

THE FAIR HOUSING MOVEMENT:
AN OVERVIEW AND A CASE STUDY

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ABSTRACT

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The fair housing movement is a recent development in the general civil rights movement. While subscribing to the ideology of the general movement, community fair housing groups concentrate upon making middle-income, and particularly suburban, housing available to financially qualified Negroes. Few fair housing groups are affiliated with Negro civil rights groups, and most are all-white in membership. Their methods utilize many of the concepts first developed in sociology and social psychology; their programs emphasize community relations when a Negro move-in is imminent, property listing services which bypass the practices of discrimination entrenched in the real estate industry, and subscription by community members to open covenants. They seldom try to "force" integration using test cases, attempting rather to prevent discrimination against Negroes seeking homes in their communities and to avoid violence.

The major portion of the research was a case study of a fair housing group in Greenbelt, Maryland. The program of this group emphasized a "planning" approach to integration and publicly avoided the moral-ethical arguments which have been central in the general civil rights movement. Such resistance as they encountered was from individuals concerned about the possible effect of Negro occupancy on property

values in the older, low-income section of the city. The leaders of the group were active in civic activities, representative of most religious faiths, tended to be college-educated, and many had a history of affiliation with other "liberal" groups. Few were active in other facets of the civil rights movement. It was concluded that the fair housing movement tends to be moderate rather than radical in its membership and strategy, and that its scope (some 600 groups in metropolitan areas across the United States) represents near-spontaneous action at the grass-roots level based on a conviction that discrimination on the basis of race is wrong.

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PREFACE

This paper deals with a controversial subject. An effort has been made to put the ecological process of Negro movement into all-white areas into sociological perspective, also taking into account the roles of such non-social factors as the physical condition and location of housing, which are as important as strictly social variables in determining the course of the invasion sequence. The position taken -- that it is possible to assess the probability of a particular neighborhood's becoming a ghetto using the relevant variables -- contradicts both "folk wisdom" and much solid sociological data indicating that Negro invasion of a white area almost always leads to succession. However, the fact that successfully integrated neighborhoods do exist suggests that a closer look at the factors which have made them "work" can also explain why so many previously all-white neighborhoods have become all-black.

In the process of preparing this paper, the author has become convinced that "objectivity" on the topic of integrated neighborhoods is, at this point in United States history, impossible. I have encountered no one who did not feel strongly about it, one way or the other. This is not to suggest that the individuals peopling these encounters could be neatly classified into "segregationists" and "integrationists". The issue has become more complex than that; this is reflected in many shades of opinion, nearly all with some factual backing in the personal experiences of particular individuals or groups with the invasion-succession sequence. Thus, no one is "wrong" on this issue, and yet by

the same token all are wrong, because all concentrate upon one or two aspects of a many-faceted problem, selectively sifting out others which contradict their already-formed convictions.

To exempt myself from this type of selective perception, which is a general human trait, would be preposterous. In attempting to understand this complex process, it has been necessary to accept certain interpretations and to reject others. There always exists the possibility that even in the most "objective" analysis, vital factors are overlooked and less vital factors are given key roles. This was apparently the case in much sociological examination of the problem of Negro-white relations in American society for some twenty or thirty years prior to the civil rights movement, which meant that this movement was not predicted or foreseen by sociologists; they, with the rest of white society, were caught by surprise. The risk of this kind of distortion is one which must be taken in the study of a current issue.

Social change is constant and inevitable. This study documents and attempts to analyze one segment of an on-going and current change -- a revision in American social structure which is taking place in the area of Negro-white relations. If the change is distasteful to some, that cannot be helped. It is happening. It may be reversed tomorrow; it may become part of the status quo by 1984. As social scientists, we can only look at it and evaluate it on the basis of our knowledge and our prejudice, with the thin line between the two remaining forever indiscernible.

I would like to thank the director of this thesis, Dr. Margaret Cussler, for her patience, tolerance, and insight in relentlessly keeping my attention trained upon the dual purpose of a graduate thesis as

a learning experience as well as an example of research scholarship. That it was the former goes without saying; if it qualifies as the latter, it is because Dr. Cussler's guidance made it so.

Collection of the data was made possible by the cooperation of many individuals active in the fair housing movement, and particularly by the people in Greenbelt, Maryland, who gave generously of both their time and their thoughts on the issues facing the community. Special thanks are due Patricia and John Unger, Bruce Bowman, and Albert Herling for making available information and documents which added a depth to the analysis that could not otherwise have been attained. And to Leo and Marcy Walder must go credit not only for drawing my attention to the fair housing group forming in Greenbelt (and thus to the movement itself), but for providing that spark of enthusiasm without which the work would have been much more tedious.

Finally, without the understanding and cooperation of my husband, Jim Noe, this work could not have been completed. Even more valuable than his help in producing the manuscript and his unflagging moral support were his personal views on the civil rights movement which, complementary to mine, made my own prejudices glaringly obvious.

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CHAPTER I

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The Evolution of an Approach

In October 1963, a voluntary association formed in Greenbelt, Maryland, with the purpose of aiding the community to make a peaceful transition from segregated to integrated housing. The original purpose of this study was to follow the life cycle of this organization from its inception through its first year of existence as the manifestation of a social movement on the community level, with the objective of determining the efficacy of such groups in achieving their stated goals, the extent and type of their impact upon the community, and the type of membership and leadership which they attracted. Essentially, this was a case study approach to a particular type of organization; Greenbelt Citizens for Fair Housing (GCFH) would be examined intensively on the assumption that the findings would be applicable to other similar groups.

