the neighborhoods" have a given characteristic.

TABLE 4.2  
COMMUNITY REACTION TO ENTRY OF FIRST NEGROES AND  
PRESENT INTEGRATION STATUS OF NEIGHBORHOOD  
(Per Cent of Households Living in Neighborhoods  
That Responded in Various Ways to  
Arrival of First Negro Family:  
Data from Informants)

Community Reaction	Present Neighborhood Integration Status		
	Northern Integrated	Northern Negro Segregated	Southern Integrated
Positive reaction . . .	18	14	8
No reaction . . . . .	36	21	55
Neighborhood rumors, meetings, petitions, gossip . . . . .	33	11	0
Panic, block-busting, white exodus . . . .	6	44	15
Minor acts of hostil- ity against Negroes .	3	13	19
Major acts of hostil- ity against Negroes .	1	20	10

Since Table 4.2 is the first instance in which these data are presented, we shall interpret this table in some detail. Of the northern integrated neighborhoods, 18 per cent reacted to the first Negro residents in a way that could be described as "positive." A typical response coded under this category was one provided by an informant in a well-educated neighborhood of a midwestern city containing relatively few Negroes. "They welcomed them with open arms. No great friction, stress or strain. They are all do-gooders here."

In 36 per cent of the northern integrated neighborhoods, there was no reaction reported. While this response category accurately reflects the verbatim answers of a number of informants, it is instructive to refer to some of the comments with which the informants amplified their reports that there had been "no community reaction." The following responses are typical of many verbatim answers so coded:

I haven't heard a comment one way or another. The Negroes were accepted. One is a Ph.D. in chemistry, why shouldn't they be accepted? [Suburban open neighborhood in New Jersey]

They didn't think too much of it, the father was an attorney. [Moderately integrated central-city neighborhood in upstate New York]

No reaction. They were on the same level businesswise and housing-wise, and no one complained. [Moderately integrated suburban neighborhood in Southern California]

It is clear that many informants explained the absence of any reaction on the part of the white community in terms of the social acceptability of the new Negro residents. Where Negroes exhibited occupational and educational characteristics similar to those of the whites, the potential for a hostile reaction on the part of the latter group was apparently reduced.

In 43 per cent of the northern integrated neighborhoods, the arrival of the first Negro family was met with some type of hostile reaction. In one-third of the cases, the response was limited to the type of private activity marked by rumors, gossip, neighborhood meetings, and petitions. Typical of the responses coded in this manner are the following:

They hit the ceiling, the people all got up in arms, and they were going to sue the builder. Five or six sold their homes. A meeting was held and everyone held on. [Suburban neighborhood in the Pacific Southwest]

The whites didn't want them because the majority of the houses were owner-occupied. In some cases they convinced the Negro to get out. In some cases they beat up the people who rented or sold to Negroes. I know two families

who owned grocery stores and went broke because they rented to Negroes. [Substantially integrated suburban neighborhood in Texas]

The next door neighbors didn't like it. They built a big, high wooden fence between--not just wire. [Open suburban neighborhood in Connecticut]

The remaining types of activity that could be called negative or hostile accounted for relatively few cases among the northern integrated neighborhoods. In 6 per cent of the neighborhoods, the reaction reported by the neighborhood informants was classified as an example of panic, block-busting, and attempts by whites to leave the neighborhood. The following examples are representative of this type of community response:

There was no trouble. The whites began to move out. There were signs all over the place. [Substantially integrated central-city neighborhood in Michigan]

There were tensions and I know there were brokers who tried to block-bust. I got wind of it and the first time I got calls from people to give me listings, I went over and talked them out of it. [Open suburban neighborhood in New Jersey]

For sale signs sprung up on many lawns. One property sells (to Negroes) and the appraisers lower the value for mortgages. The place becomes a no man's land. The whites won't buy, and as yet the Negroes can't buy, so the actual price is lowered. [Substantially integrated central-city neighborhood in Indiana]

The homeowners' association wasn't positive at that time. They tried to buy houses to keep out the Negroes. I feel if the president at that time had any foresight and positive direction, this would have averted a lot of unrest [Substantially integrated suburban neighborhood in Michigan]

It was a reaction of panic. Whites had block meetings, and everyone pledged not to sell, and no one kept their word. [Negro segregated central-city neighborhood in Illinois]

In 3 per cent of the neighborhoods, the community reacted with direct action of a minor nature against the new Negro residents. Representative responses were:

Anonymous phone calls, only a few signs. Mainly ignoring the Negroes. People just refused to talk to or acknowledge

Negroes' presence. [Neighborhood in locality with very few Negroes in Pacific Northwest]

They reacted with maximum resistance just short of violence. Legal maneuvering, neighborhood petitions, threats, phone calls, and other general harassments. [Negro segregated central-city neighborhood in Southern California]

Incidents of window-breaking and tire-slashing by whites. [Negro segregated central-city neighborhood in Illinois]

Finally, among the northern integrated neighborhoods, in only 1 per cent of the cases did the community respond with actions that could be described as major violence, such as arson or bombing.

While the data for the northern integrated neighborhoods are of interest per se, further insight can be gained by comparing their experience with the history of desegregation in the northern Negro segregated neighborhoods, into which only Negroes are presently moving. Those northern neighborhoods that are presently stable and integrated experienced a comparatively tranquil period of racial integration compared to the Negro segregated neighborhoods. In over one-third of the former, there was no community reaction to the advent of the first Negro family; whereas in only one-fifth of the latter did desegregation take place without a community response. More important, in the northern integrated neighborhoods, contrasted to the Negro segregated neighborhoods, there was substantially less panic and block-busting (6 per cent versus 44 per cent), much less minor action directed against Negroes (3 per cent versus 13 per cent), and far fewer cases of major acts of hostility against Negroes (1 per cent versus 20 per cent).

These data clearly suggest that, everything else being equal, the response of the white residents to the fact of desegregation is strongly related to the eventual ability of the neighborhood to remain stable--that is, to be able to attract white residents at least for a number of years. Table 4.2

provides evidence that those neighborhoods in which white residents are most determined to resist Negro in-migration are most likely eventually to change from all white to all Negro. The effort to discourage Negro entry or to "keep them out" seldom succeeds but apparently leaves a legacy of anti-Negro bitterness or fear that is then translated into a rapid exodus on the part of the whites. The converse undoubtedly also holds true; that is, where attempts are made to welcome the racial integration of an all-white neighborhood, or where the integration passes relatively unnoticed, there is a comparatively good opportunity for the neighborhood to remain stable and interracial for some time.

These data must be taken together with those in Table 4.1. There we observed that the Negro segregated neighborhoods (that is, neighborhoods into which whites had ceased moving) had actually received their first Negro family more recently than integrated neighborhoods (neighborhoods that were still attracting white residents). We view this comparatively rapid racial succession as a consequence of the hostile response in these neighborhoods on the part of whites when integration did occur.

As we have noted above, Table 4.2 is based on the responses to a single, open-ended question regarding the community's reaction when the first Negro family moved in. This question was followed by a number of more specific precoded questions that attempted to elicit community reaction (Informant Q. 36-42).

The responses to these more specific questions strongly corroborate our analysis above. Table 4.3 presents data for six of these direct precoded items; again, we compare integrated with Negro segregated neighborhoods, excluding those in the South.

The informants were asked, "Was there any panic in the neighborhood?" (Informant Q. 36), and answered either "yes" or "no." Thirteen per cent of the integrated neighborhoods and 37

per cent of the Negro segregated neighborhoods responded with panic to the arrival of the first Negro family. Similar differences are observed on each of the other variables in Table 4.3: the proportion of neighborhoods in which violence accompanied the Negroes moving in; the proportion of neighborhoods where the church reaction was hostile or split; the proportion of neighborhoods where the community organization response was hostile or split; the proportion of neighborhoods where brokers engaged "in practices that encouraged white families to move out"; and the proportion where organizations "tried in any way to keep Negroes out of the neighborhood."

TABLE 4.3  
SPECIFIC COMMUNITY REACTION TO ENTRY OF FIRST NEGROES  
AND PRESENT INTEGRATION STATUS OF NEIGHBORHOOD  
(Per Cent of Households Living in Neighborhoods  
That Responded in Six Specific Ways to  
Arrival of First Negro Family:  
Data from Informants)

Community Reaction	Present Neighborhood Integration Status		
	Northern Integrated	Northern Negro Segregated	Southern Integrated
Panic . . . . .	13	37	4
Violence . . . . .	2	15	23
Churches were hostile or split . . . . .	8	33	0
Community organizations were hostile or split . . . . .	6	22	0
Brokers encouraged whites to leave . .	12	60	17
Community organizations tried to keep Negroes out . . . . .	5	22	0

Although these data are retrospective, and only approximate the kind of longitudinal study necessary to assess change, the magnitude of these differences and the fact that they were elicited by six different measures of community response indicate beyond a reasonable doubt that a neighborhood's chances for racial residential stability are severely threatened by the anti-Negro sentiments that a hostile response both expresses and engenders. Not only is the out-migration of whites accelerated when integration does occur, but the ability of the neighborhood to attract new white residents is very severely reduced.

We have available data from the residents themselves with which to check the informants' reports of the community reaction to racial desegregation. Those white residents who reported that their neighborhood contained Negroes and that they were "living here when the first Negro family moved in" were asked a series of questions about their own personal reactions to this event. In interpreting these data, especially for the Negro segregated (or changing) neighborhoods, it should be remembered that we did not have available those respondents who moved out of the neighborhood after desegregation. That is, the data in Table 4.4 report on the reactions of those white residents who have remained in the neighborhood, and therefore may not reflect the reactions of all white residents who lived in the neighborhood at the time desegregation actually occurred.

With these provisos in mind, we turn to Table 4.4, which presents the personal recollections of whites, comparing those who presently live in integrated neighborhoods with those who live in Negro segregated neighborhoods, that is, those neighborhoods into which no whites are moving. The first variable in this table presents the coding categories established for the residents' open-ended responses to a question on how they felt about the first Negro family moving in (Resident Q. 55A). All codable responses were placed into one of five categories ranging from strong approval to strong opposition; the extreme

TABLE 4.4  
PERSONAL REACTIONS OF WHITE RESIDENTS TO ENTRY OF FIRST  
NEGROES AND PRESENT INTEGRATION  
STATUS OF NEIGHBORHOOD  
(Per Cent Giving Selected Responses)

Item	Present Neighborhood Integration Status	
	Integrated	Negro Segregated
<u>Personal position regarding integration of neighborhood:</u>		
Approved . . . . .	17	34
Didn't care . . . . .	63	37
Opposed . . . . .	20	29
Total . . . . .	100	100
N . . . . .	(444)	(42)
<u>Emotional reaction:</u>		
Happy, pleased . . . . .	7	10
Neutral . . . . .	77	63
Afraid, worried . . . . .	16	27
Total . . . . .	100	100
N . . . . .	(406)	(30)
<u>Per cent who thought of moving . . . . .</u>		
N . . . . .	4	9
	(490)	(44)
<u>General reaction when first Negro family moved in:</u>		
Pleased . . . . .	5	5
Made no difference . . . . .	74	53
Unhappy . . . . .	21	42
Total . . . . .	100	100
N . . . . .	(485)	(44)



responses have been collapsed with adjacent ones to yield three categories: approved, didn't care, and opposed.

In part the data support the conclusion that a hostile response on the part of whites to desegregation is associated with a neighborhood's eventually becoming Negro segregated. Of the white respondents in Negro segregated neighborhoods,<sup>3</sup> 29 per cent answered in a way that could be classed as expressing opposition to the arrival of the first Negro family, while in the integrated neighborhoods this figure is only 20 per cent. However, the proportion reporting approval of desegregation is also higher among those currently living in Negro segregated neighborhoods than among those presently in stable integrated neighborhoods (34 per cent versus 17 per cent). Since we cannot assume that our white residents of Negro segregated neighborhoods are a cross section of all whites who lived in the neighborhood upon desegregation, it is difficult to conclude what the data apparently would suggest, namely, that Negro segregated neighborhoods are polarized with one-third of the white respondents favoring and one-third opposing desegregation.

A more likely explanation would argue that the composition of the whites in a neighborhood changes as a result of the selective out-migration of the white residents when the first Negroes move in. If it is true that those who opposed the desegregation of the neighborhood subsequently moved out, it is probable that the figure of 29 per cent, which pertains to those whites who remained, substantially underestimates the proportion of all white residents who opposed desegregation at the time it occurred in those neighborhoods that subsequently changed.

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<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the reader should be reminded that there are white residents in a "Negro segregated" neighborhood, since this type of neighborhood was defined by the fact that no whites were currently moving in, not by any certain racial proportions. Thus, there were instances where whites comprised a large minority of the residents of a "Negro segregated" neighborhood.

The same open-ended responses to Q. 55A were the basis for coding the emotional content of the answers. Inspection of the first few interviews indicated that it was possible for an individual to accept racial integration and still express personal apprehension about its consequences. The second section of Table 4.4 reveals that more residents of Negro segregated neighborhoods than of stable integrated neighborhoods reacted with fear, worry, and tensions (27 per cent versus 16 per cent); and although the difference is small, slightly more had a happy or pleased reaction to desegregation of the neighborhood.

We asked the respondents whether they had thought of moving when the first Negro family moved in (Resident Q. 55B). While 4 per cent in integrated neighborhoods said "yes," 9 per cent in Negro segregated neighborhoods reported that they did think of moving, a figure that would have been much higher had we been able to obtain the reaction of those who did move out of the neighborhood prior to our study.

Finally, the last section of Table 4.4 presents the responses to the summary question, "In general, were you pleased or unhappy when the first Negro family moved in, or didn't it make any difference?" (Resident Q. 56). In response to this question, 42 per cent of the white residents in Negro segregated neighborhoods reported their unhappiness at the process of desegregation, while 21 per cent of those in integrated neighborhoods had been unhappy.

Thus, the data provided by the residents themselves tend to corroborate our conclusions based on the informants' story of the history of desegregation; both indicate that neighborhoods which are no longer attracting white residents experienced a more difficult period of desegregation than did those neighborhoods which are currently stable.

We return to an analysis of the reaction of the neighborhoods at the time of desegregation, once again using the responses of the neighborhood informants.

There is evidence that the response of the white residents to the first Negro in-migration is related to the whites' perception of the probability that "inundation" will occur. One is reminded of Saul Alinsky's testimony at Chicago hearings of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1959) about a white mob that had formed near the home of the first Negro family in a certain neighborhood. He reported walking into the crowd and asking individuals whether they would be this violently opposed to the first Negro family if they could be assured that the proportion of Negroes in the neighborhood would not exceed a certain level, for instance, 25 per cent. The whites consistently responded that they would not be so distressed at the arrival of the first Negro family if the eventual proportion of Negroes could be controlled, but that this was obviously impossible. The arrival of the first Negro always signaled the beginning of substantial Negro in-migration, and it was this inundation they were fighting.

In Table 4.5, our six "reaction" measures provided by the neighborhood informants are cross-tabulated by two separate measures reflecting the demand by Negroes for housing in the community: the maximum per cent Negro in adjacent neighborhoods and the distance from the sample neighborhood to the nearest Negro segregated neighborhood. It is true that these two variables characterize the neighborhood at the time of the study while the reaction items pertain to a time some years in the past. Thus, while a neighborhood may presently be one mile from the nearest Negro segregated neighborhood, it may have been three miles away at the time desegregation occurred. However, we are assuming that, relative to each other, there was little change over time; that is, a neighborhood which experienced greater Negro demand than another at the time of the study had also felt greater demand than the other at the time desegregation occurred.

TABLE 4.5  
SPECIFIC COMMUNITY REACTION TO ENTRY OF FIRST NEGROES  
AND DEGREE OF NEGRO HOUSING DEMAND, FOR  
INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOODS

(Per Cent of Households Living in Neighborhoods  
That Responded in Six Specific Ways to  
Arrival of First Negro Family:  
Data from Informants)

Community Reaction	Degree of Negro Housing Demand			
	Maximum Per Cent Negro in Adjacent Neighborhoods			
	0-20	21-49	50 or More	
Panic . . . . .	13	9	23	
Violence . . . . .	2	0	6	
Churches were hostile or split	5	9	13	
Community organizations were hostile or split . . . . .	4	6	9	
Brokers encouraged whites to leave . . . . .	6	4	43	
Community organizations tried to keep Negroes out . . . . .	1	4	15	
	Distance to Nearest Negro Segregated Neighborhood (in Miles)			
	6 and Over	2-5	1	0
Panic . . . . .	8	7	20	20
Violence . . . . .	0	2	3	4
Churches were hostile or split	0	2	10	27
Community organizations were hostile or split . . . . .	5	9	3	9
Brokers encouraged whites to leave . . . . .	14	4	17	26
Community organizations tried to keep Negroes out . . . . .	0	4	9	5

Table 4.5 clearly suggests that proximity to relatively large numbers of Negroes (and the perception of inundation that we are imputing to the residents) is related to a hostile community reaction. For example, of those neighborhoods where the maximum per cent Negro in the adjacent neighborhoods was 50 per cent or more, 23 per cent reacted with panic, a proportion that is higher than in those neighborhoods bordered by fewer Negroes. Six per cent responded with violence; in 13 per cent of the neighborhoods, the churches were either hostile or split on the issue; in 9 per cent, the community organizations were hostile or split; in 43 per cent of the neighborhoods, real estate agents encouraged whites to leave; and in 15 per cent, at least one community organization attempted to keep Negroes out of the neighborhood.

Similar results are shown in the lower half of the table, where neighborhoods are classified according to the distance (in miles) from the nearest Negro segregated neighborhood. The closer the nearest Negro area, the more hostile the response of the neighborhood.

The socioeconomic status of the neighborhood is also associated with its type of response to racial desegregation. Table 4.6 classifies the integrated neighborhoods according to the median income reported in the 1960 census for the tract containing the neighborhood. When the high- and low-income neighborhoods are contrasted, the latter are seen to have responded with greater opposition on five of the six indicators of community reaction. For example, 12 per cent of the neighborhoods with a median income of less than \$6,000 reacted with panic, whereas the comparable figure in neighborhoods with a median income of \$7,000 or more was 9 per cent. While any one of these differences might be attributed to sampling error, the consistency of the differences across five of the six dependent variables suggests that the likelihood of a hostile white response is greater in neighborhoods of comparatively low income.

TABLE 4.6

SPECIFIC COMMUNITY REACTION TO ENTRY OF FIRST NEGROES AND  
NEIGHBORHOOD INCOME, FOR INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOODS

(Per Cent of Households Living in Neighborhoods  
That Responded in Six Specific Ways to  
Arrival of First Negro Family:  
Data from Informants)

Community Reaction	Median Income (1960 Census) of Neighborhood		
	Less than \$6,000	\$6,000- \$6,999	\$7,000 or More
Panic . . . . .	12	19	9
Violence . . . . .	5	0	2
Churches were hostile or split .	20	4	5
Community organizations were hostile or split . . . . .	4	10	4
Brokers encouraged whites to leave . . . . .	20	6	13
Community organizations tried to keep Negroes out . . . . .	11	5	3

While this is hardly a novel finding, it raises additional questions that we unfortunately cannot pursue because of the small number of neighborhoods available for study. It is likely, however, that the effects of neighborhood income, the attitudes toward integration prevalent in the neighborhood, and the degree of Negro demand for housing in the neighborhood are so interrelated that the individual effect of any one of these three variables can be assessed only where it is possible to hold constant the other two. Thus, it may not be income per se but the greater likelihood that lower-income people will live in neighborhoods close to heavily Negro areas that accounts for a comparatively hostile response on the part of white residents to the process of racial desegregation. Given the comparatively low income of Negroes, it is precisely these lower-income white neighborhoods that they can afford.

We also cross-tabulated the six dependent variables by the length of time since desegregation had occurred (table not shown). Obviously, from a social policy point of view, it would be of interest to determine whether there have been changes over time in the reaction of communities to desegregation. There is evidence presented by Schwartz (1967) and Hyman and Sheatsley (1964) indicating a perceptible positive trend in racial tolerance among white Americans during the past generation. Insofar as our data accurately represent actual behavior, this positive trend in attitudes is not matched by similar changes over time in white reactions to the actual experience of residential racial desegregation. The proportion of neighborhoods reacting in each of the six ways we are considering is not associated with the time when desegregation occurred. Neighborhoods recently integrated are no more or less likely than those integrated in the past to have reacted with panic or violence, or to have experienced block-busting tactics on the part of brokers, or to have had churches and community organizations hostile to integration.

#### The Impact of Community Response

In the discussion above, we have implicitly viewed the type of community reaction to desegregation as an effect, stemming from a variety of potential causes such as Negro residential demand and the neighborhood's social status.

The data presented heretofore have been of two types. Using information provided by the neighborhood informants, we have assessed the response of the neighborhood, including the reactions of three types of community institutions: the churches, the community organizations, and the real estate industry (Table 4.3). In addition, in Table 4.4 we turned to the residents themselves to learn of the reaction to desegregation of those who were present when the first Negro families moved in. In the paragraphs that follow we shall establish a

link between these two types of data; that is, we shall determine whether the activities of the major neighborhood institutions were associated with the personal reactions of the families residing there.

Table 4.7 presents four different measures of personal response to integration classified by three different measures of institutional activity at the time integration occurred. To explain these data, we shall take as an example the top section

TABLE 4.7  
PERSONAL REACTIONS OF WHITE RESIDENTS TO ENTRY OF FIRST  
NEGROES AND REACTION OF COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS,  
FOR INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOODS

Reactions of Community Institutions at Time of Integration <sup>a</sup>	Personal Reactions of White Residents			
	Personal Position (Per Cent Opposed)	Emotional Reaction (Per Cent Worried)	Per Cent Who Thought of Moving	General Reaction (Per Cent Unhappy)
<u>Real estate brokers</u> <u>encouraged whites</u> <u>to leave:</u>				
Yes . . . . .	29 (66)	28 (60)	7 (75)	27 (74)
No . . . . .	19 (288)	14 (261)	2 (319)	20 (318)
<u>Churches favored</u> <u>the integration:</u>				
No . . . . .	26 (260)	20 (232)	4 (286)	25 (284)
Yes . . . . .	7 (66)	8 (66)	2 (74)	14 (74)
<u>Community organizations</u> <u>favored integration:</u>				
No . . . . .	23 (260)	18 (238)	3 (288)	25 (286)
Yes . . . . .	19 (69)	15 (64)	5 (76)	15 (75)

<sup>a</sup>Based on information from neighborhood informants.



of the table. There each resident is classified according to whether a majority of the informants for his neighborhood reported that real estate brokers "had engaged in practices that encouraged white families to move out." Residents of neighborhoods that were so classified were more likely than the other residents to have opposed the arrival of the first Negro families, to have reported that they were worried or afraid at the time, to have thought of moving at that time, and, in response to a direct fixed-response question, to have reported that they were "unhappy" when the first Negro families moved in.

Similar findings emerge when the other two measures of institutional response are employed. Residents are more likely to report negative reactions to desegregation of the neighborhood if it is not characterized as one in which the churches or the community organizations "generally favored the first Negro families moving into" the neighborhood.

It should be noted that this table is unique among those presented here because the data were provided by two different sources. The information regarding the neighborhood response was provided by the neighborhood informants, whereas the residents of the neighborhood provided the data regarding their own personal reaction to the desegregation event. The fact that these data come from independent sources eliminates the possibility that these associations are spurious, stemming from a response set on the part of the respondent.

The major point of Table 4.7 is reasonably clear: in neighborhoods where the chief institutions fail to respond positively or actually respond in a negative manner, the residents are more likely themselves to oppose the arrival of the first Negroes, to be unhappy about it, and to think of moving from the neighborhood. The interpretation of these data is somewhat more difficult, owing to the difficulty in establishing a causal relationship between two associated factors. Our tentative interpretation is a causal one--negative individual

responses of neighborhood residents at the time of integration flow at least in part from the absence of positive actions by neighborhood institutions and leaders. An alternative explanation is, of course, possible; namely, that institutional and individual responses are associated through some third antecedent factor.

Concluding our discussion on the impact of initial community response to desegregation, we turn to the crucial question of racial percentages. If it is true that the response of the community at the time desegregation occurs influences the course of later events, this should be most clearly documented in subsequent changes in the proportion Negro in the neighborhood. The previous table presented the reactions of the white residents who were present at the time desegregation occurred and who remained in the neighborhood. In choosing to study the present proportion Negro in the neighborhood, we are assuming that the rapidity with which whites leave the neighborhood and its ability to continue to attract new residents are affected by the events that accompanied the arrival of the first Negro families.

Our first evidence on this point was presented in Tables 4.2 and 4.3. There we compared neighborhoods that were presently integrated (those into which whites were moving) with Negro segregated neighborhoods (those into which whites no longer were moving). We noted that the latter had responded with greater panic and hostility to the process of desegregation than had the integrated neighborhoods. We inferred a cause-effect relationship in which the community's negative response to desegregation was a factor responsible for its present status as a segregated neighborhood. In the discussion that follows, we explicitly view the community response as an antecedent, causal factor and treat the current proportion Negro in the neighborhood as the dependent variable. The analysis is limited here to the 108 northern and western integrated neighborhoods. All data were provided by neighborhood informants.

The mean proportion Negro for all these integrated neighborhoods was 6.5 per cent.

Table 4.8 employs the six specific "reaction" items first introduced in Table 4.3; the dependent variable is the current per cent Negro in the neighborhood. For example, where a majority of the neighborhood informants answered "yes" to the question, "Was there any panic in the neighborhood?" (Informant Q. 36), Negroes accounted for 10.4 per cent of the population; in those neighborhoods where a majority of the informants answered "no," the proportion Negro was only 5.7 per cent.

TABLE 4.8  
PER CENT NEGRO IN NEIGHBORHOOD AND SPECIFIC COMMUNITY  
REACTION TO ENTRY OF FIRST NEGROES, FOR NORTHERN  
AND WESTERN INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOODS

Community Reaction	Per Cent Negro
<u>Panic:</u>	
Yes . . . . .	10.4
No . . . . .	5.7
<u>Churches favored the integration:</u>	
No . . . . .	7.7
Yes . . . . .	7.1
<u>Community organizations favored the integration:</u>	
No . . . . .	7.3
Yes . . . . .	7.7
<u>Real estate brokers encouraged whites to leave:</u>	
Yes . . . . .	20.6
No . . . . .	4.1
<u>At least one organization tried to keep Negroes out:</u>	
Yes . . . . .	11.0
No . . . . .	6.0

Consistent with earlier findings, the types of response most strongly associated with subsequent higher proportions of Negroes are the activities of the real estate brokers and the presence of organizations that attempted to keep Negroes out of the neighborhood. The greatest association is with the activity of the real estate brokers; in those neighborhoods where a majority of the informants responded "yes" to a direct question on whether real estate brokers encouraged whites to leave, the proportion Negro by the time of this study had climbed to 20.6 per cent, whereas where a majority responded "no," the proportion Negro was only 4.1 per cent. The reader should recall that this table includes only the integrated neighborhoods. The differences noted in Table 4.8 would undoubtedly have been greater had it also included Negro segregated neighborhoods where, as we recall from Table 4.2, the advent of the first Negroes was met with an unusually hostile response.

#### Interpretation and Summary

In this chapter we have adduced various types of evidence strongly indicating that neighborhoods where the arrival of the first Negro families is met by hostility and panic exhibit a more rapid rise in the level of Negro occupancy than do those where such reactions are not evident. We are able to state that this change occurred "faster" since, among these integrated neighborhoods, the length of time since desegregation is not related to the nature of the neighborhood response.

While the association seems clear enough, the interpretation is somewhat more complex. The first and simplest way of looking at the data is to assert, as we have done at various points in this chapter, that opposition to the arrival of the first Negro family breeds fear and anti-Negro feelings that then become the basis for a more rapid emigration of white residents from the neighborhood. This is a simple cause-and-

effect point of view, where white hostility is the "independent variable" that leads to a greater white exodus.

However, a second perspective is possible. Both of these types of behavior on the part of the whites--hostility at the time of desegregation and subsequent departure from the neighborhood--can be viewed as but two facets of the same general mode of response to prior third factors. Such a third factor might be the degree of Negro demand for housing in the neighborhood, which has two separate effects: a hostile response to the fact of desegregation and more rapid white emigration from the neighborhood. These two latter modes of response are associated, in this view, not because one causes the other but because they are both associated with Negro residential demand. A third point of view combines these two and will be summarized in the closing paragraphs of this chapter.

The way to determine whether the association between a comparatively hostile initial response and the present proportion Negro is spurious would be to control for the degree of Negro demand at the time desegregation occurred. If, among neighborhoods similar in the degree of Negro demand, a hostile white response was still associated with the current proportion Negro in the neighborhood, we would conclude that this relationship is a genuine one. Unfortunately, our data provide a slender reed on which to rely. First, as noted earlier, our measure of Negro demand is a contemporary one; we do not have a direct measure of the demand at the time desegregation occurred, which would be necessary for a satisfactory causal analysis. Second, because our two independent variables are so heavily associated themselves, the number of neighborhoods in one cell of the "minor" diagonal is very small.

As an example, the reader is referred to Table 4.9, which presents the current proportion Negro for northern and western neighborhoods. Each of two independent variables has been dichotomized. The demand variable is the current distance of

the neighborhood to the nearest Negro segregated neighborhood. The reaction variable is whether or not the community response was classified as one of "panic" by a majority of the neighborhood informants. The crucial comparisons are the vertical ones; we recall from Table 4.8 that Negro households comprised 10.4 per cent of the neighborhoods which reacted with panic and only 5.7 per cent of those which did not, a difference of 4.7 per cent. Table 4.9 suggests that this difference is reduced once account is taken of the fact that the neighborhoods reacting with panic are much more likely to have been one mile or less from the nearest Negro neighborhood than are those that did not react in this manner.

TABLE 4.9  
PER CENT NEGRO IN NEIGHBORHOOD AND COMMUNITY REACTION TO  
ENTRY OF FIRST NEGROES, BY DISTANCE TO NEAREST NEGRO  
SEGREGATED NEIGHBORHOOD, FOR NORTHERN AND  
WESTERN INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOODS

Community Reaction--Panic	Distance to Nearest Negro Segregated Neighborhood (in Miles)	
	1 or Less	2 or More
Yes . . . . .	12.2	4.8
No . . . . .	11.7	1.7

Note: The number of households residing in the 108 neighborhoods are distributed in the cells above as follows:

219	71
577	876

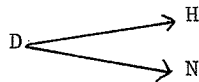
Clearly the independent and control variables are associated. Over 3/4 (219/290) of the households of neighborhoods that "panicked" live one mile or less from an all-Negro area. Among those who did not live in "panic" neighborhoods, only about 2/5 (577/1,453) lived in such a neighborhood.

Our interpretation of Table 4.9 (if we were more sanguine about the reliability of the data) would establish a causal chain in which propinquity to a Negro neighborhood produces greater panic when the first Negro families arrive in a neighborhood, and that this reaction is translated into behavior as whites leave the neighborhood and are replaced by Negroes. Unfortunately, this reduction of the original percentage difference does not occur when alternative measure of Negro demand (e.g., the maximum per cent Negro in adjacent neighborhoods) or neighborhood reaction (e.g., brokers encouraging whites to leave) are used. Perhaps the lack of consistency across various measures of the same concept can be attributed to the small sample size in one or another cell of the relevant tables. As it is, the figure of 4.8 per cent in Table 4.9 is based on a mere six neighborhoods that were classified as reacting with panic and being two miles or more from the nearest Negro segregated neighborhood.

Earlier we considered two possible explanations for the association between a hostile white response to desegregation and the present relatively high proportion Negro. The simplest one asserted that the association represented a genuine causal relationship where a hostile initial white response (H) creates the climate for subsequent white out-migration and increased levels of Negro residency (N). It can be diagrammed thus:

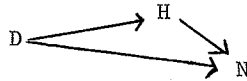


The alternative explanation says that the association is spurious, that both these phenomena are caused by high Negro housing demand (D) in the neighborhood. It can be diagrammed:



Although it is clearly going beyond the data at hand, it is probably accurate to adopt a third and more realistic

perspective with respect to these issues. Negro demand probably has a dual role, affecting racial change directly and indirectly. Directly, it produces a racial change independent of the neighborhood's particular reaction to the arrival of the first Negro family. Indirectly, demand yields racial change via the hostile response that it engenders at the time of integration. This dual role can be diagrammed:



It should be pointed out that our data and this discussion refer to neighborhoods that contain fairly few Negroes and that are not changing, i.e., those into which whites are currently moving. This perspective suggests that in predicting future stability for these neighborhoods or in studying changing communities, the degree of Negro demand and the initial neighborhood response are variables that cannot be ignored.

In addition, it seems clear that the conclusions drawn in this chapter will be reached with greater certainty only through longitudinal research. All of our data regarding the history of desegregation have been retrospective; we have relied entirely on individuals' recollections of these crucial past events and at times had to assume that current characteristics of the neighborhood pertained also at the time of desegregation. While these are standard procedures, they are still no substitute for a study design that gathers data about an integrated neighborhood at various points in its life.



## CHAPTER V

### THE CHARACTERISTICS OF RESIDENTS OF INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOODS

#### Introduction

Although many factors are involved in housing decisions, the critical variables are socioeconomic status, stage in life cycle, household size, religion, and ethnicity. In this chapter we relate these variables to living in integrated neighborhoods.

The most important single variable is income since a family chooses a neighborhood and dwelling only within the range of housing it can afford. As many fair-housing groups have learned, the Negro market for housing in integrated neighborhoods is limited by economic factors. An informant in an integrated neighborhood said, "We're all working hard to integrate it. We just don't seem to attract many Negro families." Another stated, "Our houses are in an upper economic level and Negroes don't have sufficient purchasing power." Conversely, an informant in a white segregated neighborhood put it this way: "They know they are safe [from integration] because the Negroes can't afford it."

Perhaps the most common criticism of social science is that it merely underscores what everyone already knows. The reader who looks at our description of the socioeconomic characteristics of households in integrated neighborhoods may find them exactly what he expected. We must confess, however, that the results surprised us, although in retrospect they are perfectly understandable.

We have naively expected that there would be only minor differences between the socioeconomic levels of open, moderately integrated, and substantially integrated neighborhoods, although we expected to find important differences in attitudes and family backgrounds. Our results, however, show major differences in socioeconomic level between open and substantially integrated neighborhoods, and some small, but consistent, differences between open and moderately integrated neighborhoods.

The median income in open neighborhoods is higher and the median income in substantially integrated neighborhoods is lower than the median income of all households in the United States. These income differences are not due to differences by region, size of place, or life cycle, but reflect the major income differences between Negroes and whites in the United States. As we show in Chapter VII, the cost of housing is lower in substantially integrated neighborhoods. Thus, these are the neighborhoods where a higher percentage of Negroes can afford to live. Most whites who live in substantially integrated neighborhoods also do so because they cannot afford higher priced housing. Nevertheless, the income levels of whites in moderately and substantially integrated neighborhoods are still higher than those of Negroes. An interesting reversal of this is seen in open neighborhoods, where the median income of the small sample of Negro households is higher than the median income of whites.

Since we controlled for income in selecting our white and Negro segregated neighborhoods, there are no meaningful comparisons between all integrated and all control neighborhoods. White segregated neighborhoods have median incomes between those for open and moderately integrated neighborhoods, because roughly three-fourths of the white households in integrated neighborhoods live in open or moderately integrated neighborhoods. The median incomes in Negro segregated neighborhoods are nearest to, but somewhat higher than, the median incomes in substantially integrated neighborhoods, since most Negro

households in integrated neighborhoods live in substantially integrated neighborhoods. Because most integrated neighborhoods are in northern metropolitan areas where household income is higher than in rural areas and in the South, the median income of households in all integrated neighborhoods combined is higher than the median income in all segregated neighborhoods.

There are some differences in life-cycle characteristics by neighborhood type, but these differences are small compared with those due to socioeconomic status, and smaller than one might have predicted. White households in open neighborhoods and white segregated neighborhoods are somewhat younger and larger than households in moderately and substantially integrated neighborhoods. Negro household heads in open and moderately integrated neighborhoods are older than household heads in substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods. The major difference among Negroes is in type of household. About seven of eight households in open neighborhoods consist of a husband and wife, compared to about half in substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods.

Religion and ethnicity are also related to living in integrated neighborhoods. Jews and Catholics are far more likely to live in integrated neighborhoods than are Protestants. Some of these differences, but not all, are due to the regional distribution of Jews and Catholics. That is, more Jews and Catholics live in the Northeast, which has a greater number of integrated neighborhoods. Some of the differences may reflect prejudice against Jews and Catholics in white segregated neighborhoods. Many of these neighborhoods exclude not only Negroes but also Jews and Catholics, or at least did so in the recent past. Finally, there is a relation between integration attitudes and religion that has often been noted.

A related pattern is observed when one looks at ethnic groups. The earliest immigrants to the United States, the

English and Scotch, are least likely to live in integrated neighborhoods, while the most recent immigrant groups are most likely to live in integrated neighborhoods.

#### Socioeconomic Characteristics

The socioeconomic characteristics of integrated and segregated neighborhoods are given in Tables 5.1 and 5.2. Table 5.1 gives the distribution of household income, education of the household head, occupation of the household head, and the median Duncan socioeconomic status score for white households, while Table 5.2 presents the same characteristics for Negro households. As has long been known, these four measures are all highly correlated with each other so it is not surprising that the differences by neighborhood types are consistent. The Duncan (1961) score is based on the prestige of occupations estimated by the level of education required and the income derived from them. We shall limit our further analysis in this chapter to median income figures, but give other social class measures here since they are used in other analyses.

Households in open neighborhoods consistently have the highest status on four measures of socioeconomic level and are substantially above the national average for all neighborhoods. Households in moderately integrated neighborhoods are slightly lower than open neighborhoods, but are still above the national average. Households in substantially integrated neighborhoods are far below the open and moderately integrated areas, and below the national average.

The results for Negroes and whites are presented separately since there are large differences in the economic levels of the control groups. White segregated neighborhoods were sampled to match the economic levels of white residents of integrated neighborhoods, while Negro segregated neighborhoods were supposed to control for the economic level of Negro residents of integrated neighborhoods. Since we selected control neighborhoods to match

TABLE 5.1  
SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF WHITE HOUSEHOLDS, BY  
NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE AND FOR THE UNITED STATES  
(Per Cent of Households)

Socioeconomic Characteristic	Neighborhood Type				U.S. <sup>a</sup>
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated	Negro Segregated
<u>Household income</u> (1966):					
Under \$2,000 . . . . .	5	4	8	14	9
\$2,000-\$2,999 . . . . .	4	6	5	8	2
\$3,000-\$3,999 . . . . .	5	4	7	9	11
\$4,000-\$4,999 . . . . .	6	4	7	9	8
\$5,000-\$5,999 . . . . .	8	8	9	12	10
\$6,000-\$6,999 . . . . .	9	8	10	10	7
\$7,000-\$7,999 . . . . .	10	9	9	12	10
\$8,000-\$9,999 . . . . .	18	19	19	9	16
\$10,000-\$14,999 . . . . .	22	22	17	10	16
\$15,000 or over . . . . .	13	16	9	7	11
Total . . . . .	100 (534)	100 (989)	100 (759)	100 (426)	100 (102)
N . . . . .	\$8,400	\$8,600	\$7,500	\$5,800	\$7,300
Median income . . . . .					\$6,800

(Table 5.1 continued)

TABLE 5.1--Continued

Socioeconomic Characteristic	Neighborhood Type				U.S. <sup>b</sup>
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated	Negro Segregated
<u>Education of household head:</u>					
8 years or less . . .	17	16	17	35	26
9-11 years . . . . .	19	15	20	22	18
12 years . . . . .	28	30	27	25	35
1-3 years of college .	15	14	14	9	5
4 or more years of college . . . . .	21	25	22	9	16
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(559)	(1,065)	(780)	(464)	(113)
Median years . . .	12.0	12.1	12.0	10.5	11.7
					12.2

(Table 5.1 continued)

TABLE 5.1--Continued

Socioeconomic Characteristic	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated	Negro Segregated
<u>Occupation of employed household head (April, 1967):</u>					
Professional . . . . .	16	19	18	8	15
Manager . . . . .	16	22	16	14	13
Clerical - sales . . . . .	13	13	11	11	9
Craftsman . . . . .	19	12	15	16	15
Operative . . . . .	12	11	10	16	17
Other . . . . .	24	23	30	35	31
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(593)	(1,108)	(853)	(494)	(122)
<u>Median Duncan socioeconomic status score . . . . .</u>					
	43	49	44	35	41
N . . . . .	(497)	(943)	(659)	(369)	(89)

<sup>a</sup> Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (1967, p. 23).

<sup>b</sup> Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (1967, p. 27).

TABLE 5.2--Continued

Socioeconomic Characteristic	Neighborhood Type			
	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated	Negro Segregated
<u>Occupation of employed household head</u> <u>(April, 1967):</u>				
Professional . . . . .	47	22	4	7
Manager . . . . .	11	6	6	3
Clerical - sales . . . . .	13	4	6	2
Craftsman . . . . .	6	20	12	13
Operative . . . . .	11	6	19	22
Service . . . . .	4	13	17	22
Other . . . . .	8	29	36	31
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(69)	(49)	(494)	(278)
<u>Median Duncan socioeconomic status</u> <u>score</u> . . . . .				
	67	44	18	16
N . . . . .	(69)	(49)	(493)	(278)

<sup>a</sup>Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (1967, p. 23).

<sup>b</sup>Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (1967, p. 28).



the income of integrated neighborhoods, the median income of the white segregated neighborhoods is \$8,400, which is between the median income of open and moderately integrated neighborhoods. It is clear that white residents in substantially integrated neighborhoods cannot be compared to residents in the white segregated neighborhoods without controlling for socioeconomic variables.

The economic level of Negro households in segregated neighborhoods is between that of Negro households in moderately and substantially integrated neighborhoods. Negro residents of open neighborhoods, whose economic levels are more comparable to whites in these neighborhoods, cannot be compared to the Negro control group without controlling for socioeconomic variables.

These socioeconomic status differences make our subsequent analysis more complex than we had originally expected. Mainly we shall compare whites in open and moderately integrated neighborhoods to whites in white segregated neighborhoods, and white households in substantially integrated neighborhoods will be treated separately. Similarly, we shall compare Negroes in moderately and substantially integrated neighborhoods to those in Negro segregated neighborhoods, and shall discuss our small sample of Negro households in open neighborhoods separately. Even comparisons between races in the same neighborhood type will need to take into account income differences.

Since Tables 5.1 and 5.2 are the first ones to use household respondents by type of neighborhood, a brief explanation of the weighting system may be useful here. Full details are given in Appendix A. In most of the tables in this monograph, although not those in this chapter, white and Negro residents in the same neighborhood type are combined. Since Negro residents were sampled at a rate of 2.5 times higher than that for whites, the weighting system usually gives them a weight of .4. The weighting procedure also weights segregated neighborhoods that were misclassified as integrated or vice versa because these

neighborhoods were sampled at different rates than the other neighborhoods of the same type. The Ns that are shown in the tables are generally weighted Ns with the following exceptions:

1. When, as in this chapter, Negro households are shown separately, the weighted N for Negroes in substantially integrated neighborhoods is multiplied by 2.5 to give an N that approximates the unweighted sample size. The weighted Ns for all white respondents and for Negro respondents in segregated neighborhoods are already very near to the unweighted Ns.

2. Usually we do not show separate figures for Negro households in open and moderately integrated neighborhoods. When we do, as in this chapter, they are based on a special nonprobability sample of Negro households, combined with our regular sample. In open and moderately integrated neighborhoods, interviewers were asked to get interviews with up to five Negro households, if available, even if they did not fall into the regular sample. This special sample was never weighted or used in combination with the white sample, so that the Ns for Negro households in open and moderately integrated neighborhoods are the unweighted Ns of this special sample.

#### Causes and Implications of Socioeconomic Differences by Neighborhood Type

Since the distribution of type of neighborhood varies by region and size of place and since there are known to be socioeconomic differences by these characteristics, one might expect that the socioeconomic differences between types of integrated neighborhoods would disappear when region and size of place are controlled. That these differences do not disappear is shown in Table 5.3, which gives median incomes for white households, controlling for five variables that are highly related to income. Median income is used to represent the other socioeconomic variables, which all behave in about the same way.

TABLE 5.3  
MEDIAN INCOME OF WHITE HOUSEHOLDS AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, BY REGION, SIZE OF PLACE,  
URBANIZATION, OWNERSHIP STATUS, AND NUMBER OF EARNERS

Item	Neighborhood Type			
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated
<u>Region:</u>				Negro Segregated
Northeast . . . . .	\$8,900 (197)	\$9,000 (680)	\$7,300 (446)	\$5,000 (87)
North Central . . . . .	7,300 (162)	9,000 (129)	8,700 (126)	7,000 (89)
South . . . . .	6,400 (111)	3,000 (48)	4,700 (51)	5,300 (206)
West . . . . .	10,500 (64)	6,900 (132)	8,200 (136)	7,300 (44)
<u>Size of place:</u>				
Ten largest SMSAs . . . . .	8,700 (233)	9,000 (414)	7,900 (388)	7,100 (150)
Other SMSAs . . . . .	8,100 (265)	7,900 (548)	7,300 (313)	5,800 (222)
Non-SMSAs . . . . .	7,800 (37)	11,400 (27)	5,300 (58)	4,000 (54)

(Table 5.3 continued)

TABLE 5.3--Continued

Item	Neighborhood Type			
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated
<u>Urbanization:</u>				
Central city of SMSA . . . . .	\$7,300 (194)	\$8,100 (423)	\$7,200 (321)	\$6,000 (192)
Suburb of SMSA . . . . .	9,400 (271)	8,900 (492)	8,100 (290)	6,400 (136)
<u>Ownership status:</u>				
Owner . . . . .	9,100 (385)	9,000 (599)	8,500 (415)	5,900 (286)
Renter . . . . .	6,600 (146)	7,800 (389)	6,500 (343)	5,700 (140)
<u>Number of full-time earners:</u>				
None . . . . .	3,500 (83)	3,100 (145)	3,100 (164)	2,100 (115)
1 . . . . .	8,400 (325)	8,600 (614)	8,000 (423)	6,500 (213)
2 or more . . . . .	11,100 (126)	11,600 (230)	9,800 (171)	7,500 (99)
				8,300 (25)

\$6,400 (32)

8,600 (58)

8,000 (72)

5,700 (30)

3,400 (24)

8,000 (52)

8,300 (25)

The regional patterns are a little confusing. In the Northeast, which has 40 per cent of all integrated households, and in the North Central region, we see exactly the same pattern as at the national level. In the South the pattern appears to reverse, but one cannot be sure if this is another confirmation of the historical differences between the South and the rest of the country that we discussed earlier, or if it is due to the extremely small number of sample households and neighborhoods in the southern sample of open and moderately integrated households. In the West the economic differences between types of integrated neighborhoods appear to vanish entirely.

Controlling for size of place and urbanization does not diminish the differences between income levels of open, moderately integrated, and substantially integrated neighborhoods, nor does controlling for ownership status or number of full-time earners. The number of full-time earners may explain the surprising finding that Negro households in open neighborhoods have higher median incomes than white households. In the small sample of Negro households in open neighborhoods, a higher percentage of both husbands and wives worked than in white households.

Although income differences between owners and renters do not explain differences in median incomes of integrated and segregated neighborhoods, we shall see in Chapter VII that there are differences in the percentages of owners and renters in these neighborhoods. The results suggest that these differences in percentages are effects rather than causes of income differences.

If none of these variables explains the differences in socioeconomic level by type of neighborhood, then what is the reason for the differences? We suggest that it is simply due to the current differences in the income distributions between Negroes and whites.

In the past, if not currently, it has been a general policy of real estate builders and sellers, as well as that of the United States government as expressed in FHA mortgage provisions, that neighborhoods should be homogeneous economically. (In the next chapter, we show that most integrated neighborhoods are economically homogeneous.)

Even if there were no racial discrimination in housing availability, the intersections of the two income distributions would be such that those neighborhoods that had a higher proportion of Negroes would generally have poorer whites. The differences in the income distributions between the races are well known. (See U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970.) These distributions are given for all U.S. white and Negro families and non-related individuals in the final columns of Tables 5.1 and 5.2 based on the 1966 Current Population Survey. For easier comparison, Figure 5.1 presents these distributions graphically.

It is obvious that there are many more poor Negroes, but this also means that there are very few Negroes who can afford expensive housing. The median income for Negro families and unrelated individuals is \$3,800, compared to \$6,800 for whites. What is more important for integrated housing decisions is the overlap in income distributions. The figure shows that the median (and mode) of the overlap distribution is about \$5,200. It is not coincidental that the \$5,500 median income of residents in substantially integrated neighborhoods is very near to the median of the overlap distribution.

We do not say, nor do we believe, that there is no housing discrimination. Most remaining white segregated neighborhoods still have substantial barriers to Negroes moving in, even if they are economically qualified. What we are saying is that even if all these barriers disappeared through legal action or changes in public opinion, there would still be severe economic barriers facing most Negroes who wished to live in open and moderately integrated neighborhoods.

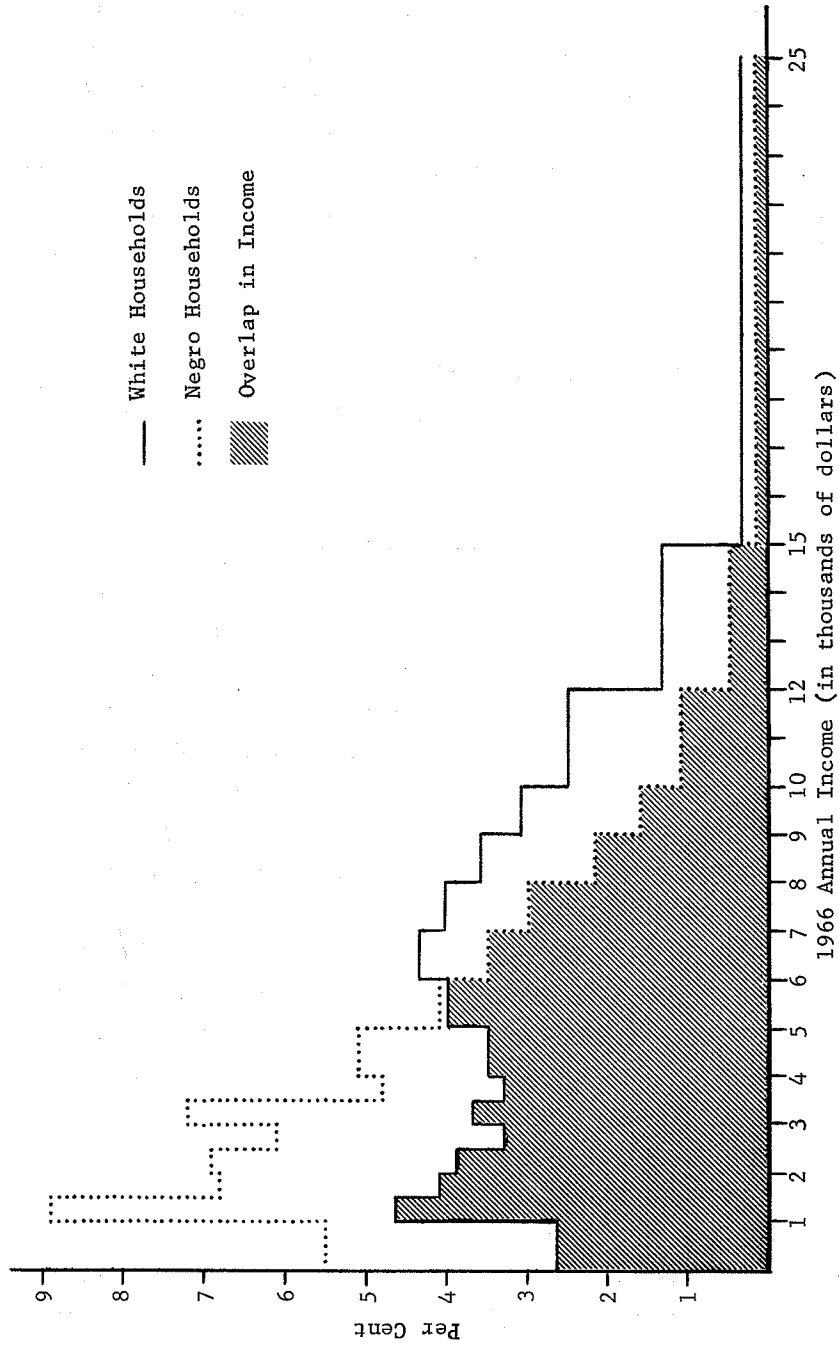


Figure 5.1--1966 Income Distribution of White and Negro Families and Unrelated Individuals and Overlap

These results are a sharp reminder that attitudes play a secondary role to economics in the housing market. The white residents of substantially integrated neighborhoods live there mainly because they can afford the housing in that area and cannot afford to move to other neighborhoods. They are not more likely to be pro-integration than are residents of open and moderately integrated neighborhoods, but, as will be shown in Chapter VIII, they are more likely to share the anti-Negro attitudes of white residents of changing neighborhoods than the attitudes of the higher-income whites in open and moderately integrated neighborhoods, who have a wider range of choices available.

#### Life-cycle Characteristics

Although there are differences in life-cycle characteristics between types of neighborhoods, they are small compared to the socioeconomic differences. Tables 5.4 and 5.5 give the distributions for age of household head, number of household members, presence of children, and type of household for white and Negro households in integrated and segregated neighborhoods.

White households in open neighborhoods are younger and larger than white households in moderately and substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods. The households in the white segregated neighborhoods are very much like the households in the open neighborhoods. The median age of household heads in open neighborhoods is 44, compared to 49 for household heads in substantially integrated neighborhoods and 51 in Negro segregated neighborhoods. About 60 per cent of households in open neighborhoods have one or more children, compared to about 50 per cent of households in substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods. Conversely, 17 per cent of households in substantially integrated neighborhoods consist of only a single person, compared to 10 per cent in open neighborhoods.



Among Negro households, on the other hand, residents of open and moderately integrated neighborhoods are about two to five years older than residents of substantially integrated and

TABLE 5.4  
LIFE-CYCLE CHARACTERISTICS OF WHITE HOUSEHOLDS  
AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE  
(Per Cent of Households)

Life-cycle Characteristic	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
<u>Age of household head:</u>					
Under 30 . . . . .	14	13	19	12	8
30-34 . . . . .	10	9	9	10	11
35-49 . . . . .	10	13	6	8	15
40-44 . . . . .	11	11	10	10	6
45-49 . . . . .	12	10	13	10	7
50-54 . . . . .	11	12	8	12	14
55-59 . . . . .	8	9	9	9	9
60-64 . . . . .	9	7	6	8	7
65 and over . . .	15	16	20	21	23
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(590)	(1,093)	(845)	(483)	(121)
Median age	47	44	47	49	51
<u>Number of household members:</u>					
1 . . . . .	11	11	16	18	14
2 . . . . .	27	27	30	29	30
3 . . . . .	19	20	20	16	19
4 . . . . .	19	19	15	17	23
5 . . . . .	14	11	11	8	8
6 or more . . . .	10	12	8	12	6
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(593)	(1,108)	(853)	(494)	(122)
Mean number	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.1	3.1

(Table 5.4 continued)

Table 5.4--Continued

Life-cycle Characteristic	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
<u>Presence of children:<sup>a</sup></u>					
Some preschool .	27	28	22	24	24
Some elementary school . . . .	30	31	25	26	25
Some high school	16	19	15	20	15
Some college . .	5	4	4	3	4
None . . . . .	40	40	47	50	48
N . . . . .	(590)	(1,093)	(845)	(483)	(121)
<u>Type of household:</u>					
Husband, wife, and children . . .	55	55	46	44	48
Husband, wife, no children . . .	22	21	24	22	25
Woman with chil- dren . . . . .	5	5	7	6	4
One person only (male or fe- male). . . . .	11	10	16	17	11
Other . . . . .	7	9	7	11	12
Total . . . .	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(593)	(1,108)	(853)	(494)	(122)

<sup>a</sup>Totals to more than 100 per cent because families have children in more than one category.

Negro segregated neighborhoods. Within substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods, the median age of Negro household heads is about ten years less than that of whites. In open and moderately integrated neighborhoods, there are almost no differences in the ages of Negroes and whites.

The major difference is in the type of household. About 85 per cent of Negro households in open neighborhoods contain at

least a husband and wife, compared to 55 per cent in substantially integrated neighborhoods. These differences in life cycle contribute slightly to the socioeconomic differences, but are probably more important in the effects they have on inte-

TABLE 5.5  
LIFE-CYCLE CHARACTERISTICS OF NEGRO HOUSEHOLDS  
AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE  
(Per Cent of Households)

Life-cycle Characteristic	Neighborhood Type			
	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
<u>Age of household head:</u>				
Under 30 . . . . .	6	15	26	22
30-34 . . . . .	10	17	10	14
35-39 . . . . .	16	12	11	11
40-44 . . . . .	18	10	12	20
45-49 . . . . .	12	8	14	8
50-54 . . . . .	10	9	11	6
55-59 . . . . .	9	4	6	7
60-64 . . . . .	9	6	6	4
65 and over . . . . .	10	19	4	8
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(69)	(49)	(488)	(273)
Median age . . . . .	45	43	41	40
<u>Number of household members:</u>				
1 . . . . .	7	22	13	11
2 . . . . .	25	24	24	22
3 . . . . .	11	17	14	16
4 . . . . .	21	13	14	19
5 . . . . .	21	9	14	13
6 or more . . . . .	15	15	21	19
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(69)	(49)	(494)	(278)
Mean number . . . . .	3.8	3.2	3.8	3.7

(Table 5.5 continued)

TABLE 5.5--Continued

Life-cycle Characteristic	Neighborhood Type			
	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
<u>Presence of children:</u> <sup>a</sup>				
Some preschool . . . . .	29	20	33	29
Some elementary school . . . . .	46	44	39	38
Some high school . . . . .	22	22	24	25
Some college . . . . .	6	6	2	2
None . . . . .	33	46	44	38
N . . . . .	(69)	(49)	(494)	(278)
<u>Type of household:</u>				
Husband, wife and children . . . . .	62	44	38	47
Husband, wife, no children . . . . .	24	17	17	16
Woman with children . . . . .	4	11	18	15
One person only (male or female) . . . . .	7	22	13	11
Other . . . . .	3	6	14	11
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(69)	(49)	(494)	(278)

<sup>a</sup>Totals to more than 100 per cent because families have children in more than one category.

gration behavior and attitudes. In particular these life-cycle characteristics affect school integration patterns. In substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods, the younger Negro families with school-age children who replace older white families with grown children obviously place an increased strain on the capacity of neighborhood schools. The age differentials between Negroes and whites may be one of the factors that reduce social contact between neighbors (see Chapter XIV).

Religion

Table 5.6 shows some important differences in religious affiliation between white households in integrated neighborhoods and in segregated neighborhoods. Perhaps the most striking difference is in the percentage of Jews. Only 1 per cent of white households in segregated neighborhoods are Jewish, compared to 9 per cent in open neighborhoods, and about 5 per cent each in moderately and substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods. This difference reflects not only a greater probability of Jews living in integrated neighborhoods, but possibly also the fact that in many neighborhoods that have no Negroes, Jews are not or were not very welcome.

The proportion of Roman Catholics is also about 10 percentage points higher in open than in segregated neighborhoods, but some of this difference is explained by regional variation, as seen in Table 5.7. In the South and West, where Catholics are a minority, the proportion of Catholics is higher in integrated than in segregated neighborhoods. The reverse is the case in the Northeast, where Catholics are a majority, but some of this may be due to the households who claim no religious affiliation. In the Northeast, where most Jews live, the differences between open and white segregated neighborhoods are even more striking than they are nationally. Only 1 per cent of Jews live in white segregated neighborhoods, compared to 13 per cent in open neighborhoods. In all regions, the proportion of Protestants is higher in white segregated than in integrated neighborhoods.

A roughly similar pattern is seen among Negroes in Table 5.8. In integrated neighborhoods, Negroes are more likely to be Catholic and less likely to be Protestant than in Negro segregated neighborhoods. This difference is particularly striking in the South, where 20 per cent of Negroes in substantially integrated neighborhoods are Catholic, while only about 2 per cent of Negroes in segregated neighborhoods are Catholic.

TABLE 5.6  
RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF WHITE HOUSEHOLDS AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE  
(Per Cent of Households)

Religious Affiliation	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated	Negro Segregated
Protestant . . . . .	47	28	34	39	36
Baptist . . . . .	13	5	5	20	9
Methodist . . . . .	12	6	6	6	5
Lutheran . . . . .	6	4	5	3	5
Presbyterian . . . . .	4	4	7	3	8
Episcopalian . . . . .	3	2	5	2	3
United Church of Christ . . . . .	4	4	2	1	4
Other Protestant . . . . .	5	3	4	4	2
Catholic . . . . .	35	44	38	41	37
Jewish . . . . .	1	9	6	4	6
Other religion . . . . .	4	3	2	1	2
No religious affiliation . . . . .	13	16	20	15	19
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(578)	(1,098)	(832)	(488)	(116)

The religion of households was determined by finding out what church they attended most frequently during the past year (Resident Q. 19F). Note that the percentage claiming some

TABLE 5.7  
RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF WHITE HOUSEHOLDS  
AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, BY REGION  
(Per Cent of Households)

Religious Affiliation	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
Northeast					
Protestant . . . . .	30	20	27	14	36
Catholic . . . . .	58	50	45	63	43
Jewish . . . . .	1	13	7	10	13
Other religion . .	3	1	2	2	0
No religious affiliation . .	8	16	19	11	8
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(213)	(766)	(510)	(103)	(39)
North Central					
Protestant . . . . .	46	44	42	37	* <sup>a</sup>
Catholic . . . . .	34	33	31	35	*
Jewish . . . . .	1	3	7	6	*
Other religion . .	4	6	2	1	*
No religious affiliation . .	15	14	18	21	*
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100	*
N . . . . .	(175)	(147)	(134)	(100)	(14)

(Table 5.7 continued)

TABLE 5.7--Continued

Religious Affiliation	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
	South				
Protestant . . . . .	82	70	72	56	48
Catholic . . . . .	4	18	13	34	39
Jewish . . . . .	1	0	2	0	0
Other religion . .	2	0	0	1	0
No religious affiliation . .	11	12	13	9	13
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(123)	(51)	(53)	(235)	(26)
	West				
Protestant . . . . .	39	41	36	7	32
Catholic . . . . .	22	28	29	44	22
Jewish . . . . .	3	1	2	2	5
Other religion . .	8	10	6	5	3
No religious affiliation . .	28	20	27	42	38
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(67)	(134)	(135)	(49)	(37)

<sup>a</sup>In this and all subsequent tables, asterisks indicate too few cases for reliable percentaging.

religious affiliation is highest among Negroes in Negro segregated neighborhoods and among whites in white segregated neighborhoods. A full discussion of church membership and of the role of churches in integrated neighborhoods is given in Chapter XI.



TABLE 5.8

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF NEGRO HOUSEHOLDS AND  
NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, FOR THE UNITED STATES  
AND BY REGION

(Per Cent of Households)

Religious Affiliation	Neighborhood Type			
	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
United States				
Protestant . . . . .	64	74	75	87
Catholic . . . . .	19	12	14	8
Other or none . . . . .	17	14	11	5
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(68)	(48)	(481)	(264)
Northeast				
Protestant . . . . .	66	77	80	80
Catholic . . . . .	17	13	5	8
Other or none . . . . .	17	10	15	12
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(46)	(31)	(101)	(67)
North Central				
Protestant . . . . .	*	*	75	78
Catholic . . . . .	*	*	10	20
Other or none . . . . .	*	*	15	2
Total . . . . .	*	*	100	100
N . . . . .	(19)	(10)	(156)	(46)

(Table 5.8 continued)

TABLE 5.8--Continued

Religious Affiliation	Neighborhood Type			
	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
	South			
Protestant . . . . .	-	*	76	95
Catholic . . . . .	-	-	20	2
Other or none . . . . .	-	-	4	3
Total . . . . .	0	*	100	100
N . . . . .	-	(1)	(170)	(132)
	West			
Protestant . . . . .	-	*	68	58
Catholic . . . . .	-	*	21	26
Other or none . . . . .	*	-	11	16
Total . . . . .	*	*	100	100
N . . . . .	(1)	(3)	(54)	(19)

#### Ethnicity

The ethnic distribution of white households in integrated neighborhoods is given in Table 5.9 for the United States and in Table 5.10 by region. A useful way of looking at these tables is to group the nationalities by how long they have been in this country. Thus, in Table 5.10 the English and Scotch are considered the earliest immigrants; the Irish, Germans, and Scandinavians are the middle wave; and the other nationalities are the most recent arrivals. While obviously this grouping is not totally correct, it provides some explanation for the interesting differences in ethnicity by type of neighborhood. Consistently, although the differences are small, in each region there is a higher percentage of households with English and

TABLE 5.9  
ETHNICITY OF WHITE HOUSEHOLDS AND  
NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE  
(Per Cent of Households)

Ethnicity	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
English, Scotch	25	18	23	20	23
Irish . . . . .	18	17	15	14	18
Scandinavian .	5	2	3	2	4
German . . . . .	20	21	18	14	15
Italian . . . . .	10	14	11	10	5
French . . . . .	4	4	4	16	13
Polish . . . . .	3	4	6	6	3
Russian, Eastern European . .	5	10	10	5	3
Other . . . . .	10	10	10	13	16
Total . .	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(558)	(1,078)	(828)	(440)	(116)

Scottish backgrounds in segregated than in integrated neighborhoods. Conversely, the percentage of households from the most recently arrived ethnic groups is higher in integrated than in segregated neighborhoods.

We suspect that our readers may find these results surprising, as we did. The daily news reports generally stress the conflicts between Negroes and the most recently arrived ethnic groups, while WASPs (white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants) do not have the same kinds of public conflicts that make news. Further reflection suggests, however, that public conflict between the newer ethnic groups and Negroes exist because they are

TABLE 5.10  
ETHNICITY OF WHITE HOUSEHOLDS AND  
NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, BY REGION  
(Per Cent of Households)

Ethnicity	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
Northeast					
English, Scotch .	25	17	23	8	26
Irish, German, Scandinavian .	33	35	30	29	44
Other . . . . .	42	48	47	63	30
Total . . .	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(219)	(762)	(513)	(102)	(43)
North Central					
English, Scotch .	16	14	14	22	*
Irish, German, Scandinavian .	55	56	59	35	*
Other . . . . .	29	30	27	43	*
Total . . .	100	100	100	100	*
N . . . . .	(170)	(139)	(130)	(91)	(13)
South					
English, Scotch .	28	20	20	27	21
Irish, German, Scandinavian .	46	60	43	30	25
Other . . . . .	26	20	37	43	54
Total . . .	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(103)	(45)	(49)	(201)	(21)
West					
English, Scotch .	38	27	29	11	26
Irish, German, Scandinavian .	12	21	15	26	23
Other . . . . .	50	52	56	63	51
Total . . .	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(66)	(132)	(136)	(46)	(39)

in competition for the same housing as well as for economic and political power. In some neighborhoods, particularly substantially integrated ones, this competition has led to a stable equilibrium, at least for the foreseeable future, regardless of the integration attitudes of white residents. In other areas, the conflicts have led to changing neighborhoods. Nevertheless, extrapolating our results into the future, it would seem that it is more likely that Negroes will be living with Poles and Italians than with Englishmen and Scots.

Some of the ethnic differences, but not all, are explained by income differences between the nationalities, as seen in Table 5.11. At the lowest income level, differences in the distribution of nationalities by type of neighborhood pretty much disappear, but at the highest income level, they show up once again. While we have been discussing ethnicity, we have really been using it as a shorthand way of characterizing social class factors that are not explained by education, income, and occupation.

#### Policy Implications

The wide differences in income levels between Negroes and whites, given the current economic homogeneity of almost all neighborhoods, limit the number of Negroes in open and moderately integrated neighborhoods even if more whites and Negroes are willing to live next door to each other.

In the recent past, it was impossible for middle- and upper-class Negroes to live in integrated areas even if they could afford it. As these restrictions are removed, economic barriers become increasingly important, as indicated by the many suburban fair-housing groups that search without success for Negro families to move in and desegregate their communities.

Obviously, one way of breaking down economic barriers is to increase the number of middle-class Negroes. Here the programs

TABLE 5.11  
ETHNICITY OF WHITE HOUSEHOLDS AND NEIGHBORHOOD  
TYPE, BY HOUSEHOLD INCOME  
(Per Cent of Households)

Ethnicity	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
Income under \$4,000					
English, Scotch .	24	14	24	20	34
Irish, German, Scandinavian .	32	35	34	22	24
Other . . . . .	44	51	42	58	42
Total . . .	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(71)	(138)	(141)	(114)	(21)
Income \$4,000-\$7,999					
English, Scotch .	21	15	21	18	13
Irish, German, Scandinavian .	46	49	36	37	36
Other . . . . .	33	36	43	45	51
Total . . .	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(163)	(281)	(259)	(163)	(31)
Income over \$8,000					
English, Scotch .	28	21	23	22	30
Irish, German, Scandinavian .	43	37	44	29	34
Other . . . . .	29	42	33	49	36
Total . . .	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(267)	(546)	(338)	(103)	(44)

that will prove most effective are those that increase the number of Negroes who receive college educations and professional degrees, those that increase the number of Negroes in skilled, technical jobs and in the crafts, and those that increase the number of successful Negro businessmen. The need for such programs has been felt and pushed more strongly by the Urban League and other black civil rights activists than by white fair-housing groups, and integration in housing has not been mentioned as an important aspect of these programs. It is clear, however, that the efforts to enact fair-housing laws and to attract a few Negroes into an all-white area will largely be wasted if there are not enough Negro middle-class families who can afford to live in integrated neighborhoods.

In later chapters, we shall point out other policy implications of our results. Since housing decisions are many faceted, and housing segregation has many causes, the development of an open housing market will require multiple approaches.

## CHAPTER VI

### VARIETY IS THE SPICE

I have often amused myself with thinking how different a place London is to different people. They, whose narrow minds are contracted to the consideration of some one particular pursuit, view it only through that medium. . . . But the intellectual man is struck with it, as comprehending the whole of human life in all its variety, the contemplation of which is inexhaustible.

James Boswell

(as quoted by Jane Jacobs, 1961, p. 143)

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.

Residents of integrated neighborhoods

### Introduction

In this chapter we show that integrated neighborhoods are more variable in religion, ethnicity, income, and education than white segregated neighborhoods. The meaning of this higher variability is not the same for all neighborhoods. Three explanations are possible:

1. Residents of these neighborhoods are attracted by the variability of the neighborhood.



2. Residents of white segregated neighborhoods prefer homogeneity, while residents of integrated neighborhoods are indifferent to it.

3. Variability, per se, is unimportant as a reason for selecting a neighborhood, but is related to other factors that are important.

How can one choose among these explanations? Our method was to estimate the variability of the neighborhoods from census and resident characteristics and then to ask the residents their perceptions of the variability in the neighborhood. The residents were also asked whether they preferred their neighbors to be pretty much the same or different.

In neighborhoods where variability was high but not perceived by the residents, we would argue that variability, per se, was unimportant. In neighborhoods where high variability was perceived but no sentiment for heterogeneity existed, we would characterize the residents as indifferent (but not opposed) to differences between neighbors. Finally, a minority of residents stated a preference for variety.

Our results suggest that residents of open and moderately integrated neighborhoods have some liking for, or at least do not fear, diversity in their neighborhoods. In other words, the willingness of whites and Negroes to live together reflects a more general willingness to interact with people of all kinds. A resident in one of these neighborhoods summed it up this way:

We live in a world where all kinds of people live. The easiest way to teach your children to live with these different kinds is to live in a neighborhood where all kinds live.

In substantially integrated neighborhoods, however, we see no preference for variability. Residents of these neighborhoods live there mainly because they are unable to afford housing in higher-income areas or because of historical reasons.

Although these neighborhoods may be highly variable on some characteristics, the residents perceive their neighborhoods as homogeneous.

These are statements about tendencies and do not hold, of course, for every resident of a neighborhood. As we have pointed out in earlier chapters, economic factors and housing needs play primary roles in the selection of a neighborhood in which to live. The integration of the community and the variety of neighbors are secondary factors. Within segregated neighborhoods there will be some people who prefer variety but have chosen a dwelling because other factors are more important. In integrated neighborhoods, conversely, there will be a substantial number of residents who dislike variety. It is clear, however, that residents of integrated neighborhoods do not reject variety, as do most residents of white segregated neighborhoods.

#### Measures of Variability

##### Data Sources

In this section we describe our measures of religious, ethnic, and socioeconomic variability. There are three possible sources for these statistics: 1960 census data, neighborhood informants, and the characteristics of the residents themselves.

For the socioeconomic variables--income and education--measures of variability are computed from 1960 census tract information. The sampling error in these estimates of variability is much smaller than in estimates based on the responses of informants or residents since there is no within-neighborhood sampling error, but there are two other possible sources of error. The census tract boundaries do not coincide with neighborhood boundaries so that, for some small neighborhoods, the variability in the tract may be higher than the variability in the neighborhood. There is also the possibility that changes since 1960 have increased or decreased the variability in

neighborhoods. Comparisons of previous successive censuses, however, show that changes in the socioeconomic characteristics of neighborhoods are small (even when the racial composition of the neighborhood changes), and that changes in variability are even smaller. These possible errors are small compared to the sampling error when the responses of neighborhood residents are used.