As the study progressed beyond the initial planning stages and the investigator, as a participant observer of the group, became more involved in its activities, certain problems began to present themselves. The first took the form of a struggle to identify the appropriate sociological frame of reference within which to conduct the study. If GCFH was a manifestation of a social movement, what was the movement? The civil rights movement proved to be too broad to serve as a guideline for research, covering as it does practically every

aspect of Negro-white relationships and a massive body of literature. In the process of skimming the surface of this literature, it became apparent that the problem of residential segregation, to which GCFH as an organization was addressing itself, was one of the most persistent and far-reaching difficulties faced by the Northern urban Negro. It also suggested that patterns of residential segregation were peculiarly resistant to the trends toward equality which have been developing since the 1954 Supreme Court decision on school segregation, as a result of the Negro's increasingly improved economic status and federal, state, and local legislation. The federal government, with the exception of a ban on discrimination in new housing financed with federal funds, has left the area of housing legislatively untouched, the problem has not come before the Supreme Court since 1948 when legal enforcement of restrictive covenants was declared unconstitutional, and the scattered city and state fair housing ordinances are seldom adequately enforced.

At the same time, it was found that the leaders of GCFH were also active in other fair housing groups in the Washington metropolitan area. Several of these people were clearly oriented not just to a problem in their own community but to a broader cause. The fair housing effort then began to emerge as a distinct social movement in itself. GCFH clearly belonged in this classification, but as information on other groups accumulated, it became evident that GCFH was in several major respects atypical, and a case study is of little value if it is a unique case.

Though several good studies of residential segregation have been done, they take no notice of the development of this movement, perhaps

because of its recency. At any rate, no systematic data on fair housing organizations is available in published form, and there are only a few passing references to this type of group in the literature. So if the fair housing movement was to provide the frame of reference, it was necessary to devote more attention to the movement as a whole in order to discern the respects in which GCFH was similar to other groups and the respects in which it was not. As a result, the study became divided into two sub-studies. One deals with the fair housing movement in the nation and particularly in the Washington, D. C. metropolitan area. The other deals with Greenbelt, Maryland, as a community in which a fair housing group formed, attempted to carry out a program and, while subscribing to the general goals of the movement of which it was a part, tailored its specific objectives to local circumstances.

Though literature on the specific problem under study is very limited, there is a large body of general theory which bears upon problems of discrimination in relationships between minority and majority groups. Due perhaps to the scope of current changes in Negro-white relations in America, this body of theory has been developing rapidly in new directions. Certain parts of it bear quite directly on the social processes underlying the fair housing movement as well as the general civil rights movement. In attempting to formulate these processes, particularly in as brief a form as required here, there is a risk of oversimplification, and since the civil rights movement is a current, "hot" issue, there is also the risk of controversy, for no real consensus has yet developed on the "causes" of the movement. However, since the interpretation of research findings

is dependent upon the theoretical framework in which the study is carried out, it is necessary to confront both these risks and explicate the relevant formulations.

Social Science and the Civil Rights Movement

We Didn't Know An embarrassing question has been facing sociologists since the civil rights movement emerged as a major force for social change in the United States in the 1960s. Why weren't they, as experts on society, able to predict it?^{1*} Why were the theories which had developed over years of investigation of minority group relations unable to explain the emergence of civil rights leaders,² the revolt of Negro college students against discrimination by the white majority and the conservatism of their own elders,³ the rallying of white liberals and religious groups around the flag of equality?

The answer has been suggested to lie in the nature of the research which has been carried out on intergroup relations and the theories which guided that research. Hughes refers to several theoretical, methodological, and professional strictures which being "scientific" imposes: "It may be that our conception of social science is so empirical, so limited to little bundles of fact applied to little hypotheses that we are incapable of entertaining a broad range of possibilities, of following out madly unlikely combinations of social circumstances." He notes other impediments to the exercise of the sociological imagination: the fact that sociology "deals only with those processes of social behavior which are repeated again and again", making the recognition of unique circumstances (e.g., the case of the

* Footnotes may be found at the end of the paper in numerical order.

American Negro) difficult; the fact that limits to the sociological imagination are internalized in the form of general assumptions (e.g., that whites don't want to marry Negroes); and the fact that professionalization has resulted in keeping candidates for the "license" "so long in a straitjacket that they never move freely again."⁴

Back, in a study of research on intergroup relations since 1900, links the answer more closely to theory. He found that this research had focused primarily on resistance to change rather than upon forces toward change.⁵ Further, resistance to change in the status quo was usually considered to be due to prejudice -- attitudes or predispositions to respond negatively, emotionally, and in terms of stereotyped preconceptions, to members of the minority group.⁶ During this period, the conception of prejudice evolved from an instinctive defense reaction to "strangeness",⁷ through a personality factor often thought to be associated with general mental disturbance,⁸ to a socially learned and reinforced manner of responding to members of "out-groups" -- in other words, a group norm.⁹ Elaborate scales were developed to index prejudice, and many studies attempted to link this characteristic with other social and demographic variables,¹⁰ or to discover ways of counteracting the misinformation and stereotypes on which prejudice was believed to be based.¹¹ All this was done on the assumption that prejudiced attitudes had to be changed before the relationship between minority and majority could change.¹² This basic assumption was shared by nearly all who did research in the area, regardless of the specific theory of prejudice which they embraced.

Rose classified this approach as social disorganization theory, which postulates that the source of intergroup problems is interaction

without a common base of meanings and values -- a lack of communication and understanding. The obverse of this is a formulation related to certain forms of conflict theory, which suggests that common values which are in limited supply, particularly wealth and prestige, are at the root of social problems. In short, the first formulation suggests that problems in intergroup relations occur because people do not understand one another; the second suggests that they occur because people understand one another all too well.¹³ There is evidence suggesting that the second approach (one which, perhaps because of its association with the Marxian version of conflict theory and our cold war adversaries, has been more or less "out of fashion" in sociological circles) is as important to a sociological understanding of the civil rights movement as is the first. While many intergroup problems may indeed arise from the lack of common meanings to provide a base for communication, others arise because of the monopoly by one of the two conflicting groups on wealth, prestige, and other status factors. In short, it is being suggested that sociologists did not predict the civil rights movement because by concentrating upon the meanings, values, and other characteristics of the opposition to change, the factors within the minority group which made a change in Negro-white relationships inevitable were overlooked. Killian summarized the effect of research concentration upon the majority group as follows:

... The Negro minority has not been thought of as a really dynamic element in race relations, which does not simply adjust to a situation over which it has little control but challenges the situation and initiates change It is certain that [the concept of the minority as reacting rather than initiating] does not provide a fruitful approach to the study of race relations since 1954. Accommodation has given way to struggle, stability to change, adjustment to challenge In these crises, moreover, the initiative comes from the Negro ... it is the dominant group that reacts, resisting or adjusting. ¹⁴

A Theoretical Frame of Reference for the Civil Rights Movement.

A social movement is a collective effort to promote social change. Turner and Killian define it as follows: "a collectivity acting with some continuity to promote a change or resist a change in the society or group of which it is a part."¹⁵ Meadows has pointed out that social movements are triggered by the failure of an institutional system or a culture at a time of potential economic or ideational advance.¹⁶ The movement is thus "an instrument of adjustment ... to restore the balance and harmony of the system by initiating social reform."¹⁷ The civil rights movement fits Blumer's classification of a "general movement" -- the appearance of many specific movements at the same period of time which have many common features in their ideology and overlap extensively in membership.¹⁸ Heberle's theory of social movements emphasizes that their function is to bring about a basic change in the social order, especially in the relationship between labor and property, that will affect the distribution of income and wealth and the relative power positions of the classes.¹⁹ This is clearly a conflict theory formulation (in the Marxian sense of conflict) and a closer examination of the civil rights movement will illustrate that this is a fair description of several of its aspects.

The "Negro problem" can be summarized as a problem of low status. There is no socioeconomic index on which Negroes as a group do not come out lower than whites. Even in the case of the "black bourgeoisie," the Negro elite, their chief characteristic was remarked by Frazier to be an inferiority complex, due to their lack of acceptance by the white community which they could neither join nor totally

reject. The black bourgeoisie has thus, at least until quite recently, resorted to exaggeration of the importance of Negro business and mimicry of an upper-class (white) way of life on their middle-class incomes, as a means of bolstering their egos in a society which has no real place for them.²⁰ Resentment of this chronically inferior status has found a voice in angry Negro literature (e.g., Richard Wright's Black Boy, James Baldwin's Nobody Knows my Name, Chester Himes' If He Hollers, Let Him Go) and in the rhetoric of the movement itself (c.f. Martin Luther King, Why We Can't Wait).

There is evidence illustrating that this subordination of the Negro is functional for white society, both economically and psychologically. A recent article by Glenn presented data suggesting that it was financially profitable for whites to keep Negroes occupationally subordinate.²¹ This hypothesis subsequently was examined in detail by Cutright, who found it substantiated by correlations of .98 between white occupational gains and the percentage of the labor force that was Negro in 132 Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas. "These correlations," said Cutright, "provide strong evidence that income gains do accrue to the white population because Negroes are present and tend disproportionately to occupy the low-paying jobs."²²

From the social-psychological standpoint, Myrdal analyzed the rationales whites have developed to justify the subordination of Negroes and noted that some were quite inappropriate: "Things are defended in the South as means of preserving racial purity which cannot possibly be defended in this way. To this extent we cannot avoid observing that what white people really want is to keep Negroes in a lower status."²³ James Baldwin expressed the same idea more pungently:

"The Negro tells us where the bottom is: because he is there, and where he is, beneath us, we know where the limits are and how far we must not fall.²⁴

In the United States, status is determined primarily by the economic institution. While many civil rights leaders, white and Negro, emphasize education as the stepping-stone to equality, education can improve status only if it can be applied to bettering economic position. Glenn notes that while the status of U.S. nonwhites in income, occupation, and education all advanced rapidly during and after World War II, the occupational and income gaps between white and non-white were not narrowing as rapidly as the educational gap.²⁵ Until the educated Negro can compete for a job on an equal basis with his white counterpart, education will not solve his status problem, though it may provide him with the intellectual tools to aid in its resolution. Bayard Rustin, in a speech on the strategy of the civil rights movement, pointed this out, and indicated that the Negro was basically seeking economic equality; much protest activity was not directly serving this end, but it channeled energy and helped to create Negro unity which eventually would be used to further the ultimate goal.²⁶

Many attempts have been made to identify reasons for the emergence of the civil rights movement. It has been pointed out that attributing it solely to economic factors is an oversimplification of a situation in which a complex of causes and effects are operating.²⁷ However, the evidence points to the economic institution as the one which has failed the Negro. Ironically, this failure included not only discrimination in employment which kept Negroes disproportionately occupying the lowest paying and most menial jobs, but discrimination in luxury

spending for the few Negroes who could afford it. While the white businessman was always ready to accept the Negro dollar for basic consumer necessities (thus preventing the establishment of a separate-but-equal Negro economy)²⁸ Negroes were systematically excluded from lunch counters, restaurants, hotels and motels, and places of entertainment. The average income of nonwhite families in 1930 was 30% of the income of white families. By 1960, it had increased to 60%, growing at a rate of approximately 1% per year.²⁹ Discrimination in luxury spending thus became progressively more annoying to Negroes, whose consumer aspirations were essentially the same as those of the white majority (and, in the case of the black bourgeoisie, far outstripped them). Hughes describes the effect of this as follows:

[The movement] got under way and took on mass as a struggle for the equal right to consume goods and services -- food, transportation, education, housing, and entertainment. This is a goal of people with at least some money to spend and with the aspiration to spend as others do. The Negro Americans who led those first sit-ins were indeed so American that they seemed more humiliated by not being able to spend the dollar than they would be at not having a dollar to spend.³⁰