For our measures of religious and ethnic variability, we have been forced to use the residents' responses about their own characteristics. The census has not asked about religious affiliation because of protests by some religious groups. Census data on ethnicity are available only for foreign-born and first-generation Americans, and in many neighborhoods these data would completely distort the picture of the ethnic character of the area.

Another measure of variability could have been obtained from informants' (or residents') estimates of the religious or ethnic composition of their neighborhoods, but our results indicate that there is a general tendency in this situation to overstate the proportion of the dominant group and thus underestimate the variability. (Table not shown.)

The measures of religious and ethnic variability are subject to large sampling errors for any specific neighborhood, but the differences in variability between neighborhood types are far too large and regular to be due to sampling error. To avoid extreme errors in the variability measures, neighborhoods with fewer than five sample respondents were not classified.

#### Statistics Used

Because religion and ethnicity have multinomial distributions, a simple concentration index has been used--the proportion accounted for by the largest religious or ethnic group in the neighborhood. For measuring religious variability, all Protestant groups were combined, and all unaffiliated households

were also considered as one group. The smaller the proportion in the largest group, the higher the variability.

For the socioeconomic characteristics that are continuous variables, one would think of a parametric measure such as the variance or standard deviation. But for each of these characteristics, the variance is correlated with the average value in a neighborhood, so the variability measures used are relative variances. Relative variances are computed by dividing the variance in a neighborhood by the average squared:

$$V^2 = \frac{\sigma^2}{\bar{x}^2}$$

Some limited comparisons indicate that the same differences between white segregated, open, and moderately integrated neighborhoods would hold if simple variances had been used. In other words, the direction of the neighborhood differences would remain the same, although there would be changes in the actual values if different forms of the variance were used.

The differences between substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods are also not very sensitive to the use of absolute or relative variances. For socioeconomic characteristics, however, it is not possible to compare the variability of the higher-income white segregated, open, and moderately integrated neighborhoods with the lower-income substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods. There are such large differences in the means that neither relative nor absolute variance is satisfactory. Although we considered the use of variance-stabilizing transformations, we did not pursue this because other results indicated that variability, per se, was not salient in the housing decisions of residents in lower-income neighborhoods.

Neighborhoods are classified as having high, medium, or low variability for each characteristic. The specific boundaries used are given in the separate sections. These boundaries have

been chosen judgmentally with the aim of getting roughly equal sample sizes into each of the classifications. This criterion is sometimes violated because of the distribution of the variances. Again some limited experimentation has indicated that the differences between integrated and segregated neighborhoods are not affected by boundary values.

#### Religious Variability

In the preceding chapter we saw that there were higher percentages of Catholics and Jews in integrated neighborhoods. This does not tell us how much religious variability there is in specific neighborhoods. It might be that the Catholics or Jews live in mainly all-Catholic or all-Jewish neighborhoods. That this is not the case is seen in Table 6.1, which gives the religious variability by neighborhood type. Neighborhoods where the largest religious group was 70 per cent or more of the total population were classified as having low religious variability; those where the largest religious group was 51-69 per cent of the population were classified as having medium religious variability; and those where the largest religious group was less than half of the population were classified as having high religious variability.

Table 6.1 shows that there is a striking difference between white segregated neighborhoods and open and moderately integrated neighborhoods, with more than twice as many of the residents of the integrated neighborhoods living in neighborhoods with high religious variability. The expected differences between open and moderately integrated neighborhoods are also observed. If there is a linear relation between willingness to live in an integrated neighborhood and liking for variety, then moderately integrated neighborhoods should have higher variability than open neighborhoods. Fifty-four per cent of residents of moderately integrated neighborhoods live in neighborhoods with high religious variability, compared to 42 per cent

of residents of open neighborhoods and 22 per cent of residents of white segregated neighborhoods.

TABLE 6.1  
RELIGIOUS VARIABILITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE  
(Per Cent of Households)

Religious Variability in Neighborhood	Neighborhood Type			
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated
Low . . . . .	26	25	9	46
Medium . . . . .	52	33	37	24
High . . . . .	22	42	54	30
Total . .	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(573)	(1,096)	(852)	(654)

Table 6.2 indicates that religious variability is considerably higher in central cities of metropolitan areas than in suburbs and that the differences between integrated and white segregated neighborhoods are greatest in central cities. The sample sizes in nonmetropolitan areas are too small to take the results very seriously, but even here integrated neighborhoods exhibit more variability. The same pattern is also seen in all regions except the West. Evidently, the variety of religions is so great in California that just about everyone lives in a neighborhood with high variability.

The residents of substantially integrated neighborhoods do not fit well into this discussion. The choice of variety or homogeneity requires the economic means to implement that choice. As we have already pointed out, residents of substantially integrated neighborhoods are ordinarily there because the

TABLE 6.2  
RELIGIOUS VARIABILITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE,  
BY REGION AND URBANIZATION  
(Per Cent of Households in Neighborhoods  
with High Variability)

Region and Urbanization	Neighborhood Type			
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated
<u>Region:</u>				
Northeast . .	11 (217)	39 (763)	44 (514)	22 (139)
North Central	17 (172)	47 (150)	87 (133)	51 (155)
South . . . .	7 (115)	0 (51)	17 (53)	5 (286)
West . . . . .	91 (69)	70 (132)	72 (152)	46 (74)
<u>Urbanization:</u>				
Central city of SMSA . .	29 (227)	60 (504)	75 (435)	44 (395)
Suburb of SMSA . . . .	19 (308)	22 (563)	33 (356)	9 (190)
Non-SMSA . .	0 (38)	109 (29)	28 (61)	0 (69)

neighborhood offers housing they can afford. Rather than indicating a liking for variety, religious variability in substantially integrated northern neighborhoods is probably due to the fact that the Negro residents of these neighborhoods are usually Protestants while the whites are more likely to be Catholic. Similarly, ethnic variability, which we discuss next, cannot be measured well in substantially integrated neighborhoods since they contain a significant proportion of Negroes. In Negro segregated neighborhoods, there is almost no ethnic or religious variability since these areas are mostly Negro and Protestant. Therefore, these neighborhoods are excluded from

the tables. One result needs a special comment. Note that almost half of the residents of substantially integrated neighborhoods live in neighborhoods where religious variability is low. It may be seen in Table 6.2 that most of these residents live in the South, where religious variability is low because both whites and Negroes are Protestants.

#### Ethnic Variability

Ethnic variability is measured in the same way as religious variability; the higher the proportion of the neighborhood accounted for by the largest ethnic group, the lower the ethnic variability. Since there are more ethnic groups (fourteen were coded), the boundaries are slightly different. Neighborhoods with half or more of the residents having the same ethnicity were classified as having low ethnic variability; those with 40-49 per cent of the residents in the highest ethnic group were classified as having medium ethnic variability; and those with less than 40 per cent in the highest ethnic group were classified as having high ethnic variability.

Table 6.3 compares the ethnic variability of integrated and white segregated neighborhoods. Again, the greatest variability is seen in moderately integrated neighborhoods, with white segregated neighborhoods having the least variability. The differences here are smaller than those between neighborhood types for religious variability, and this may be due to the fact that the boundaries between various ethnic groups are not as sharp as those between religions. A more refined measure would attach Bogardus social distance scores (Bogardus, 1925) to each nationality and compute a variability score. We have not done this, but it would probably give sharper differences between integrated and segregated neighborhoods.



TABLE 6.3  
ETHNIC VARIABILITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE  
(Per Cent of Households)

Ethnic Variability in Neighborhood	Neighborhood Type			
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated
Low . . . . .	44	27	19	56
Medium . . . . .	8	19	17	22
High . . . . .	48	54	64	22
Total . .	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(564)	(1,091)	(848)	(634)

Socioeconomic Variability

If liking for, or less fear of, variety is a characteristic of residents of integrated neighborhoods, one would expect that these neighborhoods would be more variable on socioeconomic characteristics--income and education--as well as on religion and ethnicity, and this is generally the case, as shown in Table 6.4. The differences between integrated and white segregated neighborhoods are smaller, however, and in some cases vanish entirely.

For each characteristic, the relative variances have been grouped into low, medium, and high categories. As with religious and ethnic variability, the distributions of the socioeconomic variances are such that nonparametric classifications seem better than using regression procedures that require more rigid assumptions of linearity and normality, or transformations of variables.

For income variability, neighborhoods with relative variances of less than .40 were classified as having low variability;

TABLE 6.4  
INCOME AND EDUCATION VARIABILITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE  
(Per Cent of Households)

Variability	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
<u>Household income:</u>					
Low . . . . .	63	52	50	47	42
Medium . . . . .	22	38	29	38	30
High . . . . .	15	10	21	15	28
Total . . . .	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Education of house- hold head:</u>					
Low . . . . .	59	67	44	15	18
Medium . . . . .	29	25	31	26	22
High . . . . .	12	8	25	59	60
Total . . . .	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(585)	(1,110)	(867)	(689)	(494)

those with relative variances of .40-.49 were classified as having medium variability; and those with relative variances of .50 or higher were classified as having high variability.

Relative variances for education are larger. Neighborhoods with relative variances of less than 1.0 were classified as having low variability; those with relative variances of 1.0-1.49 were classified as having medium variability; and those with relative variances of 1.5 or higher were classified as having high variability.

Moderately integrated neighborhoods are more variable in income and education of household head than white segregated neighborhoods. In the latter, 63 per cent of residents live in neighborhoods with low variability in income, compared to 50 per cent of residents of moderately integrated neighborhoods. Also, 59 per cent of residents of white segregated neighborhoods live in neighborhoods with low variability in education of household head, compared to 44 per cent of residents of moderately integrated neighborhoods. The differences between white segregated and open neighborhoods are mixed and inconclusive.

When one looks at Table 6.5, which controls for urbanization, the results become clearer. In central cities, white segregated neighborhoods are less variable than open and moderately integrated neighborhoods in income and education of household head, and the differences are of the same magnitude as the ethnic and religious variability differences observed above. In the suburbs, however, the differences between these neighborhood types almost vanish.

Substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods again present a special problem for analysis. Relative variability in education of household head and variability in household income are far higher in substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods than in those neighborhoods with higher incomes, i.e., white segregated, open, and moderately integrated neighborhoods. This is an artifact resulting from our use of relative rather than absolute variance. When the means are lower, the same absolute variance becomes larger relatively. Comparisons between substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods show no difference in education variability, but do indicate a higher variability in income in Negro segregated neighborhoods. As we shall see in the next

TABLE 6.5  
INCOME AND EDUCATION VARIABILITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD  
TYPE, BY URBANIZATION  
(Per Cent of Households)

Variability	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
Central City of SMSA					
<u>Household income:</u>					
Low . . . . .	64	38	37	17	18
Medium . . . . .	13	47	47	58	24
High . . . . .	23	15	16	25	58
Total . . . .	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Education of household head:</u>					
Low . . . . .	64	18	27	16	18
Medium . . . . .	29	67	41	39	20
High . . . . .	7	15	32	45	62
Total . . . .	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(236)	(512)	(444)	(408)	(223)
Suburb of SMSA					
<u>Household income:</u>					
Low . . . . .	62	63	72	15	44
Medium . . . . .	31	32	13	13	44
High . . . . .	7	5	15	72	12
Total . . . .	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Education of household head:</u>					
Low . . . . .	63	5	68	13	20
Medium . . . . .	20	65	20	9	29
High . . . . .	17	30	12	78	51
Total . . . .	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(311)	(569)	(358)	(207)	(153)

section, this may reflect not only an acceptance of variety but also the fact that some higher-income Negro households are forced to live in lower-income neighborhoods because of discrimination.

Perceptions and Preferences for  
Neighborhood Variety

If neighborhood variability plays a role in the housing decision process, then residents must be aware of it. Table 6.6 gives residents' perceptions of the neighborhood variability in household income and education and a general notion of variability of children's backgrounds. Residents of open and moderately integrated neighborhoods consistently see their neighbors as more variable than do residents of white segregated neighborhoods. These perceptions agree with the actual measures of variability given in the preceding section.

Residents of substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods, when compared with residents of open and moderately integrated neighborhoods, perceive their neighbors as generally being less variable in income, although about as variable in education.

To round out this discussion, Table 6.7 gives residents' responses to the question, "Do you like the fact that people are pretty much the same [different] or would you prefer it if people were different [same]?" (Resident Q. 28). Residents of open and moderately integrated neighborhoods are more likely than residents of white segregated neighborhoods to have a preference for different people in the neighborhood. The results are a little sharper in the central cities of metropolitan areas than in the suburbs.

The majority of all residents prefer similar neighbors, and the differences between white segregated and integrated neighborhoods are small. This would suggest that most residents of

TABLE 6.6  
RESIDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF DIFFERENCES IN  
HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND EDUCATION AND IN  
SCHOOL CHILDREN'S BACKGROUNDS,  
BY NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE  
(Per Cent of Households)

Item	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
<u>Perceived income differences:<sup>a</sup></u>					
Same income . .	21	15	19	24	22
Differences of a few thousand dollars per year . . . . .	53	53	48	50	59
Very large dif- ferences . . .	26	32	33	26	19
Total . . .	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(532)	(965)	(735)	(592)	(209)
<u>Perceived educa- tional differ- ences:<sup>b</sup></u>					
Same education .	31	29	28	34	27
Small differ- ences . . . . .	57	54	51	48	50
Very large dif- ferences . . .	12	17	21	18	23
Total . . .	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(535)	(1,017)	(775)	(612)	(231)

(Table 6.6 continued)

TABLE 6.6--Continued

Item	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
<u>Perceived back- grounds of ele- mentary school children:</u> <sup>c</sup>					
Same background	70	56	61	69	61
Different back- ground . . . .	30	44	39	31	39
Total . . .	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(176)	(340)	(219)	(199)	(107)
<u>Perceived back- grounds of high school children:</u> <sup>d</sup>					
Same background	55	43	33	54	40
Different back- ground . . . .	45	57	67	46	60
Total . . .	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(149)	(196)	(122)	(138)	(66)

<sup>a</sup>Based on responses to Resident Q. 25.

<sup>b</sup>Based on responses to Resident Q. 27.

<sup>c</sup>Based on responses to Resident Q. 16B, which was asked only of respondents with children in elementary school.

<sup>d</sup>Based on responses to Resident Q. 16C, which was asked only of respondents with children in high school.

TABLE 6.7  
RESIDENTS' PREFERENCES FOR VARIETY AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE,  
FOR THE UNITED STATES AND BY URBANIZATION  
(Per Cent Who Prefer Different People)

Location	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated	Negro Segregated
United States . . . . .	27 (560)	34 (1,057)	80 (812)	23 (660)	34 (381)
<u>Urbanization:</u>					
Central city of SMSA .	28 (223)	40 (481)	30 (421)	27 (391)	33 (211)
Suburb of SMSA . . . . .	26 (291)	29 (549)	32 (158)	22 (194)	35 (145)



integrated neighborhoods mainly accept variety rather than positively liking it. An initial acceptance, however, may sometimes lead to positive liking over time.

Table 6.7 makes it clear that residents of substantially integrated neighborhoods do not prefer variety among neighbors. A smaller percentage of these mainly lower-class residents want different people for neighbors than do residents of white segregated neighborhoods. Residents of Negro segregated neighborhoods, on the other hand, prefer different neighbors as much as do residents of open neighborhoods, but economic and racial barriers thwart this desire.

#### Barriers to Variety

As Table 6.7 indicates, the majority of residents, even in integrated neighborhoods, prefer to live in homogeneous areas. There are many reasons for this. As we shall see in Chapter XIV, and as has been shown by Bogardus (1933), most people prefer their social contacts to be with others of the same social class and ethnic background. There is also the feeling that those similar to us will share our views on neighborhood concerns such as schools and political representation. The minority who prefer or are not afraid of heterogeneity do not wish to live in neighborhoods where no one shares their outlook on life. They are less concerned with background and more concerned with behavior. This majority preference has been institutionalized by mortgage and real estate groups and by past policies of the Federal Housing Administration in making mortgage insurance funds available. Thus, to quote from the FHA Underwriting Manual (as cited by Grier and Grier, 1966, p. 54, or Abrams, 1966, p. 523):

If a neighborhood is to retain stability, it is necessary that properties shall continue to be occupied by the same social and racial group.

The FHA did not invent this policy; it took it over from the real estate groups it served. The earlier effects were primarily aimed against Negroes, as Abrams (1966, p. 517) points out:

. . . the federal government, during the New Deal period, not only sanctioned racial discrimination in housing but vigorously exhorted it. From 1935 to 1950, discrimination against Negroes was a condition of federal assistance. More than 11 million homes were built during this period, and this federal policy did more to entrench housing bias in American neighborhoods than any court could undo by a ruling. It established a federally sponsored mores for discrimination in suburban communities in which 80 per cent of all new housing is being built and fixed the social and racial patterns in thousands of new neighborhoods.

Although today the official federal policy is open housing for all races, religions, and ethnic groups, the policies in effect during the great building boom after World War II established homogeneous areas that still retain their initial compositions. With few exceptions, the current real estate and mortgage policies still insist on economic homogeneity. A family that wanted to live in a neighborhood with high variability in housing value would have great difficulty in finding such a neighborhood that met their other needs. What may not be as evident is that the policy of economic homogeneity is currently one of the barriers to integrated housing.

If integration is a national goal, the economic diversity of neighborhoods could be encouraged rather than discouraged by governmental actions. This could be done most effectively at the federal level through revisions in the financing practices of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. At the local level, zoning could be made sufficiently flexible to allow good houses to exist side by side although they varied in price, size, or kind. Fair-housing groups may play a major role in developing public and governmental attitudes that are more hospitable to economically varied neighborhoods.

As the results of this chapter have shown, there are a large number of families who find ethnic, religious, and racial variety to be the spice of life. Many of these people would also enjoy greater economic variability in their neighborhoods if they had the chance. It is still true, however, that a majority of people at this time prefer economic, as well as racial, ethnic, and religious homogeneity.

Much of the preference for economic homogeneity is based on the fear that a heterogeneous neighborhood must lower property values. This fear is not irrational when supported by government actions that reinforce it. However, just as in the case of integrated neighborhoods, there is no intrinsic reason why heterogeneity must cause property values to be lowered. Changes in behavior by federal and local governmental housing agencies should make it possible to start developing economically heterogeneous neighborhoods for those who want them.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE CHARACTERISTICS OF HOUSING AND THE HOUSING MARKET

#### Introduction

Since housing choice is so dependent on available income, the characteristics of housing in integrated and segregated neighborhoods reflect the socioeconomic differences seen in Chapter V. There is the persistent belief, seemingly resistant to all refutation, that property values go down when an area becomes integrated. The results of Laurenti (1960) and others, however, show no differences in the values of housing after controlling for social class. Substantially integrated neighborhoods do have lower priced housing than do open and white segregated neighborhoods, but this is probably a cause rather than an effect of integration. The price of housing in these substantially integrated neighborhoods was low enough originally for the moves to be economically possible.

It is important to remember that this is a study of stable integrated neighborhoods and not of changing neighborhoods. If a neighborhood panics and a large number of white residents put their houses on the market simultaneously, then the sudden increase in supply can certainly cause a depression in price until this supply is absorbed. This process can be accentuated if there are block-busters working in the community. In the stable integrated neighborhoods that we studied, we saw very little evidence of even short-term depressions in housing value when the first Negro families moved in.

There are some important differences between integrated and segregated neighborhoods in the kinds of housing, although not in the value. These differences are large enough to shed some

light on a long-standing argument about the effect that renting versus owning has on integration. On the one hand, it can be argued that it is much harder to integrate rental housing because it is so easy for white tenants to move; the opposing view is that since tenants do not have to worry about property values, and since they are less likely to interact with other residents in the neighborhood, they are more likely to stay.

Our results indicate that integrated neighborhoods have a higher proportion of renters than white segregated neighborhoods, but this is not necessarily due to white renter attitudes. The income distribution of Negro households is a major factor in the greater integration of rental units. Given lower incomes and the greater difficulty Negro families have in obtaining mortgages, they are more likely to rent than to own their homes. We should note, however, that although the proportion of renters is higher in integrated than in segregated neighborhoods, the majority of white residents in all kinds of integrated neighborhoods are homeowners. Only among Negroes in substantially integrated neighborhoods are renters a majority.

Another important difference between integrated and segregated neighborhoods is that segregated neighborhoods are more likely to have been developed by a single builder. Initially, it is easier to keep a neighborhood closed to Negroes if there is only a single source of supply. Another factor may be the attitude toward variety noted in the previous chapter. Houses of a single builder are more likely to be limited in style and size and thus appeal to those buyers who prefer homogeneity.

#### Owners and Renters

Although the majority of residents of integrated areas are homeowners, there is a higher proportion of renters in integrated areas than in the United States as a whole. On the other hand, in white and Negro segregated neighborhoods the proportion of homeowners is higher than the national average.

Table 7.1 gives the results for the United States and by region, size of place, and urbanization. As may be seen, 56 per cent of residents of moderately integrated neighborhoods and 61 per cent of residents of open neighborhoods are homeowners, compared to 73 per cent of residents of white segregated neighborhoods. (The national average at the time of the study in 1967 was about 64 per cent.)

These differences exist in each region and type of place with one exception. In suburbs of metropolitan areas, about 80 per cent of residents of both white segregated and open neighborhoods are owners, but even here the percentage of owners in moderately integrated neighborhoods is lower (71 per cent). The strongest differences are observed in the central cities of the largest metropolitan areas, where 40 to 45 per cent of the residents of open and moderately integrated neighborhoods are owners, while 61 per cent of the residents of white segregated neighborhoods are owners.

The same differences are observed when households in substantially integrated neighborhoods are compared to households in Negro segregated neighborhoods. Although the differences are not quite as large, they are consistent over region except in the South, with its different historical patterns.

The largest observed difference is between whites and Negroes in substantially integrated neighborhoods. About two-thirds of all whites, but less than half of all Negroes, own their homes. Although some of this difference may be explained by the difference in median incomes (\$5,800 for white households, \$4,000 for Negro households), the inability of Negro households to obtain home financing is also an important factor. We shall discuss this in greater detail later in the chapter.

The relations between central cities and suburbs are complex. Among Negroes, in central cities of metropolitan areas there are more renters in substantially integrated than in

TABLE 7.1  
OWNERSHIP STATUS AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, FOR THE UNITED STATES  
AND BY REGION, SIZE OF PLACE, AND URBANIZATION  
(Per Cent of Owner-occupied Households)

Item	Neighborhood Type					
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated		Negro Segregated
				White	Negro	
United States . . . . .	73 (590)	61 (1,107)	56 (851)	66 (493)	46 (490)	71 (122) 57 (282)
<u>Region:</u>						
Northeast . . . . .	78 (220)	63 (773)	57 (524)	44 (104)	22 (105)	79 (43) 70 (69)
North Central . . . . .	70 (179)	54 (150)	66 (135)	64 (100)	42 (162)	* (14) 78 (51)
South . . . . .	77 (115)	59 (53)	53 (51)	80 (235)	63 (170)	51 (26) 42 (138)
West . . . . .	59 (68)	56 (135)	46 (153)	55 (53)	51 (52)	60 (25) 61 (23)

(Table 7.1 continued)

TABLE 7.1--Continued

Item	Neighborhood Type					
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated		Negro Segregated
				White	Negro	
<u>Size of place:</u>						
Ten largest SMSAs . .	66 (250)	45 (473)	52 (452)	58 (177)	37 (195)	67 (81)
Other SMSAs . . . . .	77 (294)	74 (607)	62 (348)	66 (255)	49 (255)	52 (197)
Non-SMSAs . . . . .	90 (38)	41 (29)	52 (65)	91 (58)	70 (40)	* (4)
<u>Urbanization:</u>						
Central city of SMSA	61 (234)	40 (511)	45 (444)	56 (266)	38 (357)	52 (181)
Suburb of SMSA . . .	80 (318)	81 (567)	71 (342)	73 (169)	66 (92)	65 (91)



segregated neighborhoods, but in suburban areas there are no differences in home ownership between these two types of neighborhoods. Among whites, the proportion of renters is higher in suburban substantially integrated neighborhoods than in suburban Negro segregated neighborhoods. In central cities, however, the pattern is reversed, and the proportion of white renters is higher in the Negro segregated neighborhoods.

We interpret these complex patterns as resulting from interacting forces. First, given the different income distributions of Negroes and whites, it is easier for Negroes to rent than to buy. Therefore, there will be more Negroes in the market for housing in neighborhoods that contain both rental and owner-occupied units than in neighborhoods without rental units. Second, white renters are less sensitive than white owners to the presence of a low proportion of Negroes in the neighborhood. Renters are less likely to come in contact with other neighborhood residents, and many white renters are probably unaware that there are Negroes in the neighborhood. Nor do renters have any particular fears about property values declining. Third, many rental units are under some form of central control by management agents for absentee owners or trusts. A relatively few individuals can decide that relatively many rental units are to be opened to Negroes. Thus, the combination of these three forces makes it easier to integrate a white segregated neighborhood if it has some rental units.

On the other hand, a neighborhood with many rental units is also more likely to change and become Negro segregated. If this neighborhood is located near other Negro segregated neighborhoods and is under pressure from the expanding Negro ghetto, then the same factors that operated to integrate white segregated neighborhoods will operate to segregate this changing neighborhood. Renters have greater mobility than owners and can move more quickly than owners can sell their property. Since renters have less involvement with the neighborhood and

know fewer people in it, there is less restraint on moving. Finally, as whites leave, their places are taken by Negroes who can afford the rentals.

A full discussion of the factors that cause some neighborhoods to become integrated while others resist integration and that cause neighborhoods to change while others remain stable is presented in the final chapter. Clearly, however, the proportion of renters in the neighborhood is one of the significant factors influencing the pattern of integration or segregation.

#### Housing Values

In this section we discuss the comparative housing values in integrated and segregated neighborhoods and for Negroes and whites. At best our conclusions are tentative. While renters know their current monthly rentals, owners of single-family homes are not perfect judges of the values of their residences. Nevertheless, we use owners' reports of the values of their homes because we believe that these estimates are more closely related to the true but unknown housing values than outdated census results from 1960, current monthly mortgage payments, or the cost of the home when purchased.

Our measures of housing features are also imperfect since they cover only the number of bedrooms and bathrooms, the availability of parking or garage facilities, and, for renters, the quality of janitor service. These measures do not take into account size of rooms, room arrangement, fixtures, heating and cooling, noise, and many other factors that are part of the total housing package. Still, the measures we use are superior to a more general measure of housing size since respondents who are asked only about the total number of rooms usually do not know whether or not to include pantries, closets, utility rooms, and bathrooms.

Table 7.2 presents the owners' perceptions of the current values of their homes, and Table 7.3 gives the renters' reports of their monthly rent. Table 7.4 shows what they get for their money in number of bedrooms and bathrooms, in parking or garage facilities, and, for renters, in janitor service. This table is divided into two halves with owners and renters shown separately since rental units are generally smaller. In discussing these tables we consider separately the higher-income neighborhoods (white segregated, open, and moderately integrated) and the lower-income neighborhoods (substantially integrated and Negro segregated).

The results indicate that, for owners in the higher-income neighborhoods, housing quality is closely related to price and that there are no differences between the integrated and white segregated neighborhoods. That is, one neither pays a penalty nor receives a premium for living in an open or moderately integrated neighborhood. As may be seen in Table 7.2, perceived housing value is highest in open neighborhoods, with a median value of \$22,000, while white segregated and moderately integrated neighborhoods are both slightly lower with a median value of \$19,000. The differences are consistent with the income distributions of the neighborhoods which indicate that household income is higher in open neighborhoods. (See Chapter V.)

Table 7.4 shows that the median number of bedrooms in owner-occupied units in the higher-income neighborhoods is in the narrow range of 3.1 for open neighborhoods to 2.9 in white segregated and moderately integrated neighborhoods. Obviously, these neighborhood differences are trivial, as are the differences in the number of bathrooms and in parking facilities.

For renters, however, there are differences in the median rent between open, moderately integrated, and white segregated neighborhoods (Table 7.3). While the difference between open and moderately integrated neighborhoods can be explained by income differences among the residents, the median rent of \$82 per

TABLE 7.2  
ESTIMATED VALUE OF HOMES AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE  
(Per Cent of Households)

Estimated Value	Neighborhood Type					
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated		Negro Segregated
				White	Negro	
Under \$10,000 . . . . .	13	10	14	41	40	17
\$10,000-\$14,999 . . . . .	15	13	17	19	17	11
\$15,000-\$19,999 . . . . .	25	20	23	17	14	16
\$20,000-\$24,999 . . . . .	15	19	16	7	9	24
\$25,000 or more . . . . .	32	38	30	16	20	32
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(395)	(603)	(431)	(278)	(198)	(79)
Median value . . . . .	\$19,000	\$22,000	\$19,000	\$12,000	\$13,000	\$21,000
						\$14,000

TABLE 7.3  
MONTHLY RENTAL COSTS AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE  
(Per Cent of Households)

Rental Costs	Neighborhood Type					
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated		Negro Segregated
				White	Negro	
Under \$50 . . . . .	12	8	8	29	34	26 41
\$50-\$74 . . . . .	30	16	21	29	32	26 38
\$75-\$99 . . . . .	28	18	25	18	14	36 6
\$100-\$124 . . . . .	15	18	23	11	14	6 7
\$125-\$149 . . . . .	11	14	14	10	4	3 7
\$150 or more . . . . .	4	26	9	3	2	3 1
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100	100	100 100
N . . . . .	(157)	(422)	(367)	(163)	(259)	(36) (119)
Median rent . . . . .	\$82	\$111	\$96	\$68	\$62	\$74 \$56

TABLE 7.4  
NUMBER OF BEDROOMS AND BATHROOMS, PARKING FACILITIES, AND JANITOR SERVICE,  
BY NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE AND OWNERSHIP STATUS  
(Per Cent of Households)

Item	Neighborhood Type						
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated		Negro Segregated	
				White	Negro	White	Negro
Owner							
Number of bedrooms:							
0-1 . . . . .	2	2	3	5	3	1	4
2 . . . . .	28	16	25	34	37	51	36
3 . . . . .	51	56	52	44	43	45	40
4 . . . . .	13	22	14	11	13	3	18
5 or more . . . . .	6	4	6	6	4	0	2
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(425)	(673)	(488)	(322)	(225)	(74)	(161)
Median . . . . .	2.9	3.1	2.9	2.8	2.7	2.4	2.8

(Table 7.4 continued)



TABLE 7.4--Continued

Item	Neighborhood Type					
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated		Negro Segregated
				White	Negro	
<u>Number of bathrooms:</u>						
0-1 . . . . .	98	90	93	96	96	87 97
2 . . . . .	2	9	6	4	3	10 3
3 or more . . . . .	0	1	1	0	1	3 0
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100	100	100 100
N . . . . .	(156)	(434)	(376)	(166)	(262)	(35) (123)
<u>Garage, carport, or off-street parking available</u>						
able . . . . .	65	52	53	56	36	59 37
N . . . . .	(155)	(432)	(369)	(166)	(258)	(35) (123)
<u>Quality of janitor service:</u>						
Very good . . . . .	36	40	41	46	40	31 6
Good . . . . .	26	34	31	21	22	38 56
Fair . . . . .	16	13	17	15	22	8 25
Poor . . . . .	22	13	11	18	16	23 13
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100	100	100 100
N . . . . .	(51)	(252)	(190)	(55)	(55)	(13) (16)



month in white segregated neighborhoods is still substantially below that of \$96 per month in moderately integrated neighborhoods, and far below that of \$111 per month in open neighborhoods.

It is possible that the low median rent in white segregated neighborhoods is due to sampling variability. The estimate is based on a smaller sample than the other estimates because less than 30 per cent of residents in these neighborhoods are renters, so that all estimates about renters must be treated cautiously. Still, there are no meaningful differences in the quality of rental housing in white segregated, open, and moderately integrated neighborhoods. As shown in Table 7.4, the median number of bedrooms is 1.8 in white segregated and open neighborhoods and 1.7 in moderately integrated areas. Renters in white segregated neighborhoods are more likely to have parking facilities than are renters in integrated neighborhoods, but they are also more likely to be dissatisfied with their janitor service.

Nor are these differences due to variations in rents by region, size of place, urbanization, or age of structure. As we can see in Table 7.5, which gives the median monthly rent by neighborhood type, controlling for each of these variables, the differences between integrated and white segregated neighborhoods are consistent for all variables where the sample sizes are large enough to give an estimate. As one would expect, median rent declines as buildings get older, and are higher in the larger cities than in smaller cities or suburbs.

Not only does controlling for region, size of place, urbanization, and age of structure fail to explain the differences between integrated and segregated neighborhoods, but the consistency of the differences makes it less likely that they are due to statistical variability. What then are the causes of these differences? We would suggest a simple economic explanation. Given a fixed supply of a commodity, in this case, rental

TABLE 7.5  
MEDIAN MONTHLY RENT AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE,  
BY REGION, SIZE OF PLACE, URBANIZATION,  
AND AGE OF STRUCTURE

Item	Neighborhood Type		
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated
<u>Region:</u>			
Northeast . . . . .	\$70 (47)	\$117 (275)	\$ 91 (219)
North Central . . . . .	97 (54)	127 (67)	122 (47)
South . . . . .	63 (26)	58 (21)	73 (25)
West . . . . .	87 (28)	88 (59)	107 (73)
<u>Size of place:</u>			
Ten largest SMSAs . . . . .	79 (85)	130 (250)	98 (205)
Other SMSAs . . . . .	87 (65)	73 (155)	91 (129)
Non-SMSAs . . . . .	* (4)	* (17)	99 (30)
<u>Urbanization:</u>			
Central city of SMSA . . . . .	86 (91)	117 (307)	94 (246)
Suburb of SMSA . . . . .	78 (64)	83 (110)	104 (98)
<u>Age of structure (in years):</u>			
0-9 . . . . .	83 (25)	133 (73)	103 (59)
10-19 . . . . .	* (15)	130 (41)	123 (41)
20-39 . . . . .	69 (29)	114 (121)	89 (49)
40-49 . . . . .	83 (22)	105 (55)	88 (40)
50 or more . . . . .	68 (33)	83 (67)	72 (100)

units, the price will tend to increase as the market expands. In open and moderately integrated neighborhoods, where rental units are available to both Negroes and whites, there will be a larger market for rental units. With this increased demand, the rents will be higher than for comparable housing in white segregated neighborhoods, where the market is restricted to whites. It should also be noted that because of discrimination, as well as for economic reasons, Negroes have less chance of owning a house and fewer alternatives in the rental market, and are often compelled to pay higher rents. Thus, landlords who restrict their housing are paying a penalty for doing so while white renters receive a premium in lower rents.

We return now to Tables 7.2, 7.3, and 7.4 for a look at the lower-income neighborhoods. There are no differences of any consequence among Negroes, either as owners or renters, between substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods. Note, however, that the housing values and rents in these neighborhoods are considerably below those in white segregated, open, and moderately integrated neighborhoods and reflect the differing income distributions. Correspondingly, the quality of housing is lower. For owners, the median number of bedrooms, the number of bathrooms, and the availability of a garage or off-street parking are less for substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods than for white segregated, open, and moderately integrated neighborhoods.

Among renters, the same differences are observed with one interesting exception. The number of bathrooms, parking availability, and quality of janitor service are superior in white segregated, open, and moderately integrated neighborhoods, but the substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods have apartments with more bedrooms. As we shall see in Table 7.9, this reflects the fact that apartments in substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods are generally older, and older apartments are generally larger.

The differences between whites in substantially integrated neighborhoods and in Negro segregated neighborhoods are intriguing, but the number of white households in Negro segregated neighborhoods is so small, particularly after separating owners and renters, that any results must be highly tentative. Almost no differences are seen in rent paid or quality of housing between white renters in substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods. Among white owners, the median value of \$21,000 in Negro segregated neighborhoods is considerably higher than the \$12,000 median value in substantially integrated neighborhoods and is in fact higher than the median value in all except the open neighborhoods. However, the number of bedrooms in white owner-occupied housing in Negro segregated neighborhoods is lower than in any other type of neighborhood. This would suggest that white owners in Negro segregated neighborhoods value their property more highly than do owners in other neighborhoods, and may help to explain why they are still living in the neighborhood. It is interesting to speculate, but we have no way of knowing whether the high valuations of property in Negro segregated (changing) neighborhoods are causes or effects of the neighborhood's change, or are related to still other more basic variables. Here, as well as at many other points in this study, one wishes that there were more economic data available about changing neighborhoods, but that must wait for some future research. In this study we chose to concentrate on the stable integrated neighborhoods.

#### Housing-Value Judgments

Both residents and informants were asked a similar question about housing value in the neighborhood:

Considering both price and quality, how would you rate the housing value in this neighborhood--that is, what you get for your money? Is it over-priced, about right, or is it a particularly good value? [Resident Q. 42.]

Informants were asked to rate the housing value "compared to other neighborhoods in the metropolitan area/county" (Informant Q. 19).

Although this is a global question whose limitations are fully recognized, the differences between neighborhood types are still meaningful. There are also major differences between owners and renters, whites and Negroes, on this question so we show these groups separately. As one would expect, renters are more likely than owners to think that housing is overpriced, since for them housing is only an expense while for owners it is also an investment.

Not so obvious is the feeling of Negro residents, both owners and renters, that housing in their neighborhoods is overpriced. As we have seen in Tables 7.2, 7.3, and 7.4, Negro owners in substantially integrated neighborhoods perceive their own home as being worth about the same as those owned by whites in substantially integrated neighborhoods. There are no significant differences either in the rents paid by Negroes or by whites in substantially integrated neighborhoods or in the number of bedrooms in either owned or rented housing. There are some differences, however, in the number of bathrooms and in parking facilities for Negroes and whites in substantially integrated neighborhoods. Thirty-five per cent of white homeowners, but only 14 per cent of Negro homeowners, have two or more bathrooms. Both white owners and renters are more likely to have parking facilities than are Negro owners and renters.

We do not believe that the differences in bathrooms and parking facilities are responsible for more than a small part of the different housing-value judgments of Negroes and whites. Some of the differences may be the result of Negro reactions to white discrimination and of general Negro attitudes toward whites. (Other examples of this are given in Chapter XV.) Perhaps an even more important factor is the percentage of disposable income spent on housing. If one relates median income,

housing value, and rents paid, it seems clear that in general Negroes spend a higher proportion of their income on housing. Thus, what Negro respondents may really be saying is that they spend too high a fraction of their total income on housing, rather than that the absolute amount paid is too high. We have not developed a measure of the percentage of income spent on housing for individual households. While this would be easy to do for renters, it would be extremely difficult for homeowners since it would involve notions of alternative sources of investment of funds that are far beyond the scope of this study.

Because of the difference between owners and renters, whites and Negroes, on housing-value judgments, we have omitted the judgments of neighborhood informants since we cannot separate out these components. However, we observed no general differences between the judgments of informants and residents.

Table 7.6 gives the housing-value judgments by ownership status in integrated and segregated neighborhoods. Among owners in higher-income neighborhoods, there are almost no differences by neighborhood type. Renters in open and moderately integrated neighborhoods are more likely than renters in white segregated neighborhoods to think that their housing is overpriced, and the reported median rents in Table 7.3 support this view. As we pointed out earlier in the chapter, this judgment probably reflects the fact that when rental units are available to both races, the market and demand for them increase so that higher rents may be obtained.

The housing-value judgments of white and Negro owners and renters in substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods are based on rather small samples so the data must be considered tentative, but they generally confirm what one would expect. Among both white owners and renters, housing is more likely to be considered overpriced in substantially integrated than in Negro segregated neighborhoods. This is what the

TABLE 7.6  
HOUSING-VALUE JUDGMENTS AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, BY OWNERSHIP STATUS  
(Per Cent of Households)

Housing-Value Judgment	Neighborhood Type						
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated		Negro Segregated	
				White	Negro		
Owner							
Overpriced . . . . .	16	14	16	10	25	4	41
About right . . . . .	53	54	50	64	47	47	39
A particularly good value . . . . .	31	32	34	26	28	49	20
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(389)	(626)	(427)	(292)	(197)	(73)	(131)
Renter							
Overpriced . . . . .	17	25	29	30	38	16	36
About right . . . . .	50	44	46	52	44	65	53
A particularly good value . . . . .	33	31	25	18	18	19	11
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(150)	(409)	(359)*	(152)	(243)	(32)	(112)

supply-demand equilibrium would suggest since the supply is less while the market is wider in substantially integrated neighborhoods.

Among Negroes, the housing-value judgments are reversed. More Negro owners and renters in substantially integrated areas think that housing is a particularly good value. This judgment cannot be explained on the basis of economic factors, since the differences in Tables 7.2, 7.3, and 7.4 are small. What differences there are, however, would suggest the reverse kind of judgment--that housing in Negro segregated areas is a better value. Thus, in Tables 7.7 and 7.8 one may observe that the housing in substantially integrated neighborhoods is older and that these neighborhoods are older than Negro segregated neighborhoods. A possible explanation is that Negroes living in integrated areas will be more likely to have interactions with white residents, and their judgments of housing values will be more like those of the whites in the same neighborhoods. This explanation is confirmed by the results of Table 7.6, which shows that judgments of whites and Negroes are closer in substantially integrated than in Negro segregated neighborhoods, both for owners and renters.

#### Age of Housing and of Neighborhood

There are no major differences in the age of housing or of the neighborhoods themselves between white segregated and open neighborhoods, but moderately and substantially integrated neighborhoods are older. The age of a neighborhood is measured from the time that dwellings were first built there. As may be seen in Table 7.8, the median ages are 57 years for white segregated neighborhoods, 50 years for open neighborhoods, and 70 years for moderately integrated neighborhoods. Table 7.7 shows that the median age of housing in open and white segregated neighborhoods is about 20 years, and in moderately integrated neighborhoods it is 30 years. This, obviously, does not mean



TABLE 7.7  
AGE OF HOUSING AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE  
(Per Cent of Households)

Age of Housing (in Years)	Neighborhood Type					
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated		Negro Segregated
				White	Negro	
0-9 . . . . .	26	20	21	17	11	33
10-19 . . . . .	26	28	19	19	18	17
20-29 . . . . .	10	12	10	11	17	8
30-39 . . . . .	9	9	10	10	6	12
40-49 . . . . .	10	11	10	14	12	10
50-59 . . . . .	7	7	13	13	17	10
60 or more . . . . .	12	13	17	16	19	10
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(535)	(1,004)	(763)	(410)	(364)	(212)
Median age . . . . .	19	21	30	33	36	20
						29

TABLE 7.8  
AGE OF NEIGHBORHOOD AND BUILDING OF NEW HOUSING, BY NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE  
(Per Cent of Households: Data from Informants)

Item	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated	Negro Segregated
<u>Age of neighborhood (in years):</u>					
0-19 . . . . .	17	9	10	4	4
20-39 . . . . .	10	14	5	2	18
40-59 . . . . .	28	34	26	29	60
60-79 . . . . .	26	15	18	29	10
80 or more . . . . .	19	28	41	36	8
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100	100
Median age . . . . .	57	50	70	70	49
Some new building going on . . . .	71	83	78	38	47

that these neighborhoods have been integrated this long, but it does show that the typical integrated neighborhood has been well established and is not a new development. Although most of the neighborhoods have some new building still going on, there is a greater likelihood of new building in integrated than in white segregated areas. About 80 per cent of residents in open and moderately integrated neighborhoods live in areas where some new building is going on, compared to about 70 per cent in white segregated neighborhoods.

Since there has been a trend toward owner-occupied housing in recent years, one might think that some of these differences would be related to the differences in the percentage of renters in the neighborhood. Table 7.9 confirms that rental units are older, but the same relations between neighborhoods and age of dwelling units remain when controlling for ownership status.

Among owners, both white and Negro, houses in substantially integrated neighborhoods are on the average two to five years older than houses in Negro segregated neighborhoods. White renters in substantially integrated neighborhoods live in units that are about eight years older than rental units in Negro segregated neighborhoods, but Negro renters in substantially integrated neighborhoods live in units that are six years newer than the rental units in Negro segregated neighborhoods.

These differences in Table 7.9 are not very large, but generally reflect the economics of the housing market. As buildings and neighborhoods get older, housing becomes less expensive and is more readily available to the Negro market.

#### Single or Multiple Builders in Neighborhood

The Griers, in their study of interracial housing (1960), dealt almost exclusively with housing built by a single developer, but this is the exception rather than the rule in integrated housing. As seen in Table 7.10, only 6 per cent of residents of

TABLE 7.9  
AGE OF HOUSING AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, BY OWNERSHIP STATUS  
(Per Cent of Households)

Age of Housing (in Years)	Neighborhood Type						
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated		Negro Segregated	
				White	Negro	White	Negro
Owner							
0-9 . . . . .	28	20	23	17	12	30	13
10-19 . . . . .	32	36	22	21	20	10	22
20-29 . . . . .	9	6	12	12	17	12	24
30-39 . . . . .	8	8	8	10	7	15	10
40-49 . . . . .	7	9	8	15	13	10	16
50-59 . . . . .	6	7	12	12	16	15	10
60 or more . . . . .	10	14	15	13	15	8	5
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(402)	(640)	(465)	(304)	(198)	(67)	(141)
Median age . . . . .	17	18	24	30	31	28	26

(Table 7.9 continued)

TABLE 7.9--Continued

Age of Housing (in Years)	Neighborhood Type						
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated		Negro Segregated	
				White	Negro	White	Negro
	Renter						
0-9 . . . . .	20	20	20	20	9	13	5
10-19 . . . . .	12	12	14	12	17	37	19
20-29 . . . . .	10	22	6	22	16	5	13
30-39 . . . . .	14	12	11	12	5	13	4
40-49 . . . . .	18	15	14	15	11	13	10
50-59 . . . . .	10	8	15	8	17	0	32
60 or over . . . . .	16	11	20	11	25	19	17
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(126)	(366)	(298)	(103)	(164)	(23)	(76)
Median age . . . . .	36	28	39	28	43	20	49

TABLE 7.10

NUMBER OF BUILDERS IN NEIGHBORHOOD AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE  
(Per Cent of Households: Data from Informants)

Number of Builders	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
Single . . . . .	22	14	6	7	12
Multiple . . . . .	78	86	94	93	88
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100	100

moderately integrated and 7 per cent of residents of substantially integrated neighborhoods live in areas developed by a single builder. On the other hand, 22 per cent of residents of white segregated neighborhoods live in neighborhoods where there was only a single builder. Although these results may not have been obvious in advance, hindsight helps us to explain them. If there is a desire to keep Negroes out, it is evidently easier to enforce when there is only a single seller.

Some readers might suspect that there are more single-builder communities among white segregated neighborhoods because these are more likely to be suburban, where such communities are typical. This is not the case, however, since in selecting our control neighborhoods we controlled on central-city-suburban location.

It is also likely that both the builder and the residents of neighborhoods developed by a single builder have strong preferences for homogeneity, both in housing and in the characteristics of neighbors. These large developments are likely to have used FHA financing, and FHA policy in the postwar period has supported economic and cultural homogeneity, hence racial segregation.

Although government policies have changed and there are strong legal and moral pressures against builders who discriminate, we would still predict that large new developments with a single builder will be less integrated than areas with many builders, although there may be some token Negro families.

#### The Current Housing Market

In this section, we look at residents' and informants' judgments about the current housing markets in their neighborhoods. While these judgments are subject to error, we would expect them to reflect neighborhood differences. Since we asked for judgments about the neighborhood, those of neighborhood informants are probably better than those of residents.

Table 7.11 gives informants' judgments of the average length of time required to sell a house in the neighborhood and the availability of rental units. The two questions involved are: "When a house is up for sale at the going price, does it generally get sold in less than a month, one to three months, four to six months, or more than six months?" (Informant Q. 55A) and "Are there many vacant apartments in this neighborhood, are there only a few, or is there a waiting list?" (Informant Q. 56A). There are no differences between white segregated and open neighborhoods, except that there are more rental units with waiting lists in open neighborhoods. There are differences, however, by the proportion of Negroes in the neighborhood. As this proportion rises, informants say that it takes longer for houses to sell.

The same trend is observed in Table 7.12, which presents informants' judgments on whether "compared to five years ago, is it easier or harder to sell a house now, or hasn't it changed" (Informant Q. 55B). An interesting exception to the differences between neighborhoods is that informants in open neighborhoods think it is easier to sell now than do informants in white segregated neighborhoods.

TABLE 7.11  
CURRENT HOUSING MARKET CHARACTERISTICS AND  
NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE  
(Per Cent of Households: Data  
from Informants)

Housing Market Characteristic	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
<u>Length of time required to sell a house:</u>					
Less than 1 month . . . .	13	19	10	13	6
1-3 months . .	56	51	48	37	41
4-6 months . .	21	19	25	23	22
More than 6 months . . . .	10	11	17	27	31
Total . . . .	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Availability of rental units:</u>					
Many vacancies	5	3	6	11	9
Only a few vacancies . .	79	60	63	70	68
Waiting list .	16	37	31	19	23
Total . . . .	100	100	100	100	100

It is not clear whether the differences we observe are causes or effects. That is, it may be that when houses become harder to sell to whites, owners are then more willing to sell to Negroes. On the other hand, as the proportion of Negroes increases, it may be harder to find white buyers, even though some still buy and the area remains integrated.



TABLE 7.12  
CHANGE IN HOUSING MARKET DURING LAST FIVE YEARS  
AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE  
(Per Cent of Households: Data  
from Informants)

Difficulty in Selling a House Compared to Five Years Ago	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
Easier . . . . .	27	36	13	24	25
Hasn't changed .	35	35	36	30	26
Harder . . . . .	38	29	51	46	49
Total . .	100	100	100	100	100

It is also evident that Negroes have greater difficulty in financing their homes than whites. Whether this is due to racial prejudice or to the lower income levels of Negro households, it probably increases the difficulty in selling houses to Negroes, although not affecting the price of the house ultimately. That is, it takes longer for the deals to go through, and a higher proportion fall through because financing cannot be obtained.

Data supporting this generalization are given in Table 7.13, which gives the availability and methods of financing by neighborhood type and race. In the first part of the table, neighborhood informants indicate whether "mortgage money is harder to get or easier to get in this neighborhood than elsewhere in the metropolitan area/county, or isn't there any difference" (Informant Q. 20). While there are no differences between white segregated, open, and moderately integrated neighborhoods, mortgage money is considered much harder to get in the lower-income substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods.

TABLE 7.13  
AVAILABILITY AND METHODS OF FINANCING, BY NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE  
(Per Cent of Households: Data from Informants  
or Residents As Indicated)

Financing	Neighborhood Type					
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated		Negro Segregated
				White	Negro	
Availability of mortgage money compared to elsewhere in area: <sup>a</sup>						
Mortgage money harder to get . . . . .	13	19	21	41		42
Mortgage money easier to get . . . . .	22	29	29	15		8
No difference . . . . .	65	52	50	44		50
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100		100
Methods of financing: <sup>b</sup>						
Conventional mortgage . . . . .	61	56	59	59	43	71
FHA mortgage . . . . .	15	15	17	14	18	9
VA mortgage . . . . .	12	19	14	8	6	9
Sales contract or other . . . . .	12	10	10	19	33	11
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(422)	(666)	(481)	(310)	(220)	(82)
						(149)

<sup>a</sup>Based on information from neighborhood informants.

<sup>b</sup>Based on responses from residents.

In the bottom half of the table, respondents tell how they financed their own homes. There are no differences between white segregated, open, and moderately integrated neighborhoods, with about 60 per cent of the residents obtaining conventional financing and only 10 per cent using sales contracts or other unusual methods. Among Negroes in substantially integrated neighborhoods, however, the proportion obtaining conventional mortgages is only 43 per cent and the proportion buying on contract or by other means is 33 per cent. Two comparisons are important. Negroes in substantially integrated neighborhoods have more difficulty in obtaining conventional financing than whites in the same type of neighborhood. Although income and savings differences between whites and Negroes could account for this, the difference suggests the possibility that racial prejudice operates to make it more difficult for Negroes to get a conventional mortgage, or at least has in the past.

A comparison of Negroes in substantially integrated neighborhoods and in Negro segregated neighborhoods indicates that it is easier to obtain conventional financing in an all-Negro neighborhood than in a substantially integrated one. The same difference is seen between whites in substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods, but here the comparison is muddled by economic differences.

To summarize, the data suggest that it is generally harder for Negroes to obtain conventional financing, even when controlling for income by type of neighborhood, and that it is more difficult for anyone to get conventional financing in substantially integrated neighborhoods. This then is a major factor in making it more difficult to sell houses in these areas. Although the result is that it takes longer to sell a house, there is no evidence that there is an effect on price.

These results are partly historical, since for residents they reflect the conditions at the time they purchased their

homes. It must also be remembered that each of these residents was able to obtain financing; the ones who failed are not included in the homeowners' sample. It may be that new laws and changing attitudes now make financing easier for Negroes and in substantially integrated neighborhoods, but there is no evidence of this if one believes the neighborhood informants.

A different situation is seen for rental units. Here, in open and moderately integrated neighborhoods, there is a greater demand for rental units than in white segregated neighborhoods, as seen in Table 7.11. This is consistent with the higher rents paid in the integrated neighborhoods and again reflects the greater demand resulting from the increased market.

#### Policy Implications

In the previous chapter we suggested some policies that would increase integration in owner-occupied housing. The main implication of this section is that major increases in integration may be achieved by opening segregated rental units to Negroes. Not only does this benefit the Negro renter, but the owner of the apartment building also benefits because he increases the demands for his facilities. In the long run, he makes more money either through increased rents or by reducing the number of vacancies.

The increase in rental facilities also lowers the housing demands that Negroes make on substantially integrated neighborhoods and makes it easier for these neighborhoods to remain stable. Also, as more and more areas are integrated, the ability of renters to move to satisfactory segregated neighborhoods is reduced so there is less reason for them to move. It is highly unlikely that in neighborhoods far from the Negro ghetto the presence of some Negro renters will affect the stability of the neighborhood.

Since discrimination in rental housing is now generally illegal, one would hope that both government and private fair-housing groups would apply continuous pressure on landlords to desegregate their units. Although the task of first proving discrimination and then removing this discrimination is not easy, it could pay off in a substantial increase in the number of integrated rental units.

There are likely to be many more Negro renters than buyers who are willing and able to be pioneers into white segregated neighborhoods. The problem is with the landlords. At present, most fair-housing groups appear to have concentrated their energies on attracting Negro buyers to upper-middle-class suburbs. It is probably more productive for these groups, however, to work with landlords than to find Negro families that can afford an expensive home in the suburbs.

## CHAPTER VIII

### ATTITUDES TOWARD INTEGRATION

#### Introduction

Over the past twenty-five years, the only period for which we have even moderately good data on public attitudes, there has been a consistent trend toward greater white acceptance of equality for Negroes, including greater acceptance of residential integration. For example, in 1942 only slightly more than one-third of the white population of the United States said that it would make no difference to them if a Negro with the same income and education moved onto their block. By 1956 this proportion had risen to slightly over one-half, and by 1965 approximately two-thirds of the white population had come to view the possibility of a Negro moving onto their block with (at least verbal) equanimity (Schwartz, 1967). Where data exist that allow comparison over time, we see similar favorable trends in other white attitudes toward Negroes.

While our data on the number of integrated neighborhoods do not in and of themselves tell us whether there have been similar trends in behavior, the general nonsystematic evidence suggests that the country is making some progress toward increasing residential integration. Whether attitudes or behavior have the greater rate of change is an interesting question, but one that the data in our study do not permit us to answer. Instead we must content ourselves with showing how attitudes vary across neighborhoods where we know the kinds of behavior that are occurring in these neighborhoods.

The relation between attitudes and behavior is a complex one for which there is no completely adequate theory at

present. Students of attitude formation and change agree that attitudes and behavior tend to be roughly consistent with one another, although everyone recognizes many instances in which attitudes and behavior do not coincide. Thus, no one would predict one-to-one correspondence between a person's attitudes and his behavior. Some recent research (see, for example, Festinger, 1957) focused attention on the conditions under which attitudes and behavior might be inconsistent with one another and on the consequences of such inconsistencies for attitude change.

Traditionally most social psychologists have worked on the implicit model that attitudes exist prior to action and, more often than not, are causes of action. The practical implication of such a model is that an effective way to change someone's behavior is to change his attitudes. Thus, if by some clever campaign of persuasion one could change a person's attitudes, there would follow a significant increase in the likelihood that his behavior would change to come into line with his new attitudes.

The psychologist's model of the relation between attitudes and behavior is widely shared by laymen. Indeed, it underlies the familiar arguments against open-housing legislation, equal-employment acts, and a variety of civil rights measures that provide legal sanctions to enforce equality of opportunity. One argument against such legislation has been that one cannot legislate a social change in advance of attitudinal change and that such legislation will be unenforceable until people's attitudes have changed. Implicit in such an argument, of course, is the notion that once the attitudes have changed, there will be no need for the legislation because the behavior will come into line with the attitudinal change.

More recently, however, Festinger and his students (see for example, Festinger and Carlsmith, 1959; Aronson, 1966) have

shown experimentally that, at least in many instances, induced behavior change that runs counter to one's attitudes may be one of the strongest motives for producing attitudinal change. Such a change brings attitudes in line with the way in which one is already acting. This model puts primary emphasis on action, with attitudinal change as a consequence of behavioral change. In this case, when one's behavior is no longer consistent with one's attitudes, the latter are changed to be in line with one's new actions.

While our study design does not permit any definitive statements about the primacy of behavior or attitudes in bringing about change, we shall try to keep this problem in mind as we look, in this chapter and in subsequent ones, at the available data on both attitudes and behavior.

#### Attitudes of White Residents

Over the past twenty-five years, NORC has collected data on white attitudes toward Negroes. During that time a number of items have shown a consistent ability to discriminate between people with more and people with less favorable attitudes toward Negroes. These items have proven to be indicators of respondents' overall favorableness toward integration. As we noted earlier, the proportion of the population giving answers favorable toward integration has increased for almost all of the items. The shift in endorsement, however, has been roughly proportional to the original level of support, so that the items continue to exhibit considerable difference in the overall proportion of agreement. Thus, while there have been shifts over time, we still have a set of items that has a wide range of endorsement by the white population.

For the purpose of this study, we selected a set of seven items that have in the past been good indicators of general integration sentiment. (For exact wording, see Resident Q.



69-74.) Treiman (1966) has shown that these items (plus one additional item) possess the properties of a Guttman scale<sup>1</sup> for a national sample of white adult Americans. In a similar analysis of the responses given by our respondents, we find that the same structure holds for our sample. The coefficient of reproducibility in our sample is .89, the minimum marginal reproducibility is .71, and the coefficient of scalability is .62. These correlations compare with Treiman's coefficient of reproducibility of .93 and improvement in marginal reproducibility of .59.

We constructed an Integration Attitude Scale by giving each respondent 1 point for each item that he endorsed in the pro-integration direction. The scale scores thus run from 0 to 7, with the higher scores indicating the more favorable attitudes toward integration.

Table 8.1 presents the distribution of responses to each item by our neighborhood types and for the nationwide sample from the NORC study of December, 1963, which provided the data for Treiman's article. In addition, the table gives the distributions for four of the items from a nationwide sample taken in May, 1968, shortly after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The mean scale scores for the neighborhood types are given at the bottom of the table.

In assessing the meaning of this table, we should first note that the attitude items fall roughly into two groups: those pertaining to equal access for Negroes to public facilities, and those pertaining to closer interpersonal association between Negroes and whites, including living in the same neighborhood. The table shows that in the nation as a whole, a

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<sup>1</sup> A Guttman scale is one in which the items order themselves so that endorsement of the more extreme items is associated with endorsement of items that are less extreme in content. See Green (1954).

TABLE 8.1  
INTEGRATION ATTITUDES, BY NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE AND  
FOR THE UNITED STATES  
(Per Cent of White Residents  
Favorable to Integration)

Integration Attitude	Neighborhood Type				Total U.S.	
	White Segre- gated	Open	Mod- erately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated	1963 <sup>a</sup> 1968 <sup>b</sup>
Separate sections in street- cars and buses (no) . . .	86	92	93	68	76	77 - <sup>c</sup>
Negroes should have same rights to use parks, restaurants, hotels, etc. (yes) . . . . .	83	92	91	65	73	71 -
Negroes should go to same schools as whites (yes) .	75	88	87	52	75	63 60
Object if family member brought Negro friend to dinner (not at all) . . .	59	73	67	41	54	49 -

(Table 8.1 continued)

TABLE 8.1--Continued

Integration Attitude	Neighborhood Type				Total U.S.	
	White Segre- gated	Open	Mod- erately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated	1963 <sup>a</sup> 1968 <sup>b</sup>
There should be laws against interracial marriage (no) . . . . .	40	56	52	26	35	36 37
White people have a right to keep Negroes out of their neighborhood (dis- agree slightly or strongly) . . . . .	36	40	46	26	36	44 36
Negroes shouldn't push themselves where they're not wanted (disagree slightly or strongly) . .	16	23	22	12	12	27 18
N . . . . .	(584)	(1,108)	(864)	(492)	(108)	(1,230) (1,482)
Mean scale score .	3.8	4.6	4.4	2.7	3.4	

<sup>a</sup>Source: NORC Study SRS 330, December, 1963.

<sup>b</sup>Source: NORC Study 4050, May, 1968.

<sup>c</sup>Not asked on this study.

majority of whites endorse items suggesting that Negroes should have equal access to the more public areas of life. While the size of the majority differs among items, it is clear that majority opinion clearly supports equality of opportunity. We should remember, however, that this is a relatively recent phenomenon. In 1942 only 43 per cent of the white population agreed that there should not be separate sections for Negroes in streetcars and buses, and only 30 per cent of the white population agreed that Negroes should go to the same schools as whites (Schwartz, 1967). There has clearly been a considerable change in these attitudes since that time.

On the other hand, in those areas involving closer interpersonal association between Negroes and whites, such as entertaining Negroes in one's home, legal sanctions against intermarriage, and beliefs in the right to segregated residence, whites are clearly less favorable to integration. There is obviously a long way to go before whites are willing to become involved with Negroes in private association to the same degree with which they recognize equal rights of public association.

Indeed, there is slight evidence that whites may be reversing the general trend of attitude change at least as far as private association is concerned. In the 1968 survey, as compared with the 1963, a lower proportion of white respondents endorsed items related to housing desegregation. Further work will have to be done, however, to establish the findings of a definite reversal in the historic trend.

The differences in the responses of residents in different types of neighborhoods is not exactly what might have been expected simply on the basis of current behavior. If we confine our attention to the differences among the white segregated, open, and moderately integrated neighborhoods, we see, as might be expected, that residents of open and moderately integrated neighborhoods are more favorable to Negro rights than are residents of the white segregated neighborhoods. While in general

the residents of open and moderately integrated neighborhoods are more favorable toward integration on all items, the differences between them and the residents of white segregated neighborhoods are particularly marked in the areas of entertaining Negroes in the home and laws against intermarriage. We should note, however, that these are all differences of degree rather than of kind. The overall pattern of responses remains pretty much the same in each of the neighborhood types, and the ordering of items by frequency of endorsement is practically invariant from one neighborhood type to another.

Looking at the substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods, we see what, at first glance, appear to be rather surprising findings. White residents of substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods are considerably less likely to be favorable toward integration than are residents of either the open or moderately integrated neighborhoods and, for most items, have even less favorable attitudes than do whites living in white segregated neighborhoods. The relatively low integration attitudes of the whites living in Negro segregated neighborhoods is perhaps less difficult to understand because these are whites who feel themselves being displaced by Negro immigrants. Indeed, these are the neighborhoods that are most often explosive and produce some of the most vicious anti-Negro sentiment on the part of the whites. The reader should remember that some of the neighborhoods that we have classed as Negro segregated still have substantial white populations, although no new white residents are moving in. In some of these areas, the whites may be particularly embittered because of what they perceive as a failure by their white neighbors to hold the line and keep the Negroes out. Some of these neighborhoods are ones that, as we saw in Chapter IV, reacted with considerable hostility when the first Negroes moved in.

The low scores on the Integration Attitude Scale of residents of substantially integrated neighborhoods are, however,

more difficult to explain and suggest a considerable discrepancy between behavior and attitudes. These are the neighborhoods that are still attracting considerable numbers of white residents, and there is every reason to believe that most of them will continue to be integrated over the next five years and beyond. Why, then, should there be the lowest support for equal rights for Negroes among residents of these neighborhoods? To a considerable extent, the answer to this question lies in the regional and socioeconomic characteristics of these neighborhoods. A significant portion of these neighborhoods are in the South where attitudes are traditionally more anti-integration. Also, as we have noted many times before, these neighborhoods are of lower socioeconomic status. Past studies have consistently shown that people with lower education and income also tend to be more anti-Negro. Thus we would expect that a larger part of the difference is a function of region and the socioeconomic characteristics of the residents. In order to investigate these variables, we shall abandon presentation of responses to individual items and instead present the data in terms of the average Integration Attitude Scale score for the residents in a particular type of neighborhood.

Variations in Attitudes by Region and  
Socioeconomic Status

It is clear to even the most naive observer that there is a striking difference in attitudes toward Negroes between whites in the South and those living in other parts of the country. Data presented in Table 8.2 show that, indeed, very large differences exist between the attitudes of whites in the South and in the North and West. The variation in attitudes among neighborhood types within each region is extremely small compared with the variation between the South and all other regions of the country for each neighborhood type. Only in the moderately integrated neighborhoods is there any significant reduction in the regional differences between the South and the North and

West. This figure for moderately integrated neighborhoods in the South is heavily influenced by several neighborhoods in one city that appears to be unusual in the South. Thus, we do not feel that it invalidates the overall regional differences.

TABLE 8.2  
INTEGRATION ATTITUDES AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, BY REGION  
(Mean Integration Attitude Scale Scores of White Residents)

Region	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated	Negro Segregated
North and West . .	4.2 (468)	4.8 (1,057)	4.5 (811)	3.9 (256)	4.1 (82)
South . .	2.1 (115)	1.2 (51)	3.5 (53)	1.5 (236)	1.2 (26)

Because the regional differences are so marked, and the number of southern residents in our sample is so small that it does not permit further subdivision, we shall have to limit the remainder of our analysis of white attitudes toward integration to those white residents in our sample who are living outside the South.

While controlling for region reduces the differences among neighborhood types, the ordering of neighborhoods in degree of integration sentiment persists. The open and moderately integrated neighborhoods are still highest on the Integration Attitude Scale, followed by the white segregated neighborhoods, the Negro segregated neighborhoods, and finally the substantially integrated neighborhoods, which still are lowest in pro-integration attitudes. The other major variable that may account for the relatively low integration attitude scores on the part of the substantially integrated and Negro segregated

neighborhoods is socioeconomic status, particularly education. Education has been shown in many studies (e.g., Hyman and Sheatsley, 1956, 1964; Schwartz, 1967) to be correlated with positive attitudes toward Negroes. We know from the data presented in earlier chapters that our substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods have lower average education and income levels than our other neighborhoods. It is quite likely that much of the remaining variance among our neighborhoods is due to differences in socioeconomic status. When we control for education in Table 8.3, we see that, indeed, education does have a strong relationship with integration attitudes within each of the neighborhood types. On the other hand, while controlling for education somewhat affects the ordering of neighborhoods by degree of integration attitudes, it does not fully eliminate the differences among them. Especially among the least well educated, residents of substantially integrated neighborhoods still have a particularly low score on the Integration Attitude Scale.

TABLE 8.3  
INTEGRATION ATTITUDES AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE,  
BY EDUCATION OF RESPONDENT  
(Mean Integration Attitude Scale  
Scores of White Residents in  
North and West Only)

Education	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
Part high school or less . . . .	3.3 (145)	3.6 (265)	3.8 (251)	3.1 (124)	4.1 (38)
High school . . .	4.1 (171)	4.9 (409)	4.4 (263)	4.4 (71)	4.0 (27)
More than high school . . . .	5.4 (133)	5.5 (350)	5.3 (249)	4.9 (49)	* (14)



Analysis of other social status variables such as income and occupational prestige show similar positive relations to integration attitudes. (Tables not shown.) The net relationship after controlling for education, however, is small, and education is clearly the most important variable. This finding is consistent with that of Treiman (1966), who reports a regression analysis that shows education, income, and region accounting for 25 per cent of the variance in attitudes toward integration. He also reports that income has little net effect after education is controlled.

We also considered differences in attitudes toward integration among residents at different stages of the life cycle. On a priori grounds, it seemed likely that families with children, especially teenage children, might have different attitudes than those with no children or with grown children. No important differences emerged, however.

It seems clear, then, that the most powerful individual characteristics accounting for variations in attitudes toward integration are region of residence and education. Even when these variables have been controlled, small differences among residents of different neighborhoods in the North and West persist for those with a complete high school education or less. Such persistence is noteworthy because there are substantial differences in residential patterns in these neighborhoods. Among those with less education who live in white segregated, open, and moderately integrated neighborhoods, attitudinal differences are consistent with the residential patterns, those living in open and moderately integrated neighborhoods being more favorable toward integration than those living in white segregated neighborhoods. It is, of course, not clear whether these differences reflect small effects on attitudes from living in integrated neighborhoods, or whether they reflect small effects on choice of neighborhood because of attitudes. Regardless of the direction of causality, however, behavior and

attitudes are more likely to be consistent for these respondents. On the other hand, at almost all levels of education, whites living in substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods are still less favorable toward integration than are residents of other types of neighborhoods. Again one cannot determine the direction of causality, but the attitudes are clearly at variance with behavior.

We may be tempted to conclude from these facts that behavior, at least as far as residential choice is concerned, is relatively independent of attitudes. However, we should keep in mind several important points. First, housing choices are constrained by many factors other than attitudes, notably economic considerations, objective housing requirements, and relations between residence and place of employment. Previous studies (e.g., Rossi, 1956), as well as this one, have shown that these factors are of overwhelming importance in determining housing choice. Whatever one's preferences for integrated or segregated living, these preferences have little chance of affecting housing decisions unless there are choices available between integrated and segregated housing that meet one's economic, size, and location requirements. It is perhaps not surprising, then, that attitudes about integration are unable to have a large effect on the final decision.

Second, so far in our analysis we have considered our total Integration Attitude Scale. While this scale is an excellent one for distinguishing individuals by their general degree of favorable attitudes toward integration, it somewhat obscures the particular item of interest here--namely, attitudes toward equality of housing opportunities. Thus, we may find some interesting differences if we concentrate our attention on a single item of interest here--namely, attitudes toward equality of housing opportunities. Thus, we may find some interesting differences if we concentrate our attention on a single item of the scale concerning rights of Negroes to live in the same

neighborhood as whites or, more properly, given the way the item is worded, the right of whites to keep Negroes out of all-white neighborhoods. (For exact wording, see Resident Q. 73B.) We consider below variations in white attitudes toward housing segregation.

#### Urbanization and Home Ownership

The trends in residential mobility since World War II have been toward increasing movement to the larger metropolitan areas and, at least for whites, toward increasing suburbanization. We might consider, then, the extent to which residence in the central city or suburban areas or residence in metropolitan areas of differing sizes is related to housing segregation attitudes. It is difficult to predict what the direction of such relations might be. Since the great growth of the Negro population has been in the central cities, it is possible that whites still living in the central city are more hostile toward residential integration because they are under greater direct demand for integration. On the other hand, there may be considerable self-selection involved in the migration to the suburbs, so that those who are most anti-integration have moved out of the central cities into the suburbs, leaving those who are more tolerant to enjoy the advantages of urban life.

Similar types of arguments might be made for the expected relation between city size and attitudes toward housing segregation. The largest metropolitan areas have experienced the highest rate of Negro population increase, and thus have been subjected to considerably more housing demand by both Negroes and whites, but particularly by Negroes because of the historically segregated housing patterns. It may be that both the experience of coming to live with the problems of integration and the increasing Negro population have affected attitudes in a positive direction, and whites living in these areas may be more tolerant than those living in areas with lower Negro populations. Indeed we shall see some evidence in Chapter XV that

apprehension about integration is higher in areas where the reality is remote than in areas that are directly involved in racial integration.

When we look at the data (Table 8.4), we see in fact that attitudes toward housing segregation have no consistent relation to residence either in the central city or suburbs or in places of differing size. While white residents of suburban areas tend

TABLE 8.4  
HOUSING SEGREGATION ATTITUDE AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, BY  
URBANIZATION, SIZE OF PLACE, AND OWNERSHIP STATUS  
(Per Cent of White Residents in North and West Who  
Agree Strongly That White People Have Right To  
Keep Negroes Out of Neighborhood)

Item	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
<u>Urbanization:</u>					
Central city of SMSA . . . .	30 (152)	18 (511)	25 (418)	33 (200)	19 (31)
Suburb of SMSA . . . . .	33 (287)	23 (512)	31 (354)	23 (54)	51 (49)
<u>Size of place:</u>					
Ten largest SMSAs . . . . .	37 (249)	17 (470)	29 (437)	30 (168)	35 (34)
Other SMSAs . . .	26 (190)	23 (553)	27 (335)	34 (85)	41 (46)
Non-SMSAs . . . .	40 (25)	17 (29)	* (19)	-	-
<u>Ownership status:</u>					
Owner . . . . .	34 (334)	23 (639)	33 (452)	27 (135)	40 (58)
Renter . . . . .	30 (219)	16 (413)	21 (337)	36 (118)	36 (22)

to agree more strongly than those in the central city that whites have a right to keep Negroes out of their neighborhoods, the differences for the most part are small and are reversed in the substantially integrated areas, where central-city residents are more likely than suburbanites to support white people's right to segregated living. The largest single difference between residents of central cities and suburban areas occurs among whites living in Negro segregated neighborhoods. Whites who live in suburban areas that are becoming Negro segregated are the most likely to agree that whites have a right to keep Negroes out of their neighborhoods. However, this is a very small group and represents some fairly unusual circumstances.