There are, of course, many other factors underlying the movement. One of the most notable is the shift from accommodating to militant leadership within the Negro community. Killian and Smith describe the complete changeover in Negro leadership which accompanied a bus boycott in a Florida city. The old leaders were regarded by whites and Negroes alike as more capable of dealing with the white leadership, but they felt betrayed and had lost confidence in their ability to speak for the Negro community.³¹ Another factor is the growth of the political strength of the Northern urban Negro. Residential segregation has made it possible for Negroes with no barriers to

voting to elect their own representatives to legislative bodies and to wield a powerful influence in national elections. It has been said that Kennedy could not have won in 1960 without the Negro vote.³² As residential segregation increases in the South, Negro political power there is developing apace.³³ Another factor is the emergence of African nationalism, which affected the American Negro in several ways. The admission of black diplomats to the White House, while the American Negro was still unable to buy a cup of coffee at a lunch counter, stirred deep resentment. American political leaders suddenly had to be concerned over the image that continued subordination of the American Negro was creating in "undecided" African nations, making them more amenable to Negro pleas for basic rights.³⁴

Finally, the continued process of litigation sponsored by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) gradually eroded the legal basis of many discriminatory practices, giving the Negro a new equality in law if not in fact.³⁵ The culmination was the Supreme Court's implementation order on school desegregation in 1955 -- the same year in which Rosa Parks of Montgomery, Alabama, for reasons unknown, refused to give up her seat to a white man on a Montgomery bus and triggered the first successful mass protest for equality, with Martin Luther King as its leader.

Social science is rapidly catching up with this train of events, however, despite its failure to predict the movement. One new hypothesis, which contradicts the social disorganization theory referred to earlier, is that discrimination can be controlled or curtailed by law or other institutional arrangements regardless of the attitudes of the persons directly concerned.³⁶ An outstanding example of this

was the desegregation of the armed services in 1950. Another is the continuing desegregation of public accommodations in the South since the passage of the civil rights bill in the summer of 1964; faced with the choice of integrating or closing their doors, people have tended to integrate.³⁷ Another example somewhat closer to the topic of this study is the behavior of real estate developers utilizing FHA financing or operating in areas covered by fair housing ordinances. Many successful integrated housing developments have resulted from the threat of withdrawal of FHA funds if policies of discrimination in selling or renting were followed, or the threat of protracted litigation if fair housing ordinances were violated.³⁸

Social scientists have long noted that prejudice (attitudes) are not always translated into discrimination (behavior). It now appears that the link between the two is even more tenuous than was formerly thought. There are a variety of factors besides prejudice which influence behavior in interaction with minority group members. (This will be illustrated in greater detail in the following chapter, which reviews the literature on discrimination in housing and indicates that the process of invasion, by which a "white" area into which Negroes have moved becomes entirely "black" over a period of time, is often due less to prejudice than to other factors.) The essential point in the foregoing discussion is that the social forces which determine the relative positions of groups within a society are more impersonal and less related to specific attitudes of individuals toward minority group members than much of the research in the field would lead one to believe. And once attention is removed from attitudes as the key factor in intergroup relations, it becomes focused upon institutions.

While all institutions bear some relationship to where the Negro is in American society and why he is there, in the economic institution seems to lie the basic reasons for the intergroup differences which have given rise to the civil rights movement.

The Problem of Values

Gordon pointed out in a recent review of research in the field of intergroup relations that investigations in the civil rights area posed particular threats to scientific objectivity, due to the dramatic currency of the issues.³⁹ Nearly everyone has an opinion which must be held in abeyance if professional detachment is to prevail. The threat of bias is increased by the fact that social scientific findings have provided the most lethal weapons in the integrationists' arsenal. According to Gross, while the values of the civil rights movement are those of what Myrdal referred to as the American Creed, its general philosophy is formed by modern sociological and psychological theories.⁴⁰ The findings of social scientists have played a role in key court decisions which have undermined segregation; for example, the Supreme Court's 1948 decision on the Restrictive Covenant Cases was based in part upon a case in which Franklin Frazier testified for the defense, and a brief which acknowledged the assistance of a number of sociologists, Louis Wirth and Robert C. Weaver among them.⁴¹ Sociological, anthropological, and psychological research has indicated that the Negro is not inferior intellectually, that there are no inherent differences between Negroes and whites in personality and temperament, and that miscegenation is not harmful, all of which clearly contradict some of the main rationales for discrimination.⁴²

It is extremely difficult to maintain objectivity when the findings of one's field, which are by definition "objective", point so clearly to the adoption of a position. In addition, there is often, if not always, an awareness on the part of the American sociologist that part of his job is to provide solutions for social problems. If he is doing his job well, his findings should be relevant, if not directly applicable, to solving these problems, and further, to solving them in a manner which is not contradictory to basic democratic principles.¹³ At this point, someone is always ready to point out that the one thing social science has not yet discovered is which solutions are "right". This, however, does not prevent many of its practitioners from taking positions in the interim, while it causes others to withdraw from substantive problems to the comforting realms of theory and method, secure in the knowledge that they are objective and that somehow, sometime, someone will perhaps make use of their findings in some way.¹⁴

Certain facts, however, remain objective, though the uses to which they may be put are not. The essential fact upon which this paper is based is that the status quo in Negro housing can not, as it has not been able to in the past twenty years, continue indefinitely, for purely statistical reasons. One of the more interesting observations which resulted from the Harlem riots in the summer of 1964 was that, if the population density in some parts of that area held for the nation as a whole, the entire population of the United States could be living in three of New York's Boroughs. An expanding population cannot be confined in a constant residential area forever, any more than it can continue to subsist on a fixed amount of food (the classic Malthusian doctrine). There comes a point when the status

quo must change. That point has been reached again and again in metropolitan areas with large Negro populations.

Another "objective fact" is that civil rights is an ethical issue. This is reflected in the active participation and cooperation on an ecumenical basis of ministers and followers of every major religious faith in the United States. It was recognized as an ethical dilemma by Myrdal twenty years before the movement got under way.⁴⁵ President Kennedy put it as follows: "We are confronted primarily with a moral issue. It is as old as the Scriptures and is as clear as the American Constitution. The heart of the question is whether all Americans are to be afforded equal rights and equal opportunities."⁴⁶ The fair housing movement is dedicated to equality of access to living accommodations regardless of race, creed, or national origin. Is this, therefore, "good"? It is highly functional (in the Mertonian sense of maintaining the equilibrium of the social body) in view of the current status of Negro housing in large metropolitan areas. It is consonant with the American Creed, to which its volunteers are dedicated. These are also objective facts. Thus, perhaps if a note of advocacy inadvertently crops up now and again in the following pages, the reader will realize that it is not a lack of objectivity, but a recognition of these facts, which dictates the position of the investigator.

Research Method and Analysis

The need to divide the study into a two-pronged effort, plus the lack of funds which is characteristic of most thesis research, required a diversified approach. The typical community fair housing committee, according to Frances Levenson, "is a strictly indigenous affair, with

no formal tie to any national or 'outside' organization." The inevitable result of this, from the standpoint of the researcher, is that there is no central "clearing house" from which information about the movement as a whole can be collected. In addition, it is growing so rapidly that even available figures are soon outdated, which compounds the problem of collecting accurate current data. The consequences have been that the research methodology can be subdivided into "systematic data collection and analysis" and "sources of additional data", with the latter category accounting for a somewhat greater percentage of the total than the former. In the following sections, the major sources employed under both headings are described.

Systematic Data Collection and Analysis.

1. Observation: Proceedings of formal meetings of Greenbelt Citizens for Fair Housing (GCFH), the Greenbelt City Council, and other meetings relevant to the research problem were documented. Observation of GCFH commenced with their organizational meeting on Monday, October 14, 1963, and included nine meetings held through October 14, 1964. The investigator established residence in Greenbelt in March 1964 and became a member (and thus technically a participant observer) of GCFH as of the meeting on April 1, though she had become a "fixture" well before then by virtue of attending all meetings under the pretext of "considering moving to Greenbelt". However, at no time during the observation period did she participate in any discussions or vote on any issues. Twice, requests that she serve on the executive committee were turned down. Only one member of the organization knew the real purpose of the observation before October 14, 1964 (the secretary,

whose cooperation in making membership lists and minutes available was obtained in May, 1964). When members learned of the investigator's purpose in joining, no great concern was manifested, and offers of cooperation were made spontaneously. It is not believed that the investigator's presence in any way influenced the actions of the group for these reasons.

In addition to the observational data, notes on the two steering committee meetings (September 9 and September 16, 1963) which were held prior to the public meeting on October 2, were obtained from an individual who had participated in the formation of the group. While the investigator did not attend the public meeting, which served to trigger interest in the group on a city-wide basis, a tape recording of one of the speakers, Dr. Karl Gregory, and discussions with people who had attended, provided information as to its nature. Notes taken by the investigator at the nine regular meetings have been incorporated with those of the secretary and the official minutes of the meetings to provide a "blow-by-blow" account of what took place -- the issues that came up, the individuals who volunteered opinions, and the opinions themselves, as well as motions which were introduced, passed, and defeated.

The fair housing problem was on the agenda of the Greenbelt City Council nine times, the first being November 18, 1963, and the last, at which the ordinance establishing a Human Relations Advisory Board was passed, on January 11, 1965. Notes on the proceedings were taken at all of these meetings, and participation of the public was also noted. At a meeting of Greenbelt Homes, Inc., the problem of integration was discussed on October 24, 1963; notes of the investigator were

collated with those of another observer of this meeting.

Prince George's County Fair Housing, Inc., held its organizational meeting on June 23, 1964. The investigator attended several meetings of this group as a participant observer, including a Fair Housing Seminar in Washington, D.C., on March 4, 1965, at which enough information regarding the activity of the various groups in Washington, Baltimore, and Philadelphia areas was obtained to permit the construction and mailing of a questionnaire to fifteen fair housing organizations.

During the period studied, GCFH held nine "coffees" in the homes of its members as part of its community education objectives. Attendance at these meetings and the speakers who participated were recorded by the chairman of the education committee, who made the information available to the investigator.

2. Questionnaire survey: At the proverbial last minute, a questionnaire on the size, scope, and activity of fair housing groups was constructed and mailed to leaders of fifteen organizations in the Washington, Baltimore, and Philadelphia areas. Coverage of Washington and Baltimore was complete. Baltimore has only two groups; Washington has five concerned with fair housing and one (Neighbors, Inc.) concerned only with stabilization, which was not included. The Philadelphia area posed a somewhat greater problem. There are at least twenty-three local groups under the "umbrella" organization called the Fair Housing Council of Delaware Valley, Inc., and at least one other group in the area which is not a member of the council. These groups were sampled more or less randomly by sending a questionnaire to every third organization on the council's (non-alphabetized) list. This pattern

was broken in one case because the group was affiliated with the NAACP, which is atypical. Seven of the Philadelphia area groups, plus the Burlington County Human Relations Council (not a member of the Delaware Valley council), gave a total of fifteen. A copy of the questionnaire and its covering letter can be found in Appendix A.

Seven of the questionnaires were returned, four from the groups in the Washington area, two from the Philadelphia area, and one from Baltimore. Though this did not provide enough data to test some of the interrelationships which seemed to be significant, it was nevertheless very helpful and will be referred to as appropriate.

Sources of Additional Data.

1. Interviews: Interviews were employed for two purposes: a) to gather information about the fair housing movement in general; and b) to obtain information about what was going on in Greenbelt which was of relevance to GCFH and/or in response to it. Fourteen semi-structured interviews were done with a cross-section of individuals involved in the fair housing movement or in Greenbelt, classified as follows: One was an official of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing (interview by correspondence); two were officials of the Washington Metropolitan Housing Program of the American Friends Service Committee; three were leaders in both GCFH and one or more county organizations devoted to fair housing; three were leaders or active members in GCFH but were not active on the county level; two were inactive members of GCFH; one was active in the community, known as a "liberal", but not a GCFH member; two were active in the community, not GCFH members, and identified as opposing GCFH.