The size of the metropolitan area also appears to have little consistent or strong relation to segregation attitudes. Again, variations between neighborhood types exist, and only open neighborhoods appear to show a consistent tendency toward low opposition to housing desegregation.

Thus it seems that our difficulty in having clear-cut expectations about the relation between housing segregation attitudes and central-city or suburban residence and size of area was well founded. There are no large or consistent differences in attitudes associated with these variables, at least among residents outside the South.

There has been considerable speculation concerning the relation between home ownership and resistance or acceptance of housing integration. We showed in Chapter VII that rental areas are somewhat more easily integrated, and we speculated that lack of rental dwelling units might be one barrier to further integration of the suburbs. On the other hand, data to be presented in Chapter XV suggested that renters are more concerned about the neighborhood changing. Thus, although rental areas may be easier to integrate in the first place,

they may be more difficult to keep from becoming Negro segregated neighborhoods if there should be significant imbalance in the Negro-white competition for housing. Again our expectations are unclear. When we look at the data in the last section of Table 8.4, however, we see that on the whole owners are more likely to support the right of whites to keep Negroes out of their neighborhoods, although again the differences between owners and renters are not very strong. We should also note that among white residents in substantially integrated neighborhoods, it is the renters who are more likely to support the right to keep Negroes out. This reversal of the relation between housing segregation attitudes and being an owner or renter may be indicative of the lower neighborhood involvement that renters characteristically display and the fact that they are somewhat more likely to react to changes or expected changes that might occur in the neighborhood, as mentioned above. It might also be due to the fact that owners are more likely to live in the suburbs, which in other neighborhood types are characterized by higher segregation attitudes. Unfortunately there are not enough cases to separate these two explanations.

Overall, then, variables such as urbanization, size of place, and ownership status do not show any strong or consistent relation to attitudes toward housing segregation. There are relatively few differences among individuals who vary on these dimensions, and these differences are not consistent across neighborhood types.

#### Housing Market Variables

Implicit in the consideration of variables such as owner-renter and central-city-suburban has been the expectation that differing housing market situations might interact with a person's general attitudes toward housing segregation. In particular, there is a considerable body of folk wisdom suggesting that one prime determinant of people's attitudes and behavior

about housing and segregation is their experience with and expectation of changes in the housing market. As one of our informants eloquently put it:

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 their skins--we've had every shade of skin in our pool for years and years. Plenty of all races, parties around here. It's their investment, their equity. They see themselves robbed of a valuable piece of property.

In spite of the fact that systematic studies have shown that racial integration does not in and of itself affect property values, this view is very widespread and appears to have a significant impact on people's behavior.

That there is no systematic relation between racial integration and decrease in property values does not preclude the possibility that in some instances integration may in fact be accompanied by or, what is more likely, preceded by a decline in property values, either through aging of the neighborhood or because of some significant change in the traditional demand for housing in the neighborhood. Thus, as we have argued at various times throughout this report, it is likely that the actions which whites take in an attempt to maintain a neighborhood as all white may in fact decrease the demand among whites for housing in that area and may precipitate a decline in housing values that the actions were designed to forestall. Such actions are, of course, a classic example of the self-fulfilling prophecy.

In our interviews with the neighborhood informants, we secured data on the changes in the demand for housing that we can now use to assess the relation between changes in housing market variables and attitudes toward the racial segregation of housing. Table 8.5 presents data on three variables related to changes in the demand for housing. The first item is based on

TABLE 8.5  
HOUSING SEGREGATION ATTITUDE AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE,  
BY SELECTED HOUSING MARKET CHARACTERISTICS  
(Per Cent of White Residents in North and West Who  
Agree Strongly That White People Have Right To  
Keep Negroes Out of Neighborhood)

Housing Market Characteristic <sup>a</sup>	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
<u>During past 5 years</u> <u>property values</u> <u>have:</u>					
Risen . . . . .	32 (405)	19 (889)	24 (509)	10 (63)	45 (56)
Dropped . . . . .	36 (24)	35 (69)	32 (151)	34 (111)	* (13)
<u>Difficulty in</u> <u>selling a house</u> <u>compared to 5</u> <u>years ago:</u>					
Easier . . . . .	33 (100)	14 (542)	21 (85)	19 (33)	* (3)
Harder . . . . .	34 (209)	27 (262)	32 (440)	37 (172)	36 (47)
<u>Rental vacancies</u> <u>now compared to 5</u> <u>years ago:</u>					
More . . . . .	36 (29)	25 (68)	27 (115)	59 (36)	* (13)
Fewer . . . . .	31 (183)	23 (292)	28 (364)	20 (73)	50 (26)

<sup>a</sup>Based on information from neighborhood informants.



informants' responses to the question of whether "in the last five years property values in this neighborhood have risen, stayed the same, or dropped" (Informant Q. 54). The second and third items concern changes in the demand for houses and apartments, respectively. Changes in demand were assessed by asking informants, "Compared to five years ago, is it easier or harder to sell a house now, or hasn't it changed?" (Informant Q. 55B) and "Compared to five years ago, are there more vacancies [in apartments in this neighborhood] now, about the same number, or fewer vacancies?" (Informant Q. 56B).

Table 8.5 indicates some interesting interactions between the experiences of the neighborhood and changes in the housing market. In the three types of integrated neighborhoods, we see that changes in property values and difficulty in selling houses have a strong and consistent relation to residents' attitudes toward racial segregation. In those areas where there has been a drop in property values, or where it is more difficult to sell houses now than it was five years ago, white residents are considerably more likely to assert that whites have a right to keep Negroes out. In white segregated neighborhoods, however, where Negroes are not moving in even in small numbers, changes in the market for houses are unrelated to attitudes toward housing segregation.

The direction of cause and effect is again difficult to determine from our data. It is possible that in some neighborhoods negative attitudes toward integration precede the drop in property values and may be one of the factors influencing the drop. For example, if many white residents in a segregated neighborhood have strong anti-integration attitudes, and they put their homes up for sale simultaneously when the first Negro moves in, prices are likely to drop sharply, particularly if the owners try to sell only to white buyers who may be reluctant to buy in a neighborhood where there appears to be panic.

On the other hand, if housing prices are declining for market reasons unrelated to racial integration, the purchase of homes by Negro buyers attracted by the lower prices may cause whites to associate the decline in value with the increase in Negro buyers. If the increased demand for housing that results from opening up the neighborhood to a new market than causes the values to rise, there may be a decline (or at least no increase) in anti-integration sentiment.

For rental property, however, the relations are somewhat different. Here, only among the substantially integrated neighborhoods are there significant differences in attitudes toward housing segregation between those neighborhoods where the demand for rental properties has improved and those where it has declined. The large difference here suggests an explanation for the reversal between owners and renters that was noted earlier. It would appear that those white renters who perceive that the rental market in their area is declining are apprehensive about the possibility that these vacancies will be taken up by some significant increase in the proportion of Negroes in the area. They react to this apprehension by asserting that whites have the right to keep Negroes out. It is likely that these renters are concentrated in areas which probably will eventually become Negro segregated unless there are some significant changes in the housing market, even though our informants expect these areas to be stably integrated over the next five years.

We also might note that in the white segregated areas, where there are more vacancies in rental properties, there is a somewhat greater tendency to support housing segregation. It may be that whites in these areas are beginning to entertain the possibility that segregation barriers will be reduced in the face of the declining rental market among whites. As we saw in Chapter IV, how a neighborhood reacted when the first Negroes moved in may well determine whether it will eventually become integrated or change to Negro segregated.

We would conclude from these comparisons that among white residents in integrated neighborhoods, even in those that have very few Negroes, attitudes toward racial integration are strongly related to experiences with stability or change in the housing market over the past few years. While residents of open and moderately integrated neighborhoods are sensitive primarily to changes in the market for houses, residents of substantially integrated neighborhoods are sensitive to changes in both the sales and the rental markets. Indeed, when changes in the housing market are taken into consideration, the fairly consistent tendency for residents of substantially integrated neighborhoods to be more, against racial integration is in fact explained away. On the other hand, in white segregated neighborhoods, housing market changes bear relatively little relationship to attitudes toward racial segregation.

That the residents are more concerned with the changes in the housing market and its economic impact than with the racial composition of the neighborhood itself is seen in Table 8.6. Here we present data on estimates of change in the Negro population of the area without any necessary connection to changes in the housing market. Looking first at the relation between the residents' segregation attitudes and the informants' estimates of Negro population increase during the next five years, we see that there is relatively little difference in the attitudes of the residents toward housing segregation between those neighborhoods that expect a Negro population increase and those that do not. In fact, the few residents in the white segregated neighborhoods that are expected to have some increase in Negro population do not differ at all in attitudes from the residents in those white segregated neighborhoods that are not expected to have an increase in Negroes. Similarly, when we look at the maximum per cent Negro in adjacent neighborhoods, which is one of the indicators of the potential Negro demand for housing in the area, we see relatively little relationship with attitudes except in substantially integrated neighborhoods.

TABLE 8.6

HOUSING SEGREGATION ATTITUDE AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE,  
BY SELECTED INDICATORS OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGE

(Per Cent of White Residents in North and West Who  
Agree Strongly That White People Have Right To  
Keep Negroes Out of Neighborhood)

Indicator of Neighborhood Change	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
<u>Negro population</u> <u>will increase in</u> <u>neighborhood in</u> <u>next 5 years:</u> <sup>a</sup>					
Yes . . . . .	38 (81)	23 (175)	28 (232)	33 (103)	38 (31)
No . . . . .	38 (285)	20 (811)	27 (559)	29 (122)	29 (24)
<u>People are con-</u> <u>cerned about</u> <u>neighborhood</u> <u>changing:</u> <sup>b</sup>					
Very concerned . .	* (12)	36 (78)	40 (94)	34 (66)	* (10)
A little or not at all con- cerned . . . . .	30 (35)	11 (320)	21 (301)	20 (110)	33 (33)
<u>Maximum per cent</u> <u>Negro in ad-</u> <u>acent neigh-</u> <u>borhoods:</u> <sup>a</sup>					
0-19 . . . . .	31 (389)	20 (544)	26 (434)	16 (23)	50 (24)
20+ . . . . .	38 (76)	20 (508)	29 (358)	33 (230)	34 (56)

<sup>a</sup>Based on information from neighborhood informants.

<sup>b</sup>Based on responses from residents.

These areas are considerably more likely to be near all-Negro or heavily Negro areas. We might expect that many of these areas, although by no means all of them, will have considerable Negro demand for housing that may change the racial balance in the area quite substantially. Again, however, in the Negro segregated neighborhoods, for some unexplainable reason, it is the white residents of those neighborhoods that are adjacent to less heavily Negro neighborhoods that appear to be most segregation minded.

Although the informants' expectations of change in proportion Negro and the potential Negro demand for housing as indicated by substantial Negro areas adjacent to the neighborhood do not show strong relationships with attitudes toward housing segregation, residents' apprehensions about change do show a considerable association with segregationist attitudes. Among those residents who say that people in their neighborhood are very concerned about the neighborhood changing, we find a much stronger segregationist spirit in all neighborhoods, regardless of the current experiences of the neighborhood. In integrated neighborhoods we see the importance for their attitudes of residents' apprehensions about what is going to happen, whether or not they are reinforced by reality. We might note, however, that while apprehension appears to be an important variable, only a relatively small proportion of respondents in most neighborhoods feel that people are very concerned about the neighborhood's changing.

We would conclude, then, that the important variables are realistic ones concerning changes in the demand for housing and an apprehension about what is going to happen, which may or may not be realistic. We feel that the important factor here is the anticipation of potential economic loss rather than the expectations of an increase in Negro neighbors per se.

Attitudes of Negro Residents

So far in this chapter we have considered only the attitudes of white residents. Here we shall be concerned with attitudes of the Negro residents in our integrated and Negro segregated control neighborhoods regarding their beliefs about white attitudes toward Negroes and their general degree of militancy on civil rights issues. Most of the items with which we shall be concerned reflect the Negro residents' views about the activities of the civil rights movement and their own degree of participation in the movement. At the time the study was designed, integration was the generally accepted goal of almost all civil rights groups. In retrospect, it is unfortunate that we did not ask Negro respondents directly about their views concerning the desirability of integrated living. Since the time the study was designed, there has been a growth, although we do not know to what extent, in a black nationalist ideology that may have brought about changes in the attitudes of black residents. Were we to design the questionnaire today instead of in 1966, we would focus on some different issues.

Table 8.7 presents the data for Negro residents in each type of integrated neighborhood, plus responses for those living in Negro segregated neighborhoods. The responses for Negro residents in open and moderately integrated neighborhoods are based not only on respondents picked up by our ordinary sampling procedures, but also on those chosen through special location procedures that were designed to increase the number of Negro respondents from the open and moderately integrated neighborhoods where the proportion of Negroes is still very small. The exact procedures for picking up this special sample are described in Appendix A. Thus there should be some caution exercised in interpreting the data on Negroes in open and moderately integrated neighborhoods since our Negro respondents are not in fact a probability sample of such Negroes. They

TABLE 8.7  
SELECTED ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR RELATED  
TO CIVIL RIGHTS, BY NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE  
(Per Cent of Negro Residents Giving  
Response As Indicated)

Item	Neighborhood Type			
	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
Most white people would really like Negroes to have their rights (agree)	60 (69)	70 (49)	62 (456)	47 (237)
The federal government would do very little about civil rights if it weren't for demonstrations (disagree)	30 (69)	30 (49)	34 (402)	27 (235)
Sometimes I think Negroes should not have supported some of the civil rights demonstrations I have read about (agree) . . . .	63 (69)	75 (49)	76 (412)	63 (232)
Riots like the one in Watts help the Negro cause as much as they hurt it (disagree) . . . . .	58 (69)	62 (49)	60 (400)	55 (232)
Attended civil rights rally (yes) . . . . .	49 (69)	19 (49)	16 (491)	15 (276)
Participated in civil rights demonstration (yes)	20 (69)	10 (49)	7 (489)	9 (273)

comprise, however, such a large proportion of the Negroes living in these areas that there is probably little danger of sampling bias.

When we look at the data in Table 8.7, we see relatively few differences among the neighborhood types on the attitudes toward civil right issues that we asked about. (See Resident Q. 87-88 for exact items.) There is, however, one striking difference among the neighborhoods. Negro residents of open neighborhoods are much more likely to have attended a civil rights rally or participated in a civil rights demonstration. While the low proportion of Negro residents in substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods who have attended civil rights rallies is partially due to the fact that many of these neighborhoods are in the South where participation in civil rights demonstrations and attendance at civil rights rallies is negligible, the elimination of the southern neighborhoods only brings the proportion up to the level of the non-South moderately integrated neighborhoods and does not come up to the level achieved by Negro residents of open neighborhoods. (Table not shown.) It would appear that there is a real difference in participation in civil rights activities between Negro residents of open neighborhoods and those in other types of integrated neighborhoods.

We can investigate this difference in greater detail by looking at the association between level of education and attendance at civil rights rallies for each of the neighborhood types. We noted in Chapter V that Negro residents of open neighborhoods are considerably more highly educated than Negroes in other areas, and we might anticipate that there would be some relation between education and attendance at civil rights rallies. When we control for education in Table 8.8, we do in fact see that within the two neighborhood types where there is a large enough case to test the hypothesis, there is a strong increase in the probability of having attended civil rights



rallies as the level of education increases. Among those with higher education, a higher proportion of those who have attended civil rights rallies live in open neighborhoods.

TABLE 8.8  
ATTENDANCE AT CIVIL RIGHTS RALLY AND NEIGHBORHOOD  
TYPE, BY EDUCATION  
(Per Cent of Negro Residents Attending  
Civil Rights Rally)

Education	Neighborhood Type			
	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
Part high school or less	* (10)	8 (24)	9 (30)	9 (15)
High school . . . . .	* (11)	* (8)	21 (94)	14 (56)
More than high school . .	60 (48)	* (13)	41 (66)	34 (41)

The fact that neighborhood differences appear to persist even after controlling for education suggests that the Negroes in open neighborhoods may be "pioneers"--those who were the first few Negro families to move into a previously all-white neighborhood. To be the first Negro to move into an all-white neighborhood does seem to require a commitment to integration and, given the frequent negative response by white residents, a kind of courage that is wholly consistent with participation in the civil rights movement.

It may be surprising to some readers that Negroes with higher education are more likely to have participated in civil rights rallies. However, the relationship is strong and consistent in all neighborhoods. An inspection of the attitude items (table not shown) confirms the fact that the more highly educated are in general more suspicious of the goodwill of white

people and are considerably more militant in their attitudes. An exception is the general feeling that riots would do some good, an item on which there are no differences among educational groups.

#### Summary

The findings in this chapter indicate that variations in the integration attitudes of whites are associated with two variables, region of residence and education, which are not directly reflective of the integrated status of the neighborhood in which the individuals live. Thus, it would appear that cultural and personal variables play a major role in affecting one's overall attitudes on racial integration, and that these attitudes may in fact be at variance with one's actual behavior. Insofar as neighborhood variables are important above and beyond these cultural and personal variables, they appear to work through changes in the housing market that affect the economic stake an individual has in his residence, whether this is reflected in his equity or in his rent. Such findings are consistent with the argument we presented earlier in this chapter suggesting that general attitudes have relatively little role in housing choice and that economic considerations are of greater importance. The importance of economic factors in defining the limits of housing alternatives open to an individual supports the notion that change or potential change in the economic value of housing will be of greater importance in affecting attitudes toward neighbors and the desirability of housing segregation. Insofar as people live in a secure housing market where there is relatively little fluctuation or threat to their investments, we would expect greater movement toward tolerance, at least within the ranges of the personal and cultural variable specified above. When there is a threat to investment, however, we would expect attitude change in the directions that would be perceived as instrumental in eliminating that

threat. Since it is a widespread belief among the whites that racial integration is in fact a threat to property values, it is not surprising that perceived negative changes in the housing market would be associated with a greater support for white people's right to maintain segregated neighborhoods. For most whites, endorsement of this item appears to be equivalent to asserting the right to maintain stability in their housing values.

The findings on Negro attitudes in this chapter, taken together with those to be reported in Chapter XIII that Negroes who live in integrated neighborhoods where there was a negative reaction when the neighborhood was first desegregated are less happy with their neighborhoods, suggest that integrated living by itself will not produce positive attitudes toward whites. In some instances integration may lead not to positive improvement in race relations but to a reinforcement of the belief that whites are bigoted and anti-Negro.

Although changes in real estate market conditions are associated with white attitudes toward housing segregation, we shall see in the next chapter that white residents who have had past experiences with living in integrated neighborhoods do in fact have more favorable attitudes toward integration than those who have not had previous integrated living experiences. While the data do not enable us to answer cause-and-effect questions definitively, there is some suggestion that, on the average, asymmetry exists between the experiences of Negroes and whites in integrated neighborhoods, or at least in the modal ones with a relatively small proportion of Negroes. For the Negroes, the environment is frequently hostile and the white residents are unfriendly. For the whites, there is relatively little attention paid to the Negro families. At best, there is some perception of the fact that the Negroes are now neighbors and the world of their neighborhood has not fallen apart.

Given the frequently negative experiences of Negroes in integrated neighborhoods, it is not surprising that housing integration per se has not been a high priority item on the agendas of equal rights groups or Negro leaders. In a 1963 NORC national survey, only 1 per cent of the Negro respondents put "no discrimination in housing" as the most important right to be worked for, and only 22 per cent mentioned the "right to live in white neighborhoods" as a right wanted by almost all Negroes (see Schwartz, 1967). An unpublished 1967 NORC survey of Negroes living in the North and West indicated that almost two-thirds of all Negroes preferred to live in neighborhoods that were mostly or all Negro regardless of whether or not they presently lived in integrated neighborhoods. A more recent study by Campbell and Schuman (1968) of racial attitudes in fifteen cities showed that while only 1 per cent of the Negro respondents reported wanting to live in mostly white neighborhoods, 85 per cent reported either that they preferred neighborhoods in which the racial percentage was about 50-50 or that the racial composition of the neighborhood made no difference to them.

A reasonable inference from these data is that Negroes, like whites, are concerned more with the adequacy of the housing for their needs than with the racial composition of the neighborhood. No more than whites do Negroes want to be a minority in their neighborhoods, and they prefer, other things being equal, to live in areas where they are a majority group or at least in neighborhoods where there is no clear majority group. If other things are not equal and better housing is available only in areas that are predominately white, there will be some Negro demand for housing in predominately white areas. However, if good quality housing should become available near already predominately Negro areas, it is evident that such housing would be in much higher demand by Negroes. This fact makes it unlikely that predominately white neighborhoods near predominately

Negro areas will remain stably integrated over a long period of time. Only if there is some substantial change in the reactions of white residents to Negro families that move into predominately white neighborhoods would we expect much change in this pattern.

## CHAPTER IX

### HOUSING DECISIONS

#### Introduction

In the pages that follow, we consider the housing decisions made by the residents of the neighborhoods under study. In his analysis of residential mobility in Philadelphia, Peter Rossi (1955) distinguishes among three types of information needed to account for families' choices of new homes.<sup>1</sup> First, it is necessary to understand the family's specifications, that is, the criteria they have in mind as they search for a new place to live. Second, it is necessary to assess the sources of information that the family employs in its search, such as want ads and real estate agents. Third, Rossi's scheme requires knowledge about the particular features or important attractions of the dwelling. Thus, the choice of a new residence is seen essentially as a process of obtaining the best fit possible between the family's own specifications and the features of a specific new home, with at least some reliance on public or private sources of information.

Our questionnaire elicited information regarding the second and third aspects of Rossi's accounting system. We asked all respondents, "How did you first find out about this place?" (Resident Q. 36), and we also asked, "What were the most important advantages of this house/apartment/lot that made you decide to move here?" (Resident Q. 37). Both of these aspects will be studied during the course of this chapter.

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<sup>1</sup>The technique of "reason analysis" actually dates back to early work of Paul Lazarsfeld, on which Rossi drew in his study. See Lazarsfeld (1935, 1942).

Our first section is devoted to a comparison of the housing decisions of whites who moved into integrated neighborhoods with those of whites who entered all-white neighborhoods. We find that there are no differences between these two groups in the criteria they applied in selecting a new place to live or in the process by which they arrived at their new residences. We had anticipated that there would be differences--that, for example, those moving into an integrated neighborhood would view its integrated status as a "cost" that would be compensated for by other advantages offered by the house or neighborhood. This was not the case.

Second, we note that past experience in an integrated neighborhood affects subsequent choice of such a community. We present the view that racial tolerance is an intervening variable, that is, a consequence of previous interracial experience and a cause of subsequent choice.

Third, we consider the differences in life cycle and housing type between whites in integrated and segregated neighborhoods. Three major findings emerge. Those who moved into integrated neighborhoods (when contrasted to those who moved into white neighborhoods) were younger, had moved in more recently, and were more likely to have moved into rental units.

Fourth, we consider the decisions of Negro residents in our sample. Those who moved into neighborhoods where whites constituted a majority primarily lived in the North and West, in contrast to those who moved into more heavily Negro areas. Controlling for region, those who moved into predominately white areas were of higher socioeconomic status than others, but the racial composition of the neighborhood was unrelated to the criteria Negroes applied when selecting a particular place to live.

The Sample of White Residents

Because this inquiry is devoted to stable racially integrated neighborhoods and is not a general study of geographical mobility, certain constraints are placed upon the analysis. In particular, our major focus concerns white residents and compares those who moved into an integrated neighborhood with those whose neighborhood was all white at the time they moved in.

Because we use a classification of white respondents in this chapter that does not appear elsewhere, a slight digression to describe it may be helpful. It should be remembered that the classification is based entirely upon various responses given by the residents themselves and thus reflects their own perceptions and recollections. Further, the term "integrated" does not carry the technical implications used elsewhere in this monograph, namely, that whites are continuing to move in and that both races occupy housing of similar quality. The questionnaire items to which the residents responded were, "As far as you know, do both white and Negro families live in this neighborhood?" (Resident Q. 52) and "Were you living here when the first Negro family moved in?" (Resident Q. 55).

Relying on the residents' definition of neighborhood integration rather than on an objectively "true" technical definition seems appropriate for the particular task of this chapter, since individuals take action on the basis of their perceptions of reality, whether or not these correspond to reality as actually assessed by an outside source.

In the tables that follow, then, white residents are classified as having moved into a neighborhood which was "integrated" if they reported that (1) whites and Negroes live there now and (2) they themselves were not present in the neighborhood when the first Negroes moved in. The other category, "segregated," contains (1) residents who reported that their



neighborhood does not presently contain Negroes and (2) those who reported that the neighborhood does contain Negroes but that the Negroes moved in after they did. Thus, all residents in the second category moved into neighborhoods that were segregated at the time.

#### Criteria in Housing Decisions

Whites who moved into integrated neighborhoods are not distinguished from those who moved into segregated neighborhoods in the criteria they applied in selecting their new homes (Table 9.1). The categories used are those established for the open-ended question, "What were the most important advantages of this house/apartment/lot that made you decide to move here?" (Resident Q. 37). Four advantages were paramount: convenience to work, the size of the dwelling, specific features other than size, and financial considerations. Similar data, although elicited in a different way, characterize Rossi's analysis. As mentioned above, he distinguishes between the family's specifications as they begin to search for housing and the particular attractions of specific dwelling units. His mode of analysis leads to the conclusion that while financial considerations, which he terms "costs," do not loom large as a family's specification, they play a crucial role once the family has looked at a number of places and narrowed their choice. Since the wording of our question appears to incorporate both the family's "specifications" and the dwelling unit's "attractions," the precise point at which financial considerations assume crucial salience cannot be assessed, and they take their place as one of four major advantages that induced the family to move to its present home.

The major conclusion drawn from Table 9.1 is the remarkable similarity between whites whose present neighborhood was integrated when they moved in and those whose present neighborhood was segregated at that time. In approaching these data, we anticipated that the families moving into integrated neighborhoods

TABLE 9.1

MOST IMPORTANT ADVANTAGES OF PRESENT HOME FOR WHITE FAMILIES  
AND INTEGRATION STATUS OF NEIGHBORHOOD AT TIME OF MOVE  
(Per Cent of White Households Citing Each Advantage)

Specific Advantage	Neighborhood Integration Status When Respondent Moved In	
	Integrated	Segregated
Convenient location to work .	32	29
Dwelling unit appropriate size	28	29
Specific features of dwelling other than size . . . . .	30	30
Financial reasons . . . . .	29	27
Positive features of neighbor- hood . . . . .	17	24
General quality and condition of structure . . . . .	11	12
Convenient location to friends and neighbors . . . . .	8	8
N . . . . .	(721)	(2,284)

would cite more advantages or attractions of the house and neighborhood than would those who moved into neighborhoods that were segregated. Underlining this a priori perspective is the notion that for most whites the presence of a significant Negro population is a liability or barrier that must be overcome by other specific assets which a community has to offer. There are a number of corollaries to this point of view. The first one is that, everything else being equal, whites will select a home in an all-white neighborhood rather than one in a neighborhood that already contains Negroes. A second corollary is that for whites to move into an integrated neighborhood, everything else must not be equal; that is, the neighborhood that is

integrated must also contain housing which is a good buy-- housing of relatively high quality at a relatively low cost.

This perspective clearly assumes that the presence of Negroes in these neighborhoods is a salient factor for potential white residents to consider as they select among various new neighborhoods. It is extremely unlikely, however, that the racial status of the integrated neighborhood was a salient issue for the white residents reported in Table 9.1 because of the low proportion of Negroes in these neighborhoods at that time. It should be remembered that at the time of the study the integrated neighborhoods had a median proportion Negro of 3 per cent and that in these neighborhoods the proportion was probably smaller at the time the whites actually moved in.

In order to gain a fairer test of our approach, it was necessary to focus on that small group of whites for whom the presence of Negroes could be assumed to be salient. We therefore employed a Negro Housing Demand Index as an indicator of racial salience since it is composed of three appropriate measures: maximum per cent Negro in adjacent neighborhoods, distance to the nearest Negro segregated neighborhood, and per cent of new residents in neighborhood that are white. (See Chapter XV for a more detailed description of this index.) Further, to insure that our contemporary measure of Negro housing demand also applied at the time the residents moved in, we limited the analysis to only those whites who entered the neighborhood less than five years ago.

The results of this analysis were negative. White residents who recently moved into integrated neighborhoods that were experiencing high Negro demand were no more likely to cite specific advantages of their new dwelling than were those who moved into white neighborhoods that were under low demand. This catalog of negative findings can be extended still further. The integrated neighborhoods into which the whites moved were no more likely than the white neighborhoods to have been identified

by the neighborhood informants as ones where the housing was "a particularly good value" (Informant Q. 19). Finally, those who moved into integrated neighborhoods were noticeably less likely to report, in answer to a direct precoded question, that housing in the neighborhood was "a particularly good value" (Resident Q. 42).

Continuing our search for factors that distinguish whites who move into integrated neighborhoods from those who move into segregated neighborhoods, we turn to the number of alternatives to the present neighborhood that the family considered. All respondents were asked, "Did you seriously consider other neighborhoods in which to live?" (Resident Q. 38). Those who answered "yes" were asked to estimate the number of other neighborhoods they had considered. Given the fact that white reluctance to move into already integrated neighborhoods is one factor that leads to total racial succession, it seemed reasonable to expect, before viewing the data, that whites moving into an integrated neighborhood would do so with somewhat more reluctance than those moving into an all-white neighborhood, and that this would be expressed in their searching more widely for other neighborhoods in which to live. As before, the data do not support this analysis. Slightly under one-fourth of all white respondents seriously considered two or more alternative neighborhoods, a figure that applies equally to those who moved into integrated neighborhoods and to those who moved into segregated neighborhoods. Further, equal proportions of these groups reported that all the other neighborhoods they had considered were "in this part of the metropolitan area/county" rather than in other parts of the area.

The final aspect of housing decisions that failed to distinguish between the two groups of whites considered here is the source of information the respondent used to "find out about this place" (Resident Q. 36). Approximately one-third of all white respondents reported that they had learned about their

present home through "friends or relatives." In addition, one-sixth of the white respondents cited each of the following: "real estate or rental agent," "newspaper story or ad," and "drove through the neighborhood." The balance cited miscellaneous other sources. These proportions apply equally to whites whose neighborhoods were integrated and those whose neighborhoods were segregated when they moved in.

The data are clear but lead to varying interpretations. We have seen that across a wide variety of aspects of the housing decision, there are no differences between those whites who moved into integrated neighborhoods and those who moved into white segregated neighborhoods, a fact that was supported when neighborhoods were characterized by the degree of Negro housing demand in them rather than by their integration status. We had anticipated that differences between these groups of whites in their reports of their housing decisions would be a measure of the salience of Negro presence to the white families as they were making judgments regarding their most recent residential move. The absence of any differences leads to the uncomfortable conclusion that Negro residency in a neighborhood is an unimportant characteristic to prospective white families. Such a generalization flies in the face of the history of urban areas in recent decades. It is commonly agreed among those active in local government, community organizations, and human relations groups, as well as those in real estate and associated efforts, that in neighborhoods which presently contain substantial numbers of Negroes, the demand for housing among white families has either disappeared or been sharply reduced.

We concur with these observations, but do not feel that they contradict the data presented thus far in this chapter. While neighborhoods on the border of an expanding ghetto receive substantial attention and concern, and justifiably so, these are not the neighborhoods that have been included in large numbers in this study. Although we did not directly elicit from

the residents what the proportion Negro in the neighborhood had been when they took up residency, it is probable that the average white family in our study moved into a neighborhood in which Negroes accounted for 1 per cent or less of the total population at that time.

Further, our notion of "salience" probably requires further consideration. As noted above, we assumed that the presence of Negroes in the neighborhood was salient to the prospective new white families and that the latter entered the neighborhood's integrated status into their housing equation. We may have overdrawn the salience issue, since it is possible to perceive the presence of Negroes without anticipating the need for any interaction with them. Indeed, unless the number of Negroes in an area is overwhelming, whites can rely on community mores and institutions to insulate them from all but the most secondary contacts with Negroes.

Whatever the dynamics, however, the data indicate that whites who moved into integrated neighborhoods and those who moved into segregated neighborhoods did so by similar processes.

#### Previous Integrated Experience and Racial Tolerance

Among whites, a strong correlate of selecting an integrated neighborhood is past residency in an integrated neighborhood. Respondents were asked "Before moving into this neighborhood, did you (and your husband/wife) live in any (other) neighborhood where both white and Negro families lived?" (Resident Q. 68A). They were also asked whether they had lived in such a neighborhood "when you were a child" (Resident Q. 68B). Those who had had previous experience in integrated neighborhoods were more likely to choose an integrated neighborhood than were those who had had less previous experience of this type (Table 9.2). Of those reporting prior integrated living both as a child and as an adult, 44 per cent entered an integrated

neighborhood again at their last move. The least frequent selection of an integrated neighborhood (18 per cent) was among those with no prior experience.

TABLE 9.2  
INTEGRATION STATUS OF PRESENT NEIGHBORHOOD AT TIME  
OF MOVE AND PREVIOUS INTEGRATED RESIDENCE  
(Per Cent of White Households Whose Neighborhood  
Was Integrated When They Moved In)

Previous Integrated Experience As Child	Previous Integrated Experience As Adult	
	Yes	No
Yes . . . . .	44 (430)	31 (341)
No . . . . .	33 (473)	18 (1,682)

While the simple zero-order association in Table 9.2 is apparent enough, it raises some rather intriguing questions. For example, are we to conclude that individuals who have had previous experience with interracial living come to view it as a positive good and consciously thereafter seek out other opportunities for interracial living? Or is the explanation somewhat more negative--that those who have lived in integrated neighborhoods in the past, although they do not come to especially value integrated neighborhoods, at least do not reject them from consideration when making subsequent moves? In either event, there is an implied causality between past and present integrated living.

Although we do not have the necessary historical data for each respondent, it is possible that neither past nor present residency in an integrated neighborhood was entirely voluntary. We can conceive of white families whose social circumstances, primarily limited education and income, have so severely

restricted their areas of potential residence that both as children and as adults they were constrained to live in neighborhoods that happened also to contain Negroes of similar socioeconomic status. That is, taking up residence in a neighborhood that contains Negroes may have been an involuntary act for a few of the whites in our sample.

We wish to infer a causal relationship between past and present interracial residency. The inference implies that entering an integrated neighborhood is a voluntary act, but also attempts to determine something of the process by which past interracial experience raises the probability of subsequent selection of a new neighborhood containing Negroes.

In the context of this discussion, we view moving into an integrated neighborhood as one behavioral consequence of more tolerant racial attitudes, which are themselves a product of at least some previous interracial experience. We grant that both attitudinal and behavioral expressions of racial tolerance may be manifestations of some antecedent, more generalized open-mindedness that has its own psychological roots. This is not an intensive psychological study, and questions of causality are difficult to answer in a cross-sectional survey. While attitudes and behavior undoubtedly interact, it is our impression that the ability of behavior to modify attitudes has not been sufficiently investigated in research on intergroup relations, a point made in the introductory remarks to Chapter XIII.

In an attempt to explore these issues, we first note that there is a strong association between past residency in an integrated neighborhood and present attitudes of tolerance toward Negroes. For example, of those white residents who had lived in biracial neighborhoods both as children and as adults, 59 per cent scored 5 or higher on the 7-point Integration Attitude Scale described in the previous chapter (their mean was 4.5).

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By contrast, of those who reported no previous residency in an integrated neighborhood, 42 per cent scored 5 or better on the scale (with a mean of 3.8). Consistent with our findings in Table 9.2, the effect of recent adult exposure to integrated living is more powerful than the effect of distant childhood experience.

Second, there is an association between pro-integration attitudes and the selection of current neighborhood. Here the association is moderately strong, with those who moved into an integrated neighborhood scoring higher on the Integration Attitude Scale than those who selected a segregated neighborhood. Care is required in making causal inferences from this association. In this instance, the behavioral measure (selection of the current neighborhood) actually occurred prior to the collection of the data on racial attitudes at the time the resident was interviewed. The question of which came first, the tolerant attitude or the apparently tolerant behavior, must remain open, however, since we have no way of assessing the respondent's attitude at some point in the past, particularly at the time of his entry into the present neighborhood.

We view tolerant racial attitudes as a consequence of past residential experience and, at the same time, as a factor exerting an influence on the most recent residential move. It is implicit in this that although there may have been recent attitudinal changes on the part of our respondents, their present racial attitudes serve as a valid indicator of their racial attitudes prior to the selection of their present neighborhood as a place to live.

As a final perspective on this discussion, we wish to determine the extent to which the association between racial tolerance and selection of an integrated neighborhood can be explained by the fact that both variables are associated with previous interracial living. Once controls for previous interracial residence are applied (that is, within groups that are

homogeneous in their previous living experience), the proportion scoring 5 or higher on the Integration Attitude Scale among those who moved into integrated neighborhoods exceeds this proportion among those who moved into white neighborhoods by an average of almost 6 points, down from a 10.5 per cent difference in the original zero-order association. We conclude that while those who moved into integrated neighborhoods exhibit greater tolerance, almost half of this advantage is attributable to the greater incidence of prior interracial experience within this group.

#### Life Cycle and Housing Type

That the data earlier in this chapter revealed no differences in how whites make their housing decisions between those who move into integrated neighborhoods and those who move into white neighborhoods does not mean that these two groups are similar in their personal or life-cycle characteristics. The form in which the data were collected permitted us to compute the age of the respondent when the family moved into the neighborhood. As Table 9.3 reveals, those white residents whose present neighborhood was integrated at the time of their arrival were younger than those who selected a white neighborhood; of the former, 46 per cent were under thirty years of age at the time of the move, while among the latter the proportion in this age group is 35 per cent. In asking the respondent about his move to the present residence, we did not include any direct questions regarding the respondent's marital status, size of family, or other life-cycle characteristics that pertained at the time of the move. Unfortunately, we are unable to reconstruct these variables.

In addition to revealing the younger age of whites moving into integrated neighborhoods, Table 9.3 shows that those who moved into integrated neighborhoods had done so more recently; 58 per cent of them had moved into the neighborhood within the

TABLE 9.3  
RESPONDENTS' CHARACTERISTICS AND INTEGRATION STATUS  
OF NEIGHBORHOOD AT TIME OF MOVE  
(White Households Only)

Characteristic	Neighborhood Integration Status When Respondent Moved In	
	Integrated	Segregated
Per cent aged 18-29 when moved in . . . . .	46 (693)	35 (2,213)
Per cent who moved to present place within past 4 years. .	58 (708)	36 (2,235)
Per cent currently renting . .	50 (722)	31 (2,287)

previous four years, while only 36 per cent of those moving into white segregated neighborhoods had moved in that recently. There are also noticeable differences with respect to ownership status; half of those moving into integrated neighborhoods moved into rental units, while only 31 per cent of those who entered segregated neighborhoods rented their dwelling units. This last finding corresponds to our analysis, in Chapter VII, of housing characteristics. For example, Table 7.1 revealed that more residents of integrated than of segregated neighborhoods resided in rented housing, and this difference was sustained under controls for region, size of place, and urbanization.

Again, consistent with the data in Chapter VII, those who moved into integrated neighborhoods moved into dwelling units that contained fewer rooms, fewer bedrooms, fewer bathrooms, and less adequate parking facilities than those who entered segregated neighborhoods. (Tables not shown.) The differences in dwelling-unit size are almost completely explained by the comparative prevalence of rental units in integrated neighborhoods.

Because the three variables employed in Table 9.3 are themselves associated, it is necessary to determine the extent to which the association between any one of them and moving into an integrated neighborhood is explained by one of the other two. Consider age when moved in, for example. It could be argued, before studying the data, that those moving into integrated neighborhoods do so at an earlier age than those moving into segregated neighborhoods because young families are more mobile and are more prone to seek rental housing, which is contained in relatively high numbers in integrated neighborhoods. In Table 9.4, we investigate the possibility that the age differences between the two groups can be explained in this way. The first part of the table reveals that the comparatively young age at which whites moved into integrated neighborhoods

TABLE 9.4  
RESPONDENT'S AGE WHEN MOVED IN AND INTEGRATION STATUS  
OF NEIGHBORHOOD AT TIME OF MOVE, BY OWNERSHIP STATUS  
AND BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN NEIGHBORHOOD  
(Per Cent of White Households with Respondent  
Aged 18-29 When Moved into  
Current Neighborhood)

Item	Neighborhood Integration Status When Respondent Moved In	
	Integrated	Segregated
<u>Ownership status:</u>		
Owner . . . . .	43 (345)	34 (1,519)
Renter . . . . .	48 (347)	36 (690)
<u>Length of residence in neighborhood:</u>		
4 years or less . . . . .	51 (404)	42 (792)
5 years or more . . . . .	39 (289)	31 (1,420)

cannot be explained by the presence there of large numbers of rental dwelling units. In order for the type of dwelling unit to explain the original association, it would have to be associated with both age and type of neighborhood; the data show that in the sample as a whole, renters were only slightly more likely than owners to have been young at the time they moved to their present place. A glance at the case bases, however, documents the rather strong association between ownership status and type of neighborhood. The primary lesson to be learned from this part of Table 9.4 is that the age differences upon entering the neighborhood between the two groups of whites under study remain unaffected by this statistical control.

A small portion of the relatively low age distribution of those moving into integrated neighborhoods is explained in the second half of Table 9.4, where the length of time since the respondent moved in is held constant. The original 11-point difference between the two groups is reduced to approximately 8.5 points within each length-of-residence group. At root here is the striking association between length of residence and each of the other two variables. Those who moved into the neighborhood most recently were younger at the time of the move than those who entered the neighborhood at a time in the more distant past. In addition, the case bases indicate that the most recent movers were substantially overrepresented among those who moved into integrated neighborhoods. However, the comparatively young age at the time of the move among those who entered integrated neighborhoods is still apparent within each length-of-residence group.

That those moving into integrated neighborhoods were younger and more recent residents suggests that there may have been a change over time in the willingness of whites to live in integrated neighborhoods. Since tolerant attitudes are

associated with education, and since younger people are more highly educated than those who are older, it is possible that education underlies much of the association between age and residential choice.

We now turn to an elaboration of another finding originally presented in Table 9.3, namely, the comparatively short length of residence of those whose neighborhood was integrated at the time they entered it. We saw that among those who moved into an integrated neighborhood, 58 per cent had done so within the last four years, whereas among those who moved into a segregated neighborhood, only 36 per cent had lived there four years or less. There are two plausible explanations for this rather marked difference. On the one hand, it may reflect an increase over time in the number of neighborhoods containing Negroes. That is, quite apart from the characteristics of the whites moving from one neighborhood to another, it may be more possible now than it was, say, a decade ago to enter a neighborhood that contains at least a few Negroes. At the same time, this difference may also reflect a greater mobility on the part of those families whose new neighborhood is integrated. In any community or geographical area, recent residents are likely to be mobile residents.

In Table 9.5 we elaborate this finding to determine whether the more recent arrival of residents in integrated neighborhoods can at least partially be explained by the fact that these neighborhoods contain many rental units or by the fact that these families were younger at the time of the move. Table 9.5 simultaneously holds constant ownership status and the respondent's age when he moved into the neighborhood. Our primary task in this table is to make horizontal comparisons, that is, to assess the extent to which those who moved into integrated neighborhoods did so more recently than those who moved into segregated neighborhoods, within each of six analytic subgroups. The original difference revealed that the proportion

TABLE 9.5  
 LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN NEIGHBORHOOD AND INTEGRATION STATUS  
 OF NEIGHBORHOOD AT TIME OF MOVE, BY OWNERSHIP STATUS  
 AND RESPONDENT'S AGE WHEN MOVED IN  
 (Per Cent of White Households Having Moved In  
 within Past Four Years)

Respondent's Age When Moved Into Neighborhood	Ownership Status	Neighborhood Integration Status When Respondent Moved In	
		Integrated	Segregated
18-29	Owner	35 (148)	27 (522)
	Renter	92 (168)	76 (248)
30-39	Owner	40 (86)	22 (494)
	Renter	84 (64)	51 (136)
40 and over	Owner	44 (105)	26 (473)
	Renter	59 (106)	52 (295)

having moved into the neighborhood within the past four years was 22 percentage points higher among those who entered integrated neighborhoods than among those who entered segregated neighborhoods. The six partial differences in Table 9.5 average to about 17 per cent, down 5 per cent from the original association. We interpret this to indicate that ownership status and respondents' age upon moving in explain over one-fourth of the variation in the recency of entry into the neighborhood between then-integrated and then-segregated neighborhoods. Ownership status is far the stronger predictor of the two; in comparing owners and renters, the latter in all instances far exceed the former in the proportion claiming a relatively late entry into the neighborhood.

The joint effect of the three variables is strikingly summarized by the extreme values in the table. Of those whites who, at a young age, moved into rental housing in an integrated neighborhood, virtually all (92 per cent) were recent arrivals in the neighborhood. By contrast, regardless of age, only about one-fourth of those who purchased their own homes in segregated neighborhoods had done so within the past four years.

In introducing this table we commented that it was possible that those who moved into integrated neighborhoods were geographically more mobile than those who moved into segregated neighborhoods. Our questionnaire afforded an opportunity to measure the number of places each resident had lived since he was married or, if single, since he "first began living on his own as an adult." (For exact wording, see Resident Q. 35.) The marginal distributions suggest that those whites moving into an integrated neighborhood and those moving into a segregated neighborhood experienced similar degrees of geographical mobility prior to moving in; for both groups the median total number of places lived is 2.5 and the mean is 3.4. We recall, however, that those who moved into an integrated neighborhood did so at a much younger age than those moving into a segregated neighborhood, and that they had lived there a shorter length of time. Thus, the median of 2.5 total number of places lived spanned fewer years among those moving into integrated neighborhoods, suggesting higher rates of mobility. Once we control for the total number of years during which the respondents' moves could have occurred, we note that those moving into integrated neighborhoods have indeed been more mobile than those entering segregated neighborhoods. For example, when attention is limited to those who have been married less than ten years, the median number of places lived is 2.0 for those who moved into an integrated neighborhood and 1.8 for those who entered a segregated neighborhood. While this difference of .2 may not seem large at first, its significance may be fully assessed by



recalling that the median number of places lived for all whites was only 2.5.

At this point, it might be well to take stock of the findings presented thus far. First, we noted that the white respondents who selected as their current neighborhood one that was integrated were indistinguishable with respect to a wide variety of "housing decisions" from those who selected a segregated neighborhood. The two groups cited similar advantages of the dwelling unit that led them to "decide to move here," they first learned about their present place via similar sources of information, and they considered the same number of other neighborhoods in their search for a place to live. We concluded from these negative findings that the integrated status of a neighborhood was not a salient factor in the housing decisions made by the white residents considered here. This conclusion was tempered somewhat by the observation that the number of Negroes in the sample neighborhoods was so low at the time of white entry that their presence could be ignored by the prospective white residents.

We should note, however, that this analysis contradicts a reasonably prevalent stereotype which argues that once even a handful of Negroes is present in a neighborhood, this fact will be so well known and the response of whites so negative that the whites will soon cease moving into such neighborhoods. We do not deny that this phenomenon occurs, but the conditions under which it does must be carefully spelled out. For example, as we saw in Chapter IV, the degree of Negro demand for housing in a neighborhood is related to the type of neighborhood reaction that accompanies the entry of the first Negro families. It is also likely that a very high level of Negro demand in a neighborhood is perceived as such by potential new white residents and affects their housing decisions. In this regard, it is instructive to note that of all whites who reported that Negroes were present in the neighborhood currently, a clear

majority also reported that the Negroes were there prior to their own entry into the neighborhood.

In the foregoing analysis, then, our emphasis has shifted from the integration status of the neighborhood into which the white respondents moved to the neighborhoods' housing characteristics. We observed in Table 9.3 that those moving into integrated neighborhoods were younger and more mobile than those moving into all-white neighborhoods. The crucial perspective, however, is not that the integrated status of the neighborhood was particularly attractive to them, but that integrated neighborhoods more often contained the type of housing suited to their needs. Some neighborhoods that contain a relatively large number of rental units not only permit the entry of occasional Negro families but also are more attractive to younger, more mobile, white families.

#### The Sample of Negro Residents

##### Criteria in Housing Decisions

The major concern so far in this chapter has been white residents. We now analyze Negro mobility patterns and housing decisions. As with the white residents, we shall consider some personal characteristics and previous experience with integrated living.

The classification of Negroes is based on the percentage of Negroes in the neighborhood when the respondent moved in and contains three categories: less than 50 per cent, 50-89 per cent, and 90 per cent Negro or more at the time of the move. Like the variable classifying white residents, this one is also based entirely upon responses given by the residents. The question was: "As you recall, approximately what proportion of the families in this neighborhood were Negro when you moved in?" (Resident Q. 81).

Before looking at their different housing decisions or their personal characteristics, we must consider the geographical distribution of these three analytical groups. Table 9.6 illustrates the uneven regional composition of the groups in question. Of those Negroes who moved into neighborhoods where

TABLE 9.6  
RACIAL COMPOSITION OF NEIGHBORHOOD AT TIME OF MOVE  
(Northern and Western Negro Households Only)

	Per Cent Negro in Neighborhood When Respondent Moved In		
	Less than 50	50-89	90 or More
Per cent living in North and West . . . . .	84 (123)	75 (121)	31 (227)

Negroes were in the minority, 84 per cent were in the North and West. At the other extreme, of those who moved into neighborhoods that were at least 90 per cent Negro at the time, only 31 per cent were in those regions, so that southerners outnumbered northerners and westerners by a ratio of almost 7 to 3. While this is an important substantive finding by itself, it also has methodological implications. In the paragraphs that follow, we shall have to control for region when dealing with a variable (such as income) that is associated with region. Apparent differences between the three basic analytic groups may flow from the fact that they have different regional compositions.

Table 9.7 reveals that in the North and West there is an association between the racial composition of the neighborhood into which Negroes moved and size of place. Of those moving into majority-white neighborhoods, that is, those less than 50 per cent Negro, 64 per cent lived in the largest metropolitan areas; at the other extreme, of those moving into virtually all-Negro neighborhoods, 46 per cent lived in these areas.

TABLE 9.7  
SIZE OF PLACE AND RACIAL COMPOSITION OF NEIGHBORHOOD  
AT TIME OF MOVE, BY REGION  
(Per Cent of Negro Households)

Size of Place	Per Cent Negro in Neighborhood When Respondent Moved In		
	Less than 50	50-89	90 or More
North and West			
Ten largest SMSAs . . . . .	64	60	46
Other SMSAs . . . . .	35	40	52
Non-SMSAs . . . . .	1	-	1
Total . . . . .	100	100	99 <sup>a</sup>
N . . . . .	(104)	(91)	(70)
South			
Ten largest SMSAs . . . . .	*	0	1
Other SMSAs . . . . .	*	86	90
Non-SMSAs . . . . .	*	14	9
Total . . . . .	*	100	100
N . . . . .	(19)	(30)	(158)

<sup>a</sup>Not 100 per cent because of rounding.

Table 9.8 presents the criteria that Negro families applied in selecting their new homes. The major conclusion we can draw from this table is that the integrated-segregated character of the neighborhood was not related to the Negro respondent's housing decision. With only two exceptions, "specific features of dwelling other than size" and "positive features of neighborhood," there is no ordered relationship between the particular criteria determining the final housing decision and the percentage of Negroes in the neighborhood at the time of the move.

TABLE 9.8

MOST IMPORTANT ADVANTAGES OF PRESENT HOME FOR  
NEGRO FAMILIES AND RACIAL COMPOSITION OF  
NEIGHBORHOOD AT TIME OF MOVE  
(Per Cent of Negro Households  
Citing Each Advantage)

Specific Advantage	Per Cent Negro in Neighborhood When Respondent Moved In		
	Less than 50	50-89	90 or More
Convenient location to work . . . . .	22	19	24
Dwelling unit appropri- ate size . . . . .	28	34	26
Specific features of dwelling other than size . . . . .	28	21	13
Financial reasons . . . .	23	15	24
Positive features of neighborhood . . . . .	20	17	14
General quality and con- dition of structure . .	20	10	13
Convenient location to friends and neighbors .	3	13	10
N . . . . .	(120)	(113)	(216)

The code category "specific features of dwelling other than size" contained all references to the physical attributes of the house in question, such as its style, presence of a garage, and fencing. Negroes moving into majority-white neighborhoods were more likely than others to cite such physical aspects as an attraction. A similar but weaker pattern is exhibited by the sixth category, which contains all references to the quality of the structure, rather than its specific features.

However, the small inverse relationship between "positive features of neighborhood" and per cent Negro indicates that the

general character of the neighborhood was also somewhat more important for those who moved into majority-white neighborhoods than for those who moved into neighborhoods where the majority of residents were Negro.

When the most important housing advantages of whites (see Table 9.1) are compared to those most important for Negroes, it becomes apparent that both races based their housing choices on substantially the same criteria. The size of the dwelling, one of four almost equally important considerations for whites, was clearly the single most important feature for Negroes. Convenience to work and financial reasons were important for both races. The specific features of the dwelling other than size were less important and the general quality of the structure was slightly more important for Negroes than for whites.

A further attempt to distinguish Negro residents according to the racial composition of the neighborhood into which they moved was made by considering the number of alternatives to the present neighborhood that the family considered. The Negro residents, like their white counterparts, were asked whether they had seriously considered other neighborhoods in which to live (Resident Q. 38). Those who responded "yes" were asked to estimate the number of such alternative neighborhoods. We had predicted that there would be two possible reasons why Negroes moving into neighborhoods where they were in the minority would probably have considered other neighborhoods more often than those moving into heavily Negro neighborhoods: either the higher status of those moving into white-majority neighborhoods would give them wider scope, or the difficulty of finding an integrated neighborhood that would accept them without incident would force consideration of more alternatives. There is a moderate relationship in the predicted direction (Table 9.9); that is, those moving into neighborhoods 90 per cent or more Negro were less likely than others to have considered alternative neighborhoods. Tables not shown here because of their

TABLE 9.9  
CONSIDERATION OF ALTERNATIVE NEIGHBORHOODS AND  
RACIAL COMPOSITION OF NEIGHBORHOOD AT  
TIME OF MOVE  
(Negro Households Only)

	Per Cent Negro in Neighborhood When Respondent Moved In		
	Less than 50	50-89	90 or More
Per cent considering other neighborhoods . . . . .	43 (121)	40 (120)	26 (226)

small case bases suggest that a portion of this relationship can be attributed to the association of each variable with social class. Higher-status Negroes have a somewhat greater variety of neighborhoods from which to choose; they also (as we shall see) are more likely than others to select a white-majority neighborhood.

A further attempt to distinguish the Negro resident groups by the factors influencing their housing decisions was made by asking them whether "this particular house/apartment or this particular neighborhood" was the more important factor in their decision (Resident Q. 39). In all regions, we found curvilinearity among the three groups and hence no clear association between salience of neighborhood and the percentage of Negroes in the neighborhood when the respondent moved in.

#### Life Cycle and Socioeconomic Status

We compared the age of the respondent when the family moved into the neighborhood among three Negro age groups, as we did for white respondents, but in the case of Negroes the data showed no apparent relation between the age of the respondent and the type of neighborhood he moved into. Similarly, there was no relation between the percentage of Negroes in the

neighborhood and either the percentage who rented their dwellings or the length of residence of the respondent, although for the white residents there was an association between each of these variables and the integration status of the neighborhood.

However, Table 9.10 shows that those Negroes in the North and West moving into neighborhoods where they were in the minority were better educated than those entering the "middle" or the predominantly Negro neighborhoods; the percentages of household heads having more than a high school education are 32, 19, and 15 per cent, respectively. Similarly, there is a substantial income difference among the three Negro groups.

TABLE 9.10  
SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AND RACIAL COMPOSITION  
OF NEIGHBORHOOD AT TIME OF MOVE  
(Per Cent of Northern and Western  
Negro Households)

Socioeconomic Status	Per Cent Negro in Neighborhood When Respondent Moved In		
	Less than 50	50-89	90 or More
More than high school . . .	32 (100)	19 (84)	15 (66)
Earning \$6,000 or more . .	69 (98)	54 (86)	45 (63)

Previous Integrated Experience and  
Attitudes toward Whites

In examining the social-psychological factors that may have influenced Negroes' housing decisions, we find that previous experience with integrated living is strongly related to the selection of a neighborhood containing substantial numbers of whites. Respondents were asked whether they had previous experience living in integrated neighborhoods as children and as adults. (For exact wording, see Resident Q. 83.)



Table 9.11 shows that of those Negroes who claimed previous residence in an integrated neighborhood both as a child and as an adult, 36 per cent selected an area that was less than half Negro in their most recent move. On the other hand, of those who completely lacked integrated experience, only 15 per cent selected as their current neighborhood one that was majority-white at the time.

TABLE 9.11  
INTEGRATION STATUS OF PRESENT NEIGHBORHOOD AT TIME  
OF MOVE AND PREVIOUS INTEGRATED RESIDENCE  
(Per Cent of Negro Households Whose Neighborhood  
Was Less Than Half Negro When They Moved In)

Previous Integrated Experience As Child	Previous Integrated Experience As Adult	
	Yes	No
Yes . . . . .	36 (154)	16 (90)
No . . . . .	32 (93)	15 (123)

Table 9.11 further reveals that among Negroes the "adult effect" is pronounced, but whether or not a person had lived in an integrated neighborhood as a child had almost no relation to the racial composition of their present neighborhood at the time of the most recent move.

The association in Table 9.11 withstands a control for social class, which cannot be viewed as a variable explaining the observed relationship.

In an attempt to discern whether selection of neighborhood was associated with attitudes toward whites, we cross-tabulated the responses to a series of questions of this nature by level of integration at the time of the move. For example, Negroes were asked whether they thought "most white people would really

like for Negroes to have their rights" (Resident Q. 88A). There was no correlation between the answer to this question and the level of integration of the neighborhood at the time the respondent moved in. A more detailed assessment of Negro attitudes toward whites has been presented in the previous chapter.

#### Summary

Three major themes have emerged in our attempt to discern whether there are differences between those white residents who moved into an already integrated neighborhood and those who moved into an all-white neighborhood. First, across a variety of measures relating to the process of selecting a particular place to live, these groups showed great similarity. In particular, one of our prior hypotheses was unsubstantiated, namely, that whites would require a financial inducement to enter an already integrated neighborhood to offset the "cost" that its integrated status represented. We concluded that the proportion of Negroes in the neighborhood was so small at the time the typical white family entered that its integrated status was not salient.

Second, we reviewed strong evidence that the selection of an integrated rather than a segregated neighborhood was clearly associated both with previous living in an integrated neighborhood and with tolerant racial attitudes.

Our third major theme had its basis in the concentration of rental units in those neighborhoods that were integrated at the time the white respondents moved in, a fact that was documented earlier in Chapter VII. From this difference flowed the fact that whites who moved into integrated neighborhoods did so at a younger age and were more mobile than those who had selected a segregated neighborhood as their present place of residence.

How can these themes be woven together? Apparently the criteria individuals apply in selecting a particular place to live are well defined and comparatively constant. That is, aside from external and involuntary constraints, white individuals bring to their housing decisions criteria around which a good deal of consensus has developed in the society at large. However, depending on the presence or absence of previous experience in integrated neighborhoods, entire sets of neighborhoods are excluded from those that the respondent considers. Specifically, it is likely that whites without previous residence in an integrated neighborhood exclude, even if not consciously, neighborhoods that are presently integrated even though the second-order criteria by which they evaluate housing may not distinguish these whites from those who have had some previous experience in neighborhoods containing Negroes.

This interpretation goes somewhat beyond the specific data available to us. To answer the questions raised here requires research focusing directly on the role that the presence of Negroes in a neighborhood plays in the calculation white families make as they move into integrated neighborhoods, particularly into neighborhoods containing more than a handful of Negroes and/or neighborhoods with a high Negro demand for housing. An ideal design would require interviewing whites who had recently moved into such communities, but the difficulties in locating a large sample of this relatively rare group would be considerable.

For Negro residents, it appears that we can draw several tentative conclusions. Apparently for some Negroes moving into neighborhoods that are less than 50 per cent Negro, the choice is deliberate; their presence is not happenstance. They cite the positive features of the neighborhood as important for their ultimate housing decision, and they consider alternative neighborhoods more often than do Negroes living in more segregated areas. As a group, those who entered neighborhoods containing

a majority of whites at the time have more education and earn more money than their counterparts in more segregated neighborhoods. And finally those Negroes who chose neighborhoods in which they would be a minority were more likely to have had some prior integrated living experience, although they apparently do not have more favorable attitudes toward whites.

## CHAPTER X

### INTEGRATION IN THE SCHOOLS

#### Introduction

The intimate relationship between housing segregation and school segregation has often been noted by those concerned with racial integration in the public schools. Because most public schools enroll students from the immediate surrounding area, racial segregation of neighborhoods will bring about racial segregation of schools even if there is no explicit policy pursued by local school boards to alter attendance boundaries in order to produce or maintain racially segregated schools. The effects of the racial composition of schools on housing decisions have been studied somewhat less, although there is widespread belief that changing the racial composition of schools plays an important role in accelerating racial change in transitional neighborhoods. Stabilizing the racial balance in schools is seen by some as an effective device to prevent a substantially integrated neighborhood from becoming a changing neighborhood (Hauser, 1964; Havighurst, 1964). Our belief in the existence of an intimate connection between housing integration and school integration led us to focus considerable attention on the role of schools in neighborhood life.

In this chapter we explore both the extent of racial integration in the schools attended by the children living in the neighborhoods under study and the attitudes of the residents of these neighborhoods toward their schools. We use data both from the neighborhood informants and from the residents' sample. In interpreting the data to be presented below, we remind the reader that our segregated control neighborhoods are not a

random sample of all nonintegrated neighborhoods but are matched as nearly as possible with our integrated neighborhoods on the basis of socioeconomic status and location within the metropolitan area. Thus, while we can point out differences between our control neighborhoods and the integrated neighborhoods, we cannot generalize these results to give any overall estimates of the degree of segregation in the schools in the United States.

#### Racial Composition of Schools

We begin by surveying the proportion of integrated schools in our neighborhoods. The data presented in Tables 10.1 and 10.2 are for all schools combined: public, parochial, and private, and both elementary and high school. Here we are concerned only with the fact that both Negro and white students are attending the school. Later in this section we shall present data on the proportions of Negro and white students in the schools in different kinds of neighborhoods.

The estimates in Table 10.1 were arrived at in the following manner: We asked each informant in each neighborhood to list all of the schools that children from that neighborhood attended, whether or not the schools were actually in the neighborhood. Then, for each school named, we asked the informant, "Do both Negroes and whites attend this school?" (Informant Q. 28).

Since not all informants were equally knowledgeable about the schools in their neighborhoods, they did not list the same number of schools. On the whole we expect that those informants who were most knowledgeable about schools, typically the school and community organization informants, listed a large number of schools. Thus, we weighted their responses more heavily than those who listed fewer schools and presumably were less knowledgeable. While we could have corrected the estimates for the number of schools listed, we felt that this weighting

TABLE 10.1  
RACIAL COMPOSITION OF SCHOOL AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE  
(Per Cent of Schools: Data from Informants)

Racial Composition of School	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated	
				North and West	South
Both Negro and white students . . . . .	50	73	88	93	60
All white . . . . .	48	27	12	6	12
All Negro . . . . .	2	0	0	1	28
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100	100
					69
					5
					26
					100

procedure gave us more accurate estimates for each neighborhood.

There are several surprises in Table 10.1 that should not be overlooked. First, even in the white segregated neighborhoods, on the average, 50 per cent of the schools were attended by both Negro and white students, and there were also some all-Negro schools in these neighborhoods. The latter is because the white segregated neighborhoods sometimes contained in them or adjacent to them pockets of all-Negro areas with housing that was not of comparable value to the housing occupied by the whites. Therefore, these neighborhoods did not qualify as integrated by our definition.

When we look among the three types of integrated neighborhoods, we see a pattern that is more in line with our ordinary expectations. As one goes from open to moderately integrated to substantially integrated neighborhoods (in the North and West at least), that is, from neighborhoods with a very small proportion of Negro residents to those with a larger proportion, we see that the average percentage of schools which are attended by both Negroes and whites increases and the number of all-white schools decreases.

In the Negro segregated neighborhoods, which the reader should remember also include some changing neighborhoods that are still largely white, we find a substantial proportion of integrated schools, as well as some all-white schools.<sup>1</sup> Here we see that the proportion of all-Negro schools is considerably higher than in any other neighborhood type except for the substantially integrated neighborhoods in the South. As time goes on, of course, we expect that the all-white schools will disappear and the proportion of integrated schools will decrease, unless some action stabilizes changing neighborhoods or there is a radical realignment of school boundaries or a busing plan.

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<sup>1</sup>These schools are in fact all in southern nonurban areas.



Another way of looking at the degree of school integration in our neighborhoods is to consider the proportion of parents of school-age children in each of the neighborhood types who have children in integrated schools. These data, which are presented in Table 10.2, come from responses of residents in the neighborhoods who reported that they had children attending elementary or high school. Each respondent who was a parent was asked a series of questions about each of the schools attended by his children. Included in these questions was, "Do both white and Negro children attend (name of school)? IF YES: Approximately what percentage of the children at (name of school) are Negro, would you guess?" (Resident Q. 14L). The data in Table 10.2 are based on responses to the first school mentioned by respondents, although some had children in two and occasionally three different schools. Since many respondents only had children in one school, we are presenting the tables based only on the data from the first school mentioned. The analysis of data on second and third schools listed confirm the findings from the analysis of data on the first school mentioned. It should be emphasized that this table presents the percentages of parents who have children attending school, contrasted with the previous table that reported on the percentage of schools in the neighborhood attended by Negro or white children or both. In Table 10.2 we again see, rather surprisingly, that a majority of the respondents with children who live in the white segregated neighborhoods have at least one child in a school attended by both Negroes and whites.

These data are consistent with previous studies of racial segregation in schools. In general, the proportion of white parents with children in all-white schools declines as one moves from white segregated to substantially integrated neighborhoods. The white residents in Negro segregated neighborhoods who have children in all-white schools live in rural areas in the south.

TABLE 10.2  
RACIAL COMPOSITION OF SCHOOL AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, BY RACE OF PARENTS  
(Per Cent of Parents with Children Attending School: First School Listed)

Racial Composition of School	White Parents					Negro Parents	
	Neighborhood Type					Neighborhood Type	
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated	Negro Segregated	Substan- tially Integrated	Negro Segregated
Both Negro and white students	62	79	89	92	91	69	59
All white .	38	21	11	8	9	0	0
All Negro .	0	0	0	0	0	31	41
Total.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N . .	(227)	(388)	(264)	(73)	(85)	(232)	(134)

For the most part, the pattern of integration by neighborhood type is consistent across a number of variables such as region, size of place, urbanization, public versus private or parochial schools, and elementary versus high schools (Table 10.3). For whites living in integrated neighborhoods, the size of place makes little difference in the likelihood of their children attending integrated schools. For Negroes, the probability of their children attending integrated schools is higher in the larger SMSAs; for whites in white segregated neighborhoods the reverse pattern occurs, with those living in the larger metropolitan areas being less likely than those in smaller and nonmetropolitan areas to have their children attending integrated schools. This difference may be due to the greater degree of suburbanization in the larger SMSAs since whites living in segregated suburbs are much less likely to have children in integrated schools.

In almost all types of neighborhoods, public schools are more likely to be integrated than private or parochial schools, and high schools are more likely to be integrated than elementary schools. The major exception is that Negroes in both substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods are more likely to have their children attend an integrated school at the elementary level than at the high school level.

Up to this point we have considered only whether the schools in the neighborhood were attended by both Negro and white students. Let us now look at the differences among our neighborhoods in the percentage of Negro and white students attending the integrated schools. In Table 10.4 we see from the reports of the residents a pattern among neighborhoods in the percentage of Negroes in the schools that is similar to the pattern in the percentage of schools attended by both Negro and white students. It is difficult to know whether to be optimistic or pessimistic about these figures. On the optimistic side, it is clear that there are many white parents who are sending

TABLE 10.3  
INTEGRATED SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF CHILDREN AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE,  
BY RACE OF PARENTS AND SELECTED VARIABLES  
(Per Cent of Parents with Children Attending Integrated  
Schools: First School Listed)<sup>a</sup>

Selected Variable	White Parents				Negro Parents	
	Neighborhood Type				Neighborhood Type	
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated North and South West	Substantially Integrated	Negro Segregated
Region:						
North and West . . .	56 (180)	78 (378)	88 (259)	92 (71)	100 (22)	96 (76)
South . . . .	88 (45)	* (12)	* (15)	91 (85)	* (6)	12 (59)
Size of place:						
Ten largest SMSAs . . .	55 (91)	81 (140)	85 (137)	91 (48)	* (2)	93 (44)
Other SMSAs . .	62 (113)	77 (242)	91 (116)	96 (23)	92 (58)	44 (89)
Non-SMSAs . .	95 (21)	* (8)	100 (20)	-	89 (26)	* (27)

(Table 10.3 continued)

TABLE 10.3--Continued

Selected Variable	White Parents				Negro Parents	
	Neighborhood Type				Neighborhood Type	
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated North and South West	Substantially Integrated	Negro Segregated
<u>Urbanization:</u>						
Central city of SMSA . . .	77 (75)	80 (132)	90 (124)	92 (51) 88 (22)	* (6)	84 (165) 52 (88)
Suburb of SMSA . . .	48 (129)	78 (250)	86 (129)	94 (20) 95 (38)	* (17)	* (40) 75 (45)
<u>Auspices:</u>						
Public . . .	66 (189)	82 (296)	94 (206)	98 (42) 91 (75)	88 (25)	69 (210) 60 (113)
Private or parochial . .	38 (27)	63 (73)	74 (39)	84 (21) * (5)	* (3)	* (6) * (7)
<u>Level:</u>						
Elementary . .	50 (114)	74 (242)	85 (156)	95 (36) 87 (38)	* (17)	72 (147) 64 (80)
High school . .	74 (103)	87 (137)	96 (95)	89 (30) 94 (42)	* (10)	65 (77) 54 (43)

<sup>a</sup>Data in this table are based only on responses from residents with children currently attending elementary or high schools.

TABLE 10.4  
PER CENT NEGRO IN SCHOOL AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, BY RACE OF PARENTS  
(Per Cent of Parents with Children Attending School: First School Listed)<sup>a</sup>

Per Cent Negro in School	White Parents					Negro Parents	
	Neighborhood Type					Neighborhood Type	
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated North and South West	Negro Segregated	Substan- tially Integrated	Negro Segregated
0 . . . . .	41	24	13	9	10	15	0
1-4 . . . . .	30	52	32	15	41	27	1
5-19 . . . . .	13	17	31	13	35	27	4
20-49 . . . . .	14	7	18	35	10	15	12
50 or more . . .	2	0	6	28	4	15	82
Total . . . . .	100 (206)	100 (343)	100 (235)	100 (57)	100 (74)	99 <sup>b</sup> (26)	100 (124)
N . . . . .							

<sup>a</sup> Question: "Approximately what percentage of the children at (name of school) are Negro, would you guess?" (Resident Q. 14L[1]).

<sup>b</sup> Not 100 per cent because of rounding.

their children to schools that contain substantial proportions of Negro students. This is true even for residents of white segregated neighborhoods. On the pessimistic side, even in the substantially integrated neighborhoods a very high proportion of Negro parents have children in schools in which Negroes are the majority. This fact indicates that neighborhoods which are, by our definition, stably integrated still have school systems which are almost completely segregated. In reflecting upon what this may mean, we should remember that most of the substantially integrated neighborhoods contain only 10 to 20 per cent Negro residents, so the schools are not reflecting the overall proportions in the neighborhood. A substantial proportion (31 per cent) of the Negro students in schools that are 50 per cent or more Negro are, in fact, in all-Negro schools.

The data on integration in the schools parallel in many ways the data on integration in the neighborhoods. We find a surprisingly large number of schools attended by both Negro and white students, just as we found a surprisingly large number of neighborhoods into which both Negroes and whites were moving. When we look further, however, we see that the proportion of Negroes in the integrated schools is typically very small, just as the proportion of Negroes in the integrated neighborhoods is typically very small. While these data suggest that in a large number of areas we have moved beyond token integration, we still have not reached a state in which there is genuine freedom of residence.

#### School Attendance Patterns

So far we have considered only the degree of integration in the schools in the neighborhoods under study. In some instances, particularly in neighborhoods that are changing to Negro segregated, there may be some local adjustments that allow white parents to continue sending their children to segregated schools such as using private schools or sending children

to public schools that are in some other neighborhood, although the latter is sometimes difficult because of neighborhood school attendance requirements in public schools. There are, however, frequently ways around these requirements for white parents if they are willing to pay for transportation.

The data on attendance patterns are presented in Table 10.5. These data, obtained from the residents' questionnaire, are the percentage of the parents who mentioned that they had a child in a particular type of school, as indicated. Since many respondents had children in several different schools, the percentages add to more than 100 per cent.

We note that there are relatively few differences in attendance patterns among our neighborhoods. Perhaps the most notable differences occur in the substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods. In the Negro segregated areas, white parents of elementary school children are more likely than white parents in other neighborhoods to send their children to schools outside the neighborhood, either to public schools or to private or parochial schools. As we noted in the previous section, there were white parents in southern neighborhoods that we classified as Negro segregated who had children in all-white schools. The fact that a higher proportion of residents in these southern neighborhoods say that the school attended by their children is outside the neighborhood probably reflects the rural character of many of the neighborhoods rather than a deliberate adjustment of attendance patterns in response to school integration. At the high school level, there do not appear to be any significant differences in attendance patterns among our different neighborhoods.

It appears then that adjustments in attendance patterns either by the use of private or parochial schools or by sending children outside the neighborhood exist as a possible response to the changing racial patterns of the schools. We do not see any significant number of white parents with elementary school



TABLE 10.5  
TYPE OF SCHOOL ATTENDED BY CHILDREN AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, BY RACE OF PARENTS  
(Per Cent of Parents with At Least One Child in School Type)

Type of School	White Parents				Negro Parents	
	Neighborhood Type				Neighborhood Type	
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated North and South West	Substantially Integrated	Negro Segregated
Elementary:						
Public						
In neighborhood	43	51	48	38 31	38	52
Out of neighborhood	11	10	8	6 23	38	16
Private or parochial						
In neighborhood	6	12	8	22 0	0	4
Out of neighborhood	4	5	4	1 2	14	3

(Table 10.5 continued)

TABLE 10.5--Continued

Type of School	White Parents					Negro Parents	
	Neighborhood Type					Neighborhood Type	
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated North and South West	Negro Segregated	Substantially Integrated	Negro Segregated
High school:							
Public							
In neighborhood .	25	24	23	20	18	17	17
Out of neighborhood .	29	21	15	21	30	31	27
Private or parochial							
In neighborhood .	2	1	2	3	0	0	0
Out of neighborhood .	3	6	3	12	2	2	0
N . . . .	(251)	(437)	(283)	(77)	(91)	(237)	(139)

children exercising this option. Thus, while differing attendance patterns may be of particular relevance in some changing neighborhoods, we do not see this as a very widespread pattern or one that is significant in maintaining a stably integrated neighborhood.

#### Quality of Schools

Since we believe that schools play an important role in attracting or keeping residents in the neighborhood, we were particularly concerned with the perceptions that our neighborhood informants and the parents of school-age children had about the quality of the schools in their neighborhoods. Thus, for each of the schools mentioned by our informants or by the parents, we asked a series of questions about the quality of the school, particularly about attendance or degree of overcrowding, the quality of the physical plant, the educational program, and the extracurricular activities program. We also asked the parents for an overall rating. (For exact wordings, see Informant Q. 5D-H and Resident Q. 14D-J.) The summary ratings by the informants are presented in Table 10.6, and the summary ratings for the first school mentioned by a resident as being attended by his child are presented in Table 10.7.

Except for ratings on crowding, there is a tendency for informants and parents in both the southern substantially integrated and the Negro segregated areas to rate schools lower.<sup>2</sup> As we have noted earlier, however, both of these types of neighborhoods are substantially lower in income level than are other neighborhoods. Indeed, when the median income of the neighborhood is controlled, the differences among neighborhood types are

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<sup>2</sup>It is an interesting sidelight on American education that the ratings on extracurricular activities are poorer than on any other aspect of schools by both our informants and parents in almost all neighborhoods. One wonders whether this area is seen by most parents and informants as the most important one for improvement.

TABLE 10.6  
RATINGS OF SCHOOL QUALITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE  
(Per Cent of Schools Rated by Informants As "Above Average" or "Superior" Except As Noted)

School Quality <sup>a</sup>	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated	
				North and West	South
Attendance <sup>b</sup> . . . . .	77	59	57	63	81
Physical plant . . . . .	54	46	48	39	35
Educational program . . . .	58	59	59	45	41
Extracurricular activities . . . . .	45	45	41	38	29
					33

<sup>a</sup>Based on responses to Informant Q. 5D-H.

<sup>b</sup>Per cent "below capacity" or "at capacity."

TABLE 10.7  
RATINGS OF SCHOOL QUALITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, BY RACE OF PARENTS  
(Per Cent of Parents Rating Schools "Above Average" or "Superior"  
Except as Noted: First School Listed)

	White Parents						Negro Parents	
	Neighborhood Type						Neighborhood Type	
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated		Negro Segregated	Substantially Integrated	Negro Segregated
School <sup>a</sup> Quality				North and West	South			
Attendance . .	53	64	55	54	69	61	53	45
Physical plant	57	48	44	45	18	34	25	25
Educational program . .	56	57	61	58	36	41	30	30
Extracurricular activities .	45	37	47	41	24	29	22	28
Overall rating	55	57	58	52	29	35	23	29
N . . .	(230)	(400)	(268)	(69)	(79)	(28)	(195)	(128)

<sup>a</sup>Based on responses to Resident Q. 14D-J.

<sup>b</sup>Per cent "below capacity" or "at capacity."

considerably reduced (Table 10.8). Among poorer neighborhoods, however, schools in the Negro segregated neighborhoods still receive generally lower ratings. The differences between rich and poor neighborhoods far outweigh the differences among our types of neighborhoods.

TABLE 10.8  
RATINGS OF SCHOOL QUALITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE,  
BY MEDIAN INCOME OF NEIGHBORHOOD<sup>a</sup>  
(Per Cent of Schools Rated by Informants as "Above  
Average" or "Superior" Except As Noted)

School Quality <sup>b</sup>	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
Median Income under \$6,000					
Attendance . . . .	82	55	62	74	49
Physical plant . .	36	38	36	35	23
Educational program	42	36	42	38	18
Extracurricular activities . . .	41	29	26	30	30
Median Income under \$6,000					
Attendance <sup>c</sup> . . .	76	60	56	59	64
Physical plant . .	58	48	52	45	52
Educational program	62	65	64	58	53
Extracurricular activities . . .	45	48	45	48	32

<sup>a</sup>One white segregated neighborhood with median income over \$19,000 and one neighborhood for which median income could not be computed are excluded from this table.

<sup>b</sup>Based on responses to Informant Q. 5D-H.

<sup>c</sup>Per cent "below capacity" or "at capacity."

One sharp difference that stands out in Table 10.7 is between the ratings of schools given by Negro parents and those given by white parents in both substantially integrated neighborhoods outside the South and Negro segregated neighborhoods. Negroes in both substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods and whites in southern substantially integrated neighborhoods are considerably more critical of the schools and give them substantially lower ratings than do whites in Negro segregated or nonsouthern substantially integrated neighborhoods. This tendency for Negro respondents to give poorer ratings is not restricted to schools, as we shall see in other chapters, but reflects a more general tendency to give poorer ratings than whites to all public and private facilities in their neighborhoods. While we do not have data allowing us to explain these differences definitively, it seems quite likely that they reflect the realities of life for Negroes in America today, and perhaps also for some white southerners.

Some indirect evidence that these differing perceptions have a basis in reality is found in the differences in school ratings given by both Negro and white parents to schools with differing proportions of Negro students. If it is true, as frequently charged by both white and Negro parents, that the quality of schooling declines as the proportion of Negro students increases, the difference between Negro and white residents' ratings should disappear when we control for the percentage of Negroes in the school. When we drop our distinction by neighborhood type and merely look at the ratings of schools by the percentage of Negro students (Table 10.9), we see that the ratings of the schools on educational program and the overall ratings become lower as the proportion Negro begins to exceed 20 per cent and drop off sharply when the schools become majority Negro. On these two variables both Negro and white parents rate schools at approximately the same levels when the

TABLE 10.9

RATINGS OF SCHOOL QUALITY AND PER CENT NEGRO  
IN SCHOOL, BY RACE OF PARENTS

(Per Cent of Parents Rating School "Above  
Average": or "Superior" Except as  
Noted: First School Listed)

School Quality <sup>a</sup>	White Parents					Negro Parents	
	Per Cent Negro in School					Per Cent Negro in School	
	0	1-4	5-19	20-49	50 or More	20-49	50 or More
Attendance <sup>b</sup> . .	66	66	61	41	40	57	43
Physical plant	54	44	46	42	36	31	30
Educational pro- gram . . . . .	65	56	58	58	38	51	24
Extracurricular activities .	39	37	44	49	38	27	26
Overall rating	62	55	55	48	28	46	23
N . . . . .	(204)	(352)	(184)	(118)	(36)	(40)	(278)

<sup>a</sup>Based on responses to Resident Q. 14D-J.

<sup>b</sup>Per cent "below capacity" or "at capacity."

student body is 20-49 per cent Negro, and both white and Negro parents give the majority-Negro schools much poorer ratings. The fact that Negro residents whose children are in majority-Negro schools rate them even lower on educational programs and overall ratings than do white residents whose children are in majority-Negro schools probably reflects the fact that a substantial proportion of the Negro parents have children attending all-Negro schools, whereas most of the small number of white parents with children in majority-Negro schools have them in schools that are nearer to 50-50. While the figures in this table are based on the parents' ratings of their first school



listed, analysis of data on the second school listed supports these general conclusions.

The Role of Schools in the Stability  
of the Neighborhood

The quality of public schools in the neighborhood is often cited by real estate agents as an important factor in attracting residents to a particular neighborhood. While schools are of particular importance to the 50 per cent of the families who have school-age children, they also have some effect on families who do not have children currently in school. For example, the quality of neighborhood schools may be important for young couples who are either just beginning their families or who have preschool children and who will be making housing decisions in the relatively near future as they begin to reach the time when their children will be entering school. It is even true to some extent for families with no children or with children who are grown, because the general quality of the schools is one indicator, although for their purposes a relatively unimportant one, of the general quality of life in the community.

We should not, however, overestimate the importance of schools for housing choice. While we expect that schools play a role in attracting and retaining residents in a community, our knowledge about the most important factors influencing housing decisions would not lead us to expect schools to be an overwhelmingly important positive attraction for most families. For some families, schools may be a critical negative factor if they are, in fact, below the acceptable limits of quality demanded by particular families with children. In short, the role of schools in the life of a community is complex, and we should not expect dramatic differences among our neighborhoods in either our informants' or the residents' evaluations of the importance of neighborhood schools.

One way to approach the problem of measuring the impact of schools on the neighborhood was to ask our informants, "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?" (Informant Q. 5I). The data from this question are reported in Table 10.10, which shows the proportion of schools in each type of neighborhood that were given each rating as a factor in attracting residents to the neighborhood.

The ratings here are in line with the ratings of school quality that we have discussed previously. Schools are most likely to be seen as a positive attraction in the white segregated neighborhoods. In the open and moderately integrated neighborhoods, a majority of the schools are seen as a positive factor, although the proportion is somewhat smaller than in the white segregated neighborhoods. In the substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods, the proportions drop below 50 per cent, which is in line with the generally lower ratings in school quality given by the informants in these neighborhoods. We might note that although schools are less of a positive factor in substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods, among all neighborhood types there are very few neighborhoods in which schools are seen as a negative factor. As seen by informants, schools either play a positive role in attracting residents or, at worst, have no effect. Only in a few exceptional cases do they really have a negative effect.

While these overall ratings are of some interest, they tell us relatively little about the relation between school integration and the role of the schools in the stability of the neighborhood. As we have seen, a large proportion of white parents send their children to schools that are integrated, but the proportion of white students in schools that are more than 20 per cent Negro is very small. While there are some

TABLE 10.10  
RATINGS OF SCHOOLS AS FACTOR IN ATTRACTING RESIDENTS TO  
NEIGHBORHOODS AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE  
(Per Cent of Schools Given Each Rating by Informants)

Schools As Factor	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated	
				North and West	South
Positive attraction . . .	65	59	57	37	46
No effect . . . . .	33	38	39	51	50
Negative effect . . . . .	2	3	4	12	4
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100	100
					99 <sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Not 100 per cent because of rounding.

spectacular cases of parents boycotting schools and harrassing school boards over boundary changes, our data indicate clearly that there is considerable willingness on the part of white parents, regardless of their attitudes toward integration, to send their children to integrated schools when the proportion of Negro students is relatively small. While one may speculate about what percentage is "small," it seems clear that the willingness of white parents to send their children to integrated schools goes down as the proportion of Negroes in those schools increases.

What the "tipping point" might be is a subject of considerable speculation. We expect that there is no absolute answer to the question of how small is "small" and that the definition of "small" will vary with the past experiences of people in the neighborhood and the residents' expectations about the future racial composition of their own neighborhood and of surrounding neighborhoods using the same schools. One way to explore indirectly the relation between the current situation and expectations of future change is to look at neighborhood type in conjunction with the percentage of Negroes in adjacent neighborhoods that share schools with our neighborhoods. In spite of the prevalence of a neighborhood school policy, school boundaries are not exactly coterminous with residents' perceptions of neighborhood boundaries, and children from adjacent neighborhoods frequently attend school together. Thus, we would expect that not only the proportion of Negroes in the neighborhood we are studying but also the proportion of Negroes in adjacent neighborhoods using the same schools would be of importance in assessing the role of schools in the stability of the neighborhood.

In order to test this notion, we obtained data on the proportion of Negroes in adjacent neighborhoods where children attended the same schools as did children in the neighborhoods under study. For each of our neighborhoods we constructed a

measure of the maximum percentage of Negroes living in adjacent neighborhoods that shared schools with it; that is, we took as our measure the largest proportion of Negroes in any of the adjacent neighborhoods that shared at least some public school facilities with our neighborhood. Table 10.11 reports the percentage of schools rated as a positive factor in attracting

TABLE 10.11  
RATINGS OF SCHOOLS AS FACTOR IN ATTRACTING RESIDENTS TO  
NEIGHBORHOODS AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, BY MAXIMUM  
PER CENT NEGRO IN ADJACENT NEIGHBORHOODS  
SHARING SCHOOLS

(Per Cent of Schools Rated by Informants  
as Positive Attraction)

Maximum Per Cent Negro in Adjacent Neighborhoods	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
0-19 . . . . .	67	60	63	61	58
20 or more . . .	56	55	50	37	46

residents to the neighborhood by the type of neighborhood, with each type subdivided according to whether the adjacent neighborhoods that share schools with it are 20 per cent or more Negro or are less than 20 per cent Negro.<sup>3</sup> We see now that the differences among neighborhood types are considerably reduced for all neighborhoods whose maximum per cent Negro in adjacent neighborhoods is less than 20 per cent. On the other hand, for all types of neighborhoods that are adjacent to neighborhoods

<sup>3</sup> We might note here that these percentages are absolute percentages and do not take into consideration any of the factors we have been using in defining integration, such as equal-quality housing or the fact that both Negroes and whites are moving in.

in which the maximum per cent of Negroes is 20 per cent or greater, schools are less likely to be rated as a positive attraction. Schools are least likely to be noted as a positive factor in substantially integrated neighborhoods adjacent to the more heavily populated Negro areas.

The data in this table suggest that the one type of neighborhood in which schools may play a really significant role in its future stability is the substantially integrated neighborhood that is adjacent to at least one neighborhood with a high proportion of Negroes. At present these neighborhoods meet our criteria for stable integration, that is, both Negroes and whites are currently moving into housing of comparable value and our informants expect that this situation will continue for at least the next five years. In the long run, however, it is likely that many of these neighborhoods will eventually change and become all Negro. The fact that the schools in these neighborhoods are much less likely to be rated as a positive feature of the neighborhood suggests that signs of trouble are already appearing and that schools are perceived (and may actually be) declining in quality or are changing in their proportion Negro at a much faster rate than the neighborhood itself. It is likely that these are the types of neighborhoods in which ameliorative action by school officials could prevent a change from the substantially integrated to the Negro segregated category. Such action would require taking steps to improve or maintain the quality of the school and/or to limit the proportion of Negro students in the school, probably through quotas or some sort of busing. While these remedies are usually not very palatable to school officials, these data suggest that this is the one type of neighborhood that might well benefit from imaginative and bold action to make the schools attractive to residents of the community.

Concern over Proportion of Negroes in Schools

We suggested earlier that the perception of the level of integration that might provide a "tipping point" would vary depending on the circumstances in which people found themselves. We obtained data from our residents' questionnaire that would help us illuminate the dynamics of this situation somewhat more fully. We asked each resident who had a child in school not only the percentage of Negro students in the school but also, "Would you be concerned if the proportion of Negro children in (name of school) rose beyond a certain percentage? IF YES: What percentage would that be?" (Resident Q. 14M). We were thus able to investigate differences across neighborhoods as well as among individuals who have children in schools of differing percentage Negro. We shall consider here only the responses from white parents since their concern is most pertinent to our discussion.

First, in Table 10.12, we see that there are a few differences among neighborhood types, but these are relatively small. The most notable difference is the larger percentage of white parents in the white segregated neighborhoods and, not surprisingly, in the substantially integrated neighborhoods in the South who would be concerned if even a small percentage of Negroes were in the schools. In this table we see again that southern attitudes are markedly different and that white parents in the South would be extremely unhappy if the schools became integrated, even if the proportion of Negroes were small.

Perhaps the most surprising thing about Table 10.12 is the large percentage of white parents who say that they would not be concerned regardless of an increase in the proportion of Negro children in the schools beyond any particular percentage. Given the current experiences and expectations of the majority of white respondents in our survey, we interpret these results to mean that most white parents are not concerned about the proportion of Negroes in the schools their children attend

TABLE 10.12  
PER CENT NEGRO IN SCHOOLS THAT WOULD CAUSE CONCERN AMONG  
WHITE PARENTS, BY NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE  
(Per Cent of White Parents with Children Attending School: First School Listed)

Per Cent Negro That Would Cause Concern	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated	
				North and West	South
0-24 . . . . .	13	7	6	3	28
25-49 . . . . .	13	14	14	5	12
50 . . . . .	25	24	18	16	18
51-74 . . . . .	4	5	3	11	1
75-100 . . . . .	2	- 2	6	11	1
Not concerned . . . . .	43	48	53	54	34
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100	99 <sup>a</sup>
N . . . . .	(205)	(380)	(240)	(68)	(71)
					(27)

<sup>a</sup>Not 100 per cent because of rounding.



within the range of proportions that they reasonably expect will occur in their neighborhoods. Thus, if many respondents do not see the possibility of the proportion of Negroes in the schools in their neighborhoods rising above, say 25 per cent, and anything within this range is tolerable to them, they would not express a particular concern about the percentage Negro. Such an interpretation suggests that many white respondents have difficulty even considering the possibility that they might live in areas where the proportion of Negroes would become large enough to exceed the limits of toleration that they have set for themselves.

Partial support for this interpretation is found when we control for the maximum per cent Negro in adjacent neighborhoods that share schools with our neighborhoods. In Table 10.13 we

TABLE 10.13  
CONCERN OVER PER CENT NEGRO IN SCHOOL AND NEIGHBOR-  
HOOD TYPE, BY MAXIMUM PER CENT NEGRO IN  
ADJACENT NEIGHBORHOODS SHARING SCHOOLS  
(Per Cent of White Parents "Not Concerned":  
First School Listed)

Maximum Per Cent Negro in Adjacent Neighborhoods	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
0-19 . . . . .	43 (201)	46 (337)	60 (138)	46 (68)	* (18)
20 or more . . .	* (4)	61 (43)	43 (101)	42 (72)	* (9)

see that the proportion of parents "not concerned" is lower in those moderately integrated neighborhoods where the maximum per cent Negro in adjacent neighborhoods that share schools is greater than 20 per cent. For residents of these neighborhoods that currently have few Negro residents, schools with

substantial Negro enrollment are a possibility, even if not currently a reality, and the residents' lack of concern drops away. Such differences do not obtain, however, for residents of open neighborhoods, where the lack of concern among parents in neighborhoods adjacent to ones with a maximum per cent Negro of 20 or greater is comparable to that of parents in moderately integrated neighborhoods adjacent to ones with less than 20 per cent Negro. The small number of cases in the former group, however, suggests that the high proportion of "not concerned" parents may be due to special circumstances in one or two neighborhoods. Also, Table 10.13 shows that the per cent Negro in adjacent areas does not affect dramatically the parents in substantially integrated neighborhoods.

Lest one be too cynical about white residents' attitudes toward school integration, we should remember that there are some white parents, although not very many, who are currently sending their children to schools in which the proportion Negro is already 50 per cent or greater. If we look at current school experience and the per cent Negro that would cause concern, we see a correlation between one's current actions and the level at which one would be concerned. In Table 10.14 we see an example of an adaptation of attitude to current experience. The higher the current per cent Negro in schools attended by white respondents' children, the higher the per cent Negro the respondent is likely to mention as causing concern. While the vast majority of those who indicate concern are still doing so at 50 per cent or less, there is a small proportion of white parents who say that they would not be concerned until their children were in a substantial minority position. There is also a still substantial proportion who maintain that they would not be concerned.

It appears that there may be a shifting level of tolerance for levels of integration that reflects the circumstances in which people live. White residents, with some notable

TABLE 10.14

PER CENT NEGRO IN SCHOOLS THAT WOULD CAUSE CONCERN AMONG  
WHITE PARENTS, BY CURRENT PER CENT NEGRO IN SCHOOL  
(Per Cent of White Parents with Children  
Attending School: First School Listed)

Per Cent Negro That Would Cause Concern	Current Per Cent Negro in School				
	0	1-4	5-19	20-49	50 or More
0-24 . . . . .	18	11	9	1	*
25-49 . . . . .	12	13	13	14	*
50 . . . . .	22	23	15	26	*
51-74 . . . . .	3	2	5	10	*
75-100 . . . . .	1	3	2	7	*
Not concerned . . . . .	44	48	56	43	*
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	101 <sup>b</sup>	*
N . . . . .	(121)	(204)	(83)	(55)	(10)

<sup>b</sup> Not 100 per cent because of rounding.

exceptions, are willing to accept some level of school integration so long as the proportion of Negroes in the schools is relatively small. The definition of "small" varies somewhat, although on the whole it appears to be in the range of up to 25 per cent. This is not a fixed point, and as one's experience with particular schools varies, higher levels of acceptance may well result.

#### Summary

In this chapter we have examined several aspects of school integration and their relation to housing integration. In general, we found that there is a positive relation between the proportion of Negro residents in the neighborhood and the proportion of families with children in schools attended by both

Negro and white children. In many ways the data on schools reflect our general findings on neighborhood integration. We found a surprisingly large number of schools attended by both Negro and white students, even in neighborhoods that are all white; we also found that the proportion of Negroes in the integrated schools is typically very small, as is the proportion of Negro families in the integrated neighborhoods.

There are few differences in attendance patterns among the neighborhood types. Although the possibility of adjustments in attendance patterns is frequently discussed among those who have worked in areas of substantial racial integration, we found no evidence that any significant number of white parents are shifting their children from one school to another in response to the racial composition of the neighborhood.

Our data show that there is little difference in the quality of schools among white segregated, open, and moderately integrated neighborhoods, but schools in many of the southern substantially integrated and the Negro segregated neighborhoods are judged to be inferior to those in the other types of neighborhoods. We interpret these differences to be primarily a function of the differing income levels in the substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods. Although it is also true that the ratings of schools tend to decline as the proportion of Negro students increases, we feel that this difference primarily reflects the income differential between Negroes and whites. This difference is so great that schools with large proportions of Negro students almost invariably are schools with large proportions of children from families of lower socioeconomic status. That schools should be inferior for children from poorer families is a tragic fact of our society, and it indicates perhaps more clearly than any other data we report in this study how the present patterns of inequality will be perpetuated for many years to come.

Investigation of the role of schools in the stability of the neighborhood indicates that schools play an important role only in a limited set of neighborhoods that have special characteristics. Although schools are rated as a positive feature more commonly in white segregated neighborhoods, the data indicate that schools may play a significant role in the future stability of the neighborhood only in those substantially integrated areas where there is high Negro demand for housing. In these neighborhoods, rapid changes in the proportion of Negro students in the schools or in the perceived quality of the schools may precipitate a decline in white demand for housing and upset the stability of the neighborhood.

Examination of the data from several points of view reveals no evidence that there is a fixed "tipping point" for white residents, but rather that there are differing tolerance levels that change as a function of experience. The existence of a dynamic level of concern suggests that change itself is not necessarily a threat to stable integration as long as it does not occur too rapidly.

## CHAPTER XI

### CHURCHES IN INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOODS

#### Introduction

The church has played a dual role in the integration of the Negro into American society. On the one hand is the internal issue of the racial integration of local congregations and religious institutions; on the other is the issue of the secular involvement of clergymen and religious leaders in attempts to gain expanded rights for Negroes in housing, voting, employment, schools, and other areas of civic life.

On the first issue, local congregations, like schools, are apt to reflect the characteristics of the communities in which they are embedded. There is no gainsaying the fact that there are strong tendencies for churches, solely because they are neighborhood institutions, to be the community writ small. Yet there is a special quality about religious institutions that overlays the normal tendency toward homogeneous membership found in local institutions.

Gibson Winter (1961) has noted the change of the church from an institution that intersected with many aspects of public life to one whose boundaries have progressively narrowed to the "residential community," while the residential community itself has become the dominant locus of activity and source of meaning for the middle-class American white family.

Religious faith and practice have become a private sphere of American life--a sphere preoccupied with the emotional balance of the membership, the nurture of children, and the preservation of a harmonious residential milieu. Protestantism identifies the Church with a "gathered congregation" of believers, meaning a collection of individuals and families drawn from a specific

residential area. Since suburban residential space provides the most stable atmosphere for the support of private interests, Protestantism has flourished in the segregated, suburban islands of private life created by the middle class. Where leisure interests and preoccupations with family values are dominant, religious institutions flourish. Where these values are undermined by inner city life, the ministry of the churches evaporates [p. 134].

If (to use another phrase of Winter's) religious interests have been confined to the "private concerns of residential life," churches have become, literally, sanctuaries from the turmoil and strife of the world. Where personal comfort, sociability, and solace are sought, the discordant note of Negro presence is not welcome. Since churches have traditionally been immune from public control, and since membership in a particular congregation is an individual, voluntary decision, we should not be surprised to find a high degree of racial segregation there.

The issues of internal segregation and external civic involvement are not separate. As Fichter (1965, p. 1,086) has noted, "There is criticism of church leaders who use their moral influence more often for the desegregation of non-church institutions than they do for the desegregation of their own organizations." Also, according to Moberg (1962, p. 453), "as long as churches remain segregated through subtle techniques, they give moral sanction to segregation in other areas of social life." As we have shown in another analysis of our data (Gockel, Bradburn, and Sudman, 1969), where a congregation is integrated, the clergyman is more likely to have taken a public stand in favor of civil rights for Negroes.

The same privatism that inhibits internal integration has a similar effect on the external activities of the local clergyman. To the extent that it is his role to provide solace and to maintain his parishioners' interest in the next world, it is difficult to make a controversial public commitment to the this-worldly plight of Negroes.

When Glock and Stark (1968) ask, "Will Ethics Be the Death of Christianity?" they are recognizing the inverse relation among Christians between theological orthodoxy, private worship, and religious knowledge on the one hand and the importance placed on good works and love of neighbor on the other. It is as though the vertical relationship between the individual and his God and the horizontal relationship between him and his neighbor are actually parallel relationships; they seldom intersect, either in the individual or in formal church institutions. For church institutions, according to Winter (1961, pp. 134-36),

exclusive identification of religion with the private sphere creates a special culture in congregational life; the inevitable consequence is social irresponsibility, which means that the churches have abandoned a context of public accountability in order to serve exclusively the emotional needs of selected groups . . . .

A ministry to individuals and families in the context of residential association is no longer a ministry to society.

In this chapter we are concerned with a number of aspects of the churches in racially integrated neighborhoods. First, we assess the extent of racial integration in the churches, as reported by the residents themselves. Then, focusing only on those respondents who reported that both whites and Negroes attended their church, we investigate their attitude toward integration in their church and the extent of interracial social contacts there. Then, returning to all respondents, we consider briefly the civil rights activities of clergymen.

#### Extent of Racial Integration in Churches

Of all the respondents in our survey who said that members of their family attended a church or temple (Resident Q. 19), slightly over one in six reported that both races were represented in the congregation and that Negroes comprised 2 per cent or more of the total membership. We define these churches as "interracial." The details on the racial composition of the



churches attended by the respondents are found in Table 11.1, which also presents the data separately for each race.

TABLE 11.1  
RACIAL COMPOSITION OF CHURCHES ATTENDED,  
FOR THE TOTAL SAMPLE AND BY RACE  
(Per Cent of Households)

Racial Composition of Church	Total Sample	Race	
		White	Negro
Both Negro and white members:			
1% or less Negro . . . . .	21	25	1
2% or more Negro . . . . .	17	17	18
All white . . . . .	49	58	-
All Negro . . . . .	13	-	81
Total . . . . .	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(2,802)	(2,343)	(459)

Thus, about 17 per cent of the households that belonged to a church attended an "interracial" church, a figure that applies almost equally to whites and Negroes. Among the whites, another 25 per cent attended churches that were virtually all white, i.e., in which Negroes constituted 1 per cent or less of the total membership. An inspection of the questionnaires discloses that many of these respondents volunteered that, for example, "one Negro family" was a member.

The limited amount of racial integration in churches is underscored by our rather generous definition of an "interracial" congregation--namely, that both races are members and Negroes constitute 2 per cent or more of the total. As we just indicated, this definition includes 17 per cent of the white households. Had we defined as "interracial" a congregation that had a Negro membership of at least 11 per cent, the

classification would have included only 3 per cent of the white households. Of the approximately 2,300 white families reporting that they attended church, only one attended a church in which the majority of members were Negro.

The reader should be cautioned that no precise national estimate of integration in the churches can be made here, since our sample is not a national cross section. Of all the white respondents included in Table 11.1, about four-fifths resided in racially integrated neighborhoods, and the balance lived in the white segregated control neighborhoods sampled for purposes of comparison. Thus, it is extremely unlikely that our data underestimate the true national level of religious racial integration. On the contrary, since the bulk of the white respondents reside in integrated neighborhoods, it is likely that the rate of church integration reported here is somewhat higher than is generally true.

In the following paragraphs we attempt to elaborate these data by adding additional variables to the analysis. In so doing, we present the proportion of various subgroups attending "interracial" churches, as defined above.

Controls for region and urbanization yield the data in Table 11.2. The most striking feature is the regional variation in church integration. In central cities, northern whites are substantially more likely than southern whites to attend "interracial" churches. The data for whites show a regional difference among the nonmetropolitan counties, which are characterized by small towns and rural areas. In the North, these are the areas in which whites are most likely to attend "interracial" churches; in the South, no whites in the nonmetropolitan areas attend such churches. We have here evidence that in the South, particularly in nonmetropolitan areas, membership in organizations requiring social interaction of a reasonably personal nature occurs only infrequently, despite the fact that residential integration is not a rare phenomenon.

TABLE 11.2  
RACIAL COMPOSITION OF CHURCHES ATTENDED  
AND RACE, BY REGION AND URBANIZATION  
(Per Cent of Households Attending  
"Interracial" Churches)

Region	Urbanization			All Areas	
	Central City of SMSA	Suburb of SMSA	Non-SMSA		
	White				
	North and West . .	23 <sup>(912)</sup>	14 <sup>(973)</sup>	27 <sup>(59)</sup>	19 <sup>(1,944)</sup>
	South . . . . .	7 <sup>(120)</sup>	10 <sup>(165)</sup>	0 <sup>(114)</sup>	7 <sup>(399)</sup>
	Negro				
	North and West . .	31 <sup>(175)</sup>	34 <sup>(77)</sup>	* <sup>(3)</sup>	32 <sup>(255)</sup>
	South . . . . .	0 <sup>(125)</sup>	4 <sup>(57)</sup>	0 <sup>(21)</sup>	1 <sup>(203)</sup>

Table 11.2 also indicates that in the urban North and West, whites residing in the central cities are more likely than those in suburban areas to attend "interracial" churches (23 per cent versus 14 per cent), owing undoubtedly to the relatively small number of Negroes present in the suburbs.

To assess the extent to which the greater level of congregational integration in the North and West may be attributed to the disproportionate representation of Catholicism there, we control for religious affiliation in Table 11.3, which excludes the small number of respondents reporting Jewish or other religious membership. The data reveal that the regional differences in church integration are slightly reduced but still very substantial among whites of each religious group. When each independent variable is considered in turn, controlling for the other two, Table 11.3 reveals that membership in an

TABLE 11.3

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF CHURCHES ATTENDED AND RACE,  
BY REGION AND RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION  
(Per Cent of Households Attending  
"Interracial" Churches)

Region	Religious Affiliation	
	Protestant	Catholic
	White	
North and West . . . . .	12 (672)	27 (972)
South . . . . .	2 (278)	16 (107)
	Negro	
North and West . . . . .	24 (199)	77 (34)
South . . . . .	1 (184)	* (17)

"interracial" church is greater among Catholics, among northerners and westerners, and among Negroes in the North and West.

Thus far, we have lumped all respondents together regardless of the level of neighborhood integration. Indeed, we have not yet distinguished between those living in integrated neighborhoods and those whose neighborhoods are not integrated. Table 11.4 presents the percentage of white churchgoers reporting membership in a church we have termed "interracial," within each of the neighborhood types. The percentages increase as the proportion of Negroes in the neighborhood increases. Even in Negro segregated neighborhoods, however, 37 per cent of the white churchgoers attended "interracial" churches, while the balance attended churches that were 1 per cent Negro or less. Were we to use a more stringent definition of an "interracial" church--one that was at least one-tenth Negro--we would find that only 11 per cent of the white residents of Negro segregated neighborhoods claimed membership in "interracial" churches.

TABLE 11.4  
RACIAL COMPOSITION OF CHURCHES ATTENDED AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, AMONG WHITES

	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated	
				North and West	South
Per cent of white households attending "inter-racial" churches	8 (450)	15 (817)	20 (612)	40 (180)	7 (201)
					37 (83)

The above discussion requires some further specification. In attempting to discern an association between the level of neighborhood integration and the level of integration in the churches attended by the neighborhood residents, we are clearly assuming that the churches are located in the same neighborhoods as their members. Of course this is not always the case. Protestants and Jews are free to choose from a variety of congregations without being limited geographically. This is less true among Catholics, but even here membership across parish boundaries does exist, especially among Catholics who do not have children in parochial elementary schools.

Our a priori prediction would be that any association between neighborhood and church integration would be especially strong in those churches that members report as being located within the neighborhoods under study. By focusing only on neighborhood churches, we would avoid the contamination of instances where respondents travel to churches in communities whose racial composition differs from that of their own neighborhoods.

We operationally define the "neighborhood church" as one that the respondent reported as being within walking distance.<sup>1</sup> Table 11.5 controls for this variable. The results are ambiguous. When whites attend a church in their own neighborhood, the likelihood that the church is "interracial" is 12 per cent in white segregated and open neighborhoods and increases to 52 per cent in Negro segregated neighborhoods. Within the more heavily Negro neighborhoods, whites whose church is nearby are

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<sup>1</sup>This working definition seems reasonable on two counts. First, use of this variable divided the sample into two approximately equal parts. Second, the median area of the neighborhoods was .56 square miles, insuring that churches within walking distance had a high probability of being within the neighborhood.

TABLE 11.5  
RACIAL COMPOSITION OF CHURCHES ATTENDED AND  
NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, BY CHURCH LOCATION  
(Per Cent of White Households Attending  
"Interracial" Churches)

Church Location <sup>a</sup>	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
In own neighbor- hood . . . . .	12 (167)	12 (421)	19 (328)	34 (207)	52 (34)
Outside own neigh- borhood . . . . .	6 (283)	18 (396)	21 (283)	10 (171)	29 (48)

<sup>a</sup>Based on responses to the question, "Is (name [of church]) within walking distance?" (Resident Q. 19A).

more likely to be attending "interracial" churches than are those whose church is not within walking distance; the figures are 34 per cent versus 10 per cent in substantially integrated neighborhoods and 52 per cent versus 29 per cent in Negro segregated neighborhoods. This is consistent with a priori, commonsense predictions.

The data for white segregated neighborhoods are more difficult to interpret. Given the already low proportion of white churchgoers who attend "interracial" churches, about 17 per cent, it is difficult to explain why the proportion attending "interracial" churches in their own all-white neighborhoods is as high as it is (12 per cent). The Negroes who account for the integration undoubtedly come from adjacent neighborhoods. Our data reveal that Negroes constituted almost 6 per cent of the population in all neighborhoods adjoining the white segregated control neighborhoods in this study.

To reinterpret Table 11.5 slightly, then, we observe that there is at least some church integration in neighborhoods that are all white, as well as in those that are open and, to a greater extent, in those that are moderately integrated. However, among whites who attend church outside their neighborhood, those living in white segregated neighborhoods were differentiated from those living in open and moderately integrated neighborhoods in the proportion attending "interracial" churches. Specifically, when white residents of open and moderately integrated neighborhoods travel to a church outside their neighborhood, about 20 per cent of them attend "interracial" churches; when the residents of white segregated neighborhoods do so, only 6 per cent select "interracial" churches. Indeed, it is those who travel outside their neighborhoods who depress the overall level of attendance at "interracial" churches among residents of white segregated neighborhoods.

Further insight may be gained by inspecting the case bases in Table 11.5. In the white segregated neighborhoods, whites are most likely to select a church outside the neighborhood (283 versus 167); on the other hand, residents in neighborhoods marked by some residential integration who are faced with a similar or greater level of church integration in their own neighborhoods attend a neighborhood church.

The analysis in these paragraphs can be strengthened if we can show that the association between the two independent variables in Table 11.5--neighborhood type and church location--is not spurious. For example, the fact that so many churchgoers in white segregated neighborhoods select a church outside the neighborhood might simply rest on the fact that a comparatively high proportion of them are Protestants, as we saw in Chapter V.

It is mainly Protestants who have a choice between integrated and segregated churches, as they are not bound by parish lines. Further, white members who are loyal to a specific Protestant denomination are in a smaller minority than Catholic



parishioners. Ignoring obvious regional and city-size variations, congregations of any specific Protestant group are spread less densely over the map than are Catholic parishes. There are less than one-fourth as many Presbyterians as Catholics in the United States. Even accounting for the fact that the former congregations may be smaller than the latter, it still seems true that, on the average, a Presbyterian will be less likely to find a congregation in his neighborhood and therefore more likely to travel into nearby areas on Sunday morning. This perspective depends on a certain amount of denominational loyalty that induces families to cross neighborhood boundaries rather than denominational lines.

We found that a control for religious affiliation scarcely affects the neighborhood differences. Table 11.6, which presents this control, concentrates only on white segregated and open neighborhoods. The statistic, or dependent variable, is the per cent of white churchgoers who attend a choice outside their residential neighborhood.

TABLE 11.6  
SELECTION OF CHURCH OUTSIDE NEIGHBORHOOD IN WHITE SEGREGATED  
AND OPEN NEIGHBORHOODS, BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION  
(Per Cent of White Households Attending Church  
Outside Their Neighborhood)

Religious Affiliation	Neighborhood Type	
	White Segregated	Open
Protestant . . . . .	75 (264)	58 (312)
Catholic . . . . .	48 (201)	36 (479)
Jewish . . . . .	* (6)	51 (104)

Each variable has an independent effect. We see that for Protestants and Catholics, residents of white segregated neighborhoods are clearly more likely to go outside the neighborhood boundaries than are those in open neighborhoods. (The small case base in white segregated neighborhoods does not permit a similar comparison for Jews.) It should also be noted that there is an independent "religious effect," strongly confirming our notion that Protestants more frequently travel to a different community to attend church than do Catholics. Finally, the joint effect of religious affiliation and neighborhood type is considerable. That is, the proportion attending a church outside their neighborhood ranges from 36 per cent for Catholics in open neighborhoods to 75 per cent for Protestants in white segregated neighborhoods.

Similar results were obtained when other reasonable controls were applied. The fact that white churchgoers in white segregated areas travel further than those in integrated neighborhoods does not stem from any differences in their religious affiliation, socioeconomic status, region, or other such factors. We are therefore more confident in our analysis.

We thus view the difference between whites in all-white and integrated neighborhoods in their attendance at a church outside the neighborhood as stemming from different reactions to the prospect of attending an "interracial" church in their own neighborhood. Those who live in all-white neighborhoods (as we saw in Chapter VIII) are less tolerant in their integration attitudes than are those in open and moderately integrated neighborhoods. Table 11.5 suggested that some racial integration characterizes the churches of each type of neighborhood, that the residents of white segregated neighborhoods respond by traveling outside the neighborhood, and that very few (6 per cent) who respond in this manner attended "interracial" churches.

Corroborating data on the extent of church integration are available from the neighborhood informants, who were asked to report on all the "churches or temples in the area, or nearby, which people here attend" (Informant Q. 7). They were later asked, "Do both Negroes and whites belong to (name) or is this an all-white or all-Negro church?" (Informant Q. 28). In presenting the data (Table 11.7), it is necessary to control simultaneously for three variables. First, we divide the neighborhoods according to neighborhood type, as we have done previously, to account for varying levels of residential integration in the sample neighborhoods. Second, it is necessary to control for region, since the regional composition varies from one neighborhood type to the next. For example, virtually no southern neighborhoods are represented in the open and moderately integrated categories, while they provide more of the respondents in white segregated neighborhoods and a significant proportion in the substantially integrated neighborhoods. Third, it seemed advisable to determine the impact on church integration of the racial composition of adjacent neighborhoods. Certainly as a general perspective, the neighborhoods under study cannot be completely understood without reference to the communities that surround them. In particular, our a priori assumption, which the data in Table 11.7 contradict, was that the level of church integration would be directly associated with the proportion of Negroes in surrounding neighborhoods.

With this discussion as a background, we turn to an inspection of Table 11.7. The reader should distinguish between the data here and those presented earlier in this chapter. The information presented earlier came from the residents, who reported about the churches they attended. Further, we limited our attention there to just the white residents, and our statistic was the proportion attending churches we defined as "interracial." Table 11.7 is based on the evaluation of all churches by our neighborhood informants.

TABLE 11.7

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF CHURCHES AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, BY  
REGION AND PER CENT NEGRO IN ADJACENT NEIGHBORHOODS

(Per Cent of Churches: Data from Informants)

Per Cent Negro in Adjacent Neighbor- hoods		Racial Composition of Church	Neighborhood Type				
			White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Sub- stan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
			North and West				
Less than 10%	{	Both races	12	41	52	- <sup>a</sup>	-
		All white	87	56	44	-	-
		All Negro	- <sup>b</sup>	3	4	-	-
	Total		99	100	100	-	-
10% or more	{	Both races	-	23	35	52	44
		All white	-	77	60	27	21
		All Negro	-	0	5	21	35
	Total		-	100	100	100	100
			South				
--	{	Both races	4	-	-	8	- <sup>b</sup>
		All white	90	-	-	55	17
		All Negro	6	-	-	38	83
	Total		100	-	-	101 <sup>c</sup>	100

<sup>a</sup>Empty cells represent percentages based on seven or fewer neighborhoods.

<sup>b</sup>Less than .5 per cent.

<sup>c</sup>Not 100 per cent because of rounding.

Making horizontal comparisons in this table, we find that as the proportion of Negroes in integrated neighborhoods increases, so does the proportion of churches attended by both races. In the North and West, among the neighborhoods whose surrounding neighborhoods average less than 10 per cent Negro, the proportion of biracial churches, i.e., attended by both races, increases from 12 per cent in white segregated neighborhoods to 52 per cent in moderately integrated neighborhoods.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately it was impossible to present data for the neighborhoods containing a high proportion of Negroes because of their small numbers.

Virtually complete data are available for those northern and western neighborhoods whose surrounding areas are 10 per cent or more Negro. Among the three types of integrated neighborhoods, the level of church integration increases with the level of residential integration. In the Negro segregated neighborhoods, however, the proportion of churches attended by both races drops off to 44 per cent, a fact that is accounted for by the rise in the proportion of all-Negro churches. Further, 21 per cent of the churches in those neighborhoods have an all-white membership.

Our a priori assumption is contradicted when we compare integrated neighborhoods surrounded by neighborhoods with relatively few Negroes (less than 10 per cent, on the average) with those with relatively many Negroes (10 per cent or more). We

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<sup>2</sup>The presence of all-Negro churches attended by residents of white segregated neighborhoods stems from instances where an enclave of Negroes was physically present in the neighborhood, but where the inferiority of Negro housing caused the neighborhood to fail our definition of "integrated" and resulted in its being selected as a white segregated control neighborhood. Because the informants did not have our technical definition of an integrated neighborhood in mind when they responded, they of course reported on churches attended by any Negroes who were present within the neighborhood boundaries.

had entertained the simple notion that the more Negroes physically present and "available" in adjacent neighborhoods, the greater the proportion of biracial churches in our sample neighborhoods.

This is not the case. For example, in northern and western open neighborhoods whose adjacent neighborhoods contain relatively few Negroes, 41 per cent of the churches are attended by both races. In those whose adjacent neighborhoods contain relatively many Negroes, only 23 per cent of the churches are biracial. A very similar difference exists among the moderately integrated neighborhoods.

How do we explain the fact that when there are relatively many Negroes "available" in surrounding neighborhoods for membership in churches, fewer churches are attended by both races? Going beyond the data, we invoke the idea of alternatives for those Negroes who live in integrated neighborhoods. Where the surrounding neighborhoods are more heavily Negro (10 per cent or more), there is a greater likelihood that an all-Negro church is present nearby which the Negro residents can attend, a process that yields the normal pattern of racial separation in churches.

On the other hand, where the surrounding areas contain relatively few Negroes (less than 10 per cent), there are comparatively few all-Negro churches to attract the Negroes who reside in integrated neighborhoods. They are faced with the alternatives of traveling some distance to all-Negro churches or, as our data suggest, attending predominantly white churches and providing token integration for a considerable number of churches.

In sum, these data suggest that the crucial factor is the availability of an all-Negro church. Where there are too few Negroes to organize and support such a church, they will be

dispersed among the existing white churches. However, where the number of Negroes has increased to a level that will permit the formation of one or two all-Negro churches, relatively few of an integrated neighborhood's churches will be attended by Negroes.

Partial corroboration of this reasoning obtains, at least for open neighborhoods, when the location of the neighborhood is considered. In open suburban neighborhoods, there are relatively many churches attended by both races; in open central-city neighborhoods, there are relatively few. If our previous analysis is generally accurate, the infrequent presence of an all-Negro church in the suburbs necessitates Negro attendance at the existing churches, resulting in at least token integration in two of every five churches.

As a final footnote to Table 11.7, the data there support our earlier documentation of almost complete separation in southern churches. Even in southern substantially integrated neighborhoods, less than one church in ten is attended by both races.

#### Attitudes toward Current Church Integration

Having established the amount of racial integration in the churches, we return to the data provided by residents and assess the attitudes toward the church integration that does exist. Those churchgoers who reported that their church was integrated were asked, "Are you pleased or unhappy that (name of church) has both white and Negro members?" (Resident Q. 19H[2]). Slightly less than half said that they were "pleased," about half reported that they "didn't care," and only 2 per cent said that they were "unhappy."

Because the subsequent analysis excludes those who attended all-white or all-Negro churches, our case base is comparatively small at the outset. As a result, the number of cases in

particular subgroups will occasionally be too small to afford definitive conclusions.

Table 11.8 presents the proportion of residents reporting church integration who said they were "pleased" that their church was attended by both whites and Negroes. It permits comparisons between the races and, for whites, comparisons among residents whose neighborhoods vary in proportion Negro. The greater satisfaction with church integration among Negroes is immediately apparent; in each type of neighborhood for which we have sufficient data, the proportion of Negroes expressing satisfaction with church integration exceeds the proportion among whites by 20 percentage points or more.

TABLE 11.8  
ACCEPTANCE OF CHURCH INTEGRATION AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, BY RACE  
(Per Cent "Pleased" Church Is Integrated)

Race	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
White . . . . .	39 (128)	50 (367)	44 (291)	33 (125)	31 (42)
Negro . . . . .	-	* (3)	* (19)	69 (94)	51 (47)

Among whites, the greatest tolerance for existing integration in the church (50 per cent) is found in the open neighborhoods, which are characterized by some, but very little, residential integration. These data are consistent with the findings in Chapter VIII, where white residents of open neighborhoods scored highest on the Integration Attitude Scale. Indeed, it is possible that the apparent acceptance of church integration in open neighborhoods is not specific to churches



per se, but that it is simply another manifestation of a generalized racial tolerance. We test this notion in Table 11.9, which attempts to discern whether the association between neighborhood type and acceptance of church integration still holds under a control for more general integration attitudes.

TABLE 11.9  
ACCEPTANCE OF CHURCH INTEGRATION AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE,  
BY INTEGRATION ATTITUDES  
(Per Cent of Whites "Pleased" Church Is Integrated)

Integration Attitudes	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated	Negro Segregated
Low . . . . .	20 (55)	26 (129)	31 (107)	19 (73)	17 (23)
High . . . . .	53 (72)	63 (237)	52 (183)	52 (52)	* (19)

The data suggest that some, but not a great deal, of the greater tolerance of church integration among residents of open neighborhoods can be viewed as simply one manifestation of their greater general racial tolerance, since controls for general tolerance reduce the original association between neighborhood type and attitudes toward church integration. For example, consider a comparison between white segregated and open neighborhoods. In Table 11.8, among whites the simple association showed that there was a difference of 11 points between those in white segregated and open neighborhoods in the percentage reporting they were "pleased" with the integration of their churches. In Table 11.9, among groups relatively homogeneous in their racial attitudes, the difference has been reduced to 6 points among those low on the Integration Attitude Scale and 10 points among those high.

Similarly, the original 17-point difference between whites in open and substantially integrated neighborhoods is reduced, once account is taken of the fact that more residents of open neighborhoods tend to accept integration generally.

Thus, to the extent that the original association is reduced under controls for a measure of racial attitudes, we conclude that both residence in an open neighborhood and acceptance of church integration flow from more general racial tolerance. But not all of the differences between neighborhood types are eliminated, and we conclude that there is a modest "neighborhood" effect which survives. Among residents who are similar in their more general attitudes toward Negroes, living in an open neighborhood is still associated with greater approval of the integration of their churches.

Table 11.8 revealed that the proportion of white churchgoers approving of church integration was relatively low, approximately 30 per cent, in substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods. Since their comparatively low socioeconomic status might be at the root of this association, we control for respondent's education in Table 11.10, which reveals an interaction between type of neighborhood and education.

Of specific interest is the differential impact that education has on acceptance of church integration among white churchgoers in various types of neighborhoods. This analysis involves vertical comparisons. Among residents of open neighborhoods who attend integrated churches, education is apparently an effective influence on the acceptance of church integration. The proportion reporting that they are "pleased" that their church is integrated ranges from 37 per cent among those who have less than a complete high school education to 63 per cent among those who have graduated from high school--a spread of 26

percentage points. The spread in substantially integrated neighborhoods is only 4 percentage points.<sup>3</sup>

TABLE 11.10  
ACCEPTANCE OF CHURCH INTEGRATION AND NEIGHBORHOOD  
TYPE, BY EDUCATION OF RESPONDENT

(Per Cent of Whites "Pleased" Church Is Integrated)

Education	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
Part high school or less . . . .	34 (34)	37 (38)	41 (91)	30 (56)	23 (22)
High school . . .	39 (49)	47 (151)	39 (97)	34 (40)	* (14)
More than high school . . . .	46 (37)	63 (118)	52 (88)	34 (21)	* (6)

In attempting to explain why the strength of the association between education and acceptance should vary by neighborhood type, we reason that in a neighborhood where a moderately well-educated person can interact with those who are his educational peers, he is more free to express or adopt more open-minded attitudes regarding race. But in a neighborhood where his high educational attainment places him in a very small minority, his own attitudes are more likely to be shaped by the dominant less-educated majority. It is from this perspective

<sup>3</sup>We grant that this spread of 4 percentage points may stem from the sampling error associated with some of the cells in the "substantially integrated" column. Yet the contrast with the spread in open neighborhoods is striking enough to conclude that the major outlines of this analysis would stand up were the case bases larger.

that we observe that only 21 of the 117 residents of substantially integrated neighborhoods who attended biracial churches had more than a high school education, and it is their low level of acceptance of church integration that accounts for the absence of any effect of education on acceptance in these neighborhoods.

The importance of neighborhood type in determining the extent to which education affects acceptance is brought into bold relief by observing that the acceptance level of the most highly educated in substantially integrated neighborhoods is actually lower than that among the most poorly educated in open and moderately integrated neighborhoods.

Since Table 11.10 is based only on whites who attend biracial churches, and because the dependent variable is a single item rather than a scale of intercorrelated items, the analysis here is far from definitive. The effect of neighborhood characteristics on the individual's integration attitudes was discussed more fully in Chapter VIII, where all white respondents were included and the measures were more suitable.

To close this section on attitudes toward existing church integration, we turn to variables other than neighborhood type. (Tables not shown.) First, Protestants are more likely than Catholics to report that they are "pleased" at the fact of church integration, although earlier in this chapter we observed that Catholics are actually more likely than Protestants to attend "interracial" churches. This suggests that, for Catholics, behavior may be in advance of attitudes. The very strong tradition of attending the local parish church may override personal displeasure about the congregation's integrated status. For Protestants, the selection of a congregation is a more voluntary act; and those who have selected a church attended by Negroes, or who have decided to remain in one, have already exhibited comparatively tolerant behavior. It is therefore understandable that such a group should include a relatively high proportion

reporting that they are "pleased" at the congregation's integrated status. Those Protestants who would not be pleased attend all-white churches.

A final factor associated with acceptance of church integration is the activity of the congregation's clergyman. Respondents were asked whether their clergymen had "taken a public stand in favor of more rights for Negroes" (Resident Q. 19K). Where the clergymen had taken such a stand, 54 per cent of the white respondents reported that they were "pleased" with the integrated status of the church. Among those who did not know if the clergymen had taken a stand, 41 per cent said they were "pleased"; and among those who reported that the clergymen had not taken a public stand, 34 per cent were "pleased" that both whites and Negroes attended their church. It is tempting to conclude that the clergymen's leadership is the cause, and that the parishioners' tolerance is the result. However, it is at least possible to argue that the causality runs the other way, that greater tolerance for integration among the members strengthens the inclination of the clergymen to make their views public.

#### Interracial Social Contacts

Those who reported that both whites and Negroes attended their church were asked, "Do white and Negro members mingle much at social affairs, or do both groups keep pretty much to themselves?" (Resident Q. 19H[3]). The data, by neighborhood type and race, are presented in Table 11.11. The findings are similar to those in Table 11.8, which dealt with the respondents' own attitudes toward church integration. Overall, Negroes are much more likely than whites to report that both races mingle. With the exception of those in Negro segregated neighborhoods, whites in open neighborhoods are moderately more likely than those in other neighborhoods to report mingling. The differences among the three types of integrated neighborhoods are

TABLE 11.11  
 INTERRACIAL SOCIABILITY IN CHURCHES AND  
 NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, BY RACE.  
 (Per Cent Reporting That Both Races "Mingle")

Race	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
White . . . . .	66 (57)	76 (201)	73 (187)	64 (77)	84 (31)
Negro . . . . .	-	* (1)	* (12)	94 (82)	100 (44)

not striking, and we found that a control for region and socio-economic status reduced the advantage of the open neighborhoods to a level that could be attributed to sampling error.

Although the effect of neighborhood type is not strong, there are some factors that are associated with interracial social contacts in the churches, as reported by white respondents.

The length of time since integration occurred is positively related to the degree of reported mingling between the races. Our measure of this variable is indirect: respondents were asked whether their church was integrated when they first joined (Resident Q. 18I). We assumed that, on the average, churches which were integrated prior to our respondents' joining had been integrated longer than those integrated since then.

We considered the possibility that the length of time since integration occurred might be positively associated with the percentage of Negroes in the church and that this factor, not the sheer passage of time, might account for the degree of interracial social contacts. In fact, however, the percentage of Negroes in the church is itself unrelated to the extent of

mingling across racial lines, so we conclude that it is time, not the number of Negroes present, that leads to greater cross-race interaction.

Consistent with data presented earlier on attitudes toward existing church integration, we find that Protestants are substantially more likely than Catholics to report interracial social contact at church functions. The difference is one of almost 18 percentage points. This advantage for the Protestants withstands a wide variety of controls. For example, although Catholics are slightly more likely than Protestants to be found in central cities, a control for location of neighborhood leaves the original association between religious affiliation and interracial socializing unaffected. This is also true when controls are applied for the degree of Negro housing demand on the neighborhood, the integration attitudes that prevail in the neighborhood, the respondent's age and educational attainment, and other variables.

Because each has intrinsic interest, both religious affiliation and respondent's educational level are used as independent variables in Table 11.12. There we see that the level of interracial socializing within the churches increases con-

TABLE 11.12  
INTERRACIAL SOCIABILITY IN CHURCHES AND  
RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, BY EDUCATION  
(Per Cent Reporting That Both Races "Mingle")

Religious Affiliation	Education		
	Part High School or Less	High School	More Than High School
Protestant . . . . .	75 (38)	83 (57)	92 (54)
Catholic . . . . .	61 (126)	66 (136)	71 (84)

sistently with the education of the respondent. We are explicitly assuming that the social status of the entire church is accurately indexed by the respondent's educational level, an assumption that the homogeneity of most churches would seem to warrant.

Protestant-Catholic differences in Table 11.12 are substantial and increase with increased education until, among the most highly educated, Protestant respondents are over 20 percentage points more likely than Catholics to report that whites and Negroes in their churches mingle at social affairs.

This is the third time that we have had the opportunity to note race-related differences between white Protestants and Catholics. First, we saw that Catholics were more likely than Protestants to attend "interracial" churches. Second, however, we noted that Protestant respondents attending integrated churches were more likely than Catholics to say they were "pleased" that their church was attended by both Negroes and whites. Finally, in Table 11.12, we observe that interracial social contacts within integrated churches are more widespread among Protestants than among Catholics. Again, it appears that, for Catholics, behavior is influenced by factors other than personal preference. Although Catholics are not enthusiastic about the integration of their congregations, and although they are not as likely as Protestants to engage Negroes in the social life of the church, they do attend integrated churches with comparative frequency. Compared to Protestants, Catholics are doing it more but enjoying it less.

#### Public Position of Clergymen

Among the sources of controversy both within the churches and from without during recent years has been an increasing involvement on the part of American clergy in social and political affairs, notably civil rights and peace activities. While there are many who feel that churches should restrict themselves to



the traditional activities of preaching and teaching religious doctrines, others contend that the institutional church is an ally of the status quo and an impediment to social change.

The respondents in this study were asked whether the clergymen of the church they attended had "taken a public stand in favor of more rights for Negroes" (Resident Q. 19K). A rather sizable minority claimed that they did not know, and of the balance, 44 per cent of all churchgoers, white and Negro, reported that their clergymen had taken such a stand.

When the sample is broken down according to our standard classification of neighborhoods, we find virtually no differences in the proportion of white churchgoers reporting that their clergymen had taken a public stand, after controlling for region. Among Negro respondents, the proportion reporting a public stand on the part of their clergymen is larger by half than that among whites.<sup>4</sup>

#### Summary

In this chapter we have relied primarily on residents' reports regarding the churches they attend. About one in six respondents attended an "interracial" church, that is, one in which 2 per cent or more of the members were Negro.

Data provided by the neighborhood informants reveal that the racial composition of adjacent neighborhoods has an unanticipated effect on the racial composition of churches in the neighborhoods studied. Where 10 per cent or more of the surrounding population is Negro, comparatively few of the churches

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<sup>4</sup> A further analysis of these data shows that the extent to which clergymen have taken a public civil rights stand (as reported by church members) is associated with a wide range of factors. These include the integration attitudes prevalent in the neighborhood, the extent of Negro housing demand, racial composition of the church, religious affiliation, education of the respondent, and region. This analysis is contained in Gockel, Bradburn, and Sudman (1969).

in our neighborhoods contain both Negroes and whites. We speculate that this can be explained by the presence of an all-Negro church nearby. Where there are too few Negroes to support such a church, those in the neighborhood will be dispersed among the existing local all-white churches.

Acceptance by whites of existing integration reveals Protestant-Catholic differences. Protestants attending churches with Negroes are more favorable toward this than are Catholics, although the latter are more likely to report that their churches contain both races. For Catholics, with a strong tradition of observing parish boundaries, behavior appears to be in advance of attitudes.

## CHAPTER XII

### PARTICIPATION IN NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZATIONS

#### Introduction

Our attention now shifts to the most voluntary of the neighborhood institutions considered in this monograph, neighborhood organizations. A family with children must enroll its children in some school, public or private, serving the community. Though churches are formally voluntary, either through family tradition or social pressure, a major segment of American society holds at least nominal membership in a religious group.

On the other hand, membership in neighborhood organizations is seldom automatic, and the individual must make a conscious decision to join. Perhaps this decision is made tangible through the payment of dues. Even in the traditional type of organization based on residential location, such as a block club or civic association, living in a certain location provides eligibility for membership but does not automatically confer it.

In our study, each resident was asked, "What neighborhood organizations do you or your family belong to?" (Resident Q. 18). As a follow-up probe, the interviewer was instructed to ask, "Do you belong to any organized groups of renters or homeowners?" For each organization named, a series of questions was asked regarding items such as the extent of the respondent's involvement, the nature of the group, and its racial composition. We also have data from the neighborhood informants, who were asked, "Aside from the churches and church groups, what are the other important neighborhood organizations?" (Informant

Q. 8). The informants gave information on matters such as membership size and activities of the group, as well as integration status.

Our initial concern is with the 15 per cent of the residents in our sample who reported membership in one or more organizations. Initially we note that there are not many differences by neighborhood type, but what differences there are suggest that resident participation is higher in the segregated control neighborhoods than in the integrated neighborhoods.

Of greater importance is clear evidence that within groups homogeneous in educational attainment, more Negroes than whites are members of neighborhood organizations, a finding consistent with the analysis by Orum (1966) to be discussed below.

We shall also see that the organizations in Negro segregated neighborhoods (as reported by the informants), as well as those participated in by Negro residents (according to their own self-reports), are more likely than others to be action rather than social organizations, to have a territorial base, and to be concerned with the physical aspects of the neighborhood.

While white-Negro comparisons are generally a secondary emphasis in this monograph, we give them more attention here because such an analysis relates directly to an issue addressed recently by Orum (1966) and to a research tradition that he cites. In his article, Orum summarizes two contradictory streams of research and interpretation regarding the "social and political participation of Negroes." On the one hand, the "isolation" perspective argues that Negroes are less likely than whites to be affiliated with or active in formal organizations. The studies Orum cites show lower Negro levels of participation, but all findings are simple associations comparing all whites with all Negroes.

In contradistinction, there is a tradition that Orum terms the "compensatory" point of view. These researches are consistent with the characterization by Myrdal (1962, p. 952) of Negroes as "exaggerated Americans" whose active organizational life is a reaction to involuntary separation from the dominant institutions of American life.

Orum's secondary analysis of various samples leads him to observe that the "isolation" argument "demands serious reconsideration. . . . The findings of this paper on Negro membership and activity in organizations confirm Myrdal's observations of two decades ago [Orum, 1966, p. 42]." In his handling of the data, Orum routinely controls for education or other available measures of social class, a crucial procedure since class is known to be associated with race and with participation in voluntary organizations.

The apparently lower level of involvement of Negroes stems from their substantial overrepresentation at the lower end of the economic scale where participation is low for both races. Or, according to Orum (1966, p. 37):

Since the large majority of Negroes come from the lower socioeconomic strata, the aggregate proportion of Negro membership will tend to be similar to the total lower-class figure. For whites, on the other hand, the aggregate proportion will tend to be similar to the proportion of middle- and upper-class membership. Aggregate figures, then, obscure racial differences because of the strong correlation between social class and race.

While the data analyzed by Orum are clear enough, their interpretation is somewhat ambiguous because of the absence of extensive information about the organizations to which the Negroes belong. In pointing toward the need for further research, Orum (1966, p. 46) suggests alternative interpretations of the greater involvement of Negroes:

Future research in this area should consider not only the types of associations to which Negroes belong but whether these are associations of the larger society or

associations of the Negro community. Such information should have obvious significance in determining whether Negroes in this respect are becoming more integrated into the larger society or whether their organizational memberships contribute to a continuing segregation from it.

In this chapter, we hope to add the type of information toward which Orum was pointing in the excerpt above, after replicating his procedure of assessing white-Negro differences in membership under controls for education.

#### Rates of Membership

Our first finding is of interest in itself and explains why the balance of this analysis will necessarily be sketchy. Of the respondents, 85 per cent reported that no member of their families belonged to a neighborhood organization, 10 per cent reported membership in one organization, and 5 per cent claimed membership in two or more neighborhood groups. Our analysis is therefore presented in two stages. First, we identify those correlates of membership per se, using as our dependent variable the proportion of households belonging to one or more neighborhood organizations, the percentage among all residents in our sample being 15 per cent, as noted above. Second, among that 15 per cent who do belong, we investigate various characteristics of the organizations involved, including, for example, the type of organization and its racial composition. Since this second area of analysis deals with only 15 per cent of the sample, the small number of cases forces us to abandon our standard classification of areas according to neighborhood type.

Consistent with the major focus of this monograph, we initially present data by neighborhood type and race in Table 12.1. Among whites, participation in community organizations does not vary much with the level of integration in the neighborhood, as measured by our classification of neighborhoods. The slightest of trends is observed: of those residing in white

TABLE 12.1

MEMBERSHIP IN NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZATIONS  
AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, BY RACE

(Per Cent of Households Belonging to One  
or More Neighborhood Organizations)

Race	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
White . . . . .	16 (593)	15 (1,108)	14 (853)	12 (494)	17 (122)
Negro . . . . .	-	28 (69)	16 (49)	12 (494)	21 (278)

segregated neighborhoods, 16 per cent reported membership in one or more groups; and there is a monotonic decline with increasing levels of integration until we reach those whites living in Negro segregated neighborhoods, where an upturn occurs. This trend is magnified slightly when only northern and western neighborhoods are considered. (Table not shown.)

Obviously the differences between adjacent cells and nearly adjacent cells are trivial. Of particular interest here is the emergence of a pattern identical to that to be reported in Chapter XIV, which is concerned with the extent and correlates of "neighboring," or social contacts with neighbors. There we shall see that neighboring by whites is high in white segregated neighborhoods and progressively declines as the proportion Negro increases. The downward trend halts, however, with an upturn in neighboring among the white residents of Negro segregated neighborhoods.

Why whites in the latter neighborhoods should display higher rates of involvement than others is difficult to determine, since their education and income levels are somewhat

lower than those of whites living in integrated neighborhoods. One might entertain the notion that their comparatively high participation in neighborhoods that are heavily Negro represents a more tolerant attitude toward Negroes. In fact, on both direct and indirect measures of racial attitudes, whites in Negro segregated neighborhoods are somewhat less tolerant than others.

There are two possible general perspectives to adopt with respect to this pattern. On the one hand, there may be a selective out-migration of those whites who had been uninvolved all along, so that by the time a neighborhood is clearly changing to all Negro, the residual group of whites contains many of those who have always been active in community life. The alternative point of view suggests a change over time in the activities (if not the attitudes) of the whites from a disengagement during the period of growing Negro residence to a re-engagement once the uncertainty of the area's future has passed and it is apparent that it will eventually be all Negro.

The second row of Table 12.1 presents the data for the Negroes in the sample.<sup>1</sup> The greatest amount of Negro participation in community organizations occurs in open neighborhoods, where Negroes are in a distinct minority, and in the Negro segregated neighborhoods, which are in the process of changing to all Negro. If one accepts the 28 per cent rate of participation in open neighborhoods as an accurate estimate despite the unknown but probably small bias in the sample, this particularly high rate undoubtedly stems from their socioeconomic status. Table 5.2 revealed that these Negro "pioneers" had 16.0 median

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<sup>1</sup>It should be remembered that the Negro respondents in the open and moderately integrated neighborhoods were sought out and interviewed as a method of augmenting the sample. They cannot be viewed as an unbiased sample of all Negroes living in these types of neighborhoods, although in some neighborhoods they probably included the entire Negro population there.



years of education and that the occupation of 47 per cent of them was classified as "professional."

The comparison between Negroes in substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods is of greater interest, since these types of neighborhoods contain most of the Negroes in the country. Here, membership in community organizations is higher --21 per cent--in the segregated neighborhoods, that is, those into which no whites are moving. The 9-point difference between the two Negro groups cannot be accounted for by differences in socioeconomic status, since Table 5.2 revealed them to be quite similar in this regard. When attention is limited to the North and West only, the advantage of those in Negro segregated neighborhoods is lengthened to 13.5 points, a considerable difference, given the figure of 17 per cent among all Negroes. Here, then, it is the majority status of Negroes, not social class, that is associated with their comparatively high participation. We speculate that in Negro segregated neighborhoods, control over local institutions is passing to Negro leadership, which stimulates participation on the part of their constituents.

The more appropriate measure of racial homogeneity is, of course, an estimate of the percentage of Negroes in the neighborhood. In Table 12.2 we use the informants' estimate of this proportion as the independent variable within each region. For the whites, participation in community organizations is somewhat more prevalent in those neighborhoods that are overwhelmingly white--that is, where Negroes account for less than 10 per cent of the population. The difference is one of only 4 points in the North and West and 5 in the South.

Among Negroes, however, the pattern is more pronounced. In the North and West, Negroes living in neighborhoods where they represent 80 per cent or more of the population are much more likely to report membership in community organizations than

TABLE 12.2  
MEMBERSHIP IN NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZATIONS AND PER CENT  
NEGRO IN NEIGHBORHOOD, BY RACE AND REGION  
(Per Cent of Households Belonging to One or More  
Neighborhood Organizations)

Per Cent Negro in Neighborhood <sup>a</sup>	Region	
	North and West	South
	White	
Less than 10 . .	17 (1,998)	14 (65)
10 or more . . .	13 (503)	9 (329)
	Negro	
Less than 80 . .	11 (193)	11 (92)
80 or more . . .	37 (92)	17 (119)

<sup>a</sup>Based on information from neighborhood informants.

are those who are not in such a substantial racial majority in their neighborhood. The northern Negroes in predominantly Negro neighborhoods are the highest participants of all groups presented in Table 12.2; 37 per cent claim organizational membership. The difference among southern Negroes is in the same direction, but not as pronounced.

Apparently a neighborhood must be identified clearly as a Negro community before Negroes in large numbers will take an active part in voluntary community activities. As long as whites are present and account for as little as 20 per cent of the total population, Negroes are not encouraged to join or are not interested in doing so.

To summarize, our initial tables have disclosed that, for each race, residing in a racially homogeneous neighborhood is

associated with somewhat higher rates of participation in neighborhood organizations. Among the Negroes, the high rate of participation among those living in an overwhelmingly white area is easily explained by their high social status; the high participation rate of those living in heavily Negro neighborhoods may well represent the transfer of control from white to Negro leadership. Further, these data have demonstrated that, overall, a slightly higher proportion of Negroes than whites belong to neighborhood groups.

We elaborate this white-Negro difference, as did Orum (1966), by introducing education as a control variable (Table 12.3). On a priori grounds, we might have anticipated lower

TABLE 12.3  
MEMBERSHIP IN NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZATIONS AND RACE,  
BY EDUCATION AND REGION  
(Per Cent of Households Belonging to One or More  
Neighborhood Organizations)

Education	Race	
	White	Negro
	North and West	
Part high school or less .	10 (824)	17 (138)
High school . . . . .	16 (942)	13 (73)
More than high school . . .	22 (797)	37 (58)
	South	
Part high school or less .	6 (238)	11 (145)
High school . . . . .	13 (122)	20 (25)
More than high school . . .	14 (76)	* (16)

Negro participation in neighborhood organizations because of their lower socioeconomic status. That this was not true suggests that at each status level the greater participation of Negroes is more marked than it was in the original association. Race, education, and region combine to yield variation in the dependent variable from 6 per cent among southern whites of low educational attainment to 37 per cent among northern Negroes of high educational accomplishments.

In all but one of the possible comparisons between the two races, Negro participation in neighborhood organizations clearly exceeds that of whites living in the same region and with similar amounts of education. Our data are thus consistent with those analyzed by Orum and cited above.

In addition to its value as an elaboration of racial differences in neighborhood organization participation, Table 12.3 also documents the effect of educational as well as regional differences. Among the whites, who comprise the bulk of the sample, membership in neighborhood organizations is clearly associated with education and with residence in the North. Among Negroes, except for one reversal, the same associations exist.

Although we do not have enough cases to single out high-status Negroes in virtually all-Negro neighborhoods, the evidence thus far would suggest extremely high participation on their part. The highest rate of membership for any significant subgroup is 40 per cent among northern Negroes who own their homes and claim relatively high incomes.