2. Public opinion data: A spot map was constructed indicating the distribution of residence throughout the city of GCFH members. In this connection, interview data collected by Lilian Castaldi of the Department of Sociology, University of Maryland, was employed. These data consisted of twenty-eight interviews, selected on the basis of the type of housing in which respondents lived, on attitudes toward integration. These findings were compared to those of a survey by a subcommittee of Greenbelt Homes, Inc., to arrive at tentative conclusions regarding attitudes toward integration in Greenbelt. The results of the latter survey, obtained by mail questionnaire distributed to 585 brick and 1000 frame homes in the GHI area of Greenbelt (see Chapter IV), with one item dealing with integration, were made available to the investigator by a member of the subcommittee.

3. U. S. Census data: Census figures were used to determine relevant characteristics of Greenbelt and Washington, Baltimore, and Philadelphia Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas. All census figures (with the exception of those in Table 1) were either taken directly from Bureau of the Census documents or from compilations of census figures by other government agencies. In some cases, further calculations were done on these figures by the investigator to obtain required numbers or percentages.

4. Documentary sources: The major documentary source was the Greenbelt News Review, a weekly newspaper edited by citizens of the community and delivered free to every home in Greenbelt. The News Review was systematically analyzed for its references to all matters relevant to GCFH. Another type of document was also utilized -- the literature which has been put out by various fair housing organizations,

including objectives, by-laws, membership communications, and pamphlets for distribution to both white and Negro communities. A collection of this type of literature from some twenty groups made possible the comparison of their objectives and programs. In some cases, other groups supporting fair housing were identified using these documents. The amount and type of this literature varies a good deal from group to group, but every group which was examined intensively had at least one publicity flyer and many had several. The American Friends Service Committee systematically reprinted newspaper articles on fair housing; these provided a good source of anecdotal material. The investigator also collected relevant news items from the Washington, D.C. newspapers.

5. Personal communications and unpublished materials:

This category of data includes a wide range of material -- letters from officials, mimeographed copies of speeches, notes taken on speeches given before various groups, and unsolicited comments or documents which accompanied the return of the fair housing questionnaire. They also deal with a wide range of subjects, including the growth and impact of fair housing, some major problems which confront fair housing groups, detailed descriptions of some of their activities, and the general philosophy which they espouse. Mimeographed handouts from other organizations which have been circulated to fair housing groups were also used.

6. Informal communications: Finally, the importance of informal conversations with members of GCFH and others in the community cannot be overestimated as a source of valuable information. In most cases, accounts of events obtained in this manner were either documented (e.g., the case of discrimination in a new apartment development

in Greenbelt) or checked with other individuals involved so that more than one account of the same event was obtained (e.g., the circumstances under which GCFH was established). In cases where such verification was impossible or might have been impolitic, the "hearsay" nature of the evidence is duly noted. It was found that in most cases, the accounts of the same event by different individuals agreed in all but minute particulars, suggesting that the nature of the events themselves is adequately portrayed by this method.

CHAPTER II

SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING

Negro Migration and the "White Noose"

In the past sixty years, approximately five million Negroes have migrated from the South to the Northern and Western United States, drawn by the promise of employment in the rapidly growing industries in large metropolitan areas.¹ The magnitude of this change in the population distribution of the American Negro is illustrated by the following table showing the cumulative number of Negroes outside the South during the twentieth century.

TABLE 1
Increase in Negroes Outside the South²

<u>Year</u>	<u>Percent of Total</u>	<u>No. of Negroes</u>
1900	10	1,647,377
1910	11	1,899,654
1920	15	2,407,371
1930	21	3,483,746
1940	23	3,986,606
1950	32	5,989,543
1960	40	9,009,470

As nonwhites have moved to urban places in the north and west, they have tended to gravitate into the central cities. Some 10.3 million, or slightly more than half the nonwhite population, lived in central cities in 1960, a gain of 63 percent over the number in central cities in 1950. Among whites, on the other hand, there has been a shift from the cities to the suburbs for many years, with the result that less than one-third of the white population in 1960 lived

in central cities.³ Further evidence of the extent to which the nonwhites have been drawn to the large cities is the fact that during the ten years 1950 to 1960, their numbers in the ten largest cities increased by some 56 percent, while the white population was declining by more than eight percent. As a result, all of the net gain in population for the ten central cities was attributable to nonwhites.⁴

The tendency of the Negro migrant to settle in the central city has been shared by all immigrant groups. "Our cities," said Robert C. Weaver, "have always been a battleground for housing, as each new group of arrivals fought for a place to live, and in the process pushed aside the group that came before them."⁵ The "safety valve" in this process has always been that through education and increasingly better employment opportunities, individuals were able to achieve the means to move out of the overcrowded and deteriorating low-rent district. Over a period of two or three generations, European immigrants have been assimilated into the larger society, due to many factors, among them low visibility and education. The breaking down of residentially segregated patterns has been closely related to this process of assimilation. For example, Lieberman has shown that not only is residential segregation an index of the degree to which a minority group has been assimilated, but that the extent of physical segregation influences other aspects of assimilation, such as the achievement of citizenship, learning Standard English, and intermarriage with the majority group.⁶

Negro migrants have not followed this pattern of assimilation and residential dispersion. Taeuber and Taeuber, using residential segregation as an index, studied the question of whether a northern

urban Negro population could be viewed as similar to European immigrant populations with respect to the nature and speed of assimilation. They found that while Chicago's residential segregation tended to decrease for other immigrant groups after the major influx had subsided, it continued to increase in the case of the Negro despite an improvement in overall socioeconomic status.⁷ Williams studied the extent of residential segregation in 221 cities (circa 1954) and found that Negroes were restricted to one or only a few areas in 56% of the sample. In addition, of the 93 cities in which Negroes lived in all or most areas, 55 reported attempts to prevent a Negro from moving into a predominantly white district within the one-year period preceding the survey, and only 17% of the cities had had no interracial housing incidents during the past ten years.⁸