In this discussion of membership rates, we turn from race to home ownership, which, among all respondents, is associated with membership in neighborhood organizations. Of all who owned their place of residence, almost 19 per cent claimed membership in one or more neighborhood organizations, while the figure for renters was not quite 9 per cent. This 10 percentage

point difference must, of course, be subjected to controls for socioeconomic status, since it is possible that it is not ownership per se but concomitant higher social status that actually is responsible for greater involvement. This control is presented in Table 12.4, where household income is used as the appropriate measure of social status. Income and ownership status interact to produce variability in neighborhood organizational membership. The original difference between the participation of owners and renters almost disappears at the lowest income level, and increases as income increases. Among those whose income is \$10,000 or over, owners are very likely to join neighborhood organizations, whereas this is definitely not true among those who rent.

TABLE 12.4  
MEMBERSHIP IN NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZATIONS AND  
OWNERSHIP STATUS, BY HOUSEHOLD INCOME  
(Per Cent of Households Belonging to One  
or More Neighborhood Organizations)

Household Income	Ownership Status	
	Owner	Renter
Under \$5,000 . . . . .	11 (484)	9 (454)
\$5,000-\$6,999 . . . . .	16 (312)	8 (277)
\$7,000-\$9,999 . . . . .	20 (548)	11 (290)
\$10,000 or over . . . . .	25 (653)	7 (245)

At root here is probably a feeling of investment in the community. Renters in general and owners with low income may feel that their investment in the community is so low that protection is not required, at least the kind of protection offered by involvement in community affairs. To eliminate any possible effects of race or region, we limited these data to

northern and western whites (table not shown) with very similar results.

We also investigated the possible effects of various life-cycle characteristics on organizational membership. The age of the respondent showed no association with membership in neighborhood groups. However, there were differences among households that varied in their family composition. Among nuclear families--husband and wife with children--over 17 per cent of the households had joined a neighborhood group, a figure that contrasts with 10 per cent among single-member households. Since about one-third of all neighborhood groups mentioned were classified as being "school related," the higher involvement of nuclear families undoubtedly stems from their interest in PTAs and other organizations concerned at least partially with school affairs.

#### Number of Organizations Present

In the paragraphs above we relied on the reports of residents of integrated neighborhoods about their own membership in neighborhood groups. We found that only 15 per cent belonged. We now turn to information provided by the neighborhood informants regarding all community organizations in the neighborhoods in which our respondents resided.

The mean number of neighborhood organizations listed by the informants was computed for each neighborhood; this number ranged from 0 to 10, with a mean across all neighborhoods of 3.7. In Table 12.5 we present the number of community organizations per neighborhood, using type of neighborhood, region, and median income of the neighborhood (according to 1960 census data) as the independent variables. The social status of the neighborhood, as measured by median income, clearly is associated with organizational activity. The lowest figure presented for northern and western neighborhoods with a median income of \$6,000 or over (3.3 organizations) is higher than all but one of

TABLE 12.5  
NUMBER OF NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZATIONS AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE,  
BY REGION AND MEDIAN INCOME OF NEIGHBORHOOD  
(Mean Number of Organizations per Neighborhood:  
Data from Informants)

Median Income (1960 Census)	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
	North and West				
Under \$6,000 . . .	2.1	3.8	2.6	3.0	2.8
\$6,000 or over . .	4.6	4.2	4.1	3.3	4.4
All levels . . . .	4.3	4.1	3.8	3.1	<u>3.9</u>
	South				
All levels <sup>a</sup> . . .	2.5	-	-	2.6	2.6

<sup>a</sup> Not divided by income level because of the lack of sufficient southern neighborhoods with median incomes \$6,000 or over.

of the figures computed for neighborhoods with a median income under \$6,000. For all income levels combined, the data for the South are similar to those for the lower-income northern neighborhoods. One reason is that virtually all of the southern neighborhoods have median incomes under \$6,000.

Thus, the types of neighborhoods differ more sharply among themselves in the availability of neighborhood organizations than they do in the extent of residents' membership in them. In Table 12.1 we noted that the proportion of white residents who reported membership in any neighborhood organization was quite constant across the various types of neighborhoods, but what slight difference did exist indicated higher membership among those in white and Negro segregated neighborhoods and

lower membership among those in substantially integrated neighborhoods. In part, then, we attribute this slight difference to differential availability of organizations.

#### Types of Neighborhood Organizations

Having used informants' data to document the number of community organizations in our sample neighborhoods, we continue with data provided by these community leaders to investigate the nature and activity of the organizations. We then turn to the 15 per cent of the households that claim membership in organizations for further insights into the data already provided by the informants.

The informants were asked with regard to each organization they enumerated, "Is this mostly a social group, or is it mainly an action group?" (Informant Q. 8D). About seven of every eight groups were reported to be "action" organizations. The proportion was highest in the Negro segregated neighborhoods, 91 per cent, compared to 87 per cent in the integrated and white segregated neighborhoods. This is a small difference, but it suggests that further exploration of differences among our neighborhood types with respect to the nature of their community organizations might be warranted.

The informants were also asked, "With what community issues, if any, does (name) most concern itself?" (Informant Q. 8E). Table 12.6 includes those organizations previously identified by the informants as action groups and gives the percentage of neighborhood organizations identified by the issue categories established in our coding scheme. In this table, almost one-third of the organizations enumerated by the informants dealt with school affairs; presumably they were PTAs or other school-based groups. Another 10 per cent of the organizations were concerned with what we term the physical aspects of the neighborhood: the appearance of the buildings, city services, taxes,



TABLE 12.6  
MAJOR ISSUES WITH WHICH NEIGHBORHOOD ACTION ORGANIZATIONS  
ARE CONCERNED AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE  
(Per Cent of All Neighborhood Action Organizations:  
Data from Informants)

Type of Issue	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
Schools . . . . .	35	37	33	25	24
Physical aspects (environment, property, city services, etc.) .	6	7	8	16	19
Race relations . .	1	- <sup>a</sup>	3	3	3
All others (Families, chil- dren, health; politics; char- ity; business, merchants; crime and police; rec- reation; multi- issue groups) . .	58	55	56	56	54
Total . . . . .	100	99 <sup>b</sup>	100	100	100

<sup>a</sup> Less than .5 per cent.

<sup>b</sup> Not 100 per cent because of rounding.

zoning, and other issues related to improving property and the physical environment. Because of the special nature of this inquiry, we are also interested in those neighborhood organizations dealing with racial issues, and note that in no case do these exceed 3 per cent of the groups enumerated by the neighborhood informants. All other issues account for 56 per cent of the neighborhood action organizations.

The data in Table 12.6 suggest that in neighborhoods with a relatively large proportion of Negroes, a comparatively large percentage of the community groups are concerned with the physical aspects of the neighborhood. Corroborating data are available from our classification of the neighborhood groups based on their names. One category established was "territorial," which included neighborhood organizations with specific geographic bases, such as block clubs, improvement associations, and homeowners' groups. The proportion of organizations classified as territorial was twice as high in substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods as in neighborhoods containing fewer Negroes.

These findings can be interpreted in two ways. It is possible to attribute organizational interest in the physical aspects of the neighborhood to the Negroes themselves. Implicit here is the argument that Negroes are more concerned than whites about the physical aspects of their neighborhoods, and any neighborhood containing a relatively large number of Negroes will have more organizations with this concern. An alternative explanation looks to the white residents and states that the advent of Negro residents stimulates whites to a greater concern with maintaining property values.

Although the data are sketchy, there is a suggestion that the first explanation is nearer the truth. We refer to the data provided by the few residents who reported membership in an organization. Comparing the responses of whites and Negroes living in neighborhoods that were either substantially integrated or Negro segregated, we found that 57 per cent of the whites and 81 per cent of the Negroes reported that the neighborhood organizations they belonged to were characterized as "territorial," that is, they had a specific geographic reference in their names. Further, Negroes in substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods were much more likely than whites in these neighborhoods to report that the organizations

they belonged to were "action" rather than "social" groups. It follows then that when respondents in these more heavily Negro neighborhoods were asked whether or not their community organizations had social affairs, the Negroes were less likely to say "yes."

To recapitulate this section, we noted in Table 12.6 that, referring to data about the neighborhood provided by informants, neighborhoods containing comparatively many Negroes were characterized by a relatively large number of community organizations whose primary concerns were the physical aspects of the neighborhood. Further, referring to the responses of the residents themselves, we very tentatively concluded that this was a manifestation of greater interest on the part of the Negroes than of the whites in the neighborhood.

#### Involvement in Community Affairs

In order to learn the degree of activeness in the neighborhood organizations, we asked our informants, "How active is this group in neighborhood affairs--very active, moderately active, or not so active?" (Informant Q. 8G). In Table 12.7 we present the percentage of organizations rated by the informants as "very active." There is a clear regional difference, with informants in the South consistently more likely than those in the North and West to rate a neighborhood organization as very active.

These data appear contradictory to those in Table 12.5, which revealed that there are fewer neighborhood organizations in the South than in the North and West. One would speculate that where citizen interest stimulates more community groups, it also generates their deeper involvement in neighborhood affairs. It is possible that the North-South differences stem in part from the fact that informants in these regions have different standards against which to compare the community groups. Since the question provided no criterion by which the

TABLE 12.7  
INVOLVEMENT OF NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZATIONS IN  
COMMUNITY AFFAIRS AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE,  
BY REGION

(Per Cent of Organizations Rated by  
Informants as "Very Active")

Region	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
North and West .	32	38	41	47	43
South . . . . .	57	-	-	52	48

informant could judge the activity of each group, he was re-  
quired to supply his own. It is possible that where organiza-  
tional involvement in the community is indeed low, each in-  
dividual community organization, when compared with the others,  
actually appears relatively active.

In the North and West, organizations in the white segre-  
gated neighborhoods are least often rated as very active in  
community affairs (32 per cent); within integrated neighbor-  
hoods the percentage increases as the proportion of Negroes  
increases, with the figure in substantially integrated neigh-  
borhoods being 47 per cent. Our explanation of North-South  
differences above, which essentially was based on the idea that  
informants' perceptions vary with their environment, applies  
within the North as well. The largest number of community  
groups (4.3) was found in the white segregated neighborhoods,  
while the number decreased regularly in the North with in-  
creasing proportion Negro until there was only 3.1 neighborhood  
groups per substantially integrated neighborhood. Thus, in the  
substantially integrated neighborhoods the informants listed

the fewest neighborhood organizations but claimed their greatest involvement in community affairs.

We turned to the approximately ninety members of neighborhood organizations in white segregated neighborhoods in an attempt to account for the comparatively low community involvement of their neighborhood organizations, as reported by the informants. We found that their neighborhood organizations were more likely than those of other whites to have been identified as "interest" groups rather than "territorial or geographic" groups, that residents of white communities were more likely than other whites to describe their neighborhood organizations as "social" rather than "action" groups, and that they were more likely than other whites to claim that the neighborhood groups had social affairs.

The picture that emerges in white segregated neighborhoods is one of organizations that are relatively uninvolved in neighborhood affairs, but that provide opportunities for sociability and the pursuit of individual interests by residents of the neighborhood. As the proportion of Negroes in the neighborhood increases, fewer of the community organizations serve this socio-emotional function and more are task oriented, involving themselves in community affairs and concerning themselves with the physical environment within their neighborhood. Although no single piece of data in this section leads irresistibly to this conclusion, the consistency across a wide variety of measures, plus the fact that the assessment of neighborhood informants was buttressed by responses of the residents themselves, lends strength to this interpretation.

#### Integration among Neighborhood Organizations

Our discussion of racial integration in neighborhood organizations is less exhaustive than we would wish because it must be based on a small number of respondents, the 15 per cent

who reported that members of their families did indeed belong to such an organization. We asked them, "Does (name of group) have both white and Negro members now?" (Resident Q. 18D). In Table 12.8, we give the percentage of households that belonged to groups containing both whites and Negroes, within each type of neighborhood and for each race.

TABLE 12.8  
INTEGRATION IN NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZATIONS AND  
NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, BY RACE  
(Per Cent of Households Belonging to Organizations  
with Both White and Negro Members)

Race	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
White . . . . .	17 (86)	18 (152)	30 (112)	27 (51)	* (16)
Negro . . . . .	-	* (1)	* (4)	69 (51)	55 (59)

More Negroes belong to groups that contain both races than do whites; among whites in white segregated and in integrated neighborhoods, the number begins to rise once the proportion Negro in the neighborhood reaches more than 1 per cent (that is, in the moderately integrated neighborhoods). The figure among whites in substantially integrated neighborhoods (27 per cent) is severely depressed because of the large component of southerners in this category. When limited to northern whites, the figure for whites in substantially integrated neighborhoods jumps to 49 per cent, while the others remain unchanged.

We have an opportunity to compare the extent of racial integration in neighborhood organizations with that in churches. When the data in Table 12.8 are combined, 23 per cent of all

whites belonging to neighborhood organizations are found to belong to ones that have both white and Negro members. Table 11.1 revealed that the figure among churchgoers was 42 per cent attending integrated churches; but that in a clear majority of these cases (25 per cent versus 17 per cent), Negroes accounted for 1 per cent or less of the church membership.

It may be somewhat surprising that a higher proportion of churches (42 per cent) than of neighborhood organizations (23 per cent) attended by whites contained at least some Negroes. The difference may in part be explained by the greatly different proportion of respondents reporting affiliation with these two types of organizations. About six of every seven whites reported attending a church, but only about one of every seven reported belonging to a neighborhood organization. One can "attend" a church without belonging, but by their nature community groups are entities to which one "belongs." Further, voluntary organizations are truly voluntary, in some contrast to churches. An individual is born a Methodist or a Jew and may feel under some constraint at least to attend a particular church or temple, but he is not born a member of the Rotary Club or a homeowners' association.

Because of the voluntary nature of neighborhood organizations, whites may simply not affiliate with or may terminate their membership in an organization that contains Negroes. Were neighborhood groups less voluntary, and membership therefore a wider phenomenon among whites, we would expect a higher proportion of them to be members of biracial, neighborhood-based organizations.

#### Summary

In making comparisons between the two races, we have seen that within groups of comparable status, Negro residents of integrated neighborhoods affiliate with neighborhood organizations

more frequently than do whites. Our data thus corroborate Orum's conclusions in his analysis of survey data that we cited earlier in this chapter.

Data provided by neighborhood informants on local organizations, when amplified by that furnished by the residents themselves, suggest that white community groups are comparatively uninvolved in neighborhood affairs, but provide the members with sociability. On the other hand, Negro organizations appear to be more "task oriented," concerning themselves with public affairs and tangible problems.



## CHAPTER XIII

### HAPPINESS IS . . .

We do not have enough recreational facilities in the area. The dissatisfaction is not with those we have, but because we don't have enough.

They don't have any recreational facilities in the area so they just play in the street.

There is nothing there except the steam bath, and you wouldn't call that neighborhood recreation.

Informants in white segregated neighborhoods

We have more beautiful parks than anywhere in the world. One is in a canyon with waterfalls.

Informant in integrated neighborhood

### Introduction

No one lives in a house solely because it is near a park or YMCA, but the presence and condition of such facilities is of some importance if everything else is held constant. In this chapter, we discuss the recreational facilities in integrated and segregated neighborhoods, as well as the general satisfaction with the neighborhood, its appearance, and the services available to residents.

We also discuss crime worries and police protection. Crime is an important concern in many neighborhoods, particularly in central cities of metropolitan areas. There is also an important link between teenage delinquency, which is the chief cause of crime worry, and the recreational facilities that are most heavily used by this age group.

Unavoidably, this chapter is a grab bag of miscellaneous variables that do not fit well anywhere else but are all related to neighborhood satisfaction and dissatisfaction. While these are all not the most important variables determining housing choice and neighborhood satisfaction, they are nevertheless too important to be ignored.

Because of socioeconomic differences among neighborhood types, we shall usually divide our discussions in this chapter into two parts, treating the lower-income and higher-income neighborhoods separately. Thus, we shall compare substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods on the one hand and white segregated, open, and moderately integrated neighborhoods on the other.

#### General Happiness

Before turning to a specific discussion of neighborhood recreational facilities and services, we first give some summary measures of general happiness and happiness with the neighborhood. The happiness items we use are taken from earlier works by Bradburn (Bradburn and Caplovitz, 1965; Bradburn, 1969). Responses to these items are highly related to social-psychological variables such as achievement, income, age, and health. Here we are looking for neighborhood differences in happiness due to integration. Three possibilities were suggested:

1. Residents of integrated neighborhoods would be less happy and more worried because they lived in neighborhoods that had social tensions or that faced the possibility of changing;
2. The reverse--they would be happier living in integrated neighborhoods--or residents of integrated neighborhoods had other characteristics that would lead to greater happiness; or
3. There would be no difference in happiness, but the affect level, the sum of both positive satisfactions and negative

concerns, would be higher for residents in integrated neighborhoods.

None of these hypotheses is confirmed for whites. There are no differences between white residents of integrated and segregated neighborhoods on general happiness or worry items, or on questions that ask specifically about happiness with the neighborhood or reactions to moving from it. Table 13.1 gives

TABLE 13.1  
GENERAL HAPPINESS AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, BY RACE  
(Mean Scale Scores of Residents)

Item	White				
	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
Happiness <sup>a</sup> . . .	7.16	7.16	7.16	7.00	7.30
Enjoyment <sup>b</sup> . . .	7.17	7.29	7.16	7.30	7.23
Well-being <sup>c</sup> . .	6.58	6.72	6.54	6.39	6.60
Worry <sup>d</sup> . . . .	5.02	4.95	5.03	5.26	4.88
N . . . .	(581)	(1,096)	(840)	(483)	(121)
	Negro				
Happiness <sup>a</sup> . . .	-	7.28	7.02	6.71	7.09
Enjoyment <sup>b</sup> . . .	-	7.30	7.22	6.90	6.84
Well-being <sup>c</sup> . .	-	6.92	6.71	6.18	6.15
Worrying <sup>d</sup> . . .	-	4.22	4.28	4.96	4.85
N . . . .	(0)	(67)	(48)	(492)	(273)

<sup>a</sup>0 = very very unhappy; 9 = very, very happy.

<sup>b</sup>0 = practically no enjoyment; 9 = enjoys nearly everything.

<sup>c</sup>0 = not doing at all well; 9 = doing very well

<sup>d</sup>0 = never worries; 9 = worries all of the time.

the mean scale scores by neighborhood type and race on four items of the happiness scale. These items are based on four questions that asked the respondents to rate themselves on how happy they were, how much enjoyment they got out of life, how well they were doing in getting the things they wanted out of life, and how much they worried. (For exact wording of the questions, see Resident Q. 51A [2-5].)

For the happiness question, the mean neighborhood scores are identically 7.16 for whites in white segregated, open, and moderately integrated neighborhoods. The very small differences on the other scales showing that residents of open neighborhoods are slightly better off than residents of white segregated and moderately integrated neighborhoods are almost certainly due to the small differences in median income that were discussed in Chapter V.

Negro residents of open and moderately integrated neighborhoods are as happy as, or perhaps a little happier than, their white neighbors. Particularly on the worry item, there is an indication that Negro residents worry less than whites. However, this difference between whites and Negroes is reversed in substantially integrated neighborhoods, where Negroes are clearly less happy than whites. It is evident that, even controlling for economic variables, Negroes in open and moderately integrated neighborhoods are happier than Negroes in substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods. The small fraction of Negroes who have moved into open and moderately integrated neighborhoods may be comparing themselves to all other Negroes and feel relatively gratified both for economic and social reasons.

Comparing whites in substantially integrated neighborhoods to whites in Negro segregated neighborhoods, and Negroes in substantially integrated neighborhoods to Negroes in segregated neighborhoods, one finds no major differences in general happiness, although the Negro responses are consistently lower

than the white responses on the positive happiness items. The small differences between whites in Negro segregated and substantially integrated neighborhoods also indicate that economic factors are more important for happiness than are neighborhood factors. If neighborhood factors were important, one might expect white residents of Negro segregated neighborhoods to be less happy, but on three of the four general happiness items the reverse is true. This is because the income differences favor the white residents of these neighborhoods.

To summarize this discussion of Table 13.1, there are only small differences in general happiness among whites in the different types of neighborhoods, and these differences can readily be explained by economic factors. Negroes in substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods are less happy than whites or than Negroes in open and moderately integrated neighborhoods. Although some of the difference is due to economic factors, the rest seems to be related to happiness with the neighborhood.

#### Happiness with Neighborhood

We turn in Table 13.2 to questions more specifically directed to neighborhood happiness. The two questions involved here are: "On the whole, how happy are you living here in (name of neighborhood)? Would you say you're very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy with this neighborhood?" (Resident Q. 10), and "If, for any reason, you had to move from here to some other neighborhood, would you be very unhappy, a little unhappy, or would you be happy to move--or wouldn't it make any difference?" (Resident Q. 11).

The second question was asked because we felt that some residents might be very happy with their neighborhoods, but would think of their stay there as temporary and would not be concerned if they had to move; therefore, they might have fewer

TABLE 13.2  
HAPPINESS WITH NEIGHBORHOOD AND REACTION TO MOVING,  
BY NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE AND RACE  
(Per Cent of Households)

Happiness and Reaction to Moving	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
White					
<u>Happiness with living in neighborhood:</u>					
Very happy . . .	60	59	52	54	51
Pretty happy . .	33	35	38	33	34
Not too happy .	7	6	10	13	15
Total . . .	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(585)	(1,086)	(851)	(490)	(122)
<u>Reaction to moving:</u>					
Very unhappy . .	31	30	29	35	34
A little unhappy . . .	27	24	27	23	20
Wouldn't make any differ- ence . . . . .	28	33	28	25	25
Happy to move .	14	13	16	17	21
Total . . .	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(582)	(1,087)	(845)	(486)	(122)

(Table 13.2 continued)

TABLE 13.2--Continued

Happiness and Reaction to Moving	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
Negro					
<u>Happiness with living in neighborhood:</u>					
Very happy . . .	-	55	55	44	50
Pretty happy . .	-	41	41	34	34
Not too happy .	-	4	4	22	16
Total . . .	-	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(0)	(67)	(48)	(471)	(278)
<u>Reaction to moving:</u>					
Very unhappy . .	-	33	31	26	35
A little unhappy . . .	-	28	22	22	23
Wouldn't make any differ- ence . . . . .	-	28	41	26	23
Happy to move .	-	11	6	26	19
Total . . .	-	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(0)	(67)	(48)	(485)	(278)

concerns about the neighborhood changing. In fact, the two questions were almost perfectly correlated.

Again, the results of Table 13.2 show no significant differences for whites. Combining the two "unhappy" categories, the percentage of whites who would be unhappy to move ranges from 54 per cent in open and Negro segregated neighborhoods to 58 per cent in white segregated and substantially integrated neighborhoods. The percentage not too happy with their neighborhood ranges from only 6 to 15 per cent. It is clear that in these neighborhoods those white residents who were unhappy with integration have either changed their minds or moved.

There are almost no differences in general neighborhood satisfactions between Negro and white residents in open neighborhoods. In moderately integrated neighborhoods, Negroes seem a little happier than whites with the neighborhood, but the differences are small. Negroes in open and moderately integrated neighborhoods are more satisfied with their neighborhoods than are Negroes in substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods.

Neighborhood factors do affect the happiness of Negro residents in substantially integrated neighborhoods. We see that they are less happy with their neighborhoods and would be happier to move than Negroes in segregated neighborhoods. We shall see later in this chapter that Negroes in substantially integrated neighborhoods also rate the recreational facilities in their neighborhoods lower than do residents of Negro segregated neighborhoods. As we observed in Chapter V, the median income is a little lower for Negroes in substantially integrated neighborhoods than in segregated neighborhoods, and so is the quality of housing. This slight difference, however, explains only a little of the difference in neighborhood satisfaction.

Table 13.3 indicates that a major cause of unhappiness with the neighborhood among Negroes is the reception they faced when



TABLE 13.3

NEGRO HAPPINESS WITH NEIGHBORHOOD AND NEIGHBORHOOD  
TYPE, BY SELECTED VARIABLES

(Per Cent of Negro Households "Not Too Happy"  
with Neighborhood or "Happy To Move")

Selected Variable	Not Too Happy		Happy To Move	
	Neighborhood Type		Neighborhood Type	
	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
<u>Region:</u>				
North and West . . . . .	29 (317)	15 (144)	34 (317)	17 (144)
South . . . . .	11 (152)	18 (141)	11 (152)	22 (141)
<u>Community reaction to entry of first Negroes:</u>				
Pleased . . . . .	20 (49)		25 (49)	
None . . . . .	22 (82)		29 (82)	
Gossip, rumors . . . . .	31 (114)		41 (114)	
Panic . . . . .	35 (78)		33 (78)	
<u>Perceived frequency of neighbors socializing:</u>				
Often or sometimes . . . . .	14 (179)	12 (111)	19 (179)	24 (111)
Hardly ever . . . . .	28 (262)	15 (136)	30 (262)	15 (136)

the neighborhood was first integrated. Thirty-five per cent of Negro households in substantially integrated neighborhoods where there was panic when the first Negro family moved in are not too happy with their neighborhoods, compared to about 20 per cent who are not too happy in neighborhoods where the residents were pleased when desegregation occurred or where there was no reaction.

The regional differences are striking, but reflect the same pattern. Only 11 per cent of Negroes in substantially integrated neighborhoods in the South are not too happy with their neighborhoods, compared to 29 per cent in the North and West. In the South, where the substantially integrated neighborhoods have been in existence for a long time, Negro residents of these neighborhoods are happier in them than are Negro residents in southern Negro segregated neighborhoods. It is in the North and West that Negroes have felt community displeasure when the neighborhood was integrated. We cannot discuss community reaction when currently Negro segregated neighborhoods were changing since most of our respondents were not present and could not report what had happened. A full discussion of community reactions when Negroes moved into previously segregated neighborhoods was given in Chapter IV.

It should be noted here that unhappiness with the neighborhood is not related to personal experiences but to a poisoned atmosphere that still lingers. Only a few Negro residents reported any specific incidents connected with their own move into the neighborhood; and there is not the consistent relation between length of time in the neighborhood, community reaction when integrated, and happiness with the neighborhood that one would expect if personal experiences were important. It is ironic that those white residents who were more responsible for current Negro unhappiness with their neighborhoods have probably moved away, but the ill-feelings still remain.

Another way of seeing this is by relating Negroes' happiness with the neighborhood to their perceptions of neighborhood socializing, as asked in the question, "In general, how often do neighbors get together socially? Would you say often, sometimes, or hardly ever?" (Resident Q. 22). The last section of Table 13.3 shows that only 14 per cent of Negro households in substantially integrated neighborhoods who say that neighbors socialize at least sometimes are not happy with their

neighborhoods, compared to 28 per cent who are not too happy among those who say that neighbors hardly ever socialize. Note that perceived neighborhood socializing is not related to happiness with the neighborhood in Negro segregated neighborhoods.

This item is called "perceived socializing" to distinguish it from the scales to be discussed in Chapter XIV that deal with actual socializing in the neighborhood. Actual socializing with neighbors has no apparent effect on happiness with neighborhood in substantially integrated neighborhoods. Rather, perceived socializing seems to be an item that reflects Negro residents' perceptions of white neighbors' attitudes toward them. As such, it is, of course, highly influenced by the neighborhood's reaction when the first Negroes moved in.

#### Recreational Facilities

Tables 13.4 and 13.5 give the number of recreational facilities and children's groups available and used in integrated and segregated neighborhoods. The number available was derived from the neighborhood informants' questionnaires and reflects the average number listed by each informant. The number used by households was derived from the resident questionnaires. It may be a little surprising that the median number used is less than one and that many respondents listed no recreational facility, but this is highly related to the presence of children. Note that in our sample 40 to 50 per cent of the households have no children (see Table 5.4). While the correlation is not perfect, it is strong. Thirty per cent of households with children use no recreational facilities, compared to 48 per cent of childless households. Among households with children, the median number of children's groups attended was less than one-half. In most households with children, the children belonged to no organized children's groups.

TABLE 13.4

NUMBER OF NEIGHBORHOOD RECREATIONAL FACILITIES  
AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE  
(Per Cent of Households)

Number	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
<u>Number of neigh- borhood recre- ational facili- ties used by household:<sup>a</sup></u>					
0 . . . . .	41	38	41	59	48
1 . . . . .	26	33	28	24	28
2 . . . . .	18	16	13	12	14
3 or more . . .	13	13	13	5	10
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(592)	(1,108)	(852)	(689)	(401)
Median number . . . . .	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.4	0.6
<u>Mean number of recreational facilities in neighborhood<sup>b</sup></u> .	3.5	3.9	4.2	3.1	3.3

<sup>a</sup>Based on responses to Resident Q. 12.

<sup>b</sup>Based on responses to Informant Q. 3.

The noteworthy aspect of these tables is the lack of any difference between integrated and segregated neighborhoods in the number of recreational facilities used or children's groups attended, although there are differences by the economic level of the neighborhood. Nor is there any indication that integrated

TABLE 13.5

NUMBER OF CHILDREN'S GROUPS AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE  
(Per Cent of Households with Children)

Number	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
<u>Number of chil- dren belonging to:<sup>a</sup></u>					
0 . . . . .	68	69	66	76	73
1 . . . . .	20	17	21	16	19
2 . . . . .	10	10	10	6	5
3 or more . .	2	4	3	2	3
Total . . .	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(319)	(562)	(366)	(348)	(220)
Median number	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3
<u>Mean number of children's groups in area<sup>b</sup></u>	4.1	4.9	4.3	2.9	3.3

<sup>a</sup>Based on responses to Resident Q. 17.

<sup>b</sup>Based on responses to Informant Q. 6

neighborhoods have fewer recreational facilities or children's groups. The table indicates that, if anything, there are slightly more recreational facilities and children's groups reported by informants in open and moderately integrated neighborhoods than in white segregated neighborhoods.<sup>1</sup> There are fewer

<sup>1</sup>We suspect that this is not a real difference, but reflects a tendency of informants in integrated areas to give more

recreational facilities and children's groups available and used in substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods where the economic level of the households is lower.

The available recreational facilities and children's groups are also rated lower in substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods, as seen in Tables 13.6 and 13.7. Since there are important differences in the ratings given by Negroes and whites in these neighborhoods, they are shown separately in these tables. Some control for the economic level of the neighborhood is obtained by comparing substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods to each other, but these comparisons are inconclusive, not because there are no differences but because the differences go in opposite directions for neighborhood informants and residents: neighborhood informants in substantially integrated neighborhoods rate the recreational facilities of their neighborhoods higher than do informants in Negro segregated neighborhoods, but the residents of substantially integrated neighborhoods rate their neighborhood facilities lower than do residents of Negro segregated neighborhoods.

As the reader must know by now, no absolute measures of quality of neighborhood facilities are available. We have been reasonably confident of the results when the judgments of informants and residents agreed, but how does one explain the differences? We would suggest that in those neighborhoods where there were tensions when the neighborhood became integrated, these tensions still tend to color residents' perceptions of the neighborhood. Negro residents and, to a lesser extent, white residents project their unhappiness with the neighborhood to neighborhood facilities. Since informants' responses are less

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detailed information than informants in segregated areas. The same thing is observed in informants' lists of churches and schools. The reasons for these differences in responsiveness, however, are beyond the scope of this report.

TABLE 13.6  
RATINGS OF RECREATIONAL FACILITIES AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE  
(Per Cent of Facilities: Data from Informants  
or Residents As Indicated)

Ratings of Recreational Facilities	Neighborhood Type					
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated		Negro Segregated
				White	Negro	
Above average or superior						
Informants . .	45	44	42		36	34
Residents . .	43 (325)	42 (638)	41 (473)	32 (204)	23 (182)	34 (355)
Have important effects on keeping people in areas or bringing them (informants) .	38	31	37		27	23

TABLE 13.7  
RATINGS OF CHILDREN'S GROUPS AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE  
(Per Cent of Facilities: Data from Informants  
or Residents As Indicated)

Ratings of Children's Groups	Neighborhood Type					
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated		Negro Segregated
				White	Negro	White
Above average or superior (informants) . .	35	35	45		34	29
Adult leadership rated above av- erage or supe- rior (residents with children) .	46 (98)	51 (163)	59 (108)	52 (46)	30 (63)	43 (40)
Program rated above average or superior (residents with children) .	46 (100)	40 (167)	60 (115)	44 (49)	31 (73)	39 (41)



likely to be affected by neighborhood tensions, they should be more valid. The reader must ultimately decide, however, whether to believe the informants or the residents, or to ignore the differences between substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods.

Differences among the higher socioeconomic neighborhoods are not very significant. Table 13.6 indicates that there are almost no differences in the ratings of recreational facilities by residents and informants between white segregated, open, and moderately integrated neighborhoods. In all cases, the ratings are about half-way between above average and average. Table 13.7 shows that for children's groups there are no differences between open and white segregated neighborhoods, but residents with children and informants in moderately integrated neighborhoods are more likely to rate their children's groups as above average or superior.

Recreational facilities are equally important in white segregated and in open and moderately integrated areas in keeping people in the area or bringing in new families. In these neighborhoods about one-third of all the facilities are seen by informants as having an important effect. In substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods, one-fourth of the facilities have an important effect.

#### Dissatisfactions with Recreational Facilities

In this chapter our first major difference between white segregated neighborhoods and open and moderately integrated neighborhoods appears in Table 13.8, which gives the responses to the question asked of residents, "Are you or your family dissatisfied with the recreational facilities here?" (Resident Q. 13) and the question asked of neighborhood informants, "What dissatisfactions have there been with community recreational facilities recently?" (Informant Q. 4).

TABLE 13.8  
DISSATISFACTION WITH RECREATIONAL FACILITIES AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE  
(Per Cent of Households: Data from Informants  
or Residents As Indicated)

Item	Neighborhood Type					
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated		Negro Segregated
				White	Negro	
<u>Residents' own dissatisfaction:</u>						
No dissatisfaction . . . . .	76	68	69	71	60	82
Absence of facilities . . . . .	17	21	22	21	26	13
Poor quality of facilities . . . . .	3	6	3	6	9	2
Other . . . . .	4	5	6	2	5	3
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(338)	(647)	(488)	(197)	(192)	(144)
<u>Informants' reports of dissatisfaction:</u>						
No dissatisfaction . . . . .	38	23	23	29	10	10
Absence of facilities . . . . .	13	26	15	13	31	31
Poor quality of facilities . . . . .	35	28	33	26	28	28
Supervision and personnel . . . . .	8	15	12	16	15	15
Users and racial tension . . . . .	5	5	11	10	14	14
Crime . . . . .	1	3	6	6	2	2
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100	100	100

Both residents and informants of open and moderately integrated neighborhoods report more dissatisfaction with recreational facilities than do residents and informants in white segregated neighborhoods. Thirty-one per cent of residents of moderately integrated neighborhoods are dissatisfied, compared to 24 per cent in white segregated neighborhoods. The differences are even stronger among informants, although again some of this may be due to the greater responsiveness of informants in integrated areas. In open and moderately integrated areas, 75 per cent of informants in each report some dissatisfaction among residents, compared to 62 per cent in white segregated neighborhoods.

As one might expect, dissatisfaction with recreational facilities is strongly related to presence of children; but even when this is controlled, residents in open and moderately integrated neighborhoods are still more dissatisfied with their recreational facilities. (Table not shown.) One might think that some of this difference is due to differences between central cities and suburbs, but this is not the case. There are no significant differences in the levels of dissatisfaction between central cities and suburbs. Thus, the differences between open and moderately integrated and white segregated neighborhoods remain, controlling for urbanization. (Tables not shown.)

The chief cause of dissatisfaction among residents is the absence of facilities. Yet we have seen in Table 13.4 that there is no difference in the usage of facilities by households in higher-income neighborhoods, and that the small difference in availability, if not an artifact, favors the integrated neighborhoods. This difference, we think, is in the use of public and private facilities. Residents of integrated neighborhoods expect more of public recreational facilities because they use them more heavily than do residents of white segregated neighborhoods, who use more private facilities. About 85 per

cent of households in open and moderately integrated neighborhoods use public recreational facilities, compared to 75 per cent of households in white segregated neighborhoods.

The absence of public recreational facilities leads to dissatisfaction, since residents have expectations about their availability. The absence of private recreational facilities does not cause the same dissatisfactions because they are not expected. Rather, the presence of private facilities is seen as a bonus.

White residents in substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods are no less satisfied with recreational facilities than are the residents of the higher-income neighborhoods. Negro residents, however, are less satisfied, especially in substantially integrated neighborhoods. The reverse is the case for informants. Informants in substantially integrated neighborhoods are less likely than informants in Negro segregated neighborhoods to report dissatisfactions with recreational facilities.

#### Integration of Recreational Facilities

Another major difference between the recreational facilities in integrated and segregated neighborhoods is in their use by both Negroes and whites. As shown in Table 13.9, public recreational facilities in open and moderately integrated neighborhoods are highly integrated, with 82 per cent of the facilities in open neighborhoods and 93 per cent of the facilities in moderately integrated neighborhoods used by both Negroes and whites, compared to 48 per cent in white segregated neighborhoods.

The differences are smaller in private facilities, but in the same direction. In moderately integrated neighborhoods, 79 per cent of the private recreational facilities are used by both races, while the figures in open and white segregated

TABLE 13.9

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE RECREATIONAL  
FACILITIES AND CHILDREN'S GROUPS,  
BY NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE

Racial Composition of Facilities	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
Per Cent of Facilities: Data from Informants					
<u>All recreational facilities:</u>					
Both Negroes and whites . .	48	80	89	80	54
All white . . .	52	20	11	11	6
All Negro . . .	-	-	-	9	40
Total . . .	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Public recre- ational facilities:</u>					
Both Negroes and whites . .	48	82	93	82	54
All white . . .	52	18	7	8	7
All Negro . . .	-	-	-	10	39
Total . . .	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Private recre- ational facilities:</u>					
Both Negroes and whites . .	41	50	79	69	39
All white . . .	59	50	21	26	1
All Negro . . .	-	-	-	5	60
Total . . .	100	100	100	100	100
Per Cent of Households with Children in Children's Groups					
<u>Children's groups:</u>					
Both Negroes and whites . .	14	28	45	38	44
All white . . .	86	72	55	39	18
All Negro . . .	-	-	-	23	38
Total . . .	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(95)	(152)	(108)	(74)	(57)

neighborhoods are 50 per cent and 41 per cent, respectively. Comparing these results to those in the last three chapters, which discussed schools, churches, and community groups, it is clear that recreational facilities are the most heavily used by both races.

When we consider the lower-income neighborhoods, the available recreational facilities in substantially integrated neighborhoods are far more likely to be integrated than are facilities in Negro segregated neighborhoods. A little over half of the public facilities and 39 per cent of the private facilities are integrated in Negro segregated neighborhoods. These percentages are almost identical to the ones for white segregated neighborhoods.

It might not be so surprising that the level of integration in all recreational facilities is lower in substantially integrated neighborhoods than in moderately integrated neighborhoods, since (as we showed in Chapter VIII) white residents in substantially integrated neighborhoods have the least favorable attitudes toward integration. When Negro use of some facilities gets too heavy, whites stop coming. As a result, 9 per cent of all facilities in substantially integrated neighborhoods are used by Negroes only. Private facilities, on the other hand, are most heavily integrated in substantially integrated neighborhoods, with 69 per cent used by both Negroes and whites, while 26 per cent are used only by whites and 5 per cent only by Negroes.

Since we did not ask residents whether the recreational facilities they used were or were not integrated, we do not know if the attendance pattern parallels the availability pattern. For children's groups we asked, "Does (name of group) have both white and Negro children at present?" (Resident Q. 17F). Here there are no significant differences between substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods. About 40 per cent of the households in substantially integrated and

Negro segregated neighborhoods (with children who belong to some children's group) have a child who belongs to an integrated group.

#### Teenage Use of Recreational Facilities

A source of major dissatisfaction with recreational facilities that did not get picked up by our coding scheme, but one that shows up in the responses of residents and informants, is the lack of recreational facilities and services for teenagers. Over and over again there were comments such as these:

There is no program at all for the teenage group. That is the big problem in this neighborhood. The kids just don't know what to do with themselves. Clustering in a discontented fashion with nothing to do. For instance they will show up with soft drinks they've gotten at the store and break the bottles on trees or benches or each other. The teenage problem is big enough to make up for the lack of any others.

There's just nothing for teenagers. There's an area in the back of the park for toddlers, and an area in front for old people. The city fathers just spent \$30,000 last year removing the trees and shrubs from the area. I know why they did it. They wanted to keep kids from hiding in the bushes. But now if the people living next to the park see kids playing ball in the park or making the slightest bit of noise, the police come and throw the kids out. They're not supposed to play ball you see, but kids are normal and like to play ball and make noise. It's part of growing up. The schools have gyms that could be used for dances and other activities, but they won't open them up. They're afraid they wouldn't be able to handle the kids.

The lack of teenage recreation is cited by informants in both integrated and segregated neighborhoods, but more often by informants in integrated neighborhoods. In addition, teenage rowdiness, gang fights, and vandalism are mentioned more often in integrated neighborhoods:

Families are annoyed with the dance night. They object to the noise. This summer there was quite a bit of difficulty in the park program. There was an incident of a knife fight. The trouble was mostly caused by outsiders--not our

own kids. They come over from another part of town just looking for trouble. We had to cancel dances.

While the remark about outsiders may be part of the general tendency to blame trouble on the other guy, there is some validity to it, particularly in central cities. We suspect that many of the open and moderately integrated areas in central cities are near enough to lower socioeconomic neighborhoods so that mobile teenagers from the latter areas often share recreational facilities with the former, since facilities in these lower-class neighborhoods are so inadequate. This leads to crowding of facilities in the open and moderately integrated neighborhoods as well as tensions due to gangs defending their turfs. This tension is often racial if the outsiders are Negro; but the same kinds of tensions have existed for decades between white teenage ethnic groups. The white segregated neighborhoods are usually farther from these lower-class neighborhoods and less affected by the same kinds of pressures.

#### Concern about Crime

Both residents and informants of open and moderately integrated neighborhoods indicate a little more concern about crime than do residents and informants in white segregated neighborhoods, as shown in Table 13.10. This concern is most heavily concentrated in central cities of metropolitan areas. The greatest difference in central cities is between residents in open neighborhoods, 23 per cent of whom are very worried about crime, and residents in white segregated neighborhoods, only 11 per cent of whom are worried. (Table not shown.)

It is not evident why residents of moderately integrated neighborhoods are less fearful of crime than residents in open neighborhoods. This is another reminder that our results are not based on actual crime statistics, which have their own sources of inaccuracy, but on residents' conceptions of the current prevalence of crime and concerns about the future.



TABLE 13.10  
CONCERN ABOUT NEIGHBORHOOD CRIME SITUATION,  
BY NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE  
(Per Cent of Households: Data from Residents  
or Informants As Indicated)

Concern about Crime	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
<u>Residents'</u> <u>reports:</u>					
Very worried	8	15	12	17	15
A little worried . .	35	37	34	32	36
Not at all worried . .	57	48	54	51	49
Total . .	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . .	(557)	(1,000)	(737)	(625)	(358)
<u>Informants'</u> <u>reports:</u>					
Very worried	17	24	24	37	39
A little worried . .	48	49	51	37	32
Not at all worried . .	35	27	25	26	29
Total . .	100	100	100	100	100

Table 13.10 further shows that there are no major differences in concern about crime between residents in substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods, and the level of concern is about the same as in open and moderately integrated neighborhoods. Residents in substantially integrated neighborhoods are a little more likely to be very worried about the

crime situation than are any of the other residents, but a majority of them are not at all worried.

A significant difference is found between the informants in the lower and in the higher socioeconomic neighborhoods. Informants in substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods are much more likely than informants in white segregated, open, and moderately integrated neighborhoods to report that residents are very worried about crime. Almost 40 per cent of informants in substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods say residents are very worried about crime, but here there is little difference between substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods.

While we are not certain of the reasons for the difference between informants in lower- and upper-class neighborhoods, this difference does agree with the available crime statistics that show a substantially higher rate of crime in lower-class neighborhoods. Since informants are more aware of what is happening in a neighborhood, their concerns should correlate more highly with crime statistics than will the concerns of individual residents.

The types of crime reported in Table 13.11 are similar for residents of white segregated, open, and moderately integrated neighborhoods. Robberies and burglaries are most frequent, while major crimes are unusual. Whites in substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods report a higher proportion of major crimes than do residents of the higher-income neighborhoods, but they report about the same proportion of general rowdiness and vandalism. Among Negroes, those in substantially integrated neighborhoods are more likely than those in Negro segregated neighborhoods to complain of rowdiness, fights, or vandalism. On the other hand, Negroes in segregated neighborhoods are more likely to mention robberies and burglaries. Possibly some of the fights in substantially integrated neighborhoods could be the result of interracial friction between

TABLE 13.11  
MOST COMMON TYPES OF CRIME AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE  
(Per Cent of Households: Data from Residents  
or Informants As Indicated)

Types of Crime	Neighborhood Type					
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated		Negro Segregated
				White	Negro	
<u>Residents' reports:</u>						
General rowdiness, vandalism, fights . . . . .	23	28	28	31	35	29
Robbery, burglaries . . . . .	70	59	65	55	49	56
Major crimes, others . . . . .	7	13	7	14	16	15
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(225)	(517)	(338)	(200)	(198)	(46)
(126)						
<u>Informants' reports:</u>						
General rowdiness, vandalism, fights . . . . .	24	25	21	21		20
Robberies, burglaries . . . . .	65	70	68	63		57
Major crimes, others . . . . .	11	5	11	16		23
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100		100

teenagers. Among informants, however, there are only minor differences in the types of crime mentioned by neighborhood. To summarize, concerns about crime probably do not influence many housing decisions. In response to an open-ended question on "the three or four most important problems of the neighborhood" (Resident Q. 3), only 5 per cent of the residents in open neighborhoods and 4 per cent in moderately integrated neighborhoods considered crime the most serious neighborhood problem, compared to 2 per cent of the residents in white segregated neighborhoods. Still, those respondents who are concerned about crime have very deep feelings, as expressed by a priest in a moderately integrated neighborhood.

Crime is absolutely the number one problem, and we're sick and tired of everyone saying "our hands are tied." Who tied them? That includes everyone from the mayor, the judges, the police, the school principals on down. It's time they started doing something.

Physical Appearance of Neighborhood  
and Street Maintenance

Controlling for socioeconomic status, in the sampling we would not expect to find major differences in reports about the physical appearances of integrated and segregated neighborhoods; nor do we, as is seen in Table 13.12. About half of both residents and informants in white segregated, open, and moderately integrated neighborhoods give ratings of above average or superior to the physical appearance of their neighborhoods. Table 13.12 also indicates that street maintenance is rated a little lower (nearer to average) by residents; but again there is no difference by type of neighborhood.

In substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods, the residents' and informants' ratings of the physical appearance and street maintenance give the same mixed picture noted earlier in the discussion of recreational facilities. The white residents of Negro segregated neighborhoods rate their

TABLE 13.12  
RATINGS OF PHYSICAL APPEARANCE AND STREET MAINTENANCE BY  
RESIDENTS AND INFORMANTS, BY NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE  
(Per Cent of Neighborhoods Rated  
"Above Average" or "Superior")

Rating	Neighborhood Type					
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated		Negro Segregated
				White	Negro	White
Physical appearance:						
Residents . . .	46 (590)	50 (1,105)	41 (851)	27 (491)	16 (488)	35 (121)
Informants . .	48	60	53	25		22
Street maintenance:						
Residents <sup>a</sup> . .	32 (587)	35 (1,090)	29 (843)	20 (489)	16 (485)	30 (121)
Informants <sup>b</sup> . .	40	37	44	24	24	15

<sup>a</sup> Street maintenance only.

<sup>b</sup> Includes street maintenance, garbage collection, and fire protection.

neighborhoods slightly higher than do the white residents of substantially integrated neighborhoods, but the reverse is true for informants. Both informants and Negro residents in substantially integrated neighborhoods rate their neighborhoods higher in physical appearance than do informants and Negro residents in Negro segregated neighborhoods, but the differences are small. None of the differences are of the magnitude of the difference due to economic class. About half of the residents and informants in white segregated, open, and moderately integrated neighborhoods rate the physical appearance of their neighborhoods as above average or superior. Among residents, only about 30 per cent of the whites and only 15 per cent of the Negroes in substantially integrated or Negro segregated neighborhoods rate the physical appearance of their neighborhoods as above average or superior. The same patterns are observed in ratings of street maintenance, although these ratings are generally lower.

Transportation Facilities and Travel  
Time to Work

The availability of public transportation facilities is no longer important for most wage earners. Table 13.13 indicates that only about one in ten household heads uses public transportation to go to work. About three out of four drive, while the remainder walk to work or work at home.

In open neighborhoods, 20 per cent of the household heads use public transportation. This difference is mainly due to the use of buses or subways; and of course the latter suggests that these riders live in New York City and the other large cities with subway systems. As a result of this, it takes household heads in open neighborhoods slightly longer to get to work, as Table 13.14 shows.

Among neighborhood problems cited in white segregated, open, and moderately integrated neighborhoods, public transportation

TABLE 13.13  
TRANSPORTATION NORMALLY TAKEN TO WORK BY HOUSEHOLD  
HEADS AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE  
(Per Cent of Households)

Type of Transportation	Neighborhood Type					
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated		Negro Segregated
				White	Negro	
Private car . . . . .	81	71	78	81	65	87
Bus . . . . .	5	8	6	6	15	3
Subway . . . . .	1	8	2	1	0	2
Train . . . . .	4	4	1	1	0	0
Walking . . . . .	4	3	9	8	10	3
Other (work at home, varies, etc.) . . . . .	5	6	4	3	10	5
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(487)	(931)	(644)	(360)	(369)	(89)
						(232)

TABLE 13.14  
LENGTH OF TIME SPENT TRAVELING TO WORK BY HOUSEHOLD HEADS AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE  
(Per Cent of Households)

Travel Time (in Minutes)	Neighborhood Type					
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated		Negro Segregated
				White	Negro	
0-10 . . . . .	35	21	37	39	25	35
11-20 . . . . .	29	29	32	28	30	29
21-30 . . . . .	17	23	16	18	27	17
31-45 . . . . .	9	14	8	5	9	10
46-60 . . . . .	4	8	5	6	7	6
61 or more . . . . .	6	5	2	4	2	3
Total . . . . .	100	100	100	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(467)	(903)	(642)	(344)	(359)	(88)
Median time (in minutes)	15	21	15	14	19	14
						18



is hardly mentioned; although in a few neighborhoods, lack of parking is listed as a problem.

The private car is almost as ubiquitous in substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods as in the upper-class neighborhoods. Eighty-one per cent of white wage earners and 65 per cent of Negro wage earners in substantially integrated neighborhoods go to work in a private car. The proportions are a little higher for whites and Negroes in Negro segregated neighborhoods. The median time required for whites in both substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods to get to work is fourteen minutes, which is very slightly less than the time required in the upper-class neighborhoods. The median traveling time for Negroes is about five minutes longer, primarily because more Negroes take public transportation or walk to work.

These results provide no evidence that families live in substantially integrated neighborhoods to save travel time. Rather they suggest that the average wage earner in our sample is willing to spend about fifteen to twenty minutes a day getting to work and looks for housing (or a job) that meets this requirement.

#### Summary

To summarize the conclusions of this chapter, we find no differences among whites in the general satisfactions of living in integrated and segregated neighborhoods. Negroes in substantially integrated neighborhoods who were faced with a hostile reaction from their neighbors when they moved in are less happy with their neighborhoods and more willing to move than Negroes who did not face any hostility or who moved into a Negro segregated neighborhood. Negroes in open and moderately integrated neighborhoods, on the other hand, are as happy or even a little happier than their white neighbors.

The availability and usage of recreational facilities is about the same for white segregated, open, and moderately integrated neighborhoods. Residents of integrated neighborhoods are more likely, however, to use public facilities, while in segregated neighborhoods there is greater use of private facilities. There are no major differences between facilities in substantially integrated and Negro segregated neighborhoods. As we say in Chapter V, these two types of neighborhood have markedly lower incomes per household and, as one might guess, poorer community services and recreational facilities.

Residents of integrated neighborhoods are more likely to be dissatisfied with their recreational facilities; a chief cause of dissatisfaction is the absence of facilities, particularly for teenagers. Since data from our neighborhood informants suggest that there are no significant differences in availability (the small difference observed favors the integrated neighborhoods), it may be that residents in integrated neighborhoods have a greater demand for recreational facilities, or that their dissatisfactions are indications of general neighborhood worries. There is also greater unhappiness with supervision in the parks and playgrounds in integrated neighborhoods, much of which is due to the special problems that crop up when recreational facilities are integrated.

Residents of integrated neighborhoods are also slightly more worried about crime. This is mainly true in central cities of metropolitan areas, although a little of this fear of crime is also seen in integrated suburbs. Some of this fear reflects the proximity of lower-class neighborhoods, while some may again be a manifestation of general neighborhood worries in integrated areas. There are no objective measures of crime in these neighborhoods, so we cannot separate the unfounded from the well-founded worries.

There are no differences in reports about the physical appearance and street maintenance of integrated and segregated

neighborhoods except those based on economic differences. Finally, the very small neighborhood differences in travel time to job and method of transportation are also unrelated to neighborhood integration.

## CHAPTER XIV

### NEIGHBORING: SOCIAL INTEGRATION

Interviewer:

What are some of the disadvantages in living in a neighborhood where both white and Negro families live?

Negro Respondent:

You have fewer friends in the neighborhood. There doesn't seem to be much visiting back and forth between the whites and Negroes. People are somewhat cautious. . . . My son doesn't have as many friends as when we lived in a segregated neighborhood.

#### Introduction

We have demonstrated that relatively stable integrated neighborhoods are not rare. One out of five Americans lives in a neighborhood where Negroes and whites reside in comparable housing. This chapter explores the extent of social integration in these neighborhoods as well as in our segregated control neighborhoods.

In contrast to the "perceived socializing" discussed in the previous chapter, how much do white and Negro families actually socialize with each other as neighbors, both between races and within their own races? Thus, how much social integration really exists? The dependent variable in this chapter is called "neighboring." We are interested in what sociologists call "primary relations," i.e., face-to-face, noninstrumental, informal, personalized interaction. We consider two aspects of neighboring--interracial and general. Since the first accounts for only a small part of total neighboring, general neighboring actually is mostly intraracial and is basically treated as such here.

Measures of Neighboring

In order to measure general neighborhood social integration, we asked all the residents in our sample the following question: "Which of these things has anyone in your family done in the past few months with members of families who live in this neighborhood?" (Resident Q. 32). Then six statements (nine statements for those respondents who had children under eighteen years of age) that required a "yes" or "no" answer were read to the residents. The six adult statements ranged from casual contact in public to more intimate contact.

Later in the interview we repeated the same procedure, except that the initial question was reworded in order to get at interracial neighboring. For example, if the respondent was white, the question read: "Which of the following things has someone in your family done in the past few months with a Negro family living in the neighborhood?" (Resident Q. 54). If the respondent was Negro, "white" was substituted for "Negro" in the question. (See Resident Q. 82A.) We did not ask these latter questions of residents who thought that their neighborhood was not integrated.

Table 14.1 presents the percentage of neighboring by direction of neighboring in integrated neighborhoods only. Columns 1 and 2 have white and Negro interracial percentages, respectively. These two columns have been adjusted for respondents who thought that their neighborhood was not integrated. Reasoning that people who do not know their neighborhood is integrated interact only with neighbors of the same race, we assumed their answers to be "no" to the six (or nine) neighboring items and adjusted them accordingly. Columns 3 and 4 have the general neighboring percentages for white and Negro residents, respectively.

Comparing Columns 1 and 3 (or 2 and 4) should give the reader some notion of the extent of interracial neighboring. In the first line, for example, we see that whites report

TABLE 14.1  
NEIGHBORING AND DIRECTION OF NEIGHBORING IN  
INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOODS  
(Per Cent of Residents Reporting Neighboring)

Neighboring Item	Direction of Neighboring			
	Interracial		General	
	White to Negro (1)	Negro to White (2)	White to Neighbors (3)	Negro to Neighbors (4)
<u>Adult contact:</u>				
Stopped and talked when we met . . . .	19	46	92	89
Had an informal chat together in their home or our home .	5	24	67	65
Had dinner or a party together at their home or our home .	1	10	33	28
We got together on other occasions . .	3	14	30	31
Went out together for dinner or a movie .	1	10	25	24
Attended the meeting of a neighborhood organization or group together . .	4	11	20	26
N . . . . .	(1,256)	(323)	(2,444)	(534)
<u>Child contact:</u> <sup>a</sup>				
Their children played outdoors with our children . . . . .	13	58	84	89
Their children played indoors with our children . . . . .	6	34	75	71
Their children got together with our children in some neighborhood groups	6	25	46	48
N . . . . .	(593)	(171)	(1,136)	(296)

<sup>a</sup> Asked only if family had children under eighteen years old.

general neighboring conversations five times as often as they report stopping to talk with Negroes. Likewise, thirteen times as many whites have informal chats in their homes with neighbors without regard to race as have chats with Negro neighbors. Thirty-three per cent of whites report partying or having dinner with neighbors, but only 1 per cent report doing either of these activities with Negro neighbors. The paucity of interracial contacts can be demonstrated yet another way. Eighty-one per cent of whites in integrated neighborhoods report that neither they nor any member of their family has even stopped and talked with a Negro neighbor in the past few months, and 95 per cent also report no equal-status interracial contact in the home or at parties, movies, or neighboring meetings. These figures are particularly striking since they refer to interracial contact in integrated neighborhoods. But the great bulk of Americans live in segregated neighborhoods. Thus, the absence of equal-status interracial contacts is underplayed by our data. The infrequency of these contacts would be much more apparent if our data were from a representative sample of the United States.

At first glance the difference in the amount of interracial neighboring done by whites and Negroes may seem striking. These differences are, however, an artifact of the racial composition in integrated neighborhoods. Since there are substantially more whites than Negroes, the mere existence of interracial neighboring virtually requires that a larger percentage of the Negroes will interact with whites than vice versa.

A more interesting comparison is between Columns 3 and 4. The main point here is that there are no meaningful racial differences in general neighboring. The range of differences between Negroes and whites is only 1 to 6 percentage points. This lack of difference between white and Negro general neighboring is indeed striking. Negroes and whites socialize with their neighbors and engage in the same types of activities to the same degree.

Interracial and General Neighboring Scales

In order to explore social integration further, an interracial neighboring scale and a general neighboring scale were developed from the white adult items in Table 14.1. We decided to use only the white interracial and general neighboring items instead of both the white and the Negro items for two reasons: (1) using both would have been in large part redundant since we found no measurable racial differences in general neighboring, and (2) our white sample size is much larger. Table 14.2 presents the Guttman scale statistics, the range of the Q-values of every item associated with every other item, and the median Q-values.<sup>1</sup> We consider this as evidence that both our general

TABLE 14.2  
STATISTICS FOR NEIGHBORING SCALES

Statistic	Type of Scale	
	Interracial <sup>a</sup>	General
Coefficient of reproducibility . .	.98	.94
Coefficient of minimum marginal reproducibility . . . . .	.89	.75
Improvement . . . . .	.83	.74
Range of Q-values . . . . .	.71 to 1.00	.45 to .85
Median Q . . . . .	.91	.67

<sup>a</sup>These statistics are not "adjusted." They do not include respondents who were not asked the neighboring items because they said their neighborhood was not integrated.

<sup>1</sup>Q is a special case of the measure of association, gamma, for use in dichotomous cases. Gamma is a coefficient of association that indicates the strength of the relationship between two variables. Gamma (or Q) ranges from -1.00 to +1.00. A gamma of +1.00 means a perfect direct relationship, a gamma of -1.00 means a perfect inverse relationship, and a gamma of 0 means that there is no measurable relationship. Gamma and Q are



neighboring scale and our interracial neighboring scale are unidimensional. The more neighborly a family is, the higher its score. Scale scores range from 0 to 6.

#### Interracial Neighboring

Table 14.3 presents the percentage of white respondents who said "yes" to the six adult interracial neighboring items, by neighborhood type, and the mean scale scores for the two types of neighboring. The mean interracial neighboring scale scores from the three types of integrated neighborhoods to the Negro segregated neighborhoods show a clear, steady increase in interracial neighboring. As the number of Negroes in the neighborhood increases, interracial neighboring also increases. With proximity between races, social integration increases.

Lest we paint too bright a picture, other considerations must be taken into account. First, the increase in interracial neighboring is not proportionate to the increase in the percentage of Negroes in the neighborhood. As this percentage rises, there is a decline in the rate at which interracial neighboring increases. This means that the amount of interracial contact does not keep pace with the opportunity for contact. Second, the interracial scale theoretically runs from 0 to 6, but the mean scale scores for all neighborhood types are considerably less than 1. Thus, the absolute amount of interracial neighboring is very low. Third, interracial neighboring is strikingly lower than general neighboring, as can be seen by comparing the two rows of scale scores at the bottom of the table. For example, in substantially integrated neighborhoods, the interracial sociability mean score is only .55, whereas the general score is 2.38. Thus, we are in complete

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interpreted very much like correlation coefficients. More detailed discussions of gamma (or Q) can be found in Goodman and Kruskal (1954), Davis (1967), and Davis, Gilman, and Schick (1965).

TABLE 14.3

INTERRACIAL NEIGHBORING AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE  
(Per Cent of White Residents Responding "Yes")

Interracial Neighboring Item	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
Stopped and talked when we met . . . . .	-	10	21	32	37
Had an informal chat together in their home or our home . .	-	2	5	10	12
Had dinner or a party together at their home or our home . .	-	1	2	2	1
We got together on other occasions . . .	-	2	3	5	5
Went out together for dinner or a movie . .	-	1	1	1	1
Attended the meeting of a neighborhood organization or group together . . .	-	3	5	5	2
N . . . . .	-	(1,099)	(846)	(488)	(108)
Mean interracial scale score . .	-	.18	.36	.55	.66
N . . . . .	(583)	(1,105)	(866)	(488)	(107)
Mean general scale score . .	2.94	2.80	2.65	2.38	2.60

agreement with Gunnar Myrdal, who wrote in the early forties, "In the main our conclusion is that the lack of personal and intimate contacts between members of the two groups is extraordinary [1962, p. 656]."

In order to explore further the variation in interracial neighboring, we calculated gamma coefficients between interracial neighboring by whites and sixty variables that we sus-

pected might contribute to the variance. Most of these are presented in Table 14.4. Variables that are clearly redundant have been omitted. The gamma between neighborhood type (per cent Negro) and interracial neighboring is clearly the strongest (.50). Again we see that the major determinant of interracial neighboring is the racial composition of the neighborhood. Now let us turn to the other variables that contribute to the variance in interracial neighboring.

Neighborhood Type, Interracial Neighboring,  
and Explanatory Variables

Although our main interest is in explaining the differences in social integration (X) between neighborhood types (Y), we also want to explore the role played by other variables (Z). The logic behind presenting Table 14.4 is that unless there is a moderately strong zero-order relationship between X and Z, controlling for Z will not alter the relation between X and Y. Z would therefore not be pertinent to our analysis. The danger in this procedure is that important interaction effects--rare phenomena in social science--may be lost. To guard against this, we did examine at least first-order relations between X and Y, controlling for Z. In many cases we also examined second- and third-order relations in order to avoid missing interaction effects.

The question still remains of when the relationship between Z and X becomes less than "moderately strong" so that it seems unnecessary to control for Z, interaction effects aside. A common rule of thumb in survey research is a gamma of .20, which we shall use as our cutoff point. Thus, the task of the rest of this section is to explain the contribution of the five variables in Table 14.4 whose associations with interracial neighboring are .20 or better and to explore the effects of variables whose gammas are lower because of interaction effects. Rather than present the variables in order of the size of their gammas (as they appear in Table 14.4), we shall discuss them in

TABLE 14.4  
 INTERRACIAL NEIGHBORING BY WHITES AND SUSPECTED  
 INDIVIDUAL-LEVEL EXPLANATORY VARIABLES  
 (Zero-Order Gamma Coefficients)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Gamma</u>
Neighborhood type (per cent Negro) . . . . .	.50
Brokers encourage whites to move out (yes) . . . . .	.40
Education variability of neighborhood . . . . .	-.28
Age of home . . . . .	.25
Integration Attitude Scale (high). . . . .	.23
-----	
Ownership status variability of neighborhood . . . . .	.18
Negro housing demand . . . . .	.17
Amount of rent . . . . .	-.16
Income variability of neighborhood . . . . .	.15
Home:	
Own (vs. rent) . . . . .	-.14
House (vs. apartment) . . . . .	-.14
Size of place . . . . .	.13
Household income . . . . .	-.12
Urbanization . . . . .	.11
Police protection adequacy . . . . .	-.11
Sex of respondent (male) . . . . .	.10
Age of neighborhood . . . . .	.10
Region (South) . . . . .	-.09
Duncan socioeconomic status score . . . . .	-.08
General neighboring . . . . .	.08
Religious variability of neighborhood . . . . .	.07
Number of children in nonneighborhood elementary public school . . . . .	.06
Age of household head . . . . .	-.05
Age of respondent . . . . .	-.05
Household size (number of household members) . . . . .	.05
Education of respondent . . . . .	.04

(Table 14.4 continued)

TABLE 14.4--Continued

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Gamma</u>
Political variability of neighborhood . . . . .	.04
Age variability of neighborhood . . . . .	.02
Size of home (number of rooms) . . . . .	-.01
Number of children in neighborhood elementary public school . . . . .	.01
Ethnic variability of neighborhood . . . . .	.00

the following order: region, education, integration attitudes, and miscellaneous variables.

Region

Table 14.4 indicates that the gamma between interracial neighboring and region (South) is only -.09. Table 14.5 shows, however, that introducing neighborhood type reveals regional differences in cross-race socializing in the three types of integrated neighborhoods. Racial contacts tend to decrease from the Northeast to North Central to the West and South. When we compare the South with the other regions combined, we find that in the South whites are clearly less neighborly to Negroes than in the North and West, regardless of neighborhood type. Since this revealed difference is strong, the rest of the tables in this main section of the chapter (the data permitting) are controlled for region. Finally, the horizontal differences among the integrated neighborhoods remain. That is, moving from open to moderately integrated to substantially integrated, there is a steady increase in interracial neighboring in all regions of the country. It is interesting to note that the level of interracial neighboring within neighborhood types in a region appears to be related to the proportion Negro in the region. Thus, in the Northeast, where the proportion Negro is highest, the amount of cross-race neighboring within neighborhood type is also highest.

TABLE 14.5  
INTERRACIAL NEIGHBORING AND NEIGHBORHOOD  
TYPE, BY REGION  
(Mean Scale Scores of Whites)

Region	Neighborhood Type			
	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
<u>North and West:</u> . . . . .	.19 (1,048)	.37 (794)	.77 (253)	.66 (82)
Northeast . . . . .	.19 (767)	.43 (515)	.84 (103)	.47 (43)
North Central . . . . .	.22 (148)	.25 (132)	.76 (98)	* (14)
West . . . . .	.13 (133)	.29 (146)	.65 (51)	.80 (25)
<u>South</u> . . . . .	.12 (51)	.19 (52)	.32 (235)	.54 (25)

#### Education

The zero-order gamma for interracial neighboring and education of respondent is only .04. Introducing neighborhood type and region of the country (Table 14.6) again discloses interaction effects. In the North and West, the horizontal and vertical differences in interracial neighboring are consistent and marked. For all educational levels, interracial neighboring by whites increases steadily with the proportion Negro. Controlling for education does not reduce the effect of the racial composition of the neighborhood. But the more interesting finding is in the vertical comparisons. We can see that for every neighborhood type in the North and West, racial integration increases as the amount of education rises.

In the South a different picture emerges. Our statements about the South, however, have to be very tentative since the number of observations is small. Nevertheless, it appears that in the South education is not positively associated with

TABLE 14.6  
 INTERRACIAL NEIGHBORING AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE,  
 BY EDUCATION AND REGION  
 (Mean Scale Scores of Whites)

Education	Neighborhood Type			
	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
North and West				
Part high school or less	.11 (263)	.28 (246)	.59 (122)	.66 (38)
High school . . . . .	.18 (405)	.36 (259)	.72 (70)	.74 (74)
More than high school .	.27 (348)	.38 (244)	1.22 (49)	* (14)
South				
Part high school or less	.00 (30)	* (11)	.28 (134)	* (15)
High school . . . . .	.29 (21)	* (7)	.41 (56)	* (4)
More than high school .	-	* (11)	.35 (34)	* (3)

interracial neighboring. In fact, the zero-order gamma between education and interracial neighboring in the South is -.12.

Schools may help to eliminate the "color line" in another way. Integrated public elementary schools, for example, can be places where whites meet their Negro neighbors. For all three types of integrated neighborhoods, interracial neighboring is more extensive for families who have children in a neighborhood public elementary school than for those who do not (Table 14.7). Furthermore, families with two children in school are more likely to engage in interracial socializing than are families with only one child in school.

TABLE 14.7  
 INTERRACIAL NEIGHBORING AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE,  
 BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN NEIGHBORHOOD  
 PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOL  
 (Mean Scale Scores of Whites)

Number of Children in School	Neighborhood Type			
	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
None . . . . .	.18 (209)	.34 (139)	.65 (110)	.43 (21)
1 . . . . .	.28 (116)	.49 (82)	.79 (30)	* (3)
2 . . . . .	.32 (65)	.61 (34)	* (16)	* (2)
3 or more . .	.25 (44)	* (18)	* (11)	* (3)

The gamma between educational variability of the neighborhood and interracial neighboring is -.28. The mean interracial neighboring scores for neighborhoods with high versus low educational variability are .21 and .35, respectively. Controlling for region and neighborhood type (table not shown) explains away most of the variance. But again, differences in neighborhood type remain strong. As the percentage of Negroes in the neighborhood grows, the amount of interracial neighboring increases.

#### Integration Attitudes

Table 14.4 indicated an association between a high score on the Integration Attitude Scale discussed in Chapter VIII and interracial neighboring (gamma = .23). This association is somewhat stronger in the North and West (gamma = .24) than in the South (gamma = .16). Table 14.8 reveals that regardless of region the gammas underestimate the real relationship. Controlling for per cent Negro (i.e., neighborhood type) discloses a



TABLE 14.8  
 INTERRACIAL NEIGHBORING AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE,  
 BY INTEGRATION ATTITUDES AND REGION  
 (Mean Scale Scores of Whites)

Integration Attitudes	Neighborhood Type			
	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated	Negro Segregated
North and West				
Low . . . . .	.04 (230)	.09 (210)	.43 (95)	.43 (28)
Medium . . . . .	.21 (408)	.44 (343)	.85 (109)	.43 (35)
High . . . . .	.25 (410)	.51 (240)	1.27 (48)	* (19)
South				
Low . . . . .	.00 (45)	.00 (23)	.28 (198)	.34 (21)
Medium . . . . .	* (6)	.43 (21)	.43 (30)	* (3)
High . . . . .	-	* (8)	* (6)	* (1)

very strong relationship between integration attitudes and interracial neighboring for all sections of the country. Although our data do not tell us whether pro-integration attitudes increase prior to or after interracial contact, there is a considerable body of theory and research that directly bears on this question.

Theoretically, white anti-Negro prejudice is learned primarily from the communicated attitudes of whites to whites rather than on the basis of direct experience with Negroes. Segregation reinforces prejudice in at least two major ways.

The fact that Negroes are, in practice, assigned to inferior positions and segregated from the white majority provides

both support for the view that this is the proper social arrangement and, in a circular way, the basis of the assumption that this arrangement is based on the inferiority of undesirability of Negroes. . . . By limiting the opportunities for interaction with individual Negroes . . . [segregation] protects the white person from having to check his beliefs against reality [Wilner, Walkley, and Cook, 1955, p. 5].

Thus, contact between the white majority and Negroes on a basis of equal status under relatively favorable circumstances should remove both these types of support for prejudice.

Deutsch and Collins (1951), Jahoda and West (1951), Wilner et al. (1955), and Works (1961) all used comparable experimental research designs to study the effects of interracial housing on race relations and attitudes. All these studies concluded that prejudice--anti-black or anti-white--decreases as a function of interracial contact if the contacts are between persons and families who are roughly equivalent in economic and social status. In the four communities he studied, Williams (1964, p. 157) found that "the more prejudiced persons are those who are less likely to find themselves in situations containing out-group persons. This generalization holds in about the same way for several different indexes of prejudice (stereotypes, social distance, antipathy, rights of outgroups, etc.); it holds for contact opportunities with Jews, with Mexicans, and, except in Southport [a southern city] with Negroes." He also presents evidence that the association between inter-ethnic contact and prejudice is due to reciprocal causation, yet the weight of his argument is that reduction in prejudice is more likely to produce contact than vice versa (Williams, 1964, Chap. 7).

Other support for the equal-status contact hypothesis is found in the review by Wilner et al. (1955) of some thirty studies bearing on this question. They conclude that these studies support "the general hypothesis that equal-status contact between members of initially antagonistic ethnic groups under circumstances not marked by competition for limited goods

or by strong social disapproval of intergroup friendliness tends to result in favorable attitude change [p. 4]."<sup>2</sup>

#### Miscellaneous Variables

None of the remaining variables in Table 14.4 are highly associated with interracial neighboring. The two variables left that have gammas of .20 or better--"brokers encourage whites to move out" (gamma = .40) and "age of home" (gamma = .25)--are spuriously related to interracial neighboring. Controlling for neighborhood type washes out the associations. These two variables are just other indicators of the percentage of Negroes in the neighborhood.

It is interesting that none of the economic variables is strongly associated with interracial neighboring, particularly since education (itself a correlate of economic factors) is a strong determinant of cross-race neighboring. In fact, the gammas between economic variables and cross-race neighboring are negative, i.e., are opposite in sign to the association between education and cross-race neighboring. For example, the associations for interracial neighboring are -.14 with home ownership, -.12 with household income, and -.08 with Duncan socioeconomic status score. These negative associations serve to underline the importance of education in reducing the wall between the races. That is, education is positively related to cross-race neighboring and pro-integration attitudes despite income disparities.

#### General (Intraracial) Neighboring

Social integration can be measured a number of ways. So far we have concentrated on only one aspect, the extent to which whites socialize with their Negro neighbors and vice versa,

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<sup>2</sup>See also Curtis et al. (1967), Noel and Pinkney (1964), Sherif (1956), and Star, Williams, and Stouffer (1965).

i.e., interracial neighboring. Measured in this way, we have demonstrated that very little social integration exists. Thus, interracial neighboring is in some sense an overspecialized measure of social integration. A more general measure of social integration would be the extent to which neighbors interact without regard to race. Our general neighboring scale is suited for this purpose. And since there is such a small amount of interracial neighboring as compared to general neighboring (the interracial mean is .28, whereas the general mean is 2.71), the great bulk of general neighboring must be intraracial. Thus, the terms "general neighboring" and "intraracial neighboring" are virtually interchangeable.

We shall look first at neighborhood differences in general neighboring by whites. Then we shall try to explain these differences and in so doing explore other determinants of neighborhood cohesion.

Differences in General Neighboring  
by Neighborhood Type

Table 14.9 presents the percentage of white respondents who said "yes" to the general neighboring items and the mean neighboring scale scores, by neighborhood type. The differences between neighborhood types for each item are very small, especially when compared to the differences between items. Nevertheless, there is a general decrease in neighboring as we move from white segregated to substantially integrated neighborhoods. Excluding Negro segregated neighborhoods, which we shall discuss in a later section, we see that there is less neighboring by whites as the percentage of Negroes in the neighborhood increases. Whites in substantially integrated neighborhoods appear to be least neighborly, whereas those in all-white neighborhoods seem to be most neighborly. How can this be explained? If we recall that interracial neighboring is virtually nonexistent as compared to general neighboring, it seems likely

TABLE 14.9  
GENERAL NEIGHBORING AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE  
(Per Cent of White Residents  
Responding "Yes")

General Neighboring Item	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segre- gated	Open	Moder- ately Inte- grated	Substan- tially Inte- grated	Negro Segre- gated
Stopped and talk- ed when we met	99	92	93	91	94
Had an informal chat together in their home or our home . .	75	67	67	65	70
Had dinner or a party together at their home or our home . .	38	34	34	25	36
We got together on other oc- casions . . . .	35	34	26	28	30
Went out together for dinner or a movie . . . . .	30	30	24	14	24
Attended the meet- ing of a neigh- borhood organi- zation or group together . . .	22	23	18	14	22
N . . . . .	(583)	(1,105)	(866)	(488)	(107)
Mean scale score . .	2.94	2.80	2.65	2.38	2.60

that as the percentage of Negroes in the neighborhood increases, the percentage of people who are likely candidates for whites to be neighborly with decreases. This is our best guess about why there are differences by neighborhood type, however small

they may be, in general neighboring. Furthermore, we shall try to show that this explanation needs only slight modification when control variables are introduced.

In order to explore further the variation in general neighboring, we calculated gamma coefficients between general neighboring and sixty variables that we suspected might contribute to the variance. Again, clearly redundant variables were eliminated. Table 14.10 presents the coefficients of association. The gamma for neighborhood type and general neighboring is low (-.10), which again tells us that the effect of neighborhood type on neighboring is small. Now let us turn to the possible effects of other variables.

The same strategy that was used earlier for interracial neighboring is used here, except that our cutoff point for control variables is a more conservative .15 gamma rather than .20. The reason for this slight change in strategy is that the gamma between neighborhood type and general neighboring is much smaller (-.10) than the gamma between neighborhood type and interracial neighboring (.50). It would take less to explain away the zero-order association of the former than the latter. The reader should be reminded that we did control for all the variables in Table 14.10, using at least second-order cross-tabulations so as not to miss interaction effects. Our strategy here is one of presentation, not one of investigation. For example, the effect of the first control variable under discussion, region, with a gamma of -.03, would be lost due to interaction effects if we looked only at control variables whose zero-order gammas were greater than .15.

#### Region

Table 14.11 presents general neighboring and neighborhood type, controlling for region. This table reveals that the pattern of differences in neighboring by neighborhood type in the South is radically different from the patterns in all other

TABLE 14.10  
GENERAL NEIGHBORING BY WHITES AND SUSPECTED  
INDIVIDUAL-LEVEL EXPLANATORY VARIABLES  
(Zero-Order Gamma Coefficients)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Gamma</u>
Urbanization . . . . .	-.22
Home: Own (vs. rent) . . . . .	.20
Household income . . . . .	.19
Age of home . . . . .	-.19
Education of respondent . . . . .	.19
Negro housing demand . . . . .	-.15
-----	
Duncan socioeconomic status score . . . . .	.14
Size of home (number of rooms) . . . . .	.14
Amount of rent . . . . .	.14
Integration Attitude Scale (high) . . . . .	.11
Police protection adequacy . . . . .	.11
Neighborhood type (per cent Negro) . . . . .	-.10
Education variability of neighborhood . . . . .	-.09
Interracial neighboring . . . . .	.08
Sex of respondent (male) . . . . .	-.08
Number of children in neighborhood elementary public school . . . . .	.08
Age of neighborhood . . . . .	-.08
Religious variability of neighborhood . . . . .	-.07
Race (white) . . . . .	.06
Perceived income differences in neighborhood . . . . .	.05
Size of place . . . . .	-.04
Ethnic variability of neighborhood . . . . .	.04
Region (South) . . . . .	-.03
Age variability of neighborhood . . . . .	-.02
Political variability of neighborhood . . . . .	.00

TABLE 14.11  
GENERAL NEIGHBORING AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, BY REGION  
(Mean Scale Scores of Whites)

Region	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated	Negro Segregated
<u>North and West:</u> . .	3.01 (468)	2.84 (1,057)	2.65 (813)	2.06 (253)	2.71 (81)
Northeast . . . .	3.18 (220)	2.93 (771)	2.67 (525)	2.14 (102)	3.40 (43)
North Central . .	2.87 (179)	2.79 (150)	2.64 (134)	2.09 (98)	* (13)
West . . . . .	2.81 (69)	2.39 (136)	2.61 (153)	1.86 (52)	2.20 (25)
<u>South</u> . . . . .	2.64 (115)	1.88 (48)	2.53 (53)	2.72 (235)	2.25 (25)



parts of the country. In the North and West, there is a marked trend, with a steady decrease in general neighboring from white segregated to substantially integrated neighborhoods. For example, looking at the extremes, we see that the mean general neighboring score of whites in white segregated neighborhoods is almost 1.5 times greater than that of whites in substantially integrated neighborhoods. This trend does not occur in the South. In fact, for the three types of integrated neighborhoods, the trend is reversed. The highest mean score is in substantially integrated neighborhoods, whereas the lowest mean score is in open neighborhoods. Unfortunately, the meaning of the regional differences in general neighboring is not immediately clear. In any event, the pattern in the South is so unlike other parts of the country that the rest of the tables in this chapter are controlled for region.

#### Urbanization

The largest association between general neighboring by whites and the suspected explanatory variables in Table 14.10 was between general neighboring and urbanization, with a gamma of  $-.22$ . Neighboring is least in the central city and most extensive in nonmetropolitan areas. This association holds regardless of neighborhood type or region (Table 14.12). At first this may seem surprising, since the association indicates that as the population becomes denser, and therefore the opportunities for interaction become greater, the actual probability of neighboring declines. The mystery vanishes when we consider that an increase in population density is accompanied not only by an increase in opportunities for neighboring but also in opportunities for socializing with all varieties of nonneighbors. For instance, in sparsely populated nonmetropolitan areas, the rural resident is more likely to be stuck with his neighbor for social interaction or he must travel greater distances for social interaction with nonneighbors.

TABLE 14.12  
GENERAL NEIGHBORING AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, BY URBANIZATION AND REGION  
(Mean Scale Scores of Whites)

Urbanization	Neighborhood Type			
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated
				Negro Segregated
North and West				
Central city of SMSA . . . .	2.75 (156)	2.64 (512)	2.44 (433)	1.99 (200) 2.05 (31)
Suburb of SMSA . .	3.08 (286)	3.01 (516)	2.89 (358)	2.36 (53) 3.12 (50)
Non-SMSA . . . . .	3.84 (25)	3.41 (29)	3.05 (21)	-
South				
Central city of SMSA . . . .	2.36 (79)	-	* (9)	2.27 (62) * (9)
Suburb of SMSA . .	3.39 (23)	1.88 (48)	-	2.78 (114) * (3)
Non-SMSA . . . . .	* (13)	-	2.55 (44)	3.07 (58) * (13)

"Country folks" are more neighborly than "city folks," not because of disposition but out of necessity.

More pertinent to our story, though, is that controlling for urbanization (Table 14.12) shows that the trend in neighboring by neighborhood type in the North and West is ever so slightly reduced. That is, the trend is in small part an artifact of integrating neighborhoods being more heavily concentrated in the central city, which is precisely where neighboring is lowest.

#### Socioeconomic Factors

Having considered the effects of demographic factors, we now turn to the effects of socioeconomic factors on neighborhood differences in social integration.

Socioeconomic factors play a significant role in social integration. The associations of general neighboring with education, household income, and home ownership are .19, .19, and .20, respectively. The rich, the more highly educated, and the homeowners are more neighborly than those less fortunate. This holds regardless of neighborhood type, at least in the North and West. However, none of the three variables explain away the differences by neighborhood type.

Table 14.13 presents the mean neighboring scale scores by neighborhood type, education, and region. Comparing across, we again note that the neighborhood differences persist. In the North and West, neighboring generally increases with increasing education. Education does not appear to have this effect in the South.

Table 14.14 controls for household income. The neighborhood differences do not disappear for any income level. The net partial gamma is only slightly lower than the zero-order gamma. Some specification is, however, called for. For instance, the differences between white segregated and substantially integrated neighborhoods in the North and West increase

TABLE 14.13  
GENERAL NEIGHBORING AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, BY EDUCATION AND REGION  
(Mean Scale Scores of Whites)

Education	Neighborhood Type			
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated
			North and West	Negro Segregated
Part high school or less . . . .	2.67 (145)	2.42 (265)	2.03 (251)	1.89 (123)
High school . . . .	3.03 (170)	2.92 (410)	2.86 (261)	2.28 (69)
More than high school . . . .	3.44 (132)	3.07 (349)	3.06 (250)	2.16 (48)
			South	
Part high school or less . . . .	2.63 (47)	1.89 (27)	* (11)	2.62 (135)
High school . . . .	2.60 (34)	1.86 (21)	* (7)	2.98 (55)
More than high school . . . .	2.69 (27)	-	* (11)	2.64 (34)

\* (14)  
\* (4)  
\* (3)

TABLE 14.14  
GENERAL NEIGHBORING AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, BY HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND REGION  
(Mean Scale Scores of Whites)

Household Income	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated	Negro Segregated
			North and West		
Under \$4,000 . . .	2.32 (47)	2.04 (114)	2.06 (131)	1.69 (58)	* (13)
\$4,000-\$7,999 . .	2.78 (130)	2.70 (281)	2.51 (241)	2.03 (90)	2.14 (26)
\$8,000 or more . .	3.30 (244)	3.07 (597)	3.15 (347)	2.36 (67)	3.17 (29)
			South		
Under \$4,000 . . .	2.36 (21)	1.90 (30)	* (19)	2.36 (72)	* (8)
\$4,000-\$7,999 . .	2.88 (44)	* (12)	2.58 (24)	3.02 (87)	* (9)
\$8,000 or more . .	2.77 (37)	* (6)	* (8)	2.78 (45)	* (2)

steadily with increasing income. Although only in the North and West is education related to neighboring, income is associated with neighboring in all parts of the country. Families whose incomes are less than \$4,000 annually socialize less than families whose annual incomes are more than \$4,000. Essentially the same results are found controlling with Duncan socioeconomic status scores as with family income.

Let us now turn to Table 14.15 for consideration of another economic factor as a control, ownership status. In the North and West, whites in substantially integrated neighborhoods are still less neighborly than whites in any other type of neighborhood. The trend tends to disappear, however, for renters, but becomes increasingly marked among homeowners. Thus, when we say that neighborhood social integration among whites decreases as the percentage of Negroes in the neighborhood increases, we are limiting the discussion largely to homeowners.

Controlling for neighborhood type, we find that in all sections of the country homeowners are, in general, more neighborly than renters. Having a financial stake in the neighborhood apparently promotes community participation. It has been argued that community participation would be greatest in neighborhoods that are economically homogeneous. Table 14.16 refutes this view. There is more general neighboring in northern neighborhoods where residents perceive income differences among their neighbors of a few thousand dollars per year than in neighborhoods where most people perceive no income differences in the neighborhood. This holds regardless of neighborhood type or racial composition, except for white segregated neighborhoods. Very large perceived differences in income are more conducive to neighboring than is perceived homogeneity in income, but they are second to perceived differences of a few thousand dollars per year.

TABLE 14.15  
GENERAL NEIGHBORING AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, BY OWNERSHIP STATUS AND REGION  
(Mean Scale Scores of Whites)

Ownership Status	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated	Negro Segregated
			North and West		
Owner . . . . .	3.26 (335)	3.02 (643)	2.72 (460)	2.15 (137)	2.62 (59)
Renter . . . . .	2.38 (130)	2.56 (413)	2.56 (351)	1.96 (116)	2.95 (22)
			South		
Owner . . . . .	2.83 (89)	2.22 (27)	2.43 (28)	2.83 (186)	* (13)
Renter . . . . .	1.99 (25)	1.43 (21)	2.64 (25)	2.20 (47)	* (12)

TABLE 14.16  
GENERAL NEIGHBORING AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, BY PERCEIVED  
DIFFERENCES IN HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND REGION  
(Mean Scale Scores of Whites)

Perceived Income Differences <sup>a</sup>	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated	Negro Segregated
			North and West		
Same income . . .	3.12 (86)	2.67 (144)	2.37 (133)	2.09 (67)	* (14)
Differences of few thousand dollars per year . . .	3.03 (222)	3.05 (992)	2.95 (320)	2.15 (95)	3.25 (36)
Very large differences . .	3.17 (114)	2.87 (298)	2.88 (230)	2.28 (50)	* (15)
			South		
Same income . . .	2.34 (20)	* (6)	* (6)	2.89 (41)	* (5)
Differences of few thousand dollars per year . . .	2.95 (58)	* (18)	2.85 (27)	2.83 (126)	* (13)
Very large differences . .	2.62 (21)	* (6)	* (12)	2.74 (43)	* (2)

<sup>a</sup>Based on responses to Resident Q. 25.



### Negro Housing Demand

In the next chapter we shall discuss in detail our Negro Housing Demand Index. As already mentioned earlier in this monograph, this index is composed of three measures: maximum per cent Negro in adjacent neighborhoods, distance to the nearest Negro segregated neighborhood, and per cent of white new residents in the neighborhood.

Table 14.10 showed that the association between neighboring and Negro housing demand ( $\gamma = -.15$ ) is greater than the association between neighboring and neighborhood type ( $\gamma = -.10$ ). As the demand grows, neighboring dwindles; thus the racial makeup of the general area is a better predictor of the extent of neighboring than is the actual percentage of Negroes in the neighborhood.

Controlling for demand (Table 14.17), we once again see that the trend by neighborhood type holds up. The mean neighboring scores for residents of substantially integrated neighborhoods under low demand are not reported in Table 14.17 because the number of cases in these cells is too small to have a high degree of reliability. We should mention, however, that the scores not presented in the table because of their unreliability are 3.67 for the North and West and 3.57 for the South. It would appear that of all the integrated and segregated neighborhood types, the most neighborly may be substantially integrated neighborhoods under low Negro housing demand in both sections of the country. Thus, general neighborliness may not be reduced with increasing racial integration if the larger area is not racially out of balance or in high demand. Unfortunately, the number of substantially integrated neighborhoods in America that are under low demand is small.

### Negro Segregated Neighborhoods

Negro segregated neighborhoods have been omitted from the discussion thus far because they present a special problem that

TABLE 14.17  
GENERAL NEIGHBORING AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE, BY NEGRO HOUSING DEMAND AND REGION  
(Mean Scale Scores of Whites)

Negro Housing Demand	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated	Negro Segregated
			North and West		
Low . . . . .	3.15 (252)	2.92 (697)	2.78 (399)	* (9)	-
Medium . . . . .	2.79 (144)	2.66 (307)	2.76 (252)	2.32 (46)	3.92 (26)
High . . . . .	2.95 (71)	2.79 (53)	2.17 (161)	1.93 (197)	2.14 (55)
			South		
Low . . . . .	* (13)	-	2.54 (28)	* (14)	-
Medium . . . . .	2.94 (56)	1.88 (48)	2.52 (25)	2.65 (71)	-
High . . . . .	2.16 (46)	-	-	2.67 (150)	2.25 (25)

we have been unable to resolve completely. If the neighborhood differences in white general neighboring (intraracial neighboring) are due in part, as we have argued, to the percentage of Negroes in the neighborhood, then white neighboring theoretically should be lowest in Negro segregated neighborhoods. But such is not the case. There are at least three solutions to this problem. First, our argument is that general neighboring dwindles as the percentage of Negroes in the neighborhood grows, because Negroes and whites scarcely socialize and thus the number of opportunities that whites have for neighboring with whites diminishes as the percentage of Negroes in the neighborhood increases. Well, our argument may simply be in error for reasons that we are unaware of (but we doubt it). Second, Negro segregated neighborhoods may be lowest, but this is concealed due to sampling error. Our sample of white residents in Negro segregated neighborhoods may be too small. Third, a selective migration factor might be operating. Whites who remain in or move into Negro segregated neighborhoods may have attributes sufficiently different from whites who live in integrated or white segregated neighborhoods such to exclude residents of Negro segregated neighborhoods from our discussion.

#### Summary

##### Interracial Neighboring

The absolute amount of interracial neighboring in integrated neighborhoods is very low, regardless of the racial balance of the area. Just because Negroes and whites live near each other does not mean that they interact socially to any great extent. The small amount of interracial neighborhood sociability that does exist is due primarily to one factor, opportunity. That is, the major determinant of interracial neighboring is the racial composition of the neighborhood. The amount of cross-race neighboring rises mainly as a function of the percentage of Negroes in the neighborhood.

Nevertheless, three other factors, although of secondary importance, do play a role. Whites living in the North and West are more neighborly to Negroes than are southern whites. In the North and West, education is positively correlated with interracial neighboring, whereas in the South it is not. Interracial neighborhood sociability is also positively associated with pro-integration attitudes, regardless of region of the country.

#### General (Intraracial) Neighboring

The racial composition of a neighborhood has little effect on the extent of neighborhood sociability that takes place without regard to race. Thus, neighborhood type is not a strong determinant of general (intraracial) neighboring. General neighboring is explained better by other factors.

General neighboring is more extensive in the North and West than in the South, in nonmetropolitan areas, among people with higher income and education, among homeowners, and in neighborhoods under low Negro housing demand. It is more strongly associated with the racial makeup of the surrounding area than with the actual percentage of Negroes in the neighborhood.

As small as the differences in neighboring by neighborhood type are, we are unable to explain them away. In the North and West there is less general neighboring in substantially integrated neighborhoods than in white segregated neighborhoods, even given all our controls. General neighboring decreases as the percentage of Negroes in the neighborhood increases, primarily because of the low amount of interracial neighboring. Moving from white segregated to substantially integrated neighborhoods, there is a trend of decreasing neighboring in the North and West. Strictly speaking, the trend seems to disappear under many control conditions, but the breakdown is more apparent than real. Very often it is because the percentage of Negroes

in open and moderately integrated neighborhoods is not too different. If we consider these two types of neighborhoods as virtually equivalent in proportion Negro, then the trend is sharper.

To the extent that there are differences in general neighboring by neighborhood type, they must be specified. White segregated neighborhoods are more neighborly than substantially integrated neighborhoods in the North and West; the opposite may be true of the South. The differences in the North and West become more marked as family income increases, and the argument is limited mainly to homeowners.

## CHAPTER XV

### THE FUTURE OF INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOODS IN AMERICA

I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.

I have a dream today.

Martin Luther King, Jr.  
Lincoln Memorial,  
Washington, D.C.  
August 28, 1963

#### Introduction

We have seen in the previous chapters that one out of five Americans lives in an integrated setting. It would be gratifying to predict that this proportion will rise steadily and substantially in the years ahead. Unfortunately, our results are not clear enough to enable us to make this prediction. At best, we would anticipate rather modest increases in the number of integrated neighborhoods and in the proportion of the population living in these neighborhoods in the next decade.

There are several trends operating simultaneously. In white segregated neighborhoods, there will be small but steady integration, particularly in those neighborhoods most like the ones that are currently integrated. In open and moderately integrated neighborhoods, there will be moderate increases in the proportion Negro. Substantially integrated neighborhoods, however, face the pressures of an ever increasing Negro population, and some will slowly become Negro segregated.

In this final chapter, we take a close look at the factors that could cause an integrated neighborhood to become Negro segregated, as well as the characteristics of white segregated neighborhoods that make them more likely to become integrated.

In the great American tradition of hissing the villains, there is the temptation to blame the white families who move out of integrated neighborhoods for the resegregation of these neighborhoods. These are not families who have panicked, however, but are families who have moved mainly because of changes in jobs or family composition or because their friends and relatives are now living elsewhere. (See Appendix B.) At the same time, the pent-up Negro demand for housing in these neighborhoods is greater than the demand from whites, so that it is this differential demand that is chiefly responsible for slow neighborhood resegregation.

Our data indicate that the higher the current proportion Negro is and the nearer the neighborhood is to other Negro segregated neighborhoods, the greater are the residents' concerns about the neighborhood changing. Only in the South, where there is no social integration, but where housing integration is historical, are the current proportion Negro and the distance to Negro areas unrelated to stability.

There is no way of knowing which white segregated neighborhoods will become integrated in the next few years, but we asked neighborhood residents to predict the likelihood that their areas would become integrated. As one would expect, those neighborhoods in which residents were more favorable on the Integration Attitude Scale were also the ones that residents predicted would be most likely to become integrated.

Note that these results are not symmetric. We shall show in this chapter that most white segregated neighborhoods do not adjoin all-Negro areas, while many substantially integrated neighborhoods do. Thus, whether a white segregated neighborhood becomes integrated, remains segregated, or panics and becomes a

changing neighborhood depends primarily on the attitudes and characteristics of its residents. On the other hand, whether a stable integrated neighborhood ultimately becomes a resegregated Negro neighborhood depends primarily on Negro housing demand from adjoining areas.

These modest predictions assume that the rise in pro-integration sentiments noted over the last several decades will continue, and that there will be no major changes in government policies at the national or local levels. We believe that integration could be speeded if successful programs were developed to:

1. Raise the income level of Negro families;
2. Improve financing opportunities for Negroes trying to buy homes;
3. Increase the heterogeneity of housing in suburban neighborhoods by building housing units, both owner and rental, in different price ranges; and
4. Remove discriminatory barriers in currently white segregated neighborhoods against renting by Negro households.

Now that baseline measures of the extent of integration in the United States have been established, we hope that it will be possible to repeat this study periodically in order to measure changes due to the factors that we have discussed: government policies, legal and moral pressures, changing attitudes, and the rise in the socioeconomic status of Negroes. Although annual changes would be small, we would expect to detect significant changes over periods of three to five years.

#### Concerns about Neighborhood Changing

The reader must remember that none of the integrated neighborhoods in this study were expected by the informants to become changing or Negro segregated neighborhoods within the next five



years. Nevertheless, we expect, through a slow attrition process whereby the white market gradually dries up, that some of these neighborhoods will ultimately tip. The best predictor we have for this occurring is a question asked of the white residents of integrated neighborhoods: "Are people around here very concerned about the neighborhood changing, a little concerned, or not concerned at all?" (Resident Q. 62A). While this is clearly far from a perfect predictor, we shall demonstrate that it yields sensible results, and that most concerns were over racial changes.

Some readers may wonder why we used the rather ambiguous words "concern" and "change" rather than asking a more direct question. Our aim was to elicit concerns from those residents who had them, but to avoid suggesting, by making the wording more specific, that there was a possibility that the neighborhood might become Negro segregated. Since this question followed a series related to community reactions when the first Negro family moved in, the general response among those residents who had concern was in terms of racial change. We did not ask this question of Negro residents because we did not know how to phrase it.

Among our informants we had to be even more careful not to suggest that the neighborhood was changing. Our basic classification of the neighborhood as integrated or segregated was based on informants' responses to the questionnaire. So neighborhood informants were asked an even more general question: "I would like your best guess as to whether during the next five years you think this neighborhood will remain about as it is, or will it change in some ways?" (Informant Q. 57). If concerns about the neighborhood changing racially had been salient for our informants, this question should have tapped them. It turned out, however, that most responses were in terms of positive improvements in the neighborhood and very few responses were related to racial change. In the next question we became more

specific: "In five years, what do you think the proportion of Negroes in this neighborhood might be?" (Informant Q. 58). While this question did not ask about or suggest racial change, the responses are the best measure we have of the informants' concern about racial change. Our data show that informants' answers to this item are usually distributed in the same way as are respondents' concerns about the neighborhood changing.

Table 15.1 gives a general view of residents' concerns and informants' predictions about the neighborhood. As one would expect, there is more concern in substantially integrated neighborhoods than in moderately integrated and open neighborhoods. The differences among residents become even larger when region and urbanization controls are imposed in Table 15.2. Residents in substantially integrated neighborhoods in central cities and in the North and West are most likely to be concerned about the neighborhood changing. In the South, however, residents of substantially integrated neighborhoods have little concern about their neighborhoods changing because there is a long history of stability. Even in the North and West, residents who are very concerned about their neighborhoods changing are in the minority. About 40 per cent of the residents of substantially integrated neighborhoods, 25 per cent in moderately integrated neighborhoods, and 20 per cent in open neighborhoods are very concerned.

Table 15.3 shows that informants in the central city predict a higher proportion of Negroes in five years than do informants in suburbs, and this difference is greatest for the substantially integrated neighborhoods.

These concerns are chiefly related to the Negro housing demand that residents feel from adjacent neighborhoods, as may be seen in Table 15.4. The greater the maximum percentage of Negroes in any adjacent neighborhood, the greater the concern about the neighborhood changing. Note that it is not the average percentage in adjacent neighborhoods, but the maximum

TABLE 15.1

RESIDENTS' CONCERN AND INFORMANTS' PREDICTIONS ABOUT  
NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGING, BY NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE

(Per Cent of Households: Data from Residents  
or Informants As Indicated)

Item	Neighborhood Type		
	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated
<u>Residents' concerns about</u> <u>neighborhood changing:</u>			
Very concerned . . . . .	20	24	30
A little concerned . . . .	39	39	38
Not at all concerned . . .	41	37	32
Total . . . . .	100	100	100
N . . . . .	(408)	(406)	(327)
<u>Informants' predictions:</u>			
Neighborhood will re- main same . . . . .	42	38	30
Negro population will increase . . . . .	18	30	22
Population will increase	34	40	28
Facilities will be improved . . . . .	21	10	18
Neighborhood will dete- riorate physically . . .	8	14	11
Lower quality people will move in . . . . .	7	9	5
Urban renewal or change from residential to nonresidential uses . .	11	13	17
Total <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	141	154	131
Mean proportion Negro in 5 years . . . . .	6	14	45

<sup>a</sup>Totals add to more than 100 per cent since informants  
mentioned more than one change.

TABLE 15.2  
CONCERN ABOUT NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGING AND NEIGHBORHOOD  
TYPE, BY URBANIZATION AND REGION  
(Per Cent of White Households "Very Concerned")

Item	Neighborhood Type		
	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated
<u>Urbanization:</u>			
Central city of SMSA .	24 (187)	29 (244)	39 (157)
Suburb of SMSA . . . .	18 (201)	19 (144)	24 (84)
<u>Region:</u>			
North and West . . . .	20 (399)	24 (403)	38 (179)
South . . . . .	* (9)	* (7)	16 (96)

TABLE 15.3  
INFORMANTS' PREDICTIONS OF AVERAGE PER CENT NEGRO IN  
NEIGHBORHOOD IN FIVE YEARS AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE,  
BY URBANIZATION AND REGION

Item	Neighborhood Type		
	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated
<u>Urbanization:</u>			
Central city of SMSA .	6	20	52
Suburb of SMSA . . . .	6	8	30
<u>Region:</u>			
North and West . . . .	5	15	47
South . . . . .	-	-	42

percentage. Thus, a neighborhood that is adjacent to all-white and Negro or changing neighborhoods would be bordered with neighborhoods where the average percentage of Negroes is low. The concerns, however, would be related to the neighborhoods that were all-Negro or changing.

TABLE 15.4  
CONCERN ABOUT NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGING AND NEIGHBORHOOD  
TYPE, BY NEGRO HOUSING DEMAND VARIABLES  
(Per Cent of Northern and Western White  
Households "Very Concerned")

Negro Housing Demand Variable	Neighborhood Type		
	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated
<u>Maximum per cent Negro in adjacent neighborhoods:</u>			
0-10 . . . . .	18 (183)	18 (144)	* (4)
11-30 . . . . .	20 (131)	14 (121)	36 (35)
31-50 . . . . .	22 (50)	38 (66)	30 (44)
51 or more . . . . .	26 (35)	38 (72)	42 (94)
<u>Distance to nearest Negro segregated neighborhood (in miles):</u>			
0-1 . . . . .	27 (93)	32 (207)	40 (150)
2-5 . . . . .	16 (240)	18 (167)	* (11)
6 or more . . . . .	23 (66)	10 (29)	* (16)
<u>Per cent of white new resi- dents in neighborhood:</u>			
0-39 . . . . .	-	* (10)	44 (88)
40-69 . . . . .	* (17)	55 (59)	32 (62)
70 or more . . . . .	19 (382)	19 (334)	32 (28)

Among residents of open neighborhoods, concern about the neighborhood changing rises slightly but steadily from 18 to 26 per cent as the maximum percentage Negro in adjacent neighborhoods goes from 0 to 50 per cent or more. In substantially integrated neighborhoods, which are much more likely to be adjacent to a neighborhood that has a high proportion of Negroes, the proportion of Negroes in adjacent neighborhoods does not seem to have any effect. The greatest effect is noted in moderately integrated neighborhoods where the proportion of households concerned about the neighborhood changing more than doubles from 18 to 38 per cent when the maximum percentage of Negroes in adjacent neighborhoods is more than 30 per cent.

Another indicator of Negro demand for housing in the neighborhood is the distance from the nearest Negro segregated neighborhood. As the distance increases, fewer residents are concerned about the neighborhood changing. In substantially integrated neighborhoods, 40 per cent of residents in neighborhoods a mile or less from an all-Negro neighborhood are concerned about their neighborhoods changing. This drops sharply for residents of neighborhoods two or more miles from the nearest Negro neighborhood, but the sample sizes become too small to permit reliable percentaging. Among moderately integrated neighborhoods, the percentage who are concerned drops from 32 per cent in neighborhoods a mile or less from Negro neighborhoods to 10 per cent in neighborhoods more than five miles away from the nearest Negro area. The trend in open neighborhoods is not clear, but even here there is a drop in concern if the neighborhood is more than a mile from the nearest Negro neighborhood.

The racial composition of the new residents moving into the neighborhood also affects concern. The major differences are observed in moderately integrated neighborhoods. If 70 per cent or more of the new residents are white, then only 19 per cent of the residents are concerned about the neighborhood changing; while if 40-69 per cent of the new residents are white, then 55

per cent of the residents are concerned. A smaller difference in the same direction is observed in substantially integrated neighborhoods. Note that there are no open neighborhoods where the current percentage of whites moving in is less than 40 per cent.

Estimates of the racial composition of new residents are based on responses of neighborhood informants. As we have seen in earlier chapters, these responses are likely to be biased in the direction of overstating the proportion of new residents who are Negro. Nevertheless, these estimates are correlated with the true but unknown racial composition of new residents and are the best estimates available.

#### Negro Housing Demand Index

Since the three indicators of Negro housing demand are highly correlated, they have been combined to form an index. The score for a neighborhood is computed by summing the scores of the three parts of the index.

	<u>Score</u>
1. Maximum per cent Negro in adjacent neighborhoods	
51 or more	3
31-50	2
11-30	1
0-10	0
2. Distance to nearest Negro segregated neighborhood (in miles)	
0-1	2
2-5	1
6 or more	0
3. Per cent of white new residents in neighborhood	
0-39	2
40-69	1
70 or more	0

The Negro housing demand score varies from 0 to 7. Table 15.5 shows the percentage of northern and western white residents

who are very concerned about their neighborhood changing, by the Negro Housing Demand Index. In open neighborhoods, the percentage very concerned rises from 17 to 31 per cent as the demand rises from low to high. In moderately integrated neighborhoods, the percentage very concerned rises from 17 to 47 per cent as demand goes from low to high, and in substantially integrated neighborhoods the percentage very concerned goes from 30 to 40 per cent as demand goes from medium to high. Note that there are too few cases of substantially integrated neighborhoods where the Negro housing demand is low to include in the table.<sup>1</sup>

TABLE 15.5

CONCERN ABOUT NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGING AND NEIGHBORHOOD  
TYPE, BY NEGRO HOUSING DEMAND

(Per Cent of Northern and Western White  
Households "Very Concerned")

Negro Housing Demand	Neighborhood Type		
	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated
Low . . . . .	17 (274)	17 (212)	* (9)
Medium . . . . .	25 (96)	18 (100)	30 (35)
High . . . . .	31 (29)	47 (91)	40 (133)

Among informants, the same pattern is observed (Table 15.6). The predicted proportion Negro rises steadily as Negro demand goes up, with the greatest increases occurring in the moderately integrated and substantially integrated neighborhoods.

<sup>1</sup>See Table 15.10 for the distribution of demands on neighborhoods.



TABLE 15.6  
INFORMANTS' PREDICTIONS OF AVERAGE PER CENT NEGRO IN  
NEIGHBORHOOD IN FIVE YEARS AND NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE,  
BY NEGRO HOUSING DEMAND

Negro Housing Demand	Neighborhood Type		
	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated
Low . . . . .	4	10	-
Medium . . . . .	8	10	30
High . . . . .	10	35	52

Relation between Concerns about Neighborhood  
Change and Integration Attitudes

We have said that neighborhood change is primarily a function of housing demand and not of the attitudes of residents. Concerns about neighborhood change is related, however, to integration attitudes. What we intend to demonstrate is that these attitudes are most important when the concerns are unreal, and that they play little, if any, role when concerns about change are more realistic.

Table 15.7 indicates that concerns about the neighborhood changing are correlated with the Integration Attitude Scale discussed in Chapter VIII. The correlation is greatest, however, in open neighborhoods, where the probability of neighborhood change is least ( $\gamma = .38$ ). In these neighborhoods, 43 per cent of residents with low attitudes toward integration are concerned about the neighborhood changing, while only 12 per cent of residents with high attitudes are concerned. In moderately and substantially integrated neighborhoods, however, the relation is much weaker ( $\gamma = .15$  for moderately integrated neighborhoods;  $\gamma = .08$  for substantially integrated neighborhoods). Only 7 (or 8) percentage points separate the residents

TABLE 15.7  
CONCERN ABOUT NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGING AND NEIGHBORHOOD  
TYPE, BY INTEGRATION ATTITUDES  
(Per Cent of Northern and Western White  
Households "Very Concerned")

Integration Attitudes	Neighborhood Type		
	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated
Low . . . . .	43 (56)	31 (85)	45 (61)
Medium . . . . .	20 (161)	21 (183)	33 (78)
High . . . . .	12 (48)	24 (135)	37 (38)
Gamma . . . .	.38	.15	.08

with high and low attitudes toward integration, and those with medium attitudes are the least concerned.

The relation is reduced still more when one controls for both Negro housing demand and integration attitudes (Table 15.8). It is still strongest in open neighborhoods, where the demand from adjacent neighborhoods is low or medium. We do not believe that these neighborhoods are really in very great danger of changing. Rather, concern about neighborhood change here is merely another rationalization of anti-Negro sentiment.

For integrated neighborhoods where the demand is high, that is, the ones most likely to change, there is no relation between concern and integration attitudes. In moderately integrated neighborhoods where the Negro housing demand is medium, there is a substantial difference between residents with low integration attitudes and those with medium or high attitudes. Is there any way to tie these diverse strands together? One could attribute some of the variation merely to the small sample sizes since, controlling for region, demand, and attitudes, many of the percentages are based on only twenty or thirty cases. There does

TABLE 15.8  
CONCERN ABOUT NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGING AND NEIGHBORHOOD  
TYPE, BY INTEGRATION ATTITUDES AND  
NEGRO HOUSING DEMAND  
(Per Cent of Northern and Western White  
Households "Very Concerned")

Integration Attitudes	Neighborhood Type		
	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated
Low Negro Housing Demand			
Low . . . . .	39 (36)	19 (37)	* (1)
Medium . . . . .	15 (121)	18 (96)	* (4)
High . . . . .	12 (117)	14 (79)	* (4)
Medium Negro Housing Demand			
Low . . . . .	* (14)	37 (22)	* (13)
Medium . . . . .	36 (31)	15 (53)	* (17)
High . . . . .	12 (51)	14 (25)	* (6)
High Negro Housing Demand			
Low . . . . .	* (6)	44 (27)	47 (47)
Medium . . . . .	* (9)	40 (34)	34 (58)
High . . . . .	* (14)	57 (31)	38 (29)

seem to be a pattern, however, although the results are certainly not conclusive. We would suggest that those residents who hold strongly negative views toward integration move from an integrated neighborhood soon after the first Negro families move in and long before there is any real basis for concern about the neighborhood changing. By the time the possibility of neighborhood change is real, the strong anti-integrationists have either

fled or have had their views modified by living in an integrated setting. Thus, realistic concerns are not highly related to current anti-integration attitudes. The whites who remain are less prejudiced than the ones who moved.

The results we present in this chapter are comparable, but not quite identical, to those given in Chapter VIII. Here we look mainly at concerns about the neighborhood changing as the dependent variable, while earlier it was treated as an independent variable. That is, although we demonstrate a weak correlation between integration attitudes and concern about the neighborhood changing, we cannot tell which is cause and which is effect.

Concerns about Neighborhood Changing,  
by Ownership Status

One characteristic of the neighborhood that makes change more likely is the availability of rental units. We have discussed this in Chapter VII. In Table 15.9, however, we see a rather strange result. In open and moderately integrated neighborhoods, renters are more likely than owners to be concerned about the neighborhood changing, although we would have hypothesized the reverse. In open neighborhoods, 24 per cent of all renters and only 16 per cent of all owners are concerned. In moderately integrated neighborhoods, 28 per cent of renters and 21 per cent of owners are concerned. Only in substantially integrated neighborhoods are the differences trivial.

These concerns would appear to be contrary to the model we developed earlier that suggested that substantially integrated neighborhoods with many rental units were the most likely to change, while it would be easier for Negro families to move in to open and moderately integrated neighborhoods with rental units. One explanation of this paradox might be the relation between integration attitudes and ownership status. Renters are more likely to have low or medium integration attitudes because

TABLE 15.9  
CONCERN ABOUT NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGING AND NEIGHBORHOOD  
TYPE, BY OWNERSHIP STATUS AND INTEGRATION ATTITUDES  
(Per Cent of Northern and Western White  
Households "Very Concerned")

Ownership Status	Neighborhood Type		
	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated
Owner . . . . .	16 (242)	21 (229)	37 (165)
Renter . . . . .	24 (166)	28 (181)	39 (107)
Low Integration Attitudes			
Owner . . . . .	40 (40)	31 (55)	52 (31)
Renter . . . . .	* (16)	31 (30)	37 (30)
Medium Integration Attitudes			
Owner . . . . .	12 (101)	18 (109)	28 (43)
Renter . . . . .	33 (60)	26 (73)	39 (35)
High Integration Attitudes			
Owner . . . . .	11 (98)	17 (64)	34 (22)
Renter . . . . .	13 (84)	30 (71)	* (17)

of their lower incomes, and this could lead to greater concerns about the neighborhood changing. But controlling in Table 15.9 for integration attitudes, differences between owners and renters in their concern still remain. Only in substantially integrated neighborhoods among residents who have low integration attitudes are owners more concerned than renters. While we have no explanation for this reversal, we would suggest a hindsight explanation for the generally greater concern by renters. We suspect, but do not have any data to confirm this,

that renters' concerns are related to a feeling of powerlessness. The renter has no voice in determining whether the landlord will or will not rent to Negroes; he can play no part in an owner's decision to sell or not sell his house. He is like the car passenger, whose life is in the hands of the driver; the passenger is far more nervous than the driver.

#### The Distribution of Negro Housing Demand

Earlier we discussed the effect of Negro housing demand on concerns about the neighborhood changing. Here we discuss the extent of this demand in white segregated, open, moderately integrated, and substantially integrated neighborhoods in the North and West. The results are shown in Table 15.10. As one would have gathered from the discussion so far, the greatest demand is in substantially integrated neighborhoods. The median demand score in substantially integrated neighborhoods is twice as high as in moderately integrated neighborhoods and three times as high as in open neighborhoods. In three-fourths of the substantially integrated neighborhoods, there is heavy Negro demand for housing. Clearly these are the neighborhoods that are most likely to change. How many households and neighborhoods are in this category? Based on Chapter III, we estimate that some 800,000 households live in 625 to 650 neighborhoods where there is a high probability of the neighborhood ultimately changing. This is about 7 per cent of all the households currently living in integrated neighborhoods. This is not a very large number if one spreads it out over a ten- or twenty-year period. Nevertheless, it does indicate that there must be 50,000 to 100,000 households in new integrated neighborhoods each year just to keep the current level constant.

These should be considered only as loose predictions. Some of the substantially integrated neighborhoods where Negro demand is high will remain integrated because of the special characteristics of the community. Some moderately integrated

TABLE 15.10  
DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO HOUSING DEMAND SCORES  
FOR NORTHERN AND WESTERN WHITE HOUSEHOLDS,  
BY NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE

(Per Cent)

Housing Demand Score	Neighborhood Type			
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated
0 . . . . .	2	16	2	0
1 . . . . .	11	27	24	2
2 . . . . .	45	23	22	2
3 . . . . .	17	26	10	6
4 . . . . .	11	3	22	13
5 . . . . .	10	5	14	30
6 . . . . .	3	0	6	21
7 . . . . .	1	0	0	26
Total .	100	100	100	100
N . . .	(416)	(1,059)	(814)	(256)
Median demand score	2.3	1.8	2.7	5.4

and open neighborhoods may become changing neighborhoods as Negro housing demand increases. Nevertheless, from the results of Chapter IV, we would still expect that most changing neighborhoods would not have been integrated previously but would be white segregated neighborhoods that attempted to resist integration.

Possible Integration of White  
Segregated Neighborhoods

There are three long-range possibilities for the neighborhoods that are currently white segregated. They can remain segregated, become integrated, or change to Negro segregated. In this section we point out the characteristics of these three

kinds of neighborhoods and make some estimates of their relative frequencies.

For predicting their future, neighborhoods may be measured along two dimensions. The first measures the integration attitudes of the residents. One would expect that the probability of a segregated neighborhood becoming integrated would be positively correlated with pro-integration attitudes. The second dimension measures housing market characteristics in the neighborhood and in adjacent neighborhoods. The greater the Negro housing demand in the neighborhood, the more likely Negroes are to move in.

We would predict that the interaction between high demand and anti-integration attitudes would cause the neighborhood to become Negro segregated without ever being integrated. Anti-integration attitudes would lead to "keep-them-out" tactics such as vandalism and rioting that ultimately would not be successful against strong demand from adjacent areas. These acts, however, would frighten away white buyers and renters and make it impossible for the neighborhood to become integrated. While our results are not as conclusive as these statements, they do tend to support them.

Our prediction of change in the racial composition of the white segregated neighborhoods is based on the following question asked of white residents: "Is there any possibility of a Negro family moving into this neighborhood in the next few years?" (Resident Q. 79). The use of the words "any possibility" increased the proportion of "yes" answers, and for all white segregated neighborhoods, 37 per cent of the respondents answered "yes." If one believed this answer, then one would predict that roughly 16 million more white households would be living in integrated neighborhoods in the next few years, but this estimate is probably too high. It ignores the financial and social factors that would prevent many Negro families from moving into these neighborhoods even if housing were available.



It also ignores the likelihood that some of these neighborhoods would change from white to Negro segregated after the first Negro families moved in. While the 37 per cent cannot be accepted literally, this high figure does point out that many white families can at least conceive of the idea of Negroes in their neighborhood. Although we have no trend data, we conjecture that this estimate is substantially higher than it would have been a decade or two ago.

Relation of Possible Integration of Segregated  
Neighborhoods to Housing Market and Demand  
from Adjacent Neighborhoods

As one would expect, the housing market affects the possibility of Negroes moving into a neighborhood, as shown in Table 15.11. Only 23 per cent of the residents in neighborhoods where

TABLE 15.11

PER CENT OF HOUSEHOLDS IN WHITE SEGREGATED NEIGHBORHOODS WHO  
THINK THERE IS A CHANCE OF NEGROES MOVING INTO THEIR NEIGH-  
BORHOOD IN NEXT FEW YEARS AND INFORMANTS' PREDICTIONS OF  
AVERAGE PER CENT NEGRO IN NEIGHBORHOOD IN FIVE YEARS, BY  
DIFFICULTY IN SELLING A HOUSE AND NEGRO HOUSING DEMAND

Item	Per Cent of Households	Average Per Cent Negro Predicted by Informants
<u>Difficulty in selling a house compared to 5 years ago:<sup>a</sup></u>		
Easier . . . . .	23 (98)	3
Harder . . . . .	43 (229)	6
<u>Negro housing demand:</u>		
Low . . . . .	37 (49)	1
Medium . . . . .	36 (289)	5
High . . . . .	38 (150)	11

<sup>a</sup>Based on information from neighborhood respondents.

it is easier to sell a house think there is a possibility of Negroes moving in during the next few years, while 43 per cent of residents think this is a possibility in neighborhoods where houses are harder to sell. The characteristics of the housing market are derived from neighborhood informants who were asked whether it was easier or harder to sell a house now than five years ago (Informant Q. 55B).

It is surprising to see in the same table that housing demand from Negroes has no apparent relation to the possibility that Negroes will move into the neighborhood, as predicted by the residents. But as Table 15.12 indicates, there is an effect due to demand if one controls for integration attitudes. Among residents with low and medium integration attitudes, the percentage who think there is a possibility that Negroes will move in rises as demand increases. Among residents with high integration attitudes, demand has only a small effect.

Table 15.11 shows that the results are a little sharper among neighborhood informants. As Negro demand rises from low to high, the predicted average proportion Negro in five years rises from 1 to 11 per cent.

There is an interesting difference between residents in open and white segregated neighborhoods. In open neighborhoods, residents with low integration attitudes are much more concerned than residents with high integration attitudes that their neighborhood will change. On the other hand, in white segregated neighborhoods, residents with low integration attitudes express them in belief that their neighborhood will remain segregated.

We would suggest that those neighborhoods where the Negro housing demand is high and where residents do not see the possibility of Negroes moving in are, in fact, the ones that are most likely to change to Negro segregated. On the other hand, areas where residents have anti-integration attitudes and Negro housing demand is low are likely to remain white segregated. If

TABLE 15.12  
PER CENT OF HOUSEHOLDS IN WHITE SEGREGATED NEIGHBORHOODS  
WHO THINK THERE IS A CHANCE OF NEGROES MOVING INTO  
THEIR NEIGHBORHOOD IN NEXT FEW YEARS, BY NEGRO  
HOUSING DEMAND AND INTEGRATION ATTITUDES, FOR  
THE UNITED STATES AND THE NORTH AND WEST

Negro Housing Demand	U.S.	North and West
	Low Integration Attitudes	
Low . . . . .	17 (85)	17 (77)
Medium . . . . .	26 (74)	33 (37)
High . . . . .	28 (50)	* (15)
	Medium Integration Attitudes	
Low . . . . .	36 (84)	37 (79)
Medium . . . . .	34 (58)	40 (48)
High . . . . .	52 (33)	44 (26)
	High Integration Attitudes	
Low . . . . .	61 (70)	61 (69)
Medium . . . . .	63 (70)	68 (21)
High . . . . .	* (13)	* (10)

the demand is low and residents are pro-integration, the area could eventually become integrated, although when this occurs depends on the price of housing in the area as related to the economic level of Negro families. If demand is high and residents are pro-integration, then there is a high probability that Negro households will move into the neighborhood soon. However, these newly integrated neighborhoods may also face the possibility that they could become resegregated.

Relation between Possible Integration of Segregated  
Neighborhoods and Integration Attitudes

One would also expect that residents with high integration attitudes would be more likely to expect that Negroes would move into their neighborhoods. In part, this may reflect a wish that integration would occur, but it may also reflect the fact that Negro families are willing to move into a neighborhood where they are accepted or welcomed rather than one where most residents are opposed to their presence. Table 15.13 shows that 62 per cent of the residents of white segregated neighborhoods who hold high integration attitudes expect a Negro family to move into their neighborhood in the next few years, compared to 23 per cent of the residents who are anti-integration. This relation holds in all regions, although there are too few cases to report of residents with high integration attitudes in southern segregated neighborhoods.

Other attitudes that are related to integration expectations are perceived personal and community reactions if Negroes moved in. Among residents who would not be concerned, 44 per cent think there is a possibility of a Negro family moving in during the next few years; among residents who think that they would move, only 27 per cent think that Negroes might move in. Among residents who think that there would be no community reaction if Negro families moved into the neighborhood, 47 per cent think that there is a chance of this happening, while 35 per cent of residents who predict panic or violence think that Negroes will move in. As one might expect, these relations are even stronger if one excludes the South.

One other factor related to integration expectations is the religious variability in the neighborhood. In neighborhoods with high religious variability, only 27 per cent of residents think that Negroes will move in during the next few years, compared to about 40 per cent in neighborhoods with low or medium religious variability.

TABLE 15.13

PER CENT OF HOUSEHOLDS IN WHITE SEGREGATED NEIGHBORHOODS  
WHO THINK THERE IS A CHANCE OF NEGROES MOVING INTO THEIR  
NEIGHBORHOOD IN NEXT FEW YEARS, BY INTEGRATION  
ATTITUDES, PERCEIVED PERSONAL AND COMMUNITY  
REACTIONS, AND RELIGIOUS VARIABILITY  
IN NEIGHBORHOOD, FOR THE UNITED  
STATES AND BY REGION

Item	U.S.	Region	
		North and West	South
<u>Integration attitudes:</u>			
Low . . . . .	23 (209)	21 (129)	21 (80)
Medium . . . . .	38 (175)	39 (154)	34 (121)
High . . . . .	62 (105)	63 (101)	* (4)
<u>Personal reaction:</u>			
Not concerned . . . . .	44 (231)	47 (201)	27 (30)
Concerned--Would not move	30 (253)	31 (179)	29 (75)
Concerned--Would move . .	27 (63)	23 (35)	31 (28)
<u>Perceived community re- action:</u>			
None . . . . .	47 (49)	46 (46)	* (4)
Gossip . . . . .	40 (218)	43 (161)	31 (56)
Panic or violence . . . .	35 (131)	40 (87)	23 (38)
<u>Religious variability in neighborhood:</u>			
Low . . . . .	39 (206)	35 (52)	21 (73)
Medium . . . . .	41 (248)	42 (224)	32 (24)
High . . . . .	27 (125)	36 (98)	* (8)

Predicted Future for White  
Segregated Neighborhoods

In this section we make some broad predictions about the future of white segregated neighborhoods in the next decade. We base these predictions on Table 15.14, which gives the distribution of neighborhoods by Negro housing demand and integration attitudes. We make no predictions for the South since our sample of white segregated neighborhoods there is too small. On the other hand, we see no evidence that southern segregated neighborhoods are much different from those elsewhere.

TABLE 15.14  
DISTRIBUTION OF WHITE SEGREGATED NEIGHBORHOODS IN  
THE UNITED STATES AND THE NORTH AND WEST, BY  
INTEGRATION ATTITUDES AND NEGRO  
HOUSING DEMAND  
(Per Cent of Households)

Integration Attitudes	U.S.	North and West
	Low Negro Housing Demand	
Low . . . . .	16	20
Medium . . . . .	16	21
High . . . . .	13	18
	Medium Negro Housing Demand	
Low . . . . .	14	10
Medium . . . . .	11	12
High . . . . .	13	5
	High Negro Housing Demand	
Low . . . . .	9	4
Medium . . . . .	6	7
High . . . . .	2	3
Total . . . . .	100	100
N . . . . .	(537)	(382)

About one-quarter of the residents in white segregated neighborhoods have high integration attitudes, and we would predict that about this proportion will, in the next decade or two, live in neighborhoods that are integrated. This is less than the 37 per cent who believe that there is a possibility that Negroes will move in, but in absolute numbers is still more than 10 million households. Based on our results for currently integrated neighborhoods, we would guess that of this number 5 to 10 per cent (.5 to 1 million households) would live in neighborhoods that might ultimately change again from integrated to Negro segregated.

About 10 per cent of the residents who have low integration attitudes live in neighborhoods where Negro housing demand is high. These 4 million households live in areas that are likely to become changing neighborhoods in the next two decades. The remaining 65 per cent of the residents (25 million) will continue to live in white segregated neighborhoods.

Underlying these predictions are many assumptions. Probably the most important is that attitudes for all residents of white segregated neighborhoods over the next two decades will become like those in our special sample of control neighborhoods now. These segregated neighborhoods were chosen to be similar to our sample of integrated neighborhoods and therefore they are above average in socioeconomic characteristics. The residents of these segregated control neighborhoods are thus more pro-integration than all residents of white segregated neighborhoods.

Far better predictions of neighborhood change will be possible when another study of integrated neighborhoods has been completed. One could then observe not only the gross changes in all neighborhoods, but the factors that relate to changes in the status of specific neighborhoods. Still, we want to make one major point in our predictions: there are currently some

white segregated neighborhoods that are receptive to integration and will eventually become integrated.

Table 15.15 shows another indication of the readiness of

TABLE 15.15  
PERCEIVED PERSONAL AND COMMUNITY REACTIONS IN  
WHITE SEGREGATED NEIGHBORHOODS  
IF NEGROES MOVED IN

Item	Per Cent of Households
<u>Personal reaction:</u>	
Not concerned . . . . .	48
Concerned--Would not move . . . .	13
Concerned--Might move . . . . .	25
Concerned--Would move . . . . .	14
Total . . . . .	100
N . . . . .	(517)
<u>Perceived community reaction:</u>	
Positive . . . . .	2
None . . . . .	10
Gossip . . . . .	46
Panic . . . . .	21
Minor actions against Negroes . .	6
Major actions . . . . .	2
Other actions or don't know . . .	26
Total <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	113
N . . . . .	(511)

<sup>a</sup>Adds to more than 100 per cent because some respondents gave more than one answer.

some white segregated neighborhoods to accept Negroes. This table gives the perceived reactions of residents and of the community if a Negro family moved in. About half the residents of white segregated neighborhoods said that they would not be



concerned if Negroes moved in. About one in eight would be concerned but would not move, one in four might move, and the balance would move. The concerns deal mainly with a decrease in property values or neighborhood deterioration. The chief form of community reaction would be gossip, which was mentioned by almost half the respondents. About 30 per cent thought that there would be some panic or action against the Negro families. Positive reactions were mentioned by only 2 per cent of the respondents. The impression one gets is not that of eagerness to integrate segregated neighborhoods, but rather of acceptance of the event after it occurs.

Predicted Racial Composition of  
Neighborhoods in 1972

To summarize the results of this chapter, Table 15.16 gives the predicted proportion Negro in five years (1972) based on replies of neighborhood informants. Increases are predicted in each type of neighborhood. In open and moderately integrated neighborhoods, the increases are modest, with the median percentage Negro predicted to be 5 per cent in open neighborhoods and 7 per cent in moderately integrated neighborhoods. A major increase is predicted in substantially integrated neighborhoods in the North and West, with the percentage Negro doubling to 40 per cent. The data are too thin for predicting changes in southern substantially integrated neighborhoods, but increases there will probably be smaller than in the North and West. We do not predict that any Negro segregated neighborhoods will become integrated although this has happened in a few areas, particularly where new housing has attracted whites.

Neighborhood informants believe that 85 per cent of households in white segregated neighborhoods will have Negroes living in the same neighborhood with them in the next five years, although the median percentage Negro will still be only 1 per cent. Note that this is a higher estimate than either

TABLE 15.16  
INFORMANTS' PREDICTIONS OF PER CENT NEGRO IN NEIGHBORHOOD  
IN FIVE YEARS, BY NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE  
(Per Cent of Households: Data from Informants)

Predicted Per Cent Negro	Neighborhood Type				
	White Segregated	Open	Moderately Integrated	Substantially Integrated	
				North U.S.	and West
0 . . . . .	15	3			
1 . . . . .	42	11	5		
2-5 . . . . .	28	44	34		
6-10 . . . . .	8	30	15		
11-30 . . . . .	3	12	34	35	28
31-50 . . . . .	1	0	3	36	44
51-100 . . . . .	2	0	9	29	28
Total . . . . .	99	100	100	100	100
Median per cent Negro	1	5	7	39	40

the residents or we predict. This prediction probably reflects pro-integration sentiments of the informants or the desire not to appear bigoted, rather than being a realistic appraisal.

To conclude, we would agree with neighborhood informants except that we think they have speeded up the process. The proportion of Negro households in open and moderately integrated neighborhoods will rise slowly with little fuss being made. In northern and western substantially integrated neighborhoods, there will be a more rapid increase in Negro population, and some of these neighborhoods will become resegregated. More white segregated neighborhoods will get their first Negro families, and in most cases there will be no major reactions. Where

there are, the neighborhood will probably become a changing or Negro segregated neighborhood. Most white segregated neighborhoods, however, will remain segregated in the foreseeable future.

## APPENDIX A

### DESCRIPTION OF SAMPLING AND CLASSIFICATION PROCEDURES

Several different kinds of samples were used in our study of integrated neighborhoods and will be discussed separately here. In general, the following key requirements are met by the samples:

1. The sample of white residents in integrated neighborhoods is a self-weighting probability sample of all white residents in such neighborhoods.

2. The sample of Negro residents in integrated neighborhoods is a self-weighting probability sample of all Negro residents in such neighborhoods.

3. Since the Negro sample is selected at a rate 2.5 times that of the white sample, a weighted sample of all residents in integrated neighborhoods is obtained by multiplying the white sample results by 2.5 or, conversely, the Negro sample by .4.

4. The control samples of whites and Negroes living in segregated white or Negro neighborhoods are not representative of all residents living in such areas. They were selected to match the residents of integrated neighborhoods as closely as possible so that differences between these groups would not be due to geography, income, or type of dwelling, but, rather, to the residual differences between integrated and segregated neighborhoods.

5. The integrated neighborhoods in this study are not a simple random sample of neighborhoods, but, rather, were selected with probabilities proportionate to the size of the

neighborhood. Thus, those results that depend only on the number or percentage of neighborhoods with a given characteristic require that the neighborhoods be weighted inversely to their sizes. The unweighted data produce results about the number or percentage of residents in neighborhoods with a given attribute.

#### Location of Integrated Neighborhoods, Phase I

The primary sampling units (PSUs) are those in NORC's basic national sample that was drawn in 1962, based on the 1960 census and on estimated population growth between 1960 and 1970. After stratification, these PSUs were selected with probabilities proportionate to size, using standard national area sampling procedures. A detailed description of the selection of these PSUs is given in other NORC books (see, for example, Johnstone and Rivera, 1965, Appendix 1) and will not be repeated here. The sample locations and segments normally used within the PSU for a survey of the general population were not used in this study.

Instead, the entire PSU was carefully checked, and each of some 17,000 census tracts or enumeration districts was classified by NORC interviewers as containing or not containing an integrated neighborhood. This was determined by interviewing more than 3,500 respondents in the NORC primary sampling areas. The interviewers started with city-wide informants who had a broad knowledge of the housing patterns in the entire area. (See Appendix C for the specifications used in this phase.)

The larger and more complex metropolitan areas required more interviews. For example, there were 463 respondents in the New York metropolitan area, 265 in the Chicago metropolitan area, and more than 200 interviews each in the Los Angeles and San Francisco areas. Table A.1 gives a summary of the number of interviews in the major metropolitan areas for the first phase of this study.

TABLE A.1

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS TO PHASE I--LOCATION OF INTEGRATED  
NEIGHBORHOODS BY SELECTED METROPOLITAN AREAS

<u>Metropolitan Area</u>	<u>Number of Respondents</u>
New York . . . . .	463
Chicago . . . . .	265
San Francisco . . . . .	229
Los Angeles . . . . .	207
Buffalo, N.Y. . . . .	171
Detroit . . . . .	157
Philadelphia . . . . .	155
Boston . . . . .	145
Pittsburgh . . . . .	118
Newark . . . . .	107
St. Louis . . . . .	100
South Bend . . . . .	93
Minneapolis . . . . .	85
Washington . . . . .	78
Albany . . . . .	61
Milwaukee . . . . .	56
Baltimore . . . . .	55
Phoenix . . . . .	53
San Jose . . . . .	51
Cleveland . . . . .	50
Indianapolis . . . . .	46
Akron . . . . .	46
Waterbury . . . . .	45
Birmingham . . . . .	40
Fort Worth . . . . .	40
Atlanta . . . . .	39
Memphis . . . . .	30
Seattle . . . . .	29
Tampa-St. Petersburg . . . . .	26
Waco . . . . .	25
Bakersfield . . . . .	24
Paterson-Clifton-Passaic . . . . .	24
Houston . . . . .	23
Charlotte . . . . .	19
Tyler . . . . .	17
All other metropolitans . . . . .	<u>49</u>
Total metropolitans . . . . .	3,221
Total nonmetropolitans . . . . .	<u>291</u>
Total . . . . .	<u>3,512</u>

We found the following organizations to be especially useful for this study:

- County and city commissions on human or race relations
- Metropolitan planning commissions
- Chambers of commerce
- Fair-housing commissions
- Federal housing authorities
- Urban renewal or development boards
- State or local real estate associations
- NAACPs
- Urban Leagues
- Conferences on race and religion
- Local councils of churches
- School administrations
- Local newspapers
- Realtor associations
- Banks
- Postal officials
- Police officials

Generally, these informants also knew the names of other people who would be knowledgeable about integration. This "snowball" sampling procedure is particularly appropriate for obtaining the most complete information at the lowest cost.

Interviewers were told to get information for each census tract or group of tracts or from at least two different informants, and more if there were disagreements. The informants were generally church leaders, heads of settlement houses, school officials, and members of community organizations. Their information about the local neighborhoods was usually accurate, although, as we discuss later, they were not aware of all integrated neighborhoods. The interviewing of neighborhood informants was avoided in this phase of the study, since they were the universe for the second phase. In addition to interviews with city-wide informants, NORC interviewers gathered maps, reports, and other pertinent information and many submitted personal reports on areas where they lived or interviewed.

Of course, not all interviews were equally productive. Some lasted several hours and yielded very detailed information about the entire area. Others lasted only a few minutes and

produced nothing useful, except perhaps the name of a more knowledgeable respondent. The interviewing continued until the interviewer, local and national field supervisors, and finally the study directors were satisfied with the essential accuracy of the reports for each community.

Sampling of Integrated Neighborhoods,  
Phase II

Early in our planning of this project we had decided that a large number of sample neighborhoods would be needed because of the diversity of neighborhood types. Balancing cost and analysis factors, a sample of roughly 200 integrated neighborhoods and 100 control neighborhoods seemed optimal.

From the results of Phase I, the location of integrated neighborhoods, we made a preliminary estimate that some 8,750,000 U.S. households lived in census tracts which contained an integrated neighborhood. (This estimate proved to be low.) The sampling procedure that is most efficient in reducing variability due to differences in neighborhood sizes is sampling with probabilities proportionate to size. With the data from Phase I, we did not yet know the exact sizes of the integrated neighborhoods in 1967. The neighborhoods were thus selected with probabilities proportionate to the population in the census tracts as of 1960.

The overall sampling interval for sampling integrated neighborhoods was found by dividing 8,750,000 by 200, which yielded an interval of 43,750 households. Putting it in reciprocal fashion, the probability of selection of a neighborhood equaled

.00002286 (number of households in census tract[s] in  
which neighborhood is located).

In primary sampling units (PSUs) that had fallen into the original NORC sample with certainty, the sampling rate was .00002286. In PSUs that fell into the original NORC sample with



less than certainty, the formula used was

$$\begin{aligned} .00002286 &= \text{Probability of selection of PSU} \\ &\times \text{Probability of selection within PSU} \end{aligned}$$

so that

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Probability of selection within PSU} &= \\ &= \frac{.00002286}{\text{Probability of selection of PSU}} \end{aligned}$$

For example, in the Memphis Standard Metropolitan Area, which had initially been selected with a probability of .3009, the probability of selection with the Memphis PSU was

$$\frac{.00002286}{.3009} = .00007597.$$

Thus, in Memphis, the sampling interval was  $1/.00007597 = 13,163$ . An integrated neighborhood in a Memphis census tract with 4,000 households had a 30 per cent chance ( $4,000/13,163$ ) of falling into the sample of integrated neighborhoods.

#### Types of Integrated Neighborhoods

We identified five major types of integrated neighborhoods:

1. Open--with two or more Negro households, but less than 1 per cent Negro;
2. Moderately integrated--with 1-10 per cent Negro families;
3. Substantially integrated--with more than 10 per cent Negro families;
4. Integrated in localities with very few Negroes--neighborhoods with some Negroes in localities where the proportion of Negroes is less than 2 per cent and where there are no segregated Negro neighborhoods; and
5. Integrated rural areas--primarily in the South where incorporated areas are segregated, but rural areas have traditionally been integrated.

Our major concern in this study is neighborhoods of the first three types. As indicated below, interviews with residents were made only in these neighborhoods, and the segregated control neighborhoods were selected to match the characteristics of the first three types of neighborhoods. In fact, it would be impossible to select Negro control neighborhoods for the

integrated Type 4 neighborhoods or to select white or Negro control neighborhoods for the integrated rural areas. The distribution of the sample of integrated and control neighborhoods is given in Table A.2.

TABLE A.2  
NUMBER OF SAMPLE INTEGRATED AND SEGREGATED  
NEIGHBORHOODS BY TYPE

<u>Neighborhood Type</u>	<u>N</u>
Open . . . . .	52
Moderately integrated . . . . .	53
Substantially integrated . . . . .	71
Integrated in localities with few Negroes . . . . .	35
Integrated rural areas . . . . .	19
White segregated . . . . .	49
Negro segregated . . . . .	32
Total . . . . .	311

Selection of Control Neighborhoods, Phase II

While the integrated neighborhoods (with appropriate weighting to reflect their selection with probabilities proportionate to size) may be used to estimate the universe of integrated neighborhoods in the United States, this is not the case with the control neighborhoods. A national sample of segregated neighborhoods would differ substantially from the integrated neighborhood sample in geography and size of place. It would also differ in the types of housing available and in socioeconomic status. These large differences would mask the smaller social and psychological factors we attempted to evaluate.

This does not mean that there is no way to estimate the characteristics of all segregated neighborhoods in the United States. On many variables, information is available for a total United States sample from previous NORC studies or from the 1960 census or the Current Population Surveys. Given our

estimates of the size and characteristics of integrated neighborhoods, the segregated neighborhood characteristics may be estimated by subtraction. We have made such estimates where we could.

Our control neighborhoods were selected with probabilities proportionate to size after stratifying for the following variables:

1. Primary sampling unit (standard metropolitan area or county);
2. Central city versus remainder of metropolitan area (where applicable);
3. Percentage of single-family housing (50 per cent or less, 51-89 per cent, 90 per cent or more); and
4. Median income (high, medium, or low).

The integrated neighborhoods were divided at random into three equal groups. The first group was used to control the selection of the 53 white segregated control neighborhoods, the second to control the selection of the 53 Negro segregated control neighborhoods, and the third was not used.

The sampling rate for white segregated control neighborhoods varies from stratum to stratum, but is usually about one-third the sampling rate for the integrated neighborhoods of that stratum. The sampling rate for Negro segregated control neighborhoods is about 3.3 the rate for the integrated neighborhoods in the same stratum, or roughly ten times the sampling rate for the white control neighborhoods.

As an example of a typical situation, a white segregated neighborhood was selected as a control for an integrated neighborhood in the city of Los Angeles in the following way:

1. All segregated white census tracts in the city of Los Angeles were listed. These could have been tracts that were all white or tracts that had Negroes living in noncomparable housing or in segregated enclaves within the tract. (The same procedure was used to classify tracts as segregated Negro tracts,

except that neighborhoods which were in the process of changing from white to Negro were classified as Negro tracts.) The information for this classification came from the Phase I census tract sheets.

2. The median income of the integrated tract had previously been classified as being high, medium, or low based on dividing the median incomes of all tracts in the Los Angeles Standard Metropolitan Area into equal thirds. Only segregated tracts that fell into the same median income category were included as possible controls for that neighborhood. In Los Angeles, the middle third of median incomes in tracts was between \$6,000 and \$7,999. If the median income of the integrated neighborhood was \$6,800, then the control neighborhood had a median income of between \$6,000 and \$8,000.

3. The proportion of single-family housing in the integrated tract was also determined, based on the 1960 census, and the control neighborhood came from the same stratum. Thus, if two-thirds of the dwelling units in the integrated tract were single-family houses, the control neighborhood had from 51 to 89 per cent single-family houses.

4. From the remaining list of segregated census tracts in that stratum, the required number were selected with probabilities proportionate to the 1960 number of households.

5. If the census tract contained more than one neighborhood, only the one covering the largest part of the tract was used.

In a few cases, some modifications in this procedure for selecting control neighborhoods were necessary, since the control strata were empty. This happened, for example, when it was not possible to find a high-income Negro segregated neighborhood as a control for an integrated neighborhood. In these cases, the median income requirement was relaxed by \$1,000, and the control neighborhood was selected from among the tracts that

then qualified. Since there is some difficulty in finding high-income Negro segregated tracts, there is the possibility that differences between Negroes in integrated and segregated neighborhoods may be due, at least in part, to income differences. Other minor modifications of control strata boundaries are unlikely to have any effect on differences between integrated and control neighborhoods because they are not consistently in the same direction.

Sampling of Informants within Neighborhood,  
Phase II

Within each neighborhood a minimum of four interviews were conducted with four types of respondents: a church informant, a school informant, a community organization informant, and a real estate informant. Based on the pilot test (Sudman and Bradburn, 1966), these types of informants were most likely to yield a complete and reliable picture of the neighborhood. Budget considerations prevented us from attempting to get more than four interviews per neighborhood since we knew that these interviews would be detailed, lengthy, and expensive. Interviewers were instructed, however, to obtain additional interviews in neighborhoods where one of the respondents discussed an area mainly outside the neighborhood boundaries as defined by the other respondents. Additional interviews were also obtained in a few neighborhoods to settle conflicting reports on the integration status of the neighborhood. A total of 1,299 interviews with informants were conducted in 311 neighborhoods, and 10 additional interviews were discarded because they covered the wrong area.

The interviewer followed a "snowball" procedure in obtaining respondents. Some had already been mentioned in Phase I. From them, the names of the other knowledgeable informants in the neighborhood were quickly learned.

There were some special analyses planned to compare the differences between the responses of the various types of informants, but it should always be remembered that these informants were not selected at random. Thus, our sample of church informants represents the best known and most knowledgeable church leaders and is not a random sample of ministers in integrated neighborhoods.

Sampling of Residents within Integrated  
Neighborhoods, Phase III

At the same time that we decided to obtain about 200 integrated neighborhoods, we decided to interview approximately 2,000 white families and 500 Negro families in these neighborhoods. To obtain this number of completed cases, we started with about 25 per cent more assignments to account for vacant dwelling units, not at home after repeated calls, and non-cooperation. This meant that the average neighborhood had an initial assignment of about twenty cases since we interviewed only in our first three integrated neighborhood types and not in neighborhoods for which there were no controls (integrated in localities with few Negroes and integrated rural areas).

As a preliminary estimate, we assumed that there were about 5.3 million households in integrated neighborhoods of the three types we wanted. This estimate was derived as follows:

1. There had been a 17 per cent increase in number of households from 1960 to 1967;
2. Based on the pilot test, integrated neighborhoods covered about 72 per cent of the households of the tracts in which they were located; and
3. The three types of integrated neighborhoods we consider are about 75 per cent of all integrated neighborhoods.

Thus,  $8,375,000 \times 1.17 \times .72 \times .75 = 5,300,000$ .

Our overall sampling rate for white families was

$$\frac{2,666}{5,300,000} = .005, \text{ or } 1 \text{ in } 2,000.$$

For Negro families, the sampling rate was 2.5 times as large, 1 in 800, or .00125. This was estimated from Phase I of the study, which indicated that the mean proportion of Negroes in a neighborhood is about 10 per cent of the population. Since our sample of Negroes was one-fourth of our sample of whites, the sampling rate was 2.5 times larger.