There are many implications of residential segregation. It results in the de facto segregation of community institutions -- schools, parks, stores, voluntary associations -- and thus to a closed interaction system for both majority and minority groups. This lack of social contact between groups is conducive to the reinforcement of stereotyped beliefs which maintain prejudice.⁹ The closed system also fosters and maintains a subculture which has the effect of making the segregated group "different" culturally from the majority group,¹⁰ and thereby provides a rationale for continued segregation. This "vicious circle" effect is borne out by the association of efforts by whites to contain the Negro population in a fixed area with the incidence of racial conflict, as the study of Thompson et al. in Birmingham and Atlanta, and Williams' study of 221 cities both illustrate.¹¹

The concentration of Negroes, whose socioeconomic status tends to be low, in the city core is also a major factor in the "blight" of the central city which urban renewal programs attempt to combat. Urban renewal, however, seldom includes enough low-income housing to absorb all of the population which was displaced when the land was cleared, increasing the pressure on the remaining housing within the range that the average Negro can afford. "Slum clearance," runs a wry Negro joke, "is Negro clearance." Whites have the suburbs as an outlet, but suburban housing has been denied to the Negro. A persistent belief that much of the white movement out of central cities to the suburbs was basically an effort to escape from encroaching non-white minorities has given strong reasons to realtors and property owners for resisting the introduction of Negroes to all-white suburban neighborhoods;¹² and, in addition, until recently relatively few Negroes could afford suburban housing even if it had been available to them. The resulting ecological pattern has been called "the white noose" -- Negroes occupy ghettos in the heart of the city, while whites flee to the suburbs supposedly to escape encroachment as the Negro population expands and invades previously all-white areas bordering on the ghetto.

The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy of Residential Segregation

At this point, some of the processes which have combined to create continuing residential segregation will be examined more closely. There is some disagreement as to whether it has been increasing or decreasing in the past decade. The evidence for both sides through 1959 is summarized in an interchange between Eleanor P. Wolf and Arnold M. Rose

in the 1959 Journal of Social Issues; Miss Wolf documents increasing segregation, extending to those middle-class residential areas removed from the central city in which barriers to Negro occupancy had been broken, and Dr. Rose protests that there is a trend in the opposite direction, toward integration.¹³ Perhaps because the alleged "trend" was at that time so recent, Dr. Rose cited no statistics to support his position. Whether or not changes have been occurring in either direction, however, residential segregation remains in 1965 a severe problem both from the standpoint of the city planner and from the standpoint of the middle-class Negro who seeks to escape from the ghetto.¹⁴ Housing desegregation has proceeded more slowly than any other process of change in the civil rights movement, thought by some to be due to the nearness of "neighborhood" to the intimate end of the social distance scale.¹⁵ This presupposes that prejudice is a key factor in its continuance, which it is in many cases. However, other considerations also bear upon the problem.

Myrdal attributed residential segregation of the Negro to three main factors: 1) poverty, preventing individuals from paying for any but the cheapest housing accommodations; 2) a desire to live in the area where others of the same race live; and 3) segregation enforced by white people.¹⁶ The first factor, poverty, can be eliminated as a variable, for the kind of discrimination with which this study is concerned is that which prevents a financially qualified Negro from purchasing a home in the neighborhood of his choice. (The extent of this type of discrimination will be discussed at a later point in this chapter.) The second factor, desire to live near others of the same race, has not been given a great deal of research attention. Many

Negroes are reluctant to pioneer, and whether this is due to a desire to live near other Negroes, to fear of white rejection, or to these plus a combination of other factors, is not particularly important. The fact remains that the Negro market actively clamoring for housing in white areas because they are white areas is very small. It seems reasonable to suspect that much of their reluctance is a direct result of Myrdal's third factor: segregation enforced by whites. The white homeowner's fear of neighborhood deterioration is, according to Dubell, "the strongest single source of white resistance to Negroes in the North today." In interviewing during the summer and fall of 1963, he questioned people systematically on how they felt about specific rights which Negroes were seeking: the right to a job without discrimination, to have restaurants and hotels nondiscriminatory; to send their children to predominantly white schools, and "to buy a home on the same street where you live." He reports the results as follows: "Ten in every eleven persons interviewed replied 'no' to the idea of Negroes being able to buy alongside them. In contrast, only one in ten opposed the idea of Negroes being able to work at any job for which they were qualified."¹⁷ Underlying data such as these, according to Weaver, is fear of the unknown. "Discrimination in housing is rooted in the fear of violence, disorder, and economic loss at the hands of strangers."¹⁸ Fear apparently underlies one of the most persistent sources of resistance to Negroes in the suburbs -- the refusal of the majority of realtors to sell to them, for fear of alienating the white market and their own colleagues.¹⁹ The effect of such fears provide a paramount example of a self-fulfilling prophecy.

It was pointed out earlier that an expanding Negro population could not be contained in a constant area. Efforts at containment have kept Negro demand for additional housing at a peak. Once the barrier to Negro occupancy in a residential area has been broken, this demand has almost always resulted in its eventual complete invasion by Negroes. This process was first evident in the areas bordering upon the original ghetto, where predominantly lower-class Negroes did the "invading" because there was practically no Negro middle class. Thus, slum areas and the "culture of poverty" expanded along with the ghetto itself, giving rise to the observation that the old white neighborhood was deteriorating -- which it was. The buildings being taken over, it must be recalled, were predominantly older ones, many originally built as mansions or townhouses for the well-to-do in the late 1800s and early 1900s. These became multiple-family dwellings with unreasonably high rents (due to the demand) which left the Negro financially unable to maintain the property, much of which was already deteriorating at the time it was purchased. The neighborhood became unpleasant for middle-class individuals, but this did not necessarily mean that the value of the real estate dropped. Multiple dwelling units in slum areas are often extremely profitable for their owners. The drop in property values which is so often thought to accompany the advent of Negroes is caused less by deterioration than by fear.