The sampling rate for white families within any neighborhood was determined from the fact that the overall sampling rate is the product of Probability of selection of the PSU X Probability of selection of the tract within the PSU X Probability of selection of the household within the tract. Here

$$.0005 = .00002286 \times \text{Tract size in 1960} \\ \times \text{Sampling rate within tract.}$$

Solving for sampling rate, we get:

$$\text{Sampling rate within tract} = \frac{21.87}{\text{Tract size(s) 1960}}.$$

As an example, consider the following neighborhood in a typical PSU. The neighborhood consisted of five complete census tracts and parts of two others. The 1960 number of households in all these eight tracts was 6,015. The sampling rate for this neighborhood was  $21.87/6,015 = .00364$ .

Within each neighborhood, three starting points were selected for listing. Where census block information was available, blocks were chosen with probabilities proportionate to size. Where no block information was available, blocks or other identifiable geographic units were chosen at random with equal probabilities. The sampling rate within blocks for white households was then computed so that

$$\text{Probability of selection within neighborhood} = \\ \text{Probability of selection of block} \times \text{Probability of} \\ \text{selection within block.}$$

Returning to our example, the integrated portion of the seven census tracts consisted of 5,007 dwelling units. Since three starting points were to be selected, the sampling interval was  $5,007/3$ , or 1,669. A block with 58 households had a probability of  $58/1,669$ , or .0348, of being selected. The sampling rate for white households within that block was .105 since  $.105 \times .0348 = .00364$ .

The sampling rate for Negro households was  $2.5 \times .105$ , or .262. Then the interviewer listed the entire block, determined the race of the occupants of each household, and interviewed at about each tenth household for whites and at one-quarter of the Negro households.

#### Control Neighborhood Samples, Phase III

The sampling rate within each control neighborhood was selected so that the expected sample would equal that in the corresponding integrated neighborhood. Again, three starting points were selected, and the sampling rate within blocks determined as before.

#### Special Negro Sample in Open Neighborhoods, Phase III

A rare, but particularly interesting, population are the Negro households in open neighborhoods. Since the number of such households found in using the standard sampling rates is so small, we instructed interviewers to find and interview up to five Negro households in each neighborhood as an additional sample. This resulted in 83 more Negro household interviews. These households are not included in any of the tables of this monograph except those dealing with Negroes in open and moderately integrated neighborhoods.



Sample Sizes, Phase III

Table A.3 gives the raw sample sizes for each of the three types of integrated neighborhoods, as well as for the white and Negro segregated control neighborhoods. In the integrated

Table A.3  
RAW SAMPLE SIZES BY NEIGHBORHOOD TYPE

Neighborhood Type	Sample Size		
	White	Negro	Total
Open . . . . .	803	72	875
Moderately integrated . . . .	793	46	839
Substantially integrated . . .	567	577	1,144
Total integrated . . . . .	2,163	695	2,858
White segregated . . . . .	703	-	703
Negro segregated . . . . .	93	216	309
Total segregated . . . . .	796	216	1,012
Total . . . . .	2,959	911	3,870

neighborhoods, the sampling rate for Negroes was 2.5 times that for whites, so in tables where white and Negro respondents are combined, the Negro respondents are weighted by .4. In the Negro segregated control neighborhoods, the sampling rate was the same for Negroes and whites, so no weighting is required. Although some Negro control neighborhoods have white respondents remaining (especially in changing neighborhoods), the white segregated control neighborhoods have no Negro respondents.

Misclassification of Neighborhoods as  
Negro Segregated

We had expected that a small number of neighborhoods would be misclassified by city-wide informants in Phase I, but we

thought that the neighborhoods that were initially classified as integrated but turned out to be segregated would balance the neighborhoods that were initially classified as segregated but turned out to be integrated. This was not the case. As shown in Table A.4, city-wide informants misclassified a substantial number of integrated neighborhoods into the Negro segregated category. With this category omitted, the remaining misclassifications pretty much cancel out each other.

TABLE A.4  
MISCLASSIFICATION OF INTEGRATION STATUS OF  
NEIGHBORHOODS BY CITY-WIDE INFORMANTS

Classification		Number of Neigh- borhoods	Weight
By City-wide Informants	By Neighborhood Informants		
White segregated	Open	5	3.0
White segregated	Moderately or substan- tially integrated	5	3.0
Negro segregated	Substantially inte- grated	13	.3
Negro segregated	Open or moderately integrated	7	.3
Total changes to integrated . . . . .		30	
Integrated	White segregated	8	.3
Integrated	Negro segregated	3	3.3
Total changes to integrated . . . . .		11	
Net change to integrated . . . . .		19	

In retrospect, this misclassification of neighborhoods that city-wide informants considered integrated into the Negro segregated category probably reflects a little of the popular misconception that once a Negro family moves into a neighborhood, the neighborhood must change. On the other hand, there

is the possibility that the neighborhood informants were wrong and the city-wide informants were right.

Although we depended on our neighborhood informants to ultimately classify our neighborhoods as integrated or segregated, we checked their judgments with information from our sample of households. In open neighborhoods we confirmed the presence of Negro residents by conducting interviews with them as a special sample, even if they did not fall into the regular household sample. This prevented the misclassification of white segregated neighborhoods as open neighborhoods.

For substantially integrated neighborhoods, we checked the neighborhood informants' claims that whites were still moving in by looking at the length of time white residents had been in these neighborhoods. In 90 per cent of the neighborhoods, there were some white families who had lived in their houses a year or less, indicating that whites were still moving in.

For a neighborhood to be classified as integrated, it was necessary that informants predict no major racial change over the next five years.

It is not possible, however, to confirm predictions of stability without going back to the neighborhoods again. (We hope to do a repeat study in the same neighborhoods in 1972.) The rate of change in racial composition is partially indicated by the change between census figures in 1960 and the current estimates. Another indication is given by the proportion of whites and Negroes moving in during the last several years, as estimated from resident information. This indication is subject to very high sampling variability since only a few residents in a neighborhood moved in during any given year. Neither of these indications contradicted the informants' predictions except in a few neighborhoods.

Weighting of Respondents from  
Misclassified Neighborhoods

The 15 per cent of the households in misclassified neighborhoods are included in all tables in this report, but because they were sampled at a different rate than households in the other neighborhoods, their responses must be weighted to give unbiased estimates. The weights are shown as the final column in Table A.4. The weights reflect the fact that white segregated control neighborhoods were initially sampled at one-third the sampling rate for integrated neighborhoods, and Negro segregated control neighborhoods were sampled at 3.3 times the rate for integrated neighborhoods. While there was some variation from these rates by stratum, a simple weighting system was used to reduce data-processing control problems.

Classification of Integrated Neighborhoods

Since most of the tables and text in this monograph differentiate between open, moderately integrated, and substantially integrated neighborhoods, we made strenuous efforts to avoid errors in classification. Our two chief sources of information were the neighborhood informants and the actual results of sampling households in Phase III. In all but forty neighborhoods, the classifications of these two independent sources matched and there was no problem. Where they did not match we used the following rule:

If there were more than ten sample households in the neighborhood, the neighborhood was classified using sample results. These sample results are subject to sampling variability for small sample sizes so that in the ten neighborhoods where there were fewer than ten cases in the neighborhood, we took the average of the percentage Negro as estimated by neighborhood informants and averaged that with the percentage Negro as estimated from the sample.

While this procedure does not insure that there are no classification errors, it is unlikely that our analysis is af-

affected by them. Most neighborhoods that were at all uncertain were near the border lines of 1 and 10 per cent Negro, so that if a misclassification occurred, the neighborhood was merely shifted to the wrong side of the border.

#### Household Cooperation

Three of four selected respondents cooperated on the household survey phase of this study, as indicated in Table A.5. This is slightly lower than the cooperation rates generally achieved by NORC on national studies and is due to the fact that the interviewing assignments were concentrated in the large metropolitan areas of the United States. Past experience has shown that respondents are harder to locate and interview in large cities and their suburbs than in smaller towns or rural areas. The cooperation on this study is comparable to that of other studies in large cities.

TABLE A.5  
HOUSEHOLD SAMPLE COOPERATION

Sample	Per Cent	N
Interview completed . . . . .	76.0	3,870
Refusals and breakoffs . . . . .	14.6	741
Unable to locate . . . . .	5.2	265
Temporarily unavailable . . . . .	1.8	90
Other (language problem, illness, etc.) . .	2.4	123
Total sample . . . . .	100.0	5,089

The problem of nonresponse bias must be kept in mind when the reliability of the results is considered. Thus, the sampling errors we present at the end of this appendix are minimum estimates of error since they do not include nonresponse biases. Still the cooperation rate is to a very large extent determined

by the population sampled, and not by our field methods. During the field period, which extended from March through July, 1967, at least six call-backs were made on households to find a respondent at home. In case of a refusal, another interviewer was sent to the respondent to try again. There is no indication that the subject matter of the study directly affected the cooperation rate. The respondents who refused were not aware of the nature of the study, and the interviewers did not regard this study as unusually difficult. Most interviewers said that they and the respondents enjoyed the interviews.

#### Sampling Errors

Table A.6 (which starts on the following page) gives the sampling errors for tables in Chapter III. For ease of reference, each section heading of the table includes the number of the text table to which it refers.

TABLE A.6  
SAMPLING ERROR ESTIMATES

Neighborhood Type	Error (Households in Thousands)	Per Cent Relative Error
Total U.S. (Table 3.1)		
Total integrated . . . . .	1,184	11
Open . . . . .	821	25
Moderately integrated . . . . .	499	20
Substantially integrated . . . . .	390	22
Integrated in localities with very few Negroes . . . . .	916	34
Integrated rural areas . . . . .	399	38
Northeast (Table 3.2)		
Total integrated . . . . .	779	17
Open . . . . .	767	34
Moderately integrated . . . . .	468	30
Substantially integrated . . . . .	137	33
Integrated in localities with very few Negroes . . . . .	357	100
North Central (Table 3.2)		
Total integrated . . . . .	569	28
Open . . . . .	154	33
Moderately integrated . . . . .	88	28
Substantially integrated . . . . .	134	31
Integrated in localities with very few Negroes . . . . .	574	67
South (Table 3.2)		
Total integrated . . . . .	431	21
Open . . . . .	120	100
Moderately integrated . . . . .	112	79
Substantially integrated . . . . .	336	46
Integrated rural areas . . . . .	399	38

(Table A.6 continued)

TABLE A.6--Continued

Neighborhood Type	Error (Households in Thousands)	Per Cent Relative Error
West (Table 3.2)		
Total integrated . . . . .	543	22
Open . . . . .	217	59
Moderately integrated . . . .	94	21
Substantially integrated . . .	97	45
Integrated in localities with very few Negroes . . . .	618	42
Ten Largest SMSAs (Table 3.3)		
Total integrated . . . . .	474	13
Open . . . . .	696	46
Moderately integrated . . . .	350	26
Substantially integrated . . .	375	53
New York SMSA (Table 3.3)		
Total integrated . . . . .	421	26
Open . . . . .	688	72
Moderately integrated . . . .	328	60
Substantially integrated . . .	46	36
Los Angeles SMSA (Table 3.3)		
Total integrated . . . . .	64	15
Open . . . . .	44	34
Moderately integrated . . . .	45	19
Substantially integrated . . .	6	13
Chicago SMSA (Table 3.3)		
Total integrated . . . . .	76	22
Open . . . . .	88	47
Moderately integrated . . . .	64	100
Substantially integrated . . .	61	65

(Table A.6 continued)



TABLE A.6--Continued

Neighborhood Type	Error (Households in Thousands)	Per Cent Relative Error
Other SMSAs (Table 3.3)		
Total integrated . . . . .	726	15
Open . . . . .	425	26
Moderately integrated . . . . .	334	35
Substantially integrated . . . . .	319	36
Integrated in localities with very few Negroes . . . . .	493	37
Non-SMSAs (Table 3.3)		
Total integrated . . . . .	813	29
Open . . . . .	89	101
Moderately integrated . . . . .	116	75
Substantially integrated . . . . .	198	100
Integrated in localities with very few Negroes . . . . .	772	73
Integrated rural areas . . . . .	399	38
Central City of SMSA (Table 3.4)		
Total integrated . . . . .	478	9
Open . . . . .	713	44
Moderately integrated . . . . .	432	32
Substantially integrated . . . . .	204	18
Integrated in localities with very few Negroes . . . . .	439	44
Suburb of SMSA (Table 3.4)		
Total integrated . . . . .	506	15
Open . . . . .	100	7
Moderately integrated . . . . .	159	17
Substantially integrated . . . . .	246	51
Integrated in localities with very few Negroes . . . . .	140	42

(Table A.6 continued)

TABLE A.6--Continued

Neighborhood Type	Error (Households in Thousands)	Per Cent Relative Error
White Households in Substantially Integrated Neighborhoods (Tables 3.5-3.8) <sup>a</sup>		
U.S. . . . .	301	23
Northeast . . . . .	89	30
North Central . . . . .	91	34
South . . . . .	267	47
West . . . . .	77	49
SMSAs . . . . .	255	23
Non-SMSAs . . . . .	160	100
Central city of SMSA . . . . .	161	22
Suburb of SMSA . . . . .	205	52
Negro Households--Total U.S. (Table 3.5) <sup>b</sup>		
Total integrated . . . . .	123	16
Moderately integrated . . . . .	11	23
Substantially integrated . . . . .	112	23
Negro Households--Northeast (Table 3.6)		
Total integrated . . . . .	63	39
Moderately integrated . . . . .	10	31
Substantially integrated . . . . .	60	49
Negro Households--North Central (Table 3.6)		
Total integrated . . . . .	55	29
Moderately integrated . . . . .	3	40
Substantially integrated . . . . .	53	33

(Table A.6 continued)

<sup>a</sup>For white households see Tables 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3, except for substantially integrated neighborhoods shown below.

<sup>b</sup>For Negro households, estimates are given only for total moderately and substantially integrated neighborhoods since the other estimates are not derived from sampling, or are based on too few observations for computation. See the discussion of estimations for a detailed description of the estimation procedure.

TABLE A.6--Continued

Neighborhood Type	Error (Households in Thousands)	Per Cent Relative Error
Negro Households--South (Table 3.6)		
Total integrated . . . . .	89	29
Moderately integrated . . .	1.6	100
Substantially integrated .	76	50
Negro Households--West (Table 3.6)		
Total integrated . . . . .	19	17
Moderately integrated . . .	1	14
Substantially integrated .	13	22
Negro Households--SMSAs (Table 3.7)		
Total integrated . . . . .	134	25
Moderately integrated . . .	7	16
Substantially integrated .	105	23
Negro Households--Non-SMSAs (Table 3.7)		
Total integrated . . . . .	60	27
Moderately integrated . . .	4	71
Substantially integrated .	38	100
Negro Households--Central City of SMSA (Table 3.8)		
Total integrated . . . . .	89	21
Moderately integrated . . .	7	37
Substantially integrated .	69	19
Negro Households--Suburb of SMSA (Table 3.8)		
Total integrated . . . . .	41	34
Moderately integrated . . .	6	25
Substantially integrated .	66	73

## APPENDIX B

### MOVERS FROM INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOODS

#### Introduction

Some readers may feel that we have painted too rosy a picture of integrated neighborhoods by concerning ourselves only with current residents. They would argue that those residents who were most unhappy with the neighborhood had moved out before our interviewing took place. This would suggest that a complete picture of integrated neighborhoods could only be obtained if those who had moved were also interviewed.

In this appendix, we discuss the results of a small-scale effort to trace movers from integrated neighborhoods and to discover their reasons for moving. The results from our small sample indicate that about one out of eight moved from an integrated neighborhood for reasons that were in some way racially connected, while seven out of eight moved for other reasons. The results also suggest how difficult and costly it is to trace recent movers. In retrospect, we still feel that we made the right decision in concentrating on current residents of integrated neighborhoods. We do not believe that those who moved for racial reasons would materially change any of our conclusions since they are a small fraction of all residents. As we have pointed out many times, our integrated neighborhoods generally have a small proportion of Negroes and are not changing. We would not expect the same results to hold true in neighborhoods that are becoming Negro segregated.

Sampling

A sampling of all movers, while requiring some screening, is still a reasonable task. Suppose one wanted to interview households that had moved from one neighborhood to another in the past five years. While 1960 census results do not give neighborhood moves, they do give moves to a different residence in the same county and moves to a different county for the period 1955-1960. In five years, a little less than half the population has moved at least once. About 20 per cent of the moves are to a different county, and 30 per cent are within the county. Many of the moves within the county are within the same neighborhood. Suppose we assume that half of these moves, about 15 per cent, are within the same neighborhood and half are to another neighborhood. Then about one-third of all households would move to a new neighborhood in five years, including out-of-county moves.

If we require that the moves have taken place from an integrated neighborhood and are willing to assume that the move rate from integrated neighborhoods is also 33 per cent, then about 6 per cent of the households would qualify, since only 20 per cent of neighborhoods are integrated. If we further exclude household moves to another county as being primarily for reasons unrelated to integration, then only 3 per cent of households would be in the sample. Thus, to get 100 households who moved from integrated neighborhoods to other neighborhoods in the same county would require a screening sample of more than 3,000 households. This is an extremely costly procedure for a rare population.

We chose an alternative method for our sampling. We asked the current residents of the dwelling units in integrated neighborhoods for the name and address of the previous resident if there had been one. Since we were primarily interested in households that had moved because the neighborhood became integrated, we excluded Negro movers. In some cases, it was

difficult to determine the name of the previous tenant, particularly in rental units. In many more cases, the name was known but there was no forwarding address.

We tried many different sources to trace the movers. Landlords, real estate managers, neighbors, and relatives were contacted. Street and telephone directories were used when available. Although every mover was traced until we had no further leads, one-sixth of the movers could not be found. In addition a substantial number of cases were discovered to be ineligible because the mover was Negro. Finally, of those located and eligible, 12 per cent refused to be interviewed. These results are summarized in Table B.1.

TABLE B.1  
RESULTS OF EFFORTS TO LOCATE MOVERS FROM  
INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOODS

Result	Per Cent	N
Initial sample . . . . .	100	126
Wrong race--Negro . . . . .	22	28
No previous tenant . . . . .	4	5
Unable to locate . . . . .	17	21
	} 43	
	} 54	
Eligible and located . .	57	72
Refused . . . . .	7	9
Interviewed . . . . .	50	63

Reasons for Moving

The movers received a questionnaire that was in most respects similar to the one used for residents of integrated neighborhoods. Some questions were omitted that pertained to the history of integration and happiness with the neighborhood. Additional questions were added about the reasons for moving from the previous (integrated) neighborhood. Movers were first

asked the open-ended question, "Why did you move from (last address)?" Then they were asked:

When you moved from (name of neighborhood), were there any Negro families living there?

IF YES: A. About what proportion of the residents were Negro?

B. Did they have anything to do with your moving from the neighborhood?

IF YES TO B: Would you say this was the most important reason you moved, one of the three or four most important reasons, or just one among many reasons you moved?

In addition to these questions, the entire questionnaire was read for indications that integration played some role in the move. In eight households, there was evidence that this was the case. As indicated by the answers to the open-ended question on "why did you move," some of the responses of these eight households were mild, some very emphatic, but in all cases these households had left and indicated that racial factors were at least partly responsible:

1. Reason for living in this neighborhood: First and foremost, it is non-colored. I've had enough of the heavily mixed area. I was both shot and robbed before I made up my mind to move.

2. Different surroundings for the kids. School started filling up with colored kids and I didn't like them. Had trouble with the colored kids cutting up kid's jacket; went to the school officials and they said there was nothing they could do so I changed schools.

3. Well, we owned this lot and we decided to build. Our daughter was getting bigger and the neighborhood then started to really go down, and no children for her to play with. No one her age. Well, at night it was bad. A lot of fights, noise, police cars, traffic. Our daughter never used to sleep.

4. They [my Negro neighbors] were all nice as could be, but there was always a robbery or something I'd read about in the paper. Let's just say, all my friends had left.

5. Colored people were moving in so we moved out. Actually there were none in our particular block. I am not prejudiced. I have four of them working for me, but when colored people move into a neighborhood, it seems to deteriorate. We moved into a larger place which we needed and it was closer to my job.

6. Most important reason, Negro that bought the building put the rent up twice what we paid for it. All colored moved in immediately.

7. The house was too small--too small for a growing family. I was unhappy with the schools in that neighborhood.

Race per se is immaterial. That's very clear.

8. There were a few reasons. My husband had a better salary, my first child was starting school, and we wanted to get settled before he started. We wanted a better home.

Moves for racial reasons are in a distinct minority, however. As shown in Table B.2, seven out of every eight

TABLE B.2  
REASONS FOR MOVES FROM INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOODS  
BY WHITE HOUSEHOLDS

Reason	Per Cent	N
Racially connected . . . . .	13	8
Nonracially connected . . . . .	87	55
Change in family size or status . . . . .		17
Bought or built a house . .		10
Economic factors . . . . .		8
Job related . . . . .		7
Health . . . . .		3
Miscellaneous . . . . .		10
Total . . . . .	100	63



respondents moved for reasons wholly unrelated to integration. As one would expect in any neighborhood, the most common causes of moves are changes in family composition due to births, deaths, children moving away from home, or parents moving in with children. Other important reasons in this sample are moving from a rental unit into a house, moving into less expensive quarters by older households with reduced incomes, and job transfers. If racial factors played any role in these moves, there is no evidence of it in any of the questionnaires. In fact, twenty-two of these fifty-five households, or 40 per cent, indicated that they moved into another integrated neighborhood, including two of the eight families quoted above. This confirms the finding in Chapter IX that residents of integrated neighborhoods are more likely to move into another integrated neighborhood when they move.

If we are correct in assuming that the results would be similar for the households that we could not locate or that refused, we would conclude that racial concerns are one factor causing households to move from integrated neighborhoods, but certainly not the most important factor. Most moves from integrated neighborhoods would be for the same reasons that white residents of segregated neighborhoods would move. Within integrated neighborhoods there is substantial variance in the racial attitudes of white residents. Some residents who have not moved share the racial attitudes and social behavior of those who moved because the neighborhood was integrated. Thus, we find nothing in these results that contradicts the findings in the text.

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW SPECIFICATIONS AND QUESTIONNAIRES

Survey 511  
October, 1966

SPECIFICATIONS

for

SURVEY 511 - PHASE I

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. The pilot study for this survey (conducted in five areas a year ago) has shown that our interviewing staff is able to do an excellent job of locating these areas for us in their own PSU'S. Once the areas are located, we will want some basic information about them. Your big job now is to locate all the areas in the entire PSU which qualify.

DEFINITIONS For this study, an integrated neighborhood is defined as one into which both white Americans and Negro Americans can move and are moving. This is not an easy definition to spell out. An area which is 50 per cent white-50 per cent 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--

"Integrated Neighborhood"

a few families of both races moving in over a year or two would make the area integrated according to our definition.

Areas composed of housing which is publicly owned and administered by federal, state or local authorities will be omitted from this study. We are interested in housing which is privately owned, where the housing patterns reflect the private decisions of owners or landlords, not influenced by the advantages of lower rentals (such as would be the case in large "public housing authority" projects). Housing on the bases of Armed Forces of the U.S. is also excluded from this study; however, members of the Armed Forces living in "off-base" private housing are considered the same as any other members of the community.

"Groups to  
be Studied"

Note that we are restricting the groups involved in this survey to white Americans and Negro Americans. The reason for this is that the relationship between these two groups consists of attitudes, problems, and factors which remain relatively the same throughout the United States (though they may differ in intensity and scope) and thus can be studied in a systematic way. The relationships between whites and other racial groups (such as Oriental or Indian) tend to be of a regional character, and are therefore omitted from this study.

"American  
Negro"

An American Negro is defined as a person of Negro descent born within the continental United States. In some parts of the country there are many Negroes of Puerto Rican birth. They are excluded from this study. Persons of Mexican birth or descent (U.S. residents) are classified as "white" unless they are definitely Indian or another non-white race.

The following are examples of areas that would not qualify as "integrated" for this study:

Neighborhoods into which Negroes and Orientals are moving, but not whites.

Neighborhoods into which whites and Orientals are moving, but not Negroes.

Areas where whites and American Indians live, but not Negroes.

Areas which are currently attracting white and Puerto Rican residents, but not Negroes.

Other examples could be cited, but you will need only to keep in mind that this study involves white Americans and Negro Americans.

"Housing"

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 WHITE AMERICANS AND NEGRO AMERICANS ARE MOVING (RENTING OR BUYING) CURRENTLY, AND THE HOUSING IS OF COMPARABLE VALUE.
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

"Neighbor-  
hood"

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. The definition of neighborhood boundaries depends on local ideas, and may be determined by many factors. Sometimes a railroad or highway (or a main arterial street), will form a boundary. (But sometimes people on both sides of such arbitrary boundaries think of themselves as one neighborhood.) In general, we will define "a neighborhood" as an area where there is reasonable local consensus on a neighborhood name and on boundaries.

In Phase I of this study, we are not concerned as to whether you determine the "precisely right" boundaries or racial percentages for every neighborhood. What we need now are rough but reasonably accurate neighborhood boundaries and an expert guess as to whether the area is integrated according to our definition. In Phase II of this study, we will be interviewing "neighborhood informants" in a sample of integrated neighborhoods chosen from

the ones you locate in Phase I. At that time we will ask each informant to locate the boundaries of the neighborhood, and will then try to make a firm decision as to the exact borders. In many cases, this won't be a problem--the area included in a neighborhood will be generally agreed on by the community.

If informants disagree, note the fact that there are varying opinions. Then send us the broadest possible boundaries. In some smaller communities, and in rural and suburban areas, the "neighborhood" 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 not be integrated.

"Non-Neighborhoods"

In some PSU'S there may be areas that seem clearly to fit our description of "integrated"--that is, both Negroes and whites are moving into the area; but these areas cannot be described as "neighborhoods." One common instance of this might be an area around the edges of the "inner city" in a larger city, where people live in dwellings over stores, in a few apartment houses, and some scattered single dwelling units. The area would generally be defined as a commercial, or industrial or business area and there is no sense in which it would be considered by the community as a neighborhood. Another instance might be represented by built up areas on the outskirts of a city or town--they may be "integrated", but not think of themselves as neighborhoods. If you find a situation such as this, make a report of it. We want to know about these areas, even though they may not be included in subsequent sections of the survey.

Method of Search

How do you go about finding all the integrated areas in your PSU. We suggest that you begin by using your own knowledge of the PSU and by talking with informed sources in your city and county. The best kind of start would be with an informant who has a broad knowledge of the community, particularly with regard to housing or community organization. When you find a knowledgeable informant, he will probably be able to give you the names of other people who can add to his information--you will find that with each informant your number of contacts will "snowball", and it will be easy to select those who may be able to "fill in the blanks." When you feel that the information you have received provides a reasonably accurate description of the neighborhoods within the census tracts for which you are responsible, then your job is finished. For this phase of Survey 511, you should use informants whose information is general--county-wide or city-wide--as much as possible. If you are unable to get the information in any other way, you may interview neighborhood sources; but keep these to a minimum, since we will be talking with these people in Phase II of the survey.

The following are lists of individuals and organizations which were helpful in Phase I of the Pilot Study. They may serve as a guide to some of the people who can give you the information you need.

Helpful individuals were:

- School Officials
- Postmasters
- Newspaper Editors
- Sociologists in local colleges and universities
- Court officers
- Realtors with metropolitan-wide knowledge
- Bankers

The executives of the following organizations were helpful, because they were the kind of community leaders who had broad knowledge of the community:

- Local Council of Churches
- NAACP
- Urban League
- Conference on Race and Religion
- Neighborhood and Settlement Houses

Officials of the following groups were useful sources of information:

- County and City Commissions on Human (or Racial) Relations
- Metropolitan Planning Commissions or Departments
- Chambers of Commerce
- Office of Economic Opportunity
- Fair Housing Commissions
- Federal Housing Authorities
- Urban Renewal or Redevelopment Boards
- State or local Real Estate Associations.

And there may be many other civic, political, religious, housing and school groups in your PSU which will provide the kind of information we are seeking. Even so, there may be areas where you cannot make a decision as to whether an area is a neighborhood or whether it is an integrated neighborhood. Report the information, and let us decide. YOUR JOB IS TO DO A COMPLETE JOB OF INVESTIGATING THE RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE ENTIRE PSU BY CENSUS TRACT, AND TO REPORT THE RESULTS OF YOUR INVESTIGATION IN AS ACCURATE A WAY AS POSSIBLE.

Materials  
for  
Gathering  
Data

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

Census Data: 1960 Census Data are filled in for the white and non-white racial composition of the tract. This information may suggest whether the tract contains integrated areas--but it is not conclusive for two reasons, First, the area may have changed greatly in the six years since the census was recorded. Second, the non-white population, even if the percentage seems significant, may be other racial groups than Negro--for example, Oriental or Indian. If the information you receive indicates a substantial change from the 1960 Census Data, check the "yes" box.

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 that there may be more than one neighborhood. For further clarification, either give a detailed verbal description of the neighborhood (indicate which boundaries are north, south, east or west); or draw a sketch of the neighborhood (note compass directions) with street or other boundaries labeled. If the neighborhood has a local name, record it (within the sketch); for instance, "Woodlawn," "Kenwood," etc.

If not Integrated: Check the proper category.

All one race - such as Negro, Chinese, white.

Segregated - one or two Negro families, but no others can move in.

Housing not comparable - both Negro and white residents, but not in housing of comparable value.

Changing - both Negro and white at present, but only one race is currently moving in--the other is moving out.

Other (specify) - business area, park, etc.

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, expressways, etc. We want this information so that we can know no tract has been unintentionally missed.



Remarks: Record the names of informants from whom you obtain information for the particular tract, in case we need to contact them for further information. This will also give us a handy cross-reference to the Diaries of Community Contact that refer to each Census Tract.

DIARY OF COMMUNITY CONTACT (F-1) (Green): This form is to be used as a log for each community contact you make. Be sure to record the name and/or numbers of the tracts and localities which each informant discusses with you, and then transfer the name of the informant and any pertinent information to the appropriate INDIVIDUAL CENSUS TRACT WORK SHEETS(S).

Date Submitted: is the date you return the Diary to your supervisor (or, if you are a supervisor, the date the information is transferred to the INDIVIDUAL CENSUS TRACT WORK SHEET, and then the CENSUS TRACT CONTROL SHEET).

Results: Record a full account of the information you receive from each informant, using verbatim reporting where possible. Even if the interview proves unfruitful, record the information. In these conversations, you will need to use all your skill as an interviewer. It is only through your clear and persuasive presentation of our needs, and of the aims of this study, that you will be able to enlist the full cooperation of the busy community leaders who will be your best source of information. And you can add significantly to the volume and depth of the data by skillful probing. Your job is to be as intelligent a listener and questioner as you can. Help your informant to continue talking about one area at a time--and to give his information in as orderly a fashion as possible. Perhaps, in addition, he will be able to give you the names of other persons in the community who can add to what he has told you, or be of assistance in other neighborhoods. Avoid duplication of information when you can--but it's better to risk some repetition if the informant can also extend your knowledge in an area where you feel more information is needed.

NOTE THE SAMPLE OF THIS FORM AT THE END OF THESE SPECIFICATIONS.

Be sure to use the name of the locality or area (as well as the tract numbers) about which the respondent is talking, rather than "this area" or "in this community." While general designations will probably seem clear to you at the time, it is difficult after a number of interviews to recall which respondent said what about a given neighborhood unless you've been specific in recording information. Also, it helps us in reading your reports if you are clear as to precisely what place is under discussion.

Probable Integrated Area: Check the appropriate box at the bottom of the page. It is another handy "quick cross reference."

FOR SUPERVISORS ONLY (or Interviewers in charge in unsupervised areas): CENSUS TRACTS CONTROL SHEET (F-3) (White): As interviewers turn in completed information (or as you complete all information) relating to individual Census Tracts, record it on this form. You will note it contains the same information you have on the INDIVIDUAL CENSUS TRACT WORK SHEET in a condensed form. This form enables you to keep up with your progress and know when your job is over. Mail it in at the end of Phase I of the Survey.

LIST OF KNOWLEDGEABLE PERSONS OR COMMUNITY SOURCES HEARD OF BUT NOT CONTACTED BY INTERVIEWER (F-4) (Pink): For possible future use, we would like you to list the persons or sources which were heard about but for some reason were not contacted during this first phase. Return these weekly to your supervisor. She may wish to re-distribute a contact possibility to someone working in other areas. If you are having difficulty locating informants in any area, check with your supervisor to see whether she has useful names submitted by other interviewers on these forms.

MAPS: Enclosed are maps of your PSU. Some show the Census Tracts; others show the PSU by areas and with streets. Use them to help locate the Census Tracts. In some cases, street maps (1960 vintage) may be out of date. They may be replaced by inexpensive street maps, for which you may charge on your T & E. Major map expenditures should be approved by NORC.

LETTER: TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN: This letter is a slightly more personal introduction to NORC and particularly to this survey for any person who may wish to "know more" before talking with you. Use it as needed with such items as "About NORC" and the Better Business Bureau Memo.

MISCELLANEOUS SOURCES: Please collect and send any news clippings, newsletters, brochures, etc. which are readily available about any community in your PSU and might be of interest in this study.

Mailing

If you are an interviewer (without supervisory responsibility): please return all completed work to your supervisor once a week. She should have your week's work by Friday of every week. Completed work includes both INDIVIDUAL CENSUS TRACT WORK SHEETS and DIARIES OF COMMUNITY CONTACTS which relate to them for areas that have been investigated thoroughly, and about which you have reached an opinion ("integrated" or "not integrated" or "unable to decide"). At the same time, return the "LIST OF KNOWLEDGEABLE PERSONS HEARD OF BUT NOT CONTACTED" for possible redistribution to another interviewer.

If you are a Supervisor (or are in charge in an unsupervised area): record the information from your interviewers' INDIVIDUAL CENSUS TRACT WORK SHEETS on the CENSUS TRACT CONTROL SHEETS, and make one mailing of all completed work in your PSU each week to this office on either Saturday or Sunday. Return both the INDIVIDUAL CENSUS TRACT WORK SHEETS and the DIARIES OF COMMUNITY CONTACTS.

Interviewers and Supervisors: Mail your T & E's weekly to NORC in the #10 return envelope provided in the "kit."

Time Limit      We would like to finish this phase of Survey 511 by November 15. This is two weeks earlier than the date originally set, so you will need to begin immediately to make appointments. Do not delay; you may have to wait to get appointments with busy people, so you should start locating informants and making appointments now. It is necessary, in order to process results, that you submit as much completed work as possible each week--so let us hear from you regularly!

Remember that this is only the first step of this study--and the usefulness of the entire study depends upon how well Phase I is executed.

Corre-              Direct all correspondence for this survey to Mrs. Celia Homans,  
spondence              Field Supervisor for this study.

NORC  
511  
1/67

SPECIFICATIONS FOR SURVEY 511 -  
PHASE II  
(Excerpts)

Nature and Purpose

From October to December, you have successfully completed Phase I of Survey 511. You have discovered, often with a wealth of information, detail and precision, the integrated neighborhoods of your PSU.

Phase II of this survey has two major aims:

(1) To define more definitely, by talking with neighborhood leaders, the boundaries of a sample of the integrated neighborhoods you reported in Phase I; as well as the boundaries of a smaller number of "control" neighborhoods.

(2) To gain more information about all of these neighborhoods through interviews with neighborhood leaders.

You will accomplish both of these aims as you administer the "Neighborhood Informant Questionnaires." You should keep in mind the general purpose of this entire "three phase" survey. It is to determine:

- (1) How many racially integrated areas (neighborhoods) there are, (Phase I)
- (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.

Also keep in mind our definition:

AN INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOOD IS ONE INTO WHICH BOTH WHITE AMERICANS AND NEGRO AMERICANS ARE MOVING (RENTERS OR HOME OWNERS) CURRENTLY, AND THE HOUSING IS OF COMPARABLE VALUE.

#### Who Are the Respondents?

Your task is to select and interview four neighborhood leaders in each of the neighborhoods which have been assigned to you. These leaders represent four areas of community life: religious organizations, schools, community organizations, and real estate firms. We want you to choose persons who are the most knowledgeable informants that you can find in the particular neighborhood. Avoid top officials from central metropolitan/county groups; choose leaders in the neighborhoods.

(1) Church informant--from experience on the pilot test, we learned that this informant is the best one with which to begin. The clergyman (or, if there are several clergy in one church, the one who works with community groups) of the largest neighborhood church/temple is likely to be a knowledgeable respondent. You may need to "shop" a bit to decide which church/temple is most active. You may call the church office to discover whether most of its membership is in the neighborhood. An obliging church secretary may direct you to the church most active in neighborhood affairs, but do not interview the secretary. A clergyman will probably be candid as to whether his knowledge of the neighborhood is great. There may be a few occasions when the "logical" clergyman is the wrong respondent. For example, he may be new to the church--do not interview him if he has been in the community less than a year. You may choose a different clergyman, or you may, if it seems wise, substitute the church lay leader. YOUR JUDGMENT IS CRITICAL, because the right choice of the first respondent will usually lead "snowball" fashion to the other neighborhood leaders.

(2) School informant: This informant may be the president of a local PTA; the principal or vice-principal of a neighborhood school (as long as he's been in the school more than one year); or, in some large cities it could be the area District Superintendent. Choose the person who, either by recommendation of the church informant or by other information, seems most knowledgeable.

(3) Community Organization informant: As you talk to the church and school informants, watch for the names of the most active ("talked about") community organizations.

Answers to Questions 8, 41, 43, and 49 may be indicators. Q.71 is, of course, specifically designed to get the names of neighborhood leaders who might be good informants. Look first for active organizations whose scope is neighborhood wide, and which have broad interests. Examples are the Neighborhood Community Conference, or the Neighborhood Improvement Association. In some rural communities, organizations like the Grange, the Volunteer Fire Department, or the Cooperative Water Supply Association may be the logical groups.

#### Number of Interviews

You are to conduct four interviews (one for each of the four categories of neighborhood leaders we have described) regarding each neighborhood assigned you. You must conduct additional interviews using extra questionnaires already provided and prepared for you, when:

(1) One informant disagrees with the other three considerably as to the boundaries of the neighborhood. Interview a fifth informant. Consult your local supervisor. If both of you feel the discrepancy is resolved, send all interviews to Chicago and we will make a final decision as to whether still further interviews are necessary.

(2) Informants are divided (two and two) as to the boundaries--they disagree significantly as to the "location" of the neighborhood--consult with your supervisor, so that she can help you decide how many more interviews you will need. Generally, the rule is to obtain additional interviews, if necessary, with persons who are referred to more than once on Q.71 as knowledgeable. And, try to obtain additional interviews which either confirm or negate the neighborhood on which two informants agree.

#### Making Appointments

The person you will be calling is a busy one with some status in the community. It is therefore desirable that you make an appointment to conduct the interview. There is a form on the back of the questionnaire where you should record your contacts for each appointment. 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 community club leader 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, the Better Business Bureau endorsement, and the letter of introduction concerning this survey. Naturally, you will assure him that all of his replies will be kept confidential and only reported in statistical form.

NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER  
University of Chicago

CONFIDENTIAL  
Survey 511  
1/67

TIME INTERVIEW

\_\_\_\_ AM  
\_\_\_\_ PM

NEIGHBORHOOD INFORMANT QUESTIONNAIRE

DECK 01

STARTED

PSU \_\_\_\_\_ Neighborhood No. \_\_\_\_\_  
(1-3) (4-5)

City/Town \_\_\_\_\_ Informant No. \_\_\_\_\_  
(6)

Name of Informant \_\_\_\_\_ 7-

Title \_\_\_\_\_ 8-

Agency Represented \_\_\_\_\_ 9-

Address \_\_\_\_\_ City \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_ 10-

Hello! I'm \_\_\_\_\_ from the National Opinion Research Center. We are doing a study of neighborhoods in and around this (metropolitan area/county). The \_\_\_\_\_ neighborhood, roughly bounded by . . .

North \_\_\_\_\_ East \_\_\_\_\_

South \_\_\_\_\_ 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 up that information from someone else.

1. ASK EITHER A OR B:

- A. IF NEIGHBORHOOD NAME IS GIVEN IN INTRODUCTION: Is (name of neighborhood) the name of the neighborhood I outlined, or is it something else?

Same name . . . . . 1  
Other name (ASK 1) . 2

(1) IF OTHER: What name would you use?

- B. IF NO NEIGHBORHOOD NAME GIVEN IN INTRODUCTION: As a start, what is the name of the neighborhood I just outlined?

2. A. 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 LET RESPONDENT EITHER MARK BOUNDARIES ON MAP OR REPORT BOUNDARY STREETS TO YOU AS YOU MARK MAP.

(IF INFORMANT PERCEIVES OUR ORIGINAL NEIGHBORHOOD BOUNDARIES ABOVE AS MORE THAN ONE NEIGHBORHOOD, COMPLETE SEPARATE INTERVIEWS ABOUT EACH.)

- B. Since approximately what year have you been familiar with the affairs of the neighborhood we have just identified?

11-

\_\_\_\_\_  
(year) 12-

- 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.5, P. 6) . 0

LIST FIRST SIX FACILITIES ACROSS, USING PP. 2-5. USE CONTINUATION SHEET FOR OTHERS, IF NECESSARY. ASK A, B, C, AND D FOR EACH FACILITY BEFORE PROCEEDING TO NEXT ONE. (ASK ONLY TO HEAVY LINE AT THIS TIME.)

9-  
DECK 02 10-

A. NAME (INDICATE TYPE OF FACILITY--PARK, COUNTRY CLUB, POOL, ETC.)	(Name, Type Facility) (1) 11- 12- 13- 14-	(Name, Type Facility) (2) 33- 34- 35- 36-
B. Is this in the neighborhood? (1) IF NOT IN NEIGHBORHOOD: How long does it generally take to get there by car?	Yes . . . . . 15-6 No . . (ASK 1) . 7 Minutes 16- 17- Don't know . . . X	Yes . . . . . 37-6 No . . (ASK 1) . 7 Minutes 38- 39- Don't know. . . . X
C. HAND RESPONDENT CARD 1. Compared to other parks (fieldhouses, YMCA's, etc.) in the metropolitan area/country, would you say that the facilities and program at (name) are superior, above average, average, or below average?	Superior. . . . . 18-1 Above average . . 2 Average . . . . . 3 Below average . . 4 Don't know . . . X	Superior. . . . . 40-1 Above average . . 2 Average . . . . . 3 Below average . . 4 Don't know . . . X
D. In general, would you say that (name) has as important effect of keeping people in the area or bringing them here, or doesn't it have much effect?	Important effect. 19-8 Not much effect . 9 Don't know . . . X	Important effect. 41-8 Not much effect . 9 Don't know. . . . X

4. What dissatisfactions have there been with community recreational facilities recently?

20- 42-  
21- 43

ASK AFTER Q. 27		
28. Do both Negroes and whites use the facilities at (name)?	Yes . . . . . 22-6 No, whites only . 7 No, Negroes only. 8 Depends on what is going on . . 9 Don't know. . . . X	Yes . . . . . 44-6 No, whites only . 7 No, Negroes only. 8 Depends on what is going on . . 9 Don't know. . . . X

\* EDITOR'S NOTE: Continuation pages for this question have been omitted here.



- 5.\* What are the names of the public, Catholic, and private schools which children in this area attend? LIST FIRST NINE SCHOOLS ACROSS, USING PP. 6-11. USE CONTINUATION SHEETS FOR OTHERS, IF NECESSARY. ASK A-I FOR EACH SCHOOL BEFORE PROCEEDING. ASK ONLY TO HEAVY LINE AT THIS TIME.

		DECK 04	9- 10-
A. NAME OF SCHOOL (INDICATE: (1) PUBLIC, PRIVATE, OR ROMAN CATHOLIC (2) ELEMENTARY OR HIGH SCHOOL.)	(1) (Name, Type School)		11- 12- 13- 14-
B. Who is the principal there?	Don't know . . . . .		15- X
C. What would you say is its enrollment?	Don't know . . . . .		16- X
D. Is (name) below capacity, just at capacity, slightly overcrowded, or very overcrowded?	Below capacity . . . . . At capacity . . . . . Slightly overcrowded . . . . . Very overcrowded . . . . . Don't know . . . . .		17-6 7 8 9 X
E. (REFER TO CARD 1.) Compared to other schools in the metropolitan area/county, would you say that the physical plant is superior, above average, average, or below average?	Superior . . . . . Above average . . . . . Average . . . . . Below average . . . . . Don't know . . . . .		18-1 2 3 4 X
F. Compared to other schools in the metropolitan area/county, would you say that the teaching and educational program here are superior, above average, average, or below average?	Superior . . . . . Above average . . . . . Average . . . . . Below average . . . . . Don't know . . . . .		19-1 2 3 4 X
G. How about extra-curricular activities such as sports, music, and social events? Would you say these are superior, above average, or below average, as compared to other schools in the metropolitan area/county?	Superior . . . . . Above average . . . . . Average . . . . . Below average . . . . . Don't know . . . . .		20-1 2 3 4 X
H. Do the students get along pretty well with each other, or are there tensions between some of the groups?  (1) <u>IF TENSIONS</u> : What causes these tensions? RECORD ANSWERS. USE BLANK PAGES 12-13 IF NECESSARY.	Get along well . . . . . Tensions . . (ASK 1) . . . . . Don't know . . . . .		21-5 6 X
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?  (1) <u>IF POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE</u> : Is this school the most important reason, one of the three or four most important reasons, or just one among many reasons why people do/don't move into the area?	Positive . (ASK 1) . . . . . No effect . . . . . Negative . (ASK 1) . . . . . Don't know . . . . .  Most important . . . . . 3-4 most important . . . . . Just one among many . . . . . Don't know . . . . .		22-1 2 3 X  23-5 6 7 X
28. Do both Negroes and whites attend this school?	Yes . . . . (ASK A) . . . . . No . . . . . Don't know . . . . .		24-8 9 X
A. <u>IF YES</u> : Do you happen to know the percentage of Negroes in the school?	% Don't know . . . . .		25- 26- X

\*EDITOR'S NOTE: Continuation pages for this question have been omitted here.

- 6.\* What are the groups (such as scouts, social clubs, Y-Teens) which children belong to around here?

NONE . . (SKIP TO Q.7, P. 16) . . 0

LIST FIRST SIX GROUPS 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.

9-  
DECK 07 \_\_\_\_\_ 10-

A. NAME (INDICATE TYPE OF GROUP).	(Name, Type Group) (1) 11 12- 13- 14-	(Name, Type Group) (2) 33- 34- 35- 36-
B. Do you know who the group leader is?	15- Don't know . . . X	37- Don't know . . . X
C. What are the ages of children in this group?	16- Don't know . . . X	38- Don't know . . . X
D. Do both boys and girls belong to this group, or only boys or only girls?	Boys and girls . 17-1 Only boys . . . 2 Only girls . . . 3 Don't know . . . X	Boys and girls . 39-1 Only boys . . . 2 Only girls . . . 3 Don't know . . . X
E. About how many children take part in their activities?	18- Don't know . . . X	40- Don't know . . . X
F. (REFER TO CARD 1.) Compared to other similar groups in the metropolitan area/county, would you say (group's) program is superior, about average, average, or below average?	Superior . . . 19-4 Above average. . 5 Average . . . 6 Below average. . 7 Don't know . . . X	Superior . . . 41-4 Above average. . 5 Average . . . 6 Below average. . 7 Don't know . . . X

28. Do both white and Negro children belong to (group)?	Yes . . . . . 20-8 No . . . . . 9 Don't know . . . X	Yes . . . . . 42-8 No . . . . . 9 Don't know . . . X
---------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------

\*EDITOR'S NOTE: Continuation pages for this question have been omitted here.

- 7.\* 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.8, P. 20) . 0

LIST FIRST SIX CHURCHES/TEMPLES ACROSS, USING PP. 16-19. USE CONTINUATION SHEETS FOR OTHERS, IF NECESSARY. ASK A-F FOR EACH CHURCH/TEMPLE BEFORE PROCEEDING TO NEXT ONE. ASK ONLY TO HEAVY LINE AT THIS TIME.

9-

DECK 09

10-

A. NAME AND DENOMINATION OF CHURCH/TEMPLE.	(1) (Name, Denomination)	11- 12- 13- 14-
B. Do you happen to know the name of the minister (priest, rabbi) there?	Don't know . . . . .	15- X
C. What would you estimate their membership to be?	Don't know . . . . .	16- X
D. (REFER TO CARD 1.) Compared to other churches in the metropolitan area/county, would you say that their physical plant is superior, above average, average, or below average?	Superior . . . . . Above average . . . . . Average . . . . . Below average . . . . . Don't know . . . . .	17-1 2 3 4 X
E. Thinking of the members of (name) Church/Temple, would you say that most of them are very involved, moderately involved, or not very involved in the programs and activities of the church/temple?	Very involved . . . . . Moderately involved . . . . . Not very involved . . . . . Don't know . . . . .	18-5 6 7 X
F. How active is this church/temple in neighborhood affairs--very active, not very active, or not at all active?	Very active . . . . . Not very active . . . . . Not at all active . . . . . Don't know . . . . .	19-2 3 4 X
28. Do both Negroes and whites belong to (name), or is this an all-white or all-Negro church?	Both . . (ASK A & B) . . Whites only (ASK C) . . Negroes only . . . . . Don't know . . . . .	20-1 2 3 X
A. <u>IF BOTH</u> : HAND RESPONDENT CARD 2. What were the reactions of the members when the first Negro family joined?	Majority in favor . . . . . Split . . . . . Majority opposed . . . . . Majority strongly opposed . . . . . Don't know . . . . .	21-4 5 6 7 X
B. <u>IF BOTH</u> : Approximately what is the percentage of Negroes in (name)?	_____% Don't know . . . . .	22- 23- X
C. <u>IF WHITES ONLY</u> : HAND RESPONDENT CARD 2. What would be the reaction of the members if a Negro family were interested in joining?	Majority in favor . . . . . Split . . . . . Majority opposed . . . . . Majority strongly opposed . . . . . Don't know . . . . .	24- 2 3 4 5

\*EDITOR'S NOTE: Continuation pages for this question have been omitted here.

- 8.\* Aside from the churches and church groups, what are the other important neighborhood organizations? PROBE: Any others? IF NOT MENTIONED: Are there any organized groups of homeowners or renters in the neighborhood or nearby? IF P.T.A. NOT MENTIONED: Are there any particularly active P.T.A.'s? IF INFORMANT KNOWS OF NO ORGANIZATIONS, CIRCLE "0" AND GO TO NEXT QUESTION.

NONE . (SKIP TO Q.9, P. 22) . 0

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

DECK 11 9-  
10-

A. NAME OF ORGANIZATION (INDICATE WHAT KIND OF ORGANIZATION).	(Name, Type) (1) 11- 12- 13- 14-	(Name, Type) (2) 33- 34- 35- 36-
B. Do you know who is president of (name)?	15- Don't know . . . X	37- Don't know . . . X
C. About how many members do they have?	16- Don't know . . . X	38- Don't know . . . X
D. Is this mostly a social group, or is it mainly an action group?	Social . . . . . 17-1 Action . . . . . 2 Both . . . . . 3 Don't know . . . X	Social . . . . . 39-1 Action . . . . . 2 Both . . . . . 3 Don't know . . . X
E. With what community issues, if any, does (name) most concern itself?	18-	40-
F. Do they publish any sort of newsletter, or anything printed?	Yes . . . . . 19-4 No . . . . . 5 Don't know . . . X	Yes . . . . . 41-4 No . . . . . 5 Don't know . . . X
G. How active is this group in neighborhood affairs--very active, moderately active, or not very active?	Very active . . 20-6 Moderately . . . active . . . . . 7 Not very active. 8	Very active . . 42-6 Moderately active . . . . . 7 Not very active. 8
27. Do both whites and Negroes belong to (name)?	Yes, both . . . 21-1 Whites only. . . 2 Negroes only . . 3 Don't know . . . X 22-25	Yes, both . . . 43-1 Whites only. . . 2 Negroes only . . 3 Don't know . . . X 44-47 Now return to Q. 29.

\*EDITOR'S NOTE: Continuation pages for this question have been omitted here.

DECK 13 \_\_\_\_\_

9. Would you say that, in general, the same people are active in many organizations in the neighborhood, or do different people belong to each organization?

Same . . . . . 11-1  
Different . . . . . 2  
Don't know . . . . . X

---

10. Would you say that, in general, people in this neighborhood are very active, moderately active, or not too active in community affairs?

Very active . . . . . 12-7  
Moderately active . . . . . 8  
Not very active . . . . . 9  
Don't know . . . . . X

---

11. REFER TO CARD 1. Compared to other neighborhoods, would you say that the public services around here--for example, street repairs and cleaning, garbage collection, and fire protection--are superior, above average, average, or below average?

Superior . . . . . 13-1  
Above average . . . . . 2  
Average . . . . . 3  
Below average . . . . . 4  
Don't know . . . . . X

---

12. REFER TO CARD 1. In general, how would you rate the physical appearance of the entire neighborhood as compared to other neighborhoods in the metropolitan area/county? 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 . . . . . 14-1  
Above average . . . . . 2  
Average . . . . . 3  
Below average . . . . . 4  
Don't know . . . . . X

13. Are people around here very worried, a little worried, or not at all worried about crime and police protection?
- Very worried . (ASK A-C) . . . . 15-1  
A little worried (ASK A-C) . . . . 2  
Not at all worried (SKIP TO Q. 14) 3  
Don't know . . . (SKIP TO Q. 14) . X

IF WORRIED:

- A. Has this situation changed in the past few years for the better, has it remained about the same, or has it changed for the worse?
- Better . . . . . 16-4  
Same . . . . . 5  
Worse . . . . . 6  
Don't know . . . . . X

- B. What kinds of crime are most common?

17-

18-

- C. Is the police protection very adequate, somewhat adequate, or not at all adequate to cope with the level of crime?
- Very adequate . . . 19-7  
Somewhat adequate . . 8  
Not at all adequate . 9

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

15. 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.

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

Year \_\_\_\_\_ 28-  
29-  
Don't know . . . . . X

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

Same builder . . . . . 30-1  
Many builders . . . . . 2  
Don't know . . . . . X

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

Yes . . . . . 31-3  
No . . . . (ASK A) . . . . 4  
Don't know . . . . . X

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

Year \_\_\_\_\_ 32-  
33-  
Don't know . . . . . X

19. Considering both price and quality, how would you rate the housing value in this neighborhood--that is, what you get for your money? Compared to other neighborhoods in the metropolitan area/county, is the housing overpriced, is it about right, or is it a particularly good value?

Overpriced . . . . . } . . . . . 34-5  
About right . . . . . } (ASK A) . . 6  
A particularly good value } . . . . . 7  
Don't know . . . . (GO TO Q. 2Q) . . . X

A. IF NOT "DON'T KNOW": Why do you say that?

35-

36-

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

Harder . . . . . 37-1  
Easier . . . . . 2  
No difference . . . . . 3  
Don't know . . . . . X

21. There are different kinds of neighborhoods. In some, people are all pretty much the same. In others, they are different. What would you say about this neighborhood--are people pretty much the same or different?

Same . . . . . 38-1  
Different . . . . . 2  
Don't know . . . . . X

22. 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 . . . . . 39-4  
Differences of a few thousand . . 5  
Very large differences . . . . . 6  
Don't know . . . . . X

23. Would you say that people in this neighborhood usually vote Democratic, usually vote Republican, or does it change from election to election?

Democratic . . . . . 40-1  
Republican . . . . . 2  
Changes . . . . . 3  
Don't know . . . . . X

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

41-  
Protestants . . . . . 42-  
43-  
Catholics . . . . . 44-  
45-  
Jews . . . . . 46-  
Other (SPECIFY) \_\_\_\_\_ 47-  
\_\_\_\_\_ 48-  
100 %

25. A. What are the ethnic, nationality, or racial groups in this neighborhood?

- B. What would you estimate the proportion of each to be?

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

- C. IF NEGROES MENTIONED, BUT 1% OR LESS: How many Negro families would you say that would be? \_\_\_\_\_



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

A great deal . . . . 72-7  
Somewhat . . . . . 8  
Not at all . . . . . 9  
Don't know . . . . . X

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

Yes . . . (ASK A) . 73-4  
No . . . . . 5  
Don't know . . . . . X

A. IF YES: Which groups?

74-  
75-  
76-1  
77-3

28. Let's go back to the community facilities we talked about before. TURN BACK TO  
PAGE 2. ASK Q. 28 FOR ALL FACILITIES LISTED ON TOP OF PAGES 2-21.

DECK 14 \_\_\_\_\_

29. A. IF ASSIGNED AS INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOOD: We have been told that both Negroes  
and whites can, and some are, currently moving into this neighborhood. As  
far as you know, is this correct?

Yes . . . . . (GO TO Q. 30) . . . . . 11-1  
No, only whites moving in . . (SKIP TO Q. 46) . . . 4  
No, only Negroes moving in . . (SKIP TO Q. 32) . . 7

B. IF ASSIGNED AS SEGREGATED WHITE NEIGHBORHOOD: We have been told that only  
whites, no Negroes, are currently moving into this neighborhood. As far as  
you know, is this correct?

Yes . . . . . (SKIP TO Q. 46) . . . . . 5  
No, both are moving in . . . . (GO TO Q. 30) . . . 2  
No, only Negroes moving in . . (SKIP TO Q. 32) . . . 8

C. IF ASSIGNED AS SEGREGATED NEGRO NEIGHBORHOOD: We have been told that only  
Negroes, no whites, are currently moving into this neighborhood. As far  
as you know, is this correct?

Yes . . . . . (SKIP TO Q. 32) . . . . . 9  
No, both moving in . . . . . (GO TO Q. 30) . . . 3  
No, only whites moving in . . (SKIP TO Q. 46) . . . 6

30. Are the Negroes pretty much concentrated in one section of this neighborhood, or are they scattered throughout it?

Concentrated . . . . . 12-1  
Scattered . . . . . 2  
Don't know . . . . . X

---

31. Of only the new residents in this neighborhood--say, those who have moved in during the past year or so--about what proportion would you say were white?

\_\_\_\_\_ % 13-  
14-

---

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

All white . (GO TO Q. 33) . . . 15-4  
All Negro . (SKIP TO Q. 52) . . . 5  
Both races . . . (ASK A) . . . . 6  
Don't know . (GO TO Q. 33) . . . . X

- A. IF BOTH RACES: Was the housing of the same quality at that time?

Yes . . . . . 16-8  
No . . . . . 9  
Don't know . . . . . X

---

33. At present, do whites and Negroes live in housing of about the same quality in this neighborhood, or are there substantial differences?

Same . . . . (GO TO Q. 34) . . . 17-1  
White housing better (SKIP TO  
Q. 47) . . . . . 2  
Negro housing better (SKIP TO  
Q. 52) . . . . . 3  
No whites living in neighborhood  
(SKIP TO Q. 52) . . . . . 4

---

34. In what year did Negroes move into housing comparable to that of whites?

\_\_\_\_\_ 18-  
19-  
(year)

35. Do you remember how the community reacted when the first Negro family moved in (to housing comparable to that of whites)?

Yes . . . (ASK A) . . . . 20-1

No . . . (SKIP TO Q. 52) . . 2

- A. IF YES: What was the community's reaction? RECORD VERBATIM.

21-

22-

- 
36. Was there any panic in the neighborhood?

Yes . . . (ASK A) . . . . 23-3

No . . . . . 4

- A. IF YES: Was it widespread or limited to a fairly small number of people?

Widespread . . (ASK 1) . . 24-7

Limited to a few . . . . . 8

- (1) IF WIDESPREAD: Could you describe the panic? What did the people do?

25-

26-

- 
37. Were there any organizations which tried in any way to keep Negroes out of the neighborhood?

Yes . . . (ASK A & B) . . 27-5

No . . . . . 6

IF YES:

- A. Which ones were they?

28-

29-

- B. What types of action did they take?

30-

31-

38. Was there any violence accompanying the Negroes' moving in?

Yes . . . (ASK A) . . . . 32-1  
No . . . . . 2

A. IF YES: What types of violence were there?

33-

34-

---

39. Did some real estate brokers engage in practices that encouraged white families to move out when the first Negro families moved in?

Yes . . (ASK A-C) . 35-3  
No . . (GO TO Q. 40) . 4

IF YES:

A. How widespread was this? Would you say most, some, or just a few white residents were approached by real estate brokers?

Most . . . . . 36-5  
Some . . . . . 6  
Only a few . . . . . 7

B. Of the real estate brokers normally serving this area, were most, some, or only a few involved in these practices?

Most . . . . . 37-1  
Some . . . . . 2  
Only a few . . . . . 3

C. Did any brokers from outside the area become active in this neighborhood at the time the first Negroes moved in?

Yes . . . . . 38-5  
No . . . . . 6

---

40. Thinking of the churches we talked about before . . .

A. Which ones opposed the first Negro families moving in?

B. Which ones were split on this issue?

C. Which churches generally favored the first Negro families moving into this neighborhood?

41. Thinking about the community organizations we talked about before . . .

A. Which ones opposed the first Negro families' moving in?

B. Which ones were split on this issue?

C. Which community organizations generally favored the first Negro families moving into this neighborhood?

---

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

Yes . . . (ASK A & B) . . 39-3

No . . . . . 4

IF YES:

A. Which ones?

B. What did each of them do?

43. Have there been any groups--not realtors--attempting to attract Negro or white buyers and renters to this neighborhood?

Yes (ASK A-E ABOUT EACH) . 40-5  
No . . . . . 6

A. What is the name of the organization?	(NAME) 41- 42- 43- 44-	(NAME) 49- 50- 51- 52-	(NAME) 57- 58- 59- 60-
B. Is (name) part of the local government here, or is it a voluntary organization?	Local government . . 45-1 Voluntary . . . . 2	Local government . . 53-1 Voluntary . . . . 2	Local government . . 61-1 Voluntary . . . . 2
C. Has (name) tried to attract mainly whites, mainly Negroes, or both groups equally?	Mainly whites . 46-3 Mainly Negroes . . 4 Both equally . . . 5	Mainly whites . 54-3 Mainly Negroes . . 4 Both equally . . . 5	Mainly whites . 62-3 Mainly Negroes . . 4 Both equally . . . 5
D. Has (name) had any success?	Yes, substantial 47-1 Yes, limited . . . 2 No . . . . . 3	Yes, substantial 55-1 Yes, limited . . . 2 No . . . . . 3	Yes, substantial 63-1 Yes, limited . . . 2 No . . . . . 3
E. Is (name) still in existence?	Yes . . . . . 48-8 No . . . . . 9 Don't know . . . . X	Yes . . . . . 56-8 No . . . . . 9 Don't know . . . . X	Yes . . . . . 64-8 No . . . . . 9 Don't know . . . . X

IF NEIGHBORHOOD IS 75 PER CENT OR MORE NEGRO (Q.25), AND NO WHITE FAMILIES ARE MOVING IN (Q.29), CONTINUE WITH Q.44. OTHERWISE, SKIP TO Q.52.

44. Did the changeover from white to Negro occur very rapidly, or was it slow but steady?

Very rapidly . . . . . 65-3

Slow but steady . (ASK A) . 4

A. IF SLOW BUT STEADY: Was there ever a time when some people thought the area would be stable and integrated?

Yes . . . . . 66-7

No . . . . . 8

45. When did the neighborhood become predominantly Negro--say about three-fourths?

67-

year 68-

(SKIP TO Q. 52)

DECK 15 \_\_\_\_\_

46. ASK ONLY IF NEIGHBORHOOD IS ALL-WHITE. As far as you know, were there ever any  
Negroes living in this neighborhood?

Yes . . (ASK A & B) . . . . 11-1

No . . . . . 2

IF YES:

- A. How recently was that?

\_\_\_\_\_ 12-  
(year) 13-

- B. Did the Negroes and whites live in housing of comparable value?

Yes . . . . . 14-3

No . . . . . 4

- 
47. What do you think would be the community's reaction if Negro families tried to  
move into this neighborhood in houses of comparable value to those of whites?

15-

16-

17-

18-

- 
48. A. Thinking of the churches we talked about before, which probably would be  
opposed to some Negro families moving in?

- B. Which probably would be split on this issue?

- C. Which churches would generally favor some Negro families moving into this  
neighborhood?

49. A. How about the community organizations we referred to earlier? Which probably would be opposed to Negro families moving in?

B. Which probably would be split on this issue?

C. Which community organizations would generally favor some Negro families moving into this neighborhood?

---

50. If Negro families were looking for housing in this area and came to one of the local realtors, would they be shown some or not?

Yes . . . (ASK A) . . . . 19-1

No . . . . . 2

A. IF YES: Would you judge that the average realtor would make the same effort to rent or sell housing to Negroes, or less effort than he would for white families?

Same effort . . . . . 20-3

Less effort . . . . . 4

---

51. If Negro families did move in, how many families do you think might move away-- none, a few, or many?

None . . . . . 21-5

A few . . . . . 6

Many . . . . . 7



ASK EVERYONE.

52. A. How many new dwelling units would you say have been built in this neighborhood since 1960?

\_\_\_\_\_ 22-  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 23-  
 Don't know . . . . . X

- B. How many dwelling units have been torn down in this neighborhood since 1960?

\_\_\_\_\_ 24-  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 25-  
 Don't know . . . . . X

53. How many families would you guess currently live in this neighborhood?

\_\_\_\_\_ 26-  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 27-  
 Don't know . . . . . X

- A. IF UNABLE TO RESPOND IN "FAMILIES": What is the approximate total population of this neighborhood?

\_\_\_\_\_ 28-  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 29-  
 Don't know . . . . . X

54. Would you say that in the last five years property values in this neighborhood have risen, stayed the same, or dropped?

Risen . . . . . 30-1  
 Stayed the same . . . . . 2  
 Dropped . . . . . 3  
 Don't know . . . . . X

IF NO SINGLE-FAMILY HOMES, SKIP TO Q. 56.

55. A. When a house is up for sale at the going price, does it generally get sold in less than a month, one to three months, four to six months, or more than six months?

Less than a month . . . . . 31-4  
 One to three months . . . . . 5  
 Four to six months . . . . . 6  
 More than six months . . . . . 7  
 Don't know . . . . . X

- B. Compared to five years ago, is it easier or harder to sell a house now, or hasn't it changed?

Easier . . . . . 32-1  
 Hasn't changed . . . . . 2  
 Harder . . . . . 3  
 Don't know . . . . . X

IF NO APARTMENTS, SKIP TO Q. 57.

56. A. Are there many vacant apartments in this neighborhood, are there only a few, or is there a waiting list?

Many vacant . . . . . 33-1  
Only a few . . . . . 2  
Waiting list . . . . . 3  
Don't know . . . . . X

- B. Compared to five years ago, are there more vacancies now, about the same number, or fewer vacancies?

More . . . . . 34-4  
About the same . . . . . 5  
Fewer . . . . . 6  
Don't know . . . . . X

57. I would like your best guess as to whether during the next five years you think this neighborhood will remain about as it is, or will it change in some ways?

Remain the same . . . . . 35-7  
Change . . . (ASK A & B) . . . 8  
Don't know . . . . . X

IF CHANGE:

- A. What do you think will happen?

36-

37-

- B. Why?

38-

39-

58. In five years, what do you think the proportion of Negroes in this neighborhood might be?

40-

% 41-

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

Faster . . . . . 42-1  
Same . . . . . 2  
Slower . . . . . 3  
Don't know . . . . . X

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

Plentiful . . . . . 43-6  
Balanced . . . . . 7  
Tight . . . . . 8  
Don't know . . . . . X

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

Yes . . (ASK A) . 44-1  
Depends (ASK A) . . 2  
No . . . . . 3  
Don't know . . . . X

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

45-

---

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

Faster . . . . . 46-5  
Same . . . . . 6  
Slower . . . . . 7  
Don't know . . . . X

---

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

Plentiful . . . . 47-1  
Balanced . . . . . 2  
Tight . . . . . 3  
Don't know . . . . X

---

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

Yes . . (ASK A) . 48-4  
Depends (ASK A) . . 5  
No . . . . . 6  
Don't know . . . . X

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

- 65.\* Think for a moment about the neighborhoods that border on the one we're discussing. First, how about the area immediately north--what are the names of these neighborhoods? ASK A-G FOR EACH NEIGHBORHOOD BEFORE PROCEEDING TO THE NEXT ONE. ASK FOR AREAS TO THE NORTH, SOUTH, EAST, AND WEST UNTIL ALL ADJOINING NEIGHBORHOODS ARE DISCUSSED.

A. DIRECTION AND/OR NAME OF ADJOINING NEIGHBORHOOD.	(Direction, Name) (1)	(Direction, Name) (2)
	50- 51- 52- 53-	63- 64- 65- 66-
B. What proportion of the people in (name or direction) are Negro?	____% Negro 54- 55- Don't know . . . X	____% Negro 67- 68- Don't know . . . X
C. In recent years, has the number of Negroes there remained about the same, has it increased slightly, or has it increased substantially?	Remained same. . . 56-1 Increased slightly . . . 2 Increased substantially. 3 Don't know . . . X	Remained same. . . 69-1 Increased slightly . . . 2 Increased substantially. 3 Don't know . . . X
D. Do people in this neighborhood share schools with people in that neighborhood?	Yes . . . . . 57-5 No . . . . . 6 Don't know . . . X	Yes . . . . . 70-5 No . . . . . 6 Don't know . . . X
E. Do people in this neighborhood share recreational facilities with that neighborhood?	Yes . . . . . 58-8 No . . . . . 9 Don't know . . . X	Yes . . . . . 71-8 No . . . . . 9 Don't know . . . X
F. Do people in this neighborhood socialize together a great deal, some, or not at all with people in that neighborhood?	Great deal . . . 59-1 Some . . . . . 2 Not at all . . . 3 Don't know . . . X	Great deal . . . 72-1 Some . . . . . 2 Not at all . . . 3 Don't know . . . X
G. Are there any tensions between the people in (neighborhood) and the people here?  (1) IF YES: To what are they due?	Yes. . (ASK 1) . 60-5 No . . . . . 6 Don't know . . . X  61- 62-	Yes. . (ASK 1) . 73-5 No . . . . . 6 Don't know . . . X  74- 75- 76-1 77-5

H. What are the nonresidential areas bordering this neighborhood?

None . . . . . 0

\*EDITOR'S NOTE: Continuation pages for this question have been omitted here.

IF NEIGHBORHOOD IS ALL-NEGRO, SKIP TO Q. 70.

66. ASK IF ALL BORDER AREAS ARE ALL-WHITE OR INTEGRATED: Could you tell me how far it is to the nearest predominantly Negro area?

\_\_\_\_\_ miles      66-  
67-  
Don't know . . . . X

---

67. ASK IF ALL BORDER AREAS ARE ALL-WHITE: How far is it to the nearest neighborhood which has both whites and Negroes living in it?

\_\_\_\_\_ miles      68-  
69-  
Don't know . . . . X

---

IF NEIGHBORHOOD CONTAINS BOTH NEGROES AND WHITES, CONTINUE WITH Q. 68; OTHERWISE, SKIP TO Q. 70.

68. Finally, a few questions on how people get along together. Are you aware of any tensions between the Negroes and whites living in this neighborhood?

Yes . . (ASK A) 70-1  
No . . . . . 2  
Don't know . . . . X

- A. IF YES: Are these serious or just minor?

Serious . . . . 71-3  
Just minor . . . . 4

---

69. Would you say that in this neighborhood whites and Negroes socialize with each other a great deal, a little, or not at all?

A great deal . 72-6  
A little . . . . 7  
Not at all . . . . 8  
Don't know . . . . X

---

ASK EVERYONE.

70. What proportion of people in this (metropolitan area/county) would you guess live in neighborhoods where both whites and Negroes are moving into housing of comparable quality?

\_\_\_\_\_ %      73-  
74-  
Don't know . . . . X

71. 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/her)? RECORD NAME AND POSITION OR ADDRESS.

1. \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
2. \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
4. \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
5. \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Thank you very much!

END OF INTERVIEW

TIME INTERVIEW

\_\_\_\_\_  
AM  
PM

ENDED

CONTINUE DECK 01

<p>A. Does informant live in the neighborhood?</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Yes . . . . 1 13/y No . . . . 2</p>	<p>D. Informant's position qualifying him for this interview. (E.g., high school principal, clergyman, owner of real estate firm, executive director of community conference, etc.)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">16/ 17/ 18/ 19//</p>
<p>B. Does informant work in the neighborhood?</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Yes . . . . 4 14/y No . . . . 5</p>	
<p>C. Quota filled by this informant:</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Church informant . . . . 1 15/y School informant . . . . 2 Community organization informant . . . . 3 Real estate informant . . 4</p>	<p>E. Race of informant:</p> <p style="text-align: right;">White . . 1 20/y Negro . . 2</p> <p>F. Date of interview:</p> <p style="text-align: right;">21/ 22/ 23/</p> <p>_____, 1967</p>

24/	25/	26/	27/	28/	29/	30/	31/	32/
33/	34/	35/	36/	37/	38/	39/	40/	41/
RECORD OF CONTACTS FOR APPOINTMENT WITH INFORMANT								76/0 77/1

	Date	Type of Call		NAME OF PERSON WITH WHOM YOU SPOKE	OUTCOME
		Phone	Personal		
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					
7.					

NORC  
511  
4/67

SPECIFICATIONS FOR SURVEY 511 -  
PHASE III  
(Excerpts)

GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT THIS SURVEY

Nature and Purpose

Phase III is the final part of our year long survey of neighborhoods. As you interview, keep in mind the general purpose of this entire "Three Phase" Survey. It is 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.

Many of you have worked on Phase I and II of this survey, and are familiar with it. For those of you who have not been involved until Phase III here is a review of how this survey has progressed.

From October to December, 1966, interviewers investigated each census tract in every NORC PSU in the United States. They discovered which tracts were integrated, which were segregated, which were all one race, which were industrial, parks, city center areas--in brief, we discovered the racial composition of each tract in every PSU. In addition interviewers divided these tracts into neighborhoods; so that we obtained an exhaustive list of which neighborhoods were integrated and which were not in every PSU in our sample.

From all of these neighborhoods our Sampling Department selected at random, 200 integrated neighborhoods and 100 "control" neighborhoods. Some of these integrated neighborhoods have populations that are pretty evenly divided--Negro and white; a few have more Negro than white residents; some are integrated with a Negro percentage that is about that of the national population of Negroes--10 per cent; and still others are in a category we call "open"--they are neighborhoods where the residents are almost all white, but a few Negro families also live there--usually their number is less than five.



The usual "white" control neighborhood is a neighborhood with an all white population; or one where housing for Negroes is segregated or of a different quality. The "Negro" control neighborhoods have either all Negro or predominantly Negro populations--except for some "changing" neighborhoods. These "changing" neighborhoods may have only a small Negro population at present, but information from Phase I and II shows that only Negro families are moving into these neighborhoods at the present time, and that they will probably become predominantly Negro before too long.

In Phase II of this survey, we interviewed neighborhood leaders in each of our sample neighborhoods--a church leader (clergyman or lay leader); a school leader (principal or PTA president); a community organization leader (in an organization such as the neighborhood community conference or other active group); and the representative of a real estate firm which rents or sells in the neighborhood. We asked these "informants" to give us a great deal of information about the neighborhood, its physical facilities, relationships between people and among groups, and evaluations of many facets of neighborhood life.

Now, in Phase III, we will go back to these same neighborhoods to interview a sample of the residents. Our Sampling Department has selected, at random, three blocks within each neighborhood. Your job is to list the dwelling units located on each of these blocks; and then to conduct an interview at the addresses on indicated line numbers of the Dwelling Unit Listing Sheet. The "Resident Questionnaire" is the form for your interviews in Phase III of Survey 511. We are asking this random sample of residents to tell us how they view the neighborhood--the things they do (and don't) like about it; how they feel people get along together in this community, how good they think the facilities, schools and churches they use are; how they view inter-group relations personally, and how they think other people in the neighborhood see them.

#### Steps in Phase III

##### I. Sampling.--Listing the blocks in the neighborhoods.

###### A. Materials

- (1) "How to LIST for an Area Sample." (F26) You have probably already read this booklet and perhaps you have it as a part of your NORC materials. Re read it very carefully! Note that we have crossed out a few sentences in the copy we've sent you because they are irrelevant for this survey.
- (2) "Dwelling Unit Listing Sheets" (DULS-F78) there is one set (stapled together) of DULS for each of the three blocks within every neighborhood--three sets of DULS for every neighborhood. You can identify the neighborhood (from its Phase II number) and you can also identify the block by the segment number at the top of the DULS. Each segment number is as follows:

The first three digits are always the PSU number.

The next two digits are the Phase II neighborhood numbers.

The last two digits are the block number.

So, block 01 in Phase II Neighborhood 08 in Los Angeles (PSU No. 690) will look like this--Segment No. 690-08-01.

The three segments Nos. for this neighborhood will read: 690-08-01  
690-08-02  
690-08-03

Only the block number changes.

At the top of each DULS you will find a sketch of the block to be listed.

- (3) Map of neighborhood: We have included a map of the whole neighborhood to make it easier for you to locate your segments and to give you knowledge of the general area with which the study is concerned. The map is identified on the back by the PSU No. and Phase II neighborhood number.

B. When to list

As soon as you get your materials (even before you study the questionnaire carefully), study the listing instructions--"How to list for an Area Sample." If there are things you do not understand, consult your supervisor. When you are sure you know what to do, complete the listing of all segments assigned to you immediately. We expect that you should be able to finish this listing during the first week after you receive your materials.

C. Designation of Race on DULS

Some DULS lines will be labeled "W"--in the "Survey No" columns, meaning to interview at this address if "white." Some DULS lines will be labeled "N" in the S.L. column, meaning to interview at this address if "Negro." Some lines will have both "W" and "N" meaning "interview either race." A "511" on the Survey No. column also means "interview, regardless of race.") As you list, it will help you know the size of your assignment if, wherever it is available by observation, you discover the race of occupants in DU's which qualify only when the residents are the "right race."

- D. "Open" neighborhoods are those in which almost all of the residents are white; but a few Negro families live there--usually their number is quite small. Each of these neighborhoods are identified by an interviewing instruction attached to the top of each DULS. If you are listing in one of these neighborhoods, keep in mind that later you will have to locate up to 5 Negro families. Note on the proper DULS line any indication of Negro occupants of a DU in that

segment. For example, if you see Negro children playing in a yard, and they tell you they live in "this" house, note on the line for this DU that a Negro family lives there. Or, if you see a Negro woman who is obviously the lady of the house through a window, make a note. DO NOT MAKE VERBAL INQUIRY WHILE LISTING.

E. Special Instruction Concerning Public Housing

Public Housing is excluded from this survey. If any of the blocks in your neighborhood contain public housing, do not list this housing. Make a notation on the sketch at the top of your DULS of the location of such housing. Skip these buildings as you list. If an entire assigned block should turn out to be public housing, do not list. Return the DULS to your supervisor with the notation that it is public housing.

F. Neighborhoods that "Switched."

In Phase II, a few neighborhoods turned out to be in a different category than we thought in Phase I. For instance, some neighborhoods which our Phase I informants said were "All White" turned out, in Phase II, to have a few Negro families--they "switched" to "open." The neighborhood numbers for Phase II were as follows:

Neighborhoods assigned as "Integrated" were numbered--  
01 to 19

Neighborhoods assigned as "White Control" were numbered--  
51 to 59

Neighborhoods assigned as "Negro Control" were numbered--  
81 to 89.

FOR PHASE III WE HAVE LEFT ALL NEIGHBORHOODS NUMBERED AS THEY WERE ASSIGNED FOR PHASE II, EVEN IF THEY HAVE "SWITCHED."

The reason for making this point so "loudly" is so that you won't be disturbed if you find residents of a "wrong" race as you list. We will, in almost every instance already know this; we will have already "switched" the neighborhood for purposes of analysis--we have kept the original neighborhood numbers in all cases because to correct them at this point would mean adding different digits to the segment numbers---we thought it much easier to make assignments by the Phase II numbers--so we've kept them until Phase III is complete.

TO ADMINISTER THE RESIDENT QUESTIONNAIRE, IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO KNOW THE "REAL" CATEGORY OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD. THE "SKIP" INSTRUCTIONS AUTOMATICALLY LEAD TO THE RIGHT QUESTIONS FOR ALL RESPONDENTS.

### III. The Interview

#### A. Whom to Interview

##### (1) Definitions

ALL PERSONS (INCLUDING INDIAN AND ORIENTAL RACIAL GROUPS) ARE A PART OF THE "WHITE" CATEGORY EXCEPT AMERICAN NEGROES, This is an arbitrary decision for purposes of this survey only.

ALL HOUSEHOLDS THAT HAVE BOTH NEGRO and WHITE MEMBERS (either because of interracial marriage or because single adults of both races live together) ARE IN THE "NEGRO" CATEGORY.

This, again, is an arbitrary decision for this survey, and means that any adult (regardless of race) in these households can be interviewed if the line on the DULS is marked "N," or "511." These "unusual" instances won't occur often--but you should be aware that they can and may come up occasionally.

The following is a summary of how you should interpret the designations on DULS lines:

If a line is lettered "N", interview at that address if the occupants are Negro (by our definitions). Otherwise fill out a Non-Interview Report (NIR) noting "wrong race." and return it to the office.

If a line is lettered "W," interview at that address if the occupants are "white" (by definition above). Otherwise, fill out an NIR, noting "wrong race" and return it to the office.

If a line is lettered "W" and "N," interview at that address regardless of race.

If a line is numbered "511" interview at the address regardless of race.

The Phase III Questionnaire concerns "the family" or "the household" who live in the Dwelling Unit on each line that is marked on your DULS. Most of the questions are about the household group--a few concern the individual you are interviewing.

In conventional family unit households interview the Head of the Household or his wife. In all other households (for example, unmarried men or women sharing a house/apartment) interview any adult 21 or over. Do not interview any persons under 21, unless they are married (in which case they qualify).

TIME INTERVIEW  
 \_\_\_\_\_ AM  
 \_\_\_\_\_ PM  
 STARTED

NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER  
 University of Chicago

Confidential  
 Survey 511  
 April, 1967

RESIDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

PSU \_\_\_\_\_ Segment No. \_\_\_\_\_  
 (1-7)

City/Town \_\_\_\_\_ Listing Sheet Line No. \_\_\_\_\_  
 (8-9)

Address: \_\_\_\_\_  
 (City) (State)

RECORD OF CALLS				
Call	Date	Time	Outcome	Your Name
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				

Hello! I'm \_\_\_\_\_ from the National Opinion Research Center. We are doing a study of neighborhoods in this (metropolitan area/county). I'd like to get some of your opinions about this neighborhood.

1. What is the name of this neighborhood?

15-

- 
2. What are the three or four most important reasons you like living in this neighborhood?

16-

17-

18-

19-

20-

21-

22-

23-

- 
3. As you see it, what are the three or four most important problems of the neighborhood?

24-

25-

26-

27-

28-

29-

30-

31-

4. HAND RESPONDENT CARD A. In general, how would you rate the physical appearance of this neighborhood? 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 . . . . .	32- 1
Above average . . . . .	2
Average . . . . .	3
Below average . . . . .	4
Don't know . . . . .	5

5. (CARD A) 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?

Superior . . . . .	33- 1
Above average . . . . .	2
Average . . . . .	3
Below average . . . . .	4
Don't know . . . . .	5

6. Are people around here very worried, a little worried, or not at all worried about crime and police protection?

Very worried . . . . (ASK A-C) . . .	34- 1
A little worried . . (ASK A-C) . .	2
Not at all worried (SKIP TO Q.7) . .	3
Don't know . . . . (SKIP TO Q.7) . .	4

IF VERY WORRIED OR A LITTLE WORRIED:

- A. Has the crime situation here changed in the past few years for the better, has it remained about the same, or has it changed for the worse?

Better . . . . .	35- 1
Same . . . . .	2
Worse . . . . .	3
Don't know . . . . .	4

- B. What kinds of crimes are most common?

36-

- C. Is the police protection very adequate, somewhat adequate, or not at all adequate to cope with the level of crime?

Very adequate . . . . .	37- 1
Somewhat adequate . . . . .	2
Not at all adequate . . . . .	3

7.  CHECK IN THIS COLUMN TO IN- DICATE RESPON- DENT.	A. Before we go further, I'd like to list the names of all persons who live in this household. Let's start with the oldest. (PROBE: Have we missed anyone--new babies, a roomer, or someone who lives here but is away right now?) RECORD BELOW AND ASK B-G.	B. ASK FOR EACH PER- SON: What is (name's) relation to the head of the house? (ENTER "HEAD" FOR HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD)	C. ASK FOR EACH PER- SON: How old (were you/was name) on (your/ his) last birthday?	D. CODE SEX FOR EACH PER- SON.	E. ASK FOR EACH PERSON OVER 16 YEARS--UNLESS OBVIOUS: (Are you/Is name) now married, widowed, divorced, separated, or single?	
	M	F	M	W	D	Sep
01				1 2	1 2 3 4 5	
02				1 2	1 2 3 4 5	
03				1 2	1 2 3 4 5	
04				1 2	1 2 3 4 5	
05				1 2	1 2 3 4 5	
06				1 2	1 2 3 4 5	
07				1 2	1 2 3 4 5	
08				1 2	1 2 3 4 5	
09				1 2	1 2 3 4 5	
10				1 2	1 2 3 4 5	



[illegible]

DECK 02

8. ASK FOR HEAD OF HOUSE ONLY.

A. What type of work (does name/do you) do?

B. In what type business or industry (do you/does name) work?

9. ASK FOR EACH EMPLOYED MEMBER OF HOUSEHOLD.

A. ENTER NAME OF EMPLOYED PERSON	NAME (1) 21-	NAME (2) 27-	NAME (3) 33-
B. How long does it take (name/you) to get to work?	22- Minutes 23-	28- Minutes 29-	34- Minutes 35-
C. What kind of transportation (does <u>name</u> /do you) normally take?	Walks . . . 24- 1 Drives . . . 2 City bus . . 3 Subway . . . 4 Train . . . 5 Other . . . 6 (SPECIFY) _____	Walks . . . 30- 1 Drives . . . 2 City bus . . 3 Subway . . . 4 Train . . . 5 Other . . . 6 (SPECIFY) _____	Walks . . . 36- 1 Drives . . . 2 City bus . . 3 Subway . . . 4 Train . . . 5 Other . . . 6 (SPECIFY) _____
D. In what year did (name/you) begin working at that location?	25- Year 26-	31- Year 32-	37- Year 38-

10. On the whole, how happy are you with living here in (name of neighborhood)? Would you say you're very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy with this neighborhood?

Very happy . . . 39-1  
 Pretty happy . . 2  
 Not too happy . . 3

11. If, for any reason, you had to move from here to some other neighborhood, would you be very unhappy, a little unhappy, or would you be happy to move--or wouldn't it make any difference?

Very unhappy . . . . . 40-1  
 A little unhappy . . . . . 2  
 Wouldn't make any difference. . 3  
 Happy to move . . . . . 4

12. A. What are the names of any parks, recreation areas, field houses, YMCA's, Or other facilities for recreation in the neighborhood or nearby that you or members of your family use? PROBE: Any others?

LIST THREE FACILITIES ACROSS.  
USE CONTINUATION SHEETS, IF  
NECESSARY.

None (SKIP TO Q. 14, P. 8) . . . 41- R

ENTER NAME	(1) NAME		(2) NAME		(3) NAME	
	42-		45-		48-	
	43-		46-		49-	
B. (HAND RESPON- DENT CARD A) Would you say that the facil- ities or program at (NAME) are superior, above average, average, or below average?	Superior . .	44- 1	Superior . .	47- 1	Superior . .	50- 1
	Above average	2	Above average	2	Above average	2
	Average . .	3	Average . .	3	Average . .	3
	Below average	4	Below average	4	Below average	4
	Don't know .	5	Don't know .	5	Don't know . .	5

13. Are you or your family dissatisfied with the recreational facilities here?

Yes . . (ASK A) . . . 51- 1

No .(GO TO Q. 14) . . . 2

IF YES:

- A. In what way?

52-

53-

ASK IF RESPONDENT HAS CHILDREN 18 YEARS OLD OR UNDER. IF NO CHILDREN, CODE "R"  
BELOW AND SKIP TO Q. 18, P. 18.

DECK 03 \_\_\_\_\_

14. What are the names of the schools which your children attend?

No schools attended . . (SKIP TO Q. 18, P. 18) . 15- R

LIST SCHOOLS ACROSS. ASK A-M FOR EACH SCHOOL BEFORE PROCEEDING TO THE NEXT ONE.

A. Is that in this neighborhood? . . . . .

B. Who is the principal there? ENTER NAME . . . . .

C. What would you say is its enrollment? . . . . .

D. Is (name of school) below capacity, just at capacity, or is it slightly over-  
crowded or very overcrowded?

E. (CARD A) Would you say that the physical plant is superior, above average,  
average, or below average?

F. (CARD A) Would you say the teaching and educational program at (name of school)  
are superior, above average, average, or below average?

G. (CARD A) How about extra-curricular activities such as sports, music, and  
social events? Would you say these are superior, above average, average, or  
below average?

H. (CARD A) Taking everything into account, then, how would you rate this school?  
Is it superior, above average, average, or below average?

DECK 04

(1) NAME AND TYPE		(2) NAME AND TYPE		(3) NAME AND TYPE	
	16-		44-		15-
	17-		45-		16-
	18-		46-		17-
	19-		47-		18-
Yes . . . . .	.20- 1	Yes . . . . .	.48- 1	Yes . . . . .	.20- 1
No . . . . .	2	No . . . . .	2	No . . . . .	2
	21-		49-		21-
Don't know . . . . .	2	Don't know . . . . .	2	Don't know . . . . .	2
	22-		50-		22-
Don't know . . . . .	R	Don't know . . . . .	R	Don't know . . . . .	R
Below capacity . . .	.23- 1	Below capacity . . .	.51- 1	Below capacity . . .	.23- 1
At capacity . . . .	2	At capacity . . . .	2	At capacity . . . .	2
Slightly overcrowded	3	Slightly overcrowded	3	Slightly overcrowded	3
Very overcrowded . .	4	Very overcrowded . .	4	Very overcrowded . .	4
Don't know . . . . .	5	Don't know . . . . .	5	Don't know . . . . .	5
Superior . . . . .	.24- 1	Superior . . . . .	.52- 1	Superior . . . . .	.24- 1
Above average . . .	2	Above average . . .	2	Above average . . .	2
Average . . . . .	3	Average . . . . .	3	Average . . . . .	3
Below average . . .	4	Below average . . .	4	Below average . . .	4
Don't know . . . . .	5	Don't know . . . . .	5	Don't know . . . . .	5
Superior . . . . .	.25- 1	Superior . . . . .	.53- 1	Superior . . . . .	.25- 1
Above average . . .	2	Above average . . .	2	Above average . . .	2
Average . . . . .	3	Average . . . . .	3	Average . . . . .	3
Below average . . .	4	Below average . . .	4	Below average . . .	4
Don't know . . . . .	5	Don't know . . . . .	5	Don't know . . . . .	5
Superior . . . . .	.26- 1	Superior . . . . .	.54- 1	Superior . . . . .	.26- 1
Above average . . .	2	Above average . . .	2	Above average . . .	2
Average . . . . .	3	Average . . . . .	3	Average . . . . .	3
Below average . . .	4	Below average . . .	4	Below average . . .	4
Don't know . . . . .	5	Don't know . . . . .	5	Don't know . . . . .	5
Superior . . . . .	.27- 1	Superior . . . . .	.55- 1	Superior . . . . .	.27- 1
Above average . . .	2	Above average . . .	2	Above average . . .	2
Average . . . . .	3	Average . . . . .	3	Average . . . . .	3
Below average . . .	4	Below average . . .	4	Below average . . .	4
Don't know . . . . .	5	Don't know . . . . .	5	Don't know . . . . .	5

14. Continued

I. Do the students get along pretty well with each other, or are there tensions between some of the children?

(1) IF TENSIONS: What causes these tensions?

J. Were you or your child(ren) dissatisfied in any way with (name of school) in the past year?

(1) IF YES: Why was that?

K. Do you or your (husband/wife) belong to the PTA at this school?

L. Do both white and Negro children attend (name of school)?

(1) IF YES: Approximately what percentage of the children at (name of school) are Negro, would you guess?

(2) IF ONLY WHITE OR DON'T KNOW: Would you be pleased, unhappy, or wouldn't it matter if there were some Negro children in (name of school)?

(a) IF DEPENDS: On what would it depend?

M. OMIT IF SCHOOL MORE THAN 90% NEGRO. Would you be concerned if the proportion of Negro children in (name of school) rose beyond a certain percentage?

(1) IF YES: What percentage would that be?

(1) NAME AND TYPE	(2) NAME AND TYPE	(3) NAME AND TYPE
Get along well . . . .28- 1 Tensions . . (ASK 1) 2 Don't know . . . . . 3 29-	Get along well . . . .56- 1 Tensions . . (ASK 1) 2 Don't know . . . . . 3 57-	Get along well . . . .28- 1 Tensions . . (ASK 1) 2 Don't know . . . . . 3 29-
Yes . . . . (ASK 1) .30- 1 No . . . . . 2 31-	Yes . . . . (ASK 1) .58- 1 No . . . . . 2 59-	Yes . . . . (ASK 1) .30- 1 No . . . . . 2 31-
Yes . . . . . .32- 1 No . . . . . 2	Yes . . . . . .60- 1 No . . . . . 2	Yes . . . . . .32- 1 No . . . . . 2
Yes . . . (ASK 1) . .33- 1 No, only white (ASK 2) 2 No, only Negroes . . 3 Don't know . (ASK 2). 4 34- _____% 35- Pleased . . . . . .36- 1 Wouldn't matter . . . 2 Unhappy . . . . . 3 Depends (ASK a). . . 4 37-	Yes . . . (ASK 1) . .61- 1 No, only white (ASK 2) 2 No, only Negroes . . 3 Don't know . (ASK 2). 4 62- _____% 63- Pleased . . . . . .64- 1 Wouldn't matter . . . 2 Unhappy . . . . . 3 Depends (ASK a). . . 4 65-	Yes . . . (ASK 1) . .33- 1 No, only white (ASK 2) 2 No, only Negroes . . 3 Don't know . (ASK 2). 4 34- _____% 35- Pleased . . . . . .36- 1 Wouldn't matter . . . 2 Unhappy . . . . . 3 Depends (ASK a). . . 4 37-
Yes . . . (ASK 1) . .38- 1 No . . . . . 2 39- _____% 40- 41- 42- 43-	Yes . . . (ASK 1) . .66- 1 No . . . . . 2 67- _____% 68- 69- 70- 71-	Yes . . . (ASK 1) . .38- 1 No . . . . . 2 39- _____% 40- 41- 42- 43-

ASK ONLY IF CHILDREN IN SCHOOL; OTHERWISE SKIP TO Q. 18, P. 18.

15. There are many things which schools can try to teach and do. As far as you're concerned, what are the three or four main things which a school should try to teach children?

44-  
45-  
46-  
47-  
48-  
49-  
50-  
51-  
52-  
53-  
54-  
55-



ASK ONLY IF CHILDREN IN SCHOOL; OTHERWISE SKIP TO Q. 18, P. 18.

16. A. If you had to choose, which kind of school do you think is best for children --one in which the children have generally the same background or one in which they are quite a bit different from each other?

Same . . . . . 56- 1  
Different . . . . . 2  
Don't know . . . . . 3

- B. ASK IF FAMILY HAS CHILDREN IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL: How about the elementary school your children attend? In general, would you say the children there have pretty much the same background or are they quite a bit different from each other?

Same . . . . . 57- 1  
Different . . . . . 2  
Don't know . . . . . 3  
No children in elementary school . . . . . 4

- C. ASK IF FAMILY HAS CHILDREN IN HIGH SCHOOL: How about the high school your children attend? In general, would you say the children there have pretty much the same background or are they quite a bit different from each other?

Same . . . . . 58- 1  
Different . . . . . 2  
Don't know . . . . . 3  
No children in high school . . . . . 4

DECK 05

ASK IF FAMILY HAS CHILDREN UNDER 18 AT HOME. IF NOT, GO TO Q. 18, P. 18 \_\_\_\_\_

17.\* What groups--such as Scouts, Campfire Girls--do your children belong to?

NONE . (Go to Q.18, P. 18) . 15- R

LIST ORGANIZATIONS OR GROUPS ACROSS. ASK A-F FOR EACH GROUP BEFORE GOING TO NEXT.

	(1) NAME OF GROUP	(2) NAME OF GROUP
	16-	35-
	17-	36-
	18-	37-
	19-	38-
A. About how many members does (group) have?	20- Don't know . . . R	39- Don't know . . . R
B. Do they have adult leaders?	Yes . . (ASK 1) 21-1 No . . (GO TO C) 2	Yes . . (ASK 1) 40-1 No . . (GO TO C) 2
(1) IF YES: (CARD A) Would you say that the adult leadership is superior, above average, average, or below average?	Superior . . . . 22-1 Above average. . 2 Average . . . . 3 Below average. . 4 Don't know . . . 5	Superior . . . . 41-1 Above average. . 2 Average . . . . 3 Below average. . 4 Don't know . . . 5
C. (CARD A) Would you say that the program is superior, above average, average, or below average?	Superior . . . . 23-1 Above average. . 2 Average . . . . 3 Below average. . 4 Don't know . . . 5	Superior . . . . 42-1 Above average. . 2 Average . . . . 3 Below average. . 4 Don't know . . . 5
D. How often do (does) your child(ren) attend this group?	Several times a week . . . . 24-1 Weekly . . . . 2 Monthly . . . . 3 Several times a year . . . . 4	Several times a week . . . . 43-1 Weekly . . . . 2 Monthly . . . . 3 Several times a year . . . . 4
E. Why did (they/he/she) join originally? PROBE: DO NOT ACCEPT "INVITED" OR "LIKED IT."	25- 26- 27-	44- 45- 46-

\*EDITOR'S NOTE: Continuation pages for this question have been omitted here.

17. Continued

	(1) NAME OF GROUP	(2) NAME OF GROUP
F. Does (name of group) have both white and Negro children at present?	Yes (ASK 1 & 2) 28- 1 No, only white. 2 No, only Negro. 3 Don't know . . 4	Yes (ASK 1 & 2) 47- 1 No, only white. 2 No, only Negro. 3 Don't know . . 4
<u>IF YES TO F:</u>		
(1) Approximately what percentage of the children in (name of group) are Negro, would you guess?	_____% 29- _____% 30- Don't know . . R	_____% 48- _____% 49- Don't know . . R
(2) Do the white and Negro children mingle much when (name of group) get together, or do they keep pretty much to themselves?	Mingle . . . . 31- 1 Keep to selves 2 Don't know . . 3	Mingle . . . . 50- 1 Keep to selves 2 Don't know . . 3
	32- 33- 34-	51- 52- 53-

- 18.\* What neighborhood organizations do you or your family belong to? (OMIT CHURCH AND SCHOOL GROUPS.) IF NOT MENTIONED: Do you belong to any organized groups of renters or homeowners?

None . . (GO TO Q.19, P. 22) . . R DECK 07 15-

LIST FIRST SIX ORGANIZATIONS ACROSS. ASK A-G FOR EACH GROUP BEFORE PROCEEDING TO NEXT ONE.

	(1) NAME OF GROUP	(2) NAME OF GROUP
	16-	36-
	17-	37-
	18-	38-
	19-	39-
A. What proportion of the meetings do you or your family attend--almost all, about half, very few, or none?	Almost all . . . 20-1 About half . . . 2 Very few . . . 3 None . . . . . 4	Almost all . . . 40-1 About half . . . 2 Very few . . . 3 None . . . . . 4
B. Is this mostly a social group, or is it mainly an action group?	Social . . . . . 21-1 Action . . . . . 2 Both . . . . . 3 Don't know . . . 4	Social . . . . . 41-1 Action . . . . . 2 Both . . . . . 3 Don't know . . . 4
C. Have you been dissatisfied in any way with this group in the last year?	Yes. . (ASK 1) . 22-1 No . (GO TO D) . 2	Yes. . (ASK 1) . 42-1 No . (GO TO D) . 2
(1) <u>IF YES</u> : Why was that?	23- 24-	43- 44-

\*EDITOR'S NOTE: Continuation pages for this question have been omitted here.

18. Continued

	(1) NAME OF GROUP	(2) NAME OF GROUP
D. Does (name of group) have both white and Negro members now?	Yes (ASK 1 & 2) 25- 1 No . (GO TO E). 2 Don't know (GO TO E) 3	Yes (ASK 1 & 2) 45- 1 No . (GO TO E). 2 Don't know (GO TO E) 3
(1) Approximately what per cent of (name of group) is Negro, would you guess?	_____ % 26- 27- Don't know . . . R	_____ % 46- 47- Don't know . . . R
(2) Was there much discussion before the first Negro family joined, or did it all happen quietly?	Much discussion 28- 1 Happened quietly 2 Don't know . . 3	Much discussion 48- 1 Happened quietly 2 Don't know . . 3
E. Did this group have both white and Negro members when you joined it?	Yes . (ASK 1) . 29- 1 No . . . . . 2 Don't know . . 3	Yes . (ASK 1) . 49- 1 No . . . . . 2 Don't know . . 3
(1) IF YES TO E: Did this influence your decision to join?	Yes . (ASK a) . 30- 1 No . . (GO TO F) 2	Yes . (ASK a) . 50- 1 No . . (GO TO F) 2
(a) IF YES TO E (1): Were you pleased or unhappy that (name of group) had both white and Negro members?	Pleased . . . . 31- 1 Didn't care . . 2 Unhappy . . . . 3	Pleased . . . . 51- 1 Didn't care . . 2 Unhappy . . . . 3
F. Do the members of (name of group) generally favor or oppose whites and Negroes living in the same neighborhood, or don't they care?	Favor . . . . . 32- 1 Don't care . . 2 Oppose . . . . 3 Don't know . . 4	Favor . . . . . 52- 1 Don't care . . 2 Oppose . . . . 3 Don't know . . 4
G. Does (name of group) ever have social affairs?	Yes . (ASK 1) . 33- 1 No (GO TO Q. 19) 2 Don't know (GO TO Q. 19) 3	Yes . (ASK 1) . 53- 1 No (GO TO Q. 19) 2 Don't know (GO TO Q. 19) 3
(1) IF YES TO G, AND IF GROUP HAS BOTH WHITE AND NEGRO MEMBERS NOW: Do white and Negro members mingle much at social affairs, or do both groups keep pretty much to themselves?	Mingle . . . . 34- 1 Keep to selves 2 Don't know . . 3	Mingle . . . . 54- 1 Keep to selves 2 Don't know . . 3

DECK 09 \_\_\_\_\_

19. Could you tell me the name of the church or temple which members of your family attend?

None . . (GO TO Q.20, P. 26) . R

LIST CHURCHES MENTIONED ACROSS, THEN ASK A-K ABOUT EACH.

15-

A. Is (name) within walking distance?

(1) IF NO: How long does it take to get there?

B. What is the name of the (minister/priest/rabbi)?

C. What would you estimate the membership to be?

D. Would you say that the physical plant is superior, above average, average, or below average? (CARD A)

E. Would you say that the participation of members at (name) is superior, above average, average, or below average? (CARD A)

F. How often have you (or your husband/wife) attended services there during the past year?

G. Do any members of your family belong to any church groups (ladies' auxiliary, men's group)?

DECK 10

15-

(1) NAME OF CHURCH	(2) NAME OF CHURCH	(3) NAME OF CHURCH
16- 17- 18- 19-	43- 44- 45- 46-	16- 17- 18- 19-
Yes . . . . . 20- 1 No . . (ASK 1) . . 2  21- (minutes) 22-	Yes . . . . . 47- 1 No . . (ASK 1) . . 2  48- (minutes) 49-	Yes . . . . . 20- 1 No . . (ASK 1) . . 2  21- (minutes) 22-
23- Don't know . . . . 2	50- Don't know . . . . 2	23- Don't know . . . . 2
24- Don't know . . . . R	51- Don't know . . . . R	24- Don't know . . . . R
Superior . . . . . 25- 1 Above average . . . . 2 Average . . . . . 3 Below average . . . . 4 Don't know . . . . . 5	Superior . . . . . 52- 1 Above average . . . . 2 Average . . . . . 3 Below average . . . . 4 Don't know . . . . . 5	Superior . . . . . 25- 1 Above average . . . . 2 Average . . . . . 3 Below average . . . . 4 Don't know . . . . . 5
Superior . . . . . 26- 1 Above average . . . . 2 Average . . . . . 3 Below average . . . . 4 Don't know . . . . . 5	Superior . . . . . 53- 1 Above average . . . . 2 Average . . . . . 3 Below average . . . . 4 Don't know . . . . . 5	Superior . . . . . 26- 1 Above average . . . . 2 Average . . . . . 3 Below average . . . . 4 Don't know . . . . . 5
Weekly . . . . . 27- 1 Once or twice a month 2 Several times a year 3 Once . . . . . 4 Never . . . . . 5	Weekly . . . . . 54- 1 Once or twice a month 2 Several times a year 3 Once . . . . . 4 Never . . . . . 5	Weekly . . . . . 27- 1 Once or twice a month 2 Several times a year 3 Once . . . . . 4 Never . . . . . 5
Yes . . . . . 28- 1 No . . . . . 2	Yes . . . . . 55- 1 No . . . . . 2	Yes . . . . . 28- 1 No . . . . . 2

19. Continued

H. Does (name of church) have both white and Negro members now?

- IF YES TO H:
- (1) Approximately what percentage of the members of (name of church) are Negro, would you guess?
  - (2) Are you pleased or unhappy that (name of church) has both white and Negro members?
  - (3) Do white and Negro members mingle much at social affairs, or do both groups keep pretty much to themselves?
  - (4) Was there much discussion before the first Negro family joined, or did it all happen quietly?

I. Do you (or your husband/wife) consider (yourself/yourselves) to be members of this church/temple?

IF YES TO I: (1) Did (name of church) have both white and Negro members when you joined it?

(a) IF YES TO (1): Did this influence your decision to join?

J. Do the members of (name of church) generally favor or oppose whites and Negroes living the same neighborhood, or don't they care?

K. Has the clergyman of (name of church) taken a public stand in favor of more rights for Negroes?



(1) NAME OF CHURCH	(2) NAME OF CHURCH	(3) NAME OF CHURCH
Yes . . (ASK 1-4) 29- 1 No (GO TO I) . . . . 2 Don't know (GO TO I) 3  % . . . . 30- Don't know . . . . 31- R	Yes . . (ASK 1-4) 56- 1 No (GO TO I) . . . . 2 Don't know (GO TO I) 3  % . . . . 57- Don't know . . . . 58- R	Yes . . (ASK 1-4) 29- 1 No (GO TO I) . . . . 2 Don't know (GO TO I) 3  % . . . . 30- Don't know . . . . 31- R
Pleased . . . . . 32- 1 Don't care . . . . . 2 Unhappy . . . . . 3  Mingle . . . . . 33- 1 Keep to selves . . . 2 Don't know . . . . . 3  Much discussion . . 34- 1 Happened quietly . . 2 Don't know . . . . . 3	Pleased . . . . . 59- 1 Don't care . . . . . 2 Unhappy . . . . . 3  Mingle . . . . . 60- 1 Keep to selves . . . 2 Don't know . . . . . 3  Much discussion . . 61- 1 Happened quietly . . 2 Don't know . . . . . 3	Pleased . . . . . 32- 1 Don't care . . . . . 2 Unhappy . . . . . 3  Mingle . . . . . 33- 1 Keep to selves . . . 2 Don't know . . . . . 3  Much discussion . . 34- 1 Happened quietly . . 2 Don't know . . . . . 3
Yes . . (ASK 1) . . 35- 1 No . (GO TO J) . . . 2  Yes . . (ASK a) . . 36- 1 No . (GO TO J) . . . 2 Don't know (GO TO J) 3  Yes . . . . . 37- 1 No . . . . . 2	Yes . . (ASK 1) . . 62- 1 No . (GO TO J) . . . 2  Yes . . (ASK a) . . 63- 1 No . (GO TO J) . . . 2 Don't know (GO TO J) 3  Yes . . . . . 64- 1 No . . . . . 2	Yes . . (ASK 1) . . 35- 1 No . (GO TO J) . . . 2  Yes . . (ASK a) . . 36- 1 No . (GO TO J) . . . 2 Don't know (GO TO J) 3  Yes . . . . . 37- 1 No . . . . . 2
Favor . . . . . 38- 1 Don't care . . . . . 2 Oppose . . . . . 3 Don't know . . . . . 4	Favor . . . . . 65- 1 Don't care . . . . . 2 Oppose . . . . . 3 Don't know . . . . . 4	Favor . . . . . 38- 1 Don't care . . . . . 2 Oppose . . . . . 3 Don't know . . . . . 4
Yes . . . . . 39- 1 No . . . . . 2 Don't know . . . . . 3	Yes . . . . . 66- 1 No . . . . . 2 Don't know . . . . . 3	Yes . . . . . 39- 1 No . . . . . 2 Don't know . . . . . 3

40-

41-

42-

67-

68-

69-

40-

41-

42-

20. There are a number of things which a church temple can try to accomplish. In your opinion, what are some of the main things which a church should try to do?

43-  
44-  
45-  
46-  
47-  
48-  
49-  
50-  
51-  
52-

- 
21. What would you estimate the proportion to be of Protestants, Catholics, and Jews in this neighborhood? CHECK TO SEE THAT THESE CATEGORIES ADD UP TO 100 PER CENT.

Protestants . . . \_\_\_\_\_% 53-  
54-  
55-  
Catholics . . . \_\_\_\_\_% 56-  
57-  
Jews . . . . . \_\_\_\_\_% 58-  
59-  
Other (SPECIFY) \_\_\_\_\_% 60-  
100%

- 
22. In general, how often do neighbors get together socially? Would you say often, sometimes, or hardly ever?

Often . . . . . 61- 1  
Sometimes . . . . . 2  
Hardly ever . . . . . 3  
Don't know . . . . . 4

DECK 11 \_\_\_\_\_

23. 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?

15-  
16-  
\$ \_\_\_\_\_ 17-

Don't know . . . . R

24. HAND RESPONDENT CARD B. What is the total yearly income for your family before taxes?

Under \$2,000 . . . . . 13-19- 01  
\$ 2,000 to \$ 2,999 . . . . . 02  
\$ 3,000 to \$ 3,999 . . . . . 03  
\$ 4,000 to \$ 4,999 . . . . . 04  
\$ 5,000 to \$ 5,999 . . . . . 05  
\$ 6,000 to \$ 6,999 . . . . . 06  
\$ 7,000 to \$ 7,999 . . . . . 07  
\$ 8,000 to \$ 9,999 . . . . . 08  
\$10,000 to \$14,999 . . . . . 09  
\$15,000 or over . . . . . 10  
Don't know, refused.  
ESTIMATE: \_\_\_\_\_ RR

25. 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 . . . . . 20- 1  
Differences of a few thousand 2  
Very large differences . . . 3  
Don't know . . . . . 4

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

Hasn't finished high school 21- 1  
High school graduate . . . . 2  
Some college . . . . . 3  
College degree or better . . 4  
Don't know . . . . . 5

27. Would you say that most people in the neighborhood have about the same education, that there are small differences, or that there are very large differences in education?

Same education . . . . . 22- 1  
Small differences . . . . . 2  
Very large differences . . . 3  
Don't know . . . . . 4

28. To summarize, then, would you say that most of the people in this neighborhood are pretty much the same or are they pretty different from one another?

Pretty much the same [ASK (1)] 23- 1  
 Pretty different . . . [ASK (2)] 2  
 Don't know . (GO TO Q. 29) . . . 3

(1) IF THE SAME: Do you like the fact that people are pretty much the same, or would you prefer it if people were different?

Like it that people are alike 24- 1  
 Prefer it if they were different 2  
 Don't know . . . . . 3

(2) IF DIFFERENT: Do you like the fact that people are different, or would you prefer it if people were pretty much the same?

Like the fact that people are different . 25- 1  
 Prefer that people were more alike . . . 2  
 Don't know . . . . . 3

29. A. Would you say that most people in the neighborhood are very much interested, somewhat interested, or not at all interested in neighborhood problems?

Very much interested . . . . 26- 1  
 Somewhat interested . . . . 2  
 Not interested at all . . . 3  
 Don't know . . . . . 4

B. How about your family? Are they very much interested, somewhat interested, or not at all interested in neighborhood problems?

Very much interested . . . . 27- 1  
 Somewhat interested . . . . 2  
 Not interested at all . . . 3  
 Don't know . . . . . 4

30. What is your political party preference?

Democratic . . . . 28- 1  
 Republican . . . . 2  
 Independent . . . 3  
 Other (SPECIFY) . 4  
 None . . . . . 5

31. Would you say that most people in this neighborhood vote Democratic or Republican--or does it change from election to election?

Democratic . . . . 29- 1  
 Republican . . . . 2  
 Changes . . . . 3  
 Don't know . . . . 4

<p>32. HAND RESPONDENT CARD C. Which of these things has anyone in your family done in the past few months with members of families who live in this neighborhood?</p> <p>CODE "YES" OR "NO" FOR EACH ITEM ASKED.</p>		
	Yes	No
<p>(1) Stopped and talked when we met 30-</p>	1	2
<p>(2) Attended the meeting of a neighborhood organization or group together 31-</p>	1	2
<p>(3) Had an informal chat together in their home or our home 32-</p>	1	2
<p>(4) Had dinner or a party together at their home or our home 33-</p>	1	2
<p>(5) Went out together for dinner or a movie 34-</p>	1	2
<p>(6) We got together on other occasions (EXPLAIN) 35- 36- 37-</p>	1	2
<p>ASK ONLY IF CHILDREN UNDER 18:</p>		
<p>(7) Their children played outdoors with our children 38-</p>	1	2
<p>(8) Their children played indoors with our children 39-</p>	1	2
<p>(9) Their children got together with our children in some neighborhood groups 40-</p>	1	2

33. A. Do most of your friends live in the neighborhood, or do most of them live farther away?

Most in neighborhood . . 41- 1  
Some do, some don't . . 2  
Most live farther away . 3

- B. Do most of your friends know each other?

Yes . . . . . 42- 1  
Some do, some don't . . 2  
No . . . . . 3

34. A. How often do you see your parents? Your husband's/wife's parents? Your brothers and sisters? Your husband's/wife's brothers or sisters?

	Parents	Parents-in-Law	Brothers and Sisters	Husband's/wife's Brothers and Sisters
Once a week or more . .	43- 1	44- 1	45- 1	46- 1
Once or twice a month .	2	2	2	2
Few times a year . . .	3	3	3	3
Once a year . . . . .	4	4	4	4
Less than once a year .	5	5	5	5
Deceased or not applicable	6	6	6	6

- B. Do your parents live in this neighborhood, in another neighborhood in this metropolitan area/county, or do they live somewhere else? How about your or your husband's/wife's parents? How about your brothers and sisters? Your husband's/wife's brothers and sisters?

	Parents	Parents-in-Law	Brothers and Sisters	Husband's/wife's Brothers and Sisters
In this neighborhood . .	47- 1	48- 1	49- 1	50- 1
Another neighborhood . .	2	2	2	2
Somewhere else . . . . .	3	3	3	3
Deceased or not applicable	4	4	4	4

- C. Do you have any (other) relatives living in this neighborhood?

Yes . . . . . 51- 1  
No . . . . . - 2

Q. 34 Continued.

IF RESPONDENT IS NEGRO, CODE "01" AND GO TO Q. 35 . . . . . 01  
OTHERWISE ASK D.

D. What is your main national background--on your father's side? On your  
mother's side? (CODE RESPONSE IN COLUMN D)

IF CURRENTLY MARRIED, ASK E:

E. What is your (husband's, wife's) main national background? First on  
(his) (her) father's side? On (his) (her) mother's side? (CODE RESPONSE  
IN COLUMN E)

	D. Respondent's		E. Spouse's	
	Father	Mother	Father	Mother
English, Scotch, Welsh, English Canadian, Australian, New Zealand	52-53 02	54-55 02	56-57 02	58-59 02
Irish	03	03	03	03
German, Austrian, Swiss	04	04	04	04
Scandinavian	05	05	05	05
Italian	06	06	06	06
French, French Canadian, Belgian	07	07	07	07
Polish	08	08	08	08
Russian or other Eastern European	09	09	09	09
Oriental	10	10	10	10
Spanish, Portuguese, Latin American, including Puerto Rican	11	11	11	11
Other (SPECIFY) _____	12	12	12	12
Don't know	13	13	13	13
Not currently married	14	14	14	14

60-

61-

62-

35. IF EVER MARRIED: A. In what year were you married? \_\_\_\_\_

B. Since then, where have you lived? Let's start with the first place you and your husband/wife lived after you were married. ASK 1 AND 2 BELOW ABOUT EACH RESIDENCE. CONTINUE UNTIL CURRENT RESIDENCE IS INCLUDED.

IF SINGLE, NEVER MARRIED: C. Since you first began living on your own as an adult, where have you lived? Let's start with the first place you lived after you were on your own. ASK 1 AND 2 BELOW ABOUT EACH RESIDENCE. CONTINUE UNTIL CURRENT RESIDENCE IS INCLUDED.

1. Where was the first/next place you lived? IF IN SAME NEIGHBORHOOD, RECORD "SAME NEIGHBORHOOD." IF IN SAME CITY, RECORD NEIGHBORHOOD NAME OR LOCATION. IF IN ANOTHER CITY, RECORD CITY AND STATE.	2. In what year did you move to that place?	FOR OFFICE USE ONLY
a.		63-
		64-
b.		65-
		66-
c.		67-
		68-
d.		69
		70-
e.		71-
		72-
f.		73-
		74-
g. CURRENT RESIDENCE		

D. ASK EVERYONE: Do you happen to recall the name of the occupant of this house/apartment who lived here just before you did?

Yes . (ASK 1) . . . 75- 1  
No . (ASK 2) . . . 2  
No previous occupant 3

1. IF YES: Could you give me their name and current address?

\_\_\_\_\_  
(name) (address)

2. IF NO, OR IF DON'T KNOW TO ADDRESS: Is there anyone around here who might know the name/address of the previous occupant of this house/apartment?

\_\_\_\_\_  
(name) (address)



DECK 12

---

36. How did you first find out about this place?

Real estate or rental agent . . . . .	15- 1
Friends or relatives . . . . .	2
People at work . . . . .	3
Newspaper story or ad . . . . .	4
Drove through the neighborhood . . . . .	5
Raised in or near it . . . . .	6
Other (SPECIFY) . . . . .	7

---

37. What were the most important advantages of this house/apartment/lot that made you decide to move here?

16-  
17-  
18-  
19-  
20-  
21-  
22-  
23-  
24-  
25-

---

38. Did you seriously consider other neighborhoods in which to live?

Yes . . . (ASK A & B) . . . . .	26- 1
No . . . . .	2

IF YES:

A. About how many?

One . . . . .	27- 1
Two . . . . .	2
Three . . . . .	3
Four . . . . .	4

B. Were all the other neighborhoods in this part of the metropolitan area/county, or were some in other parts of the metropolitan area/county?

All in this part . . . . .	28- 1
Some in other parts . . . . .	2

39. Which was more important to you and your family when you decided to move here--  
this particular house/apartment or this particular neighborhood?

House . . . . .	29- 1
Both equally important	2
Neighborhood . . . . .	3

40. A. How many rooms are there in this house/apartment? \_\_\_\_\_ rooms 30-

B. How many bedrooms is that? \_\_\_\_\_ bedrooms 31-

C. How many baths are there? \_\_\_\_\_ baths 32-

D. Do you have a garage, car-port or off-street parking?  
Yes . . . . . 33- 1  
No . . . . . 2

E. How old is this house/apartment? \_\_\_\_\_ years 34-  
35-

41. Do you own or rent this house/apartment?  
Own . . . (ASK A-D) . 36- 1  
Rent. . . (SKIP TO E) 2

IF OWN:

A. Did you finance your home with a mortgage  
or some other way?  
Mortgage .(ASK 1 & 2) 37- 1  
Other way . (GO TO 2) 2  
SPECIFY \_\_\_\_\_

(1) IF MORTGAGE: What kind did you obtain--an FHA, a VA, or a conventional  
mortgage?  
FHA . . . . . 38- 1  
VA . . . . . 2  
Conventional . . . . . 3  
Don't know . . . . . 4

(2) From what kind of organization did you obtain financing--savings and  
loan association, bank, insurance company, or what?  
Savings & loan association 39- 1  
Bank . . . . . 2  
Insurance company . . . . . 3  
Other (SPECIFY). . . . . 4  
Don't know . . . . . 5

41. Continued.

B. Did you have any trouble obtaining financing for your home?

Yes . . . (ASK 1) . .	40- 1
No . . (GO TO C) . .	2

(1) IF YES: What was the trouble?

41-

42-

C. If you had to sell this house, what do you estimate it would be worth today?

43-

\$ \_\_\_\_\_ 44-

45-

D. Is that about what you paid for it, including major improvements or additions, or is that more or less?

More than paid for it	46- 1
About the same . . .	2
Less than paid for it	3

IF RENT:

E. What is the rental here?

Less than \$50 . . . .	47- 1
\$50 to \$74 . . . . .	2
\$75 to \$99 . . . . .	3
\$100 to \$124 . . . . .	4
\$125 to \$149 . . . . .	5
\$150 to \$174 . . . . .	6
\$175 to \$199 . . . . .	7
\$200 to \$250 . . . . .	8
\$250 or more . . . . .	9

IF APARTMENT:

F. How satisfied are you with the janitor service? Would you say it is very good, good, fair, or poor?

Very good . . . . .	48- 1
Good . . . . .	2
Fair . . . . .	3
Poor . . . . .	4
No janitor services	5

42. Considering both price and quality, how would you rate the housing value in this neighborhood--that is, what you get for your money? Is it over-priced, about right, or is it a particularly good value?

Over-priced . . .49- 1  
About right . . . 2  
Good value . . . 3  
Don't know . . . 4

43. Assuming you could afford to live wherever you wished, are there neighborhoods other than this one you would like to live in?

Yes . (ASK A) . .50- 1  
No (GO TO Q. 44) 2

- A. IF YES: What is there about those other neighborhoods that you like? RECORD VERBATIM AND CIRCLE AS MANY AS APPLY IN COLUMN A BELOW:

	A.	B.
Convenient to work . . . . .	51- 1	60- 1
Have friends or relatives there. .	52- 1	2
Appearance of the area . . . . .	53- 1	3
Good schools . . . . .	54- 1	4
Good recreation facilities . . . .	55- 1	5
Has the type of houses we want . .	56- 1	6
Shopping is convenient . . . . .	57- 1	7
The kinds of people living there .	58- 1	8
Prestige or standing of neighborhood	59- 1	9

- B. IF MORE THAN ONE REASON: Which one of these reasons would you say is most important? CIRCLE ONE CODE IN COLUMN B ABOVE.

DECK 13 \_\_\_\_\_

44. Do you have any plans to move in the next few years?

Yes . . (ASK A - C) . 15-1

No . . . . . 2

IF YES:

A. Why do you plan to move?

16-  
17-  
18-  
19-

B. When do you plan to move?

20-  
21-

C. Where do you plan to move?

22-  
23-

---

45. Do you think that, during the next five years, this neighborhood will remain as it is, or that it will change in some ways?

Remain the same . . . 24-1

Change. . (ASK A) . . 2

Don't know . . . . . 3

IF CHANGE:

A. What do you think will happen?

25-  
26-  
27-  
28-  
29-  
30-  
31-  
32-

46. Now I'd like to ask you some questions about yourself.

In addition to the neighborhood organizations we have already talked about, how many organizations such as professional groups, labor unions, social, civic or fraternal clubs do you belong to?

33-  
34-

\_\_\_\_\_  
(write number)

47. During the past few weeks, did you meet any people--(other than those you meet in the course of your work)--that you never met before?

Yes . . . . . 35- 1

No . . . . . 2

48. How do you feel about meeting people you've never met before: Would you say that you enjoy meeting them very much, that you enjoy meeting them somewhat, or that you don't care much one way or the other?

Enjoy very much . 36- 1

Enjoy somewhat . 2

Don't care . . . 3

49. A. About how many hours a day do you watch television?

\_\_\_\_\_  
hours 37-  
38-

B. About how many magazines come into your house regularly?

\_\_\_\_\_  
39-  
40-

50. During the past few weeks what was the furthest distance you went from your home--(other than going to work)? (Approximate number of miles one way.)

Did not leave house . . . . . 41- 1  
Less than 1 mile . . . . . 2  
1 to less than 5 miles . . . . . 3  
5 to less than 25 miles . . . . . 4  
25 to less than 100 miles . . . . . 5  
100 to less than 200 miles . . . . . 6  
200 or more miles . . . . . 7

51. HAND RESPONDENT CARD D.

- A. (1) Here is a scale running from zero to nine. If "9" refers to someone who is very sociable, and "0" refers to someone who is not at all sociable, where on the scale would you put yourself? 42-  
(scale number)
- (2) In getting the things you want out of life, how well do you think you are doing right now? If "9" refers to someone who is doing very well and "0" refers to someone who is not doing at all well, where would you place yourself? 43-  
(scale number)
- (3) How would you rate yourself in positive enjoyment of life? If "9" stands for someone who really deeply enjoys nearly everything in life and "0" stands for someone who has practically no enjoyment in life, where would you place yourself? 44-  
(scale number)
- (4) What about worry? If "9" stands for someone who worries all of the time and "0" refers to someone who never worries, where would you place yourself? 45-  
(scale number)
- (5) Taking all things together, how happy would you say you are? If "9" stands for someone who is very, very happy and "0" refers to someone who is very, very unhappy, where would you place yourself? 46-  
(scale number)
- (6) What about your political position? If "9" refers to someone very liberal and "0" stands for someone very conservative, where would you place yourself? 47-  
(scale number)
- B. Now, using the same scales, let's talk about other people in this neighborhood.
- (1) If "9" stands for someone who is very sociable and "0" refers to someone who is not at all sociable, where would you guess the average person in this neighborhood belongs? 48-  
(scale number)
- (2) In getting the things they want out of life, how well do you think the average person in this neighborhood is doing right now? If "9" refers to someone who is doing very well and "0" refers to someone who is not doing at all well, where would you guess the average person in this neighborhood belongs? 49-  
(scale number)

51. Continued.

- (3) How would you rate the average person in this neighborhood in positive enjoyment of life? If "9" stands for someone who really deeply enjoys nearly everything in life and "0" stands for someone who has practically no enjoyment in life, where would you guess the average person in this neighborhood belongs?

\_\_\_\_\_  
(scale number) 50-

- (4) What about worry? If "9" stands for someone who worries all of the time and "0" refers to someone who never worries, where would you guess the average person in this neighborhood belongs?

\_\_\_\_\_  
(scale number) 51-

- (5) Taking all things together, how happy would you say the average person in this neighborhood is? If "9" stands for someone who is very, very happy and "0" refers to someone who is very, very unhappy, where would you guess the average person in this neighborhood belongs?

\_\_\_\_\_  
(scale number) 52-

- (6) What about the political position of the average person in this neighborhood? If "9" stands for someone very liberal and "0" stands for someone very conservative, where would you guess the average person in this neighborhood belongs?

\_\_\_\_\_  
(scale number) 53-



DECK 14 \_\_\_\_\_

52. As far as you know, do both white and Negro families live in this neighborhood?

Yes . . . . . 15- 1

IF YES, AND R IS WHITE, CONTINUE WITH Q. 53.

IF YES, AND R IS NEGRO, ASK A:

A. Would you say that almost all of the families living in this neighborhood are Negro?

Yes (SKIP TO Q. 81). 16- 1

No . (SKIP TO Q. 57). 2

No . . . . . 2

IF NO, AND R IS WHITE, SKIP TO Q. 68.

IF NO, AND R IS NEGRO, SKIP TO Q. 81.

- 
53. Are there any Negro families living right around here?

Yes . . . (ASK A-C) . . . 17- 1

No . . (GO TO Q. 54) . . 2

Don't know (GO TO Q. 54). 3

IF YES:

A. About how many Negro families live right around here? \_\_\_\_\_ 18- 19-

B. Do you know any of their names?

Yes . . . . . 20- 1

No . . . . . 2

C. Is there a Negro family living next door?

Yes. (GO TO Q. 54). 21- 1

No . . . [ASK (1)] . 2

- (1) IF NO TO C: Would you be pleased or unhappy if a Negro family moved in next door--or wouldn't it make any difference?

Pleased . . . . . 22- 1

Make no difference 2

Unhappy . . . . . 3

54. Which of the following things has someone in your family done in the past few months with a Negro family living in the neighborhood? HAND  
HAND RESPONDENT CARD C. CODE "YES" OR "NO" FOR EACH ITEM ASKED.

		Yes	No
(1) Stopped and talked when we met	23-	1	2
(2) Attended the meeting of a neighborhood organization or group together	24-	1	2
(3) Had an informal chat together in their home or our home	25-	1	2
(4) Had dinner or a party together at their home or our home	26-	1	2
(5) Went out together for dinner or a movie . . . . .	27-	1	2
(6) We got together on other occasions. (EXPLAIN)	28- 29- 30-	1	2
ASK ONLY IF CHILDREN UNDER 18. OTHERWISE GO TO Q. 55.			
(7) Their children played outdoors with our children	31-	1	2
(8) Their children played indoors with our children	32-	1	2
(9) Their children got together with our children in some neighborhood groups	33-	1	2

55. Were you living here when the first Negro family moved in?

Yes . (ASK A AND B) . . . 34- 1  
No . . (SKIP TO Q. 62) . . 2  
Don't know (SKIP TO Q. 62) 3

A. How did you feel about that?

35-  
36-

B. Did you think of moving then?

Yes . . . (ASK 1) . . . 37- 1  
No . . . . . 2

(1) IF YES TO B: Why did you decide to stay here?

38-  
39-

56. In general, then, were you pleased or unhappy when the first Negro families moved in, or didn't it make any difference?

Pleased . . . . .40- 1  
No difference . . . . . 2  
Unhappy . . . . . 3

---

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

Yes . . . (ASK A) . .41- 1  
No . (SKIP TO Q. 62) 2

A. IF YES: What happened?

42-  
43-  
44-  
45-  
46-  
47-

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

Yes . . . . .48- 1  
No . . . . . 2

---

58. Did some real estate brokers engage in practices that encouraged white families to move out when Negro families moved in?

Yes . . . . .49- 1  
No . . . . . 2  
Don't know . . . . . 3

---

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

Yes . (ASK A AND B). .50- 1  
No . . . (GO TO Q. 60). 2  
Don't know (GO TO Q. 60) 3

IF YES:

A. Which ones?

51-  
52-

B. What did they do?

53-  
54-

60. Did any community leaders take any action at that time?

Yes . . (ASK A AND B) 55- 1

No . . . . . 2

IF YES:

A. Which ones?

56-

57-

B. What did they do?

58-

59-

---

61. Have there been any changes, other than racial, in the neighborhood since the first Negro families moved in?

Yes . . (ASK A) . . . 60- 1

No . . . . . 2

Don't know . . . . . 3

A. What are those changes?

61-

62-

63-

64-

DECK 15

62. A. Are people around here very concerned about the neighborhood changing, a little concerned, or not concerned at all?

Very concerned . . . . .	15- 1
A little concerned . . . .	2
Not at all concerned . . .	3
Don't know . . . . .	4

- B. About what proportion of all the families in the neighborhood are Negro, would you say?

16-  
17-  
18-

%

63. If you ever moved from here, would you move into another neighborhood like this one in which both white and Negro families live?

Yes . . . . .	19- 1
No . . . . .	2
Depends . . (ASK A) .	3

- A. IF DEPENDS: On what would it depend?

20-  
21-

64. What do your friends outside the neighborhood think about living in a neighborhood where both whites and Negroes live? Are most of them strongly in favor of living in such a neighborhood, moderately in favor, moderately opposed, strongly opposed, or don't they care?

Strongly in favor . .	22- 1
Moderately in favor .	2
Don't care . . . . .	3
Moderately opposed .	4
Strongly opposed . .	5
Don't know . . . . .	6

65. Thinking of all your relatives and your (husband's/wife's) relatives? In general, are most of them strongly in favor of living in such a neighborhood, moderately in favor, moderately opposed, or don't they care?

Strongly in favor . .	23- 1
Moderately in favor .	2
Don't care . . . . .	3
Moderately opposed .	4
Strongly opposed . .	5
Don't know . . . . .	6

66. ASK IF RESPONDENT OR HUSBAND IS EMPLOYED: How about the people at your/your husband's work? How do they feel about living in a neighborhood where both whites and Negroes live? Are most of them strongly in favor of living in such a neighborhood, moderately in favor, moderately opposed, strongly opposed, or don't they care?

Strongly in favor . . .	24-	1
Moderately in favor . .		2
Don't care . . . . .		3
Moderately opposed . .		4
Strongly opposed . . .		5
Don't know . . . . .		6

67. ASK IF TEENAGE CHILDREN: How do your teenagers' friends who live outside this neighborhood feel about living in a neighborhood where both whites and Negroes live? Are most of their friends in favor of living in such a neighborhood, opposed, or don't they care?

In favor . . . . .	25-	1
Don't care . . . . .		2
Opposed . . . . .		3
Don't know . . . . .		4

IF RESPONDENT IS WHITE, CONTINUE WITH Q. 68.

IF RESPONDENT IS NEGRO, GO TO Q. 81.

68. A. Before moving into this neighborhood, did you (and your husband/wife) live in any (other) neighborhood where both white and Negro families lived?

Yes . . (ASK 1-3) . .	26-	1
No . . (GO TO B) . . .		2

IF YES TO A:

- (1) Where and when was that? 27-  
28-  
29-  
30-
- (2) Why did you move from that neighborhood? 31-  
32-

- (3) Were you very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy in that neighborhood?

Very happy . . . . .	33-	1
Pretty happy . . . . .		2
Not too happy . . . . .		3

68. Continued.

B. When you were a child, did you ever live in any (other) neighborhood where both white and Negro families lived?

Yes . . [ASK (1)] . 34- 1  
No . . (GO TO Q. 69) 2

IF YES TO B:

(1) Where and when was that? 35-  
36-  
37-  
38-

---

Here are some questions regarding various issues involved in race relations in our country. We'd like your opinion on each one.

69. Do you think white students and Negro students should go to the same schools or to separate schools?

Same schools . 39- 1  
Separate schools 2  
Don't know . . 3

---

70. Generally speaking, do you think there should be separate sections for Negroes in streetcars and buses?

Yes . . . . . 40- 1  
No . . . . . 2  
Don't know . . 3

---

71. Do you think there should be laws against marriages between Negroes and whites?

Yes . . . . . 41- 1  
No . . . . . 2  
Don't know . . 3

---

72. Do you think Negroes should have the right to use the same parks, restaurants, and hotels as white people?

Yes . . . . . 42- 1  
No . . . . . 2  
Don't know . . 3

---

73. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD E.) Here are some opinions other people have expressed in connection with Negro-white relations. Which statement on the card comes closest to how you yourself feel?

A. The first one is--Negroes shouldn't push themselves where they're not wanted.

Agree strongly . . 43- 1  
Agree slightly . . 2  
No opinion . . . . 3  
Disagree slightly 4  
Disagree strongly 5

B. White people have a right to keep Negroes out of their neighborhoods if they want to, and Negroes should respect that right.

Agree strongly . . 44- 1  
Agree slightly . . 2  
No opinion . . . . 3  
Disagree slightly 4  
Disagree strongly 5

74. How strongly would you object if a member of your family wanted to bring a Negro friend home to dinner? Would you object strongly, mildly, or not at all?

Strongly . . . . 45- 1  
Mildly . . . . . 2  
Not at all . . . . 3  
Don't know . . . . 4

75. ASK ONLY IF CHILDREN UNDER 18: Would you be pleased, unhappy, or wouldn't it make any difference if your children had Negro friends?

Pleased . . . . . 46- 1  
Wouldn't matter . . . . 2  
Unhappy . . . . . 3  
Already have Negro friends 4  
Depends . . (ASK A) . . 5

- A. IF DEPENDS: On what would it depend?

47-

48-

76. ASK ONLY IF CHILDREN UNDER 18: Would you be unhappy, or wouldn't it matter if a teenager of yours went out once on a date with a Negro boy or girl whose family had about the same education and background as you do?

Unhappy . . . (ASK A) . 49- 1  
Wouldn't matter (ASK B) 2

- A. IF UNHAPPY: Would you forbid your teenager to go out with a Negro boy or girl?

Yes . . . . . 50- 1  
No . . . . . 2

- B. IT WOULDN'T MATTER: Would you be unhappy, or wouldn't it matter if a teenager of yours went out a number of times with a Negro boy or girl?

Unhappy . . . . . 51- 1  
Wouldn't matter . . . . 2



IF THIS WHITE RESPONDENT IDENTIFIES NEIGHBORHOOD AS CONTAINING NEGROES  
(YES TO Q. 52) SKIP TO Q. 89.

IF THIS WHITE RESPONDENT IDENTIFIES NEIGHBORHOOD AS CONTAINING NO NEGROES, (NO TO  
Q. 52), CONTINUE WITH Q. 77.

77. If a Negro family moved into this neighborhood, would you be concerned or  
not?

Yes, concerned . . . (ASK A & B) . 52- 1

No, not concerned . . (GO TO Q. 78) . 2

IF YES:

A. What would be your concerns?

53-

54-

55-

56-

B. Would you consider moving?

Yes . (GO TO Q. 78) . 57- 4

No . (GO TO Q. 78) . 5

Depends . . (ASK 1) . 6

(1) IF DEPENDS TO B: On what would it depend?

58-

59-

---

78. What do you think would be the community's reaction if Negro families tried to  
move into this neighborhood?

60-

61-

62-

63-

---

79. Is there any possibility of a Negro family moving into this neighborhood in the  
next few years?

Yes . . . 64- 1

No . . . 2

80. ASK ABOUT HEAD'S EMPLOYMENT: Where you/your husband work(s), are there Negroes who have jobs that are comparable to (yours/his)?

Yes . . . . . 65- 1  
No . . . . . 2  
Don't know . 3

IF RESPONDENT IS WHITE, SKIP TO Q. 89.

DECK 16 \_\_\_\_\_

IF RESPONDENT IS NEGRO, ASK Q. 81.

81. As you recall, approximately what proportion of the families in the neighborhood were Negro when you moved in?

15-  
16-  
17-

(IF LESS THAN 90%, OR DON'T KNOW,  
ASK A - C. OTHERWISE, GO TO Q. 82)

IF LESS THAN 90 PER CENT:

A. Were you at all concerned when you moved into this neighborhood about how the white families would treat you?

Yes . (ASK 1) 18- 1  
No . . . . . 2

(1) IF YES TO A: Why did you still decide to move here?

19-  
20-

B. Since you moved in, have there been any tensions between your family and white families in the neighborhood?

Yes . (ASK 1) 21- 1  
No . . . . . 2

(1) IF YES TO B: Could you tell me what happened?

22-  
23-

C. Have some real estate brokers engaged in practices that encouraged white families to move out of the neighborhood when Negro families moved in?

Yes . . . . . 24- 1  
No . . . . . 2  
Don't know . 3

82. About what proportion of the families in the neighborhood are Negro at the present time?

% 25-  
(IF LESS THAN 90% OR DON'T KNOW, ASK A) 26-  
(IF MORE THAN 90%, ASK B) 27-

A. IF LESS THAN 90%: Which of the following things has someone in your family done in the past few months with a white family living in the neighborhood? HAND RESPONDENT  
CARD C. CODE "YES" OR "NO" FOR EACH ITEM ASKED.

		Yes	No
(1) Stopped and talked when we met	28-	1	2
(2) Attended the meeting of a neighborhood organization or group together	29-	1	2
(3) Had an informal chat together in their home or our home	30-	1	2
(4) Had dinner or a party together at their home or our home	31-	1	2
(5) Went out together for dinner or a movie	32-	1	2
(6) We got together on other occasions. (EXPLAIN)	33- 34- 35-	1	2
ASK ONLY IF CHILDREN UNDER 18. OTHERWISE GO TO Q. 83.			
(7) Their children played outdoors with our children	36-	1	2
(8) Their children played indoor with our children	37-	1	2
(9) Their children got together with our children in some neighborhood groups	38-	1	2

B. IF MORE THAN 90%: Have you considered moving into a neighborhood where more white families live?

Yes . . (ASK 1) . 39- 1  
No . . (ASK 2) . 2

(1) IF YES TO B: Why haven't you done so?

40-  
41-

(2) IF NO TO B: Why haven't you considered it?

42-  
43-

83. A. Before moving into this neighborhood, did you (and your husband/wife) live in any (other) neighborhood where both white and Negro families lived?

Yes . . . (ASK 1-3) . . . . 44- 1  
Always lived here . (GO TO B) 2  
No . . . (GO TO B) . . . . 3

IF YES TO A:

(1) Where and when was that?

45-  
46-  
47-  
48-

(2) Why did you move from that neighborhood?

49-  
50-

(3) Were you very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy in that neighborhood?

Very happy . . . . 51- 1  
Pretty happy . . . 2  
Not too happy . . 3

B. When you were a child, did you ever live in any (other) neighborhood where both white and Negro families lived?

Yes . . (ASK 1) . . .52- 1  
No . . (GO TO Q. 84) 2

IF YES TO B:

(1) Where and when was that?

53-  
54-  
55-  
56-

84. Do any of your children's friends happen to be white?

Yes (GO TO Q. 85) . 57- 1

No . . . . (ASK A) . . . 2

A. Would you be pleased, unhappy, or wouldn't it make any difference if your children had white friends?

Pleased . . (GO TO Q. 85) . . 58- 1

Wouldn't matter (GO TO Q. 85) . . 2

Unhappy . . (GO TO Q. 85) . . . 3

Depends . . . . (ASK 1) . . . . 4

(1) IF DEPENDS: On what would it depend?

59-

60-

---

85. Would you be unhappy or wouldn't it matter if a teen-ager of yours went out once on a date with a white boy or girl?

Unhappy . . (ASK A) . . . 61- 1

Wouldn't matter (ASK B) . . . 2

A. IF UNHAPPY: Would you forbid your teen-ager to go out once with a white boy or girl?

Yes (GO TO Q. 86) . 62- 1

No (GO TO Q. 86) . . . 2

B. IF WOULDN'T MATTER: Would you be unhappy or wouldn't it matter if a teen-ager of yours went out a number of times with a white boy or girl?

Unhappy . . . . . 63- 1

Wouldn't matter . . . . . 2

86. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD F.) Here is a list of things which civil rights leaders have been concerned about. I want you to tell me the item which you think is most important, and then the one which is next most important, for civil rights groups to spend their time on.

	Most Important	Next Important
A. Better jobs . . . . .	64- 1	65- 1
B. Better schools . . . . .	2	2
C. More school integration . . . . .	3	3
D. More Negroes in elective office . .	4	4
E. A bigger poverty program . . . . .	5	5
F. Elimination of discrimination in restaurants and other places of public accommodation . . . . .	6	6
G. Stopping housing segregation . . .	7	7
H. Keeping Negro high school students in school and getting them to go to college . . . . .	8	8

Now, regarding civil rights activity . . .

87. Have you ever gone to a civil rights rally?

Yes . . (ASK A & B) . . 66- 1

No . . . . (ASK B) . . . 2

A. IF YES: How many rallies? \_\_\_\_\_ 67-

B. IF YES OR NO: Have you ever taken part in a civil rights demonstration?

Yes . . . (ASK 1) . . . 68- 1

No . . . . (ASK 2) . . . 2

(1) IF YES TO B: How many times? \_\_\_\_\_ GO TO Q. 88. 69-

(2) IF NO TO B: Would you be willing to take part in a civil rights demonstration if you were asked to?

Yes . . . . (ASK a) . . 70- 1

No . (GO TO Q. 88) . . . 2

Not sure . (GO TO Q. 88) 3

(a) IF YES TO B (2): What if there was a possibility that you would be arrested--would you be willing to demonstrate then?

Yes . . . . . 71- 1

No . . . . . 2

Not sure . . . . . 3

DECK 17

88. Next I have some statements about race and civil rights. Please tell me whether you generally agree or disagree with each one.

		Agree	Disagree	Don't Know
A. Most white people would really like for Negroes to have their rights.	15-	1	2	3
B. Riots like the ones in Watts help the Negro cause as much as they hurt it.	16-	1	2	3
C. The federal government would do very little about civil rights if it weren't for demonstrations.	17-	1	2	3
D. Sometimes I think Negroes should not have supported some of the civil rights demonstrations I have read about.	18-	1	2	3
E. Too many times Negro demonstrators have compromised when they could have made real progress if they had held out longer.	19-	1	2	3

ASK EVERYONE.

89. Finally, to sum up, some people think that a neighborhood where both whites and Negroes live would have both advantages and disadvantages.

A. In your opinion, what are some of the advantages in living in a neighborhood where both white and Negro families live?

20-

21-

22-

23-

24-

25-

B. And what would be some of the disadvantages in living in a neighborhood where both white and Negro families live?

26-

27-

28-

29-

30-

31-

Thank you very much. In case my office wants to validate this interview, may I have your name and telephone number?

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Phone: \_\_\_\_\_

TIME INTERVIEW ENDED

AM
PM



FILL IN ITEMS BELOW IMMEDIATELY AFTER LEAVING RESPONDENT.

A. Total Length of Interview: \_\_\_\_\_ minutes 51-

B. Date of Interview: \_\_\_\_\_ 1967 52-  
month day year 53-  
54-

C. Sex of Respondent:  
Male . . . . . 55-1  
Female . . . . . 2

D. Race of Respondent:  
White . . . . . 56-1  
Negro . . . . . 2

(1) If Respondent is Negro:  
Skin Color: Light . . . . 57-1  
Medium . . . . 2  
Dark . . . . 3

E. Interviewer's Race:  
White . . . . . 58-1  
Negro . . . . . 2

F. Were any other members of the household present during the interview?  
Yes . . . . . 59-1  
No . . . . . 2

IF YES: Did any of them take part in the interview or did the respondent  
seek advice or opinions from any of them in answering some of the  
questions?  
Yes . . . . . 60-1  
No . . . . . 2

G. Interviewer's Signature: \_\_\_\_\_  
61-  
62-  
63-

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