Sometimes the invasion process was speeded by block-busting realtors who could sell homes to Negroes for prices above those white buyers would be willing to pay, again a function of the Negro demand. Once a single Negro family moved into a previously all-white block or

neighborhood, the block-buster visited or telephoned white neighbors, warning them to get out while their homes were still worth something. This usually created panic (as the realtor hoped it would) and when white residents responded by putting their homes up for sale, the market became flooded -- the supply of homes became greater than the demand, temporarily -- and prices did indeed drop. The real estate market is very responsive to this classic economic law, and thus the fear of white homeowners of a drop in property values created the reality. The realtor, of course, had nothing to lose, for he could buy from the panicking whites at a figure lower than usual, and the high turnover left its residue in his commissions. In addition, he had an eager Negro market to take the property off his hands.²⁰

Even when block-busting did not take place, limitation on the areas into which Negroes were able to move increased the likelihood of succession since all the pent-up demand was channeled into a few "open" neighborhoods, and the belief of whites, part fact, part fiction, that Negroes were undesirable neighbors meant that at the same time the Negro demand for property in an area was rising, the white demand was dropping off to zero. This is illustrated by a case study of a middle-class Detroit neighborhood which became almost entirely Negro in an invasion and succession process which took place peacefully over a period of three or four years. Its author, Mayer, noted that prejudice played a very small role in the process. People were moving out because of the loss of neighborhood prestige, the attraction of new, more convenient suburban homes, the inability of the community to support "a complete set" of institutions, increasing prosperity of the residents (which is often accompanied by a move "up" in housing status),

real estate and financial interests pushing property turnover, many older residents who wanted smaller homes, and a predicted decline in the quality of the school (which, he pointed out, had not taken place). There were fewer reasons for people to remain in the area; though the houses were undervalued, in the sense that they were worth more than they would bring on the market and more than would be paid for a new one of similar size and quality, and the location was convenient, the "push" factors motivating people to leave overbalanced the "pull" factors which might keep them there. "In what way," Mayer asks, "could it have prevented Negroes from moving in, in view of the expanding Negro population, the fact that this population was excluded from new suburban development, and that these in turn supplied places for a white population moving out?"²¹

Thus it was factors related to the family cycle, to socioeconomic status of individuals, and to the nature of the housing market that dictated the nearly complete invasion of Russel Woods, more than white prejudice. Fishman noted a similar process in his study of Bridgeview, New Jersey:

In older white neighborhoods established many years ago, the removal of adult offspring to homes of their own and the death of parents result in "normal" vacancies. In white communities of intermediate age, many vacancies result from the accelerated pace of removal to the suburbs. In nearer suburban areas, many vacancies are a result of the need for larger quarters as family size increases or as job advancement and social mobility dictate. In view of the greatly increased Negro middle class, its sadly inadequate housing, and its more vigorous rejection of the Negro urban ghetto, there is obviously a great demand on the part of Negroes for the very homes being vacated by whites. It is equally obvious that the Negro entrants are socially and economically well-suited to occupy the new housing they have obtained. 22

The Bridgeview study also indicated that many "prejudiced" people remained in invaded areas for economic reasons, while supposedly non-prejudiced individuals moved out.²³ Apparently, prejudice has been vastly overrated as a causal factor in invasion, perhaps due to those well-publicized incidents in which it has played a major role.

The Negro Housing Market and White Resistance

The Negro's exclusion from suburbia is based largely upon the results of the processes described above as they have affixed themselves in the public mind. The early history of invasion, carried out as it was (and still is in the city core) by lower-class Negroes with a subculture offensive to middle-class whites, gave more than a grain of truth to fears of neighborhood deterioration, as block-busting gave credence to the fear of economic loss. However, a Negro middle class is now developing, eager to escape from the ghetto and often willing to undergo a great deal of psychological strain and physical hardship to make that escape. The housing occupied by Negroes is older, more crowded, and in poorer condition than white housing. The following figures give some indication of these differences in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C., areas in 1960. Rental units occupied by nonwhites were 18 percent substandard in Baltimore, 20 percent in Philadelphia, and 17 percent in Washington; comparable figures for white rental units were 9 percent, 8 percent, and 6 percent respectively. The percentage of both rental and owner-occupied units having more than one person per room for Baltimore nonwhites was 22 percent, for Philadelphia 16 percent, and for Washington 23 percent.

Comparable percentages for whites were 7 percent, 5 percent, and 6 percent respectively. In Baltimore, 91 percent of the nonwhite owner-occupied units were built before 1950, compared to 60 percent of the white units; in Philadelphia, 95 percent of nonwhite owner-occupied units were of pre-1950 vintage compared to 69 percent for whites; in Washington, the figures were nonwhite 86 percent and white 49 percent.²⁴

The reasons middle-class Negroes give for wanting to move to suburbia are very similar to those cited by white suburban migrants. According to Grier, "Most of all, they want a good neighborhood. They define this goal in terms of safety, quiet, adequate play space for the children, good schools, conscientious property maintenance, and neighbors of similar backgrounds and interests."²⁵ There may be, in addition to these reasons, a desire for the social status conferred by suburban living. The status-consciousness of middle-class Negroes is emphasized by Frazier,²⁶ and certain findings from the Bridgeview study suggest that Negroes who have moved to the suburbs and participate in organizations designed to stabilize the neighborhood (prevent its complete invasion) are motivated more by status concern than by the idealism which characterizes their liberal white associates.²⁷

The development of a Negro middle class has been referred to as an established fact; at this point, data from three metropolitan areas will be presented to illustrate the recency of this development, and the unmet housing demands which exist as a result of the discrepancy between their incomes and the housing available for Negro occupancy.

Table 2 illustrates the rise in the income of nonwhite persons between 1949 and 1959 in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C.

TABLE 2
 Rise in Income of Nonwhite Persons in Three Cities
 1949-1959*

Income	1949		1959	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
<u>Baltimore:</u>				
Under \$3000	106,535	92	112,173	64
\$3000-3999	6,775	6	26,948	15
\$4000-4999	1,370	1.2	20,108	11
\$5000-5999	390	.3	9,546	5
\$6000 or more	520	.4	6,697	4
Total with income:	115,590	100.0	175,472	100.0
<u>Philadelphia:</u>				
Under \$3000	182,690	90	205,308	62
\$3000-3999	15,380	8	53,109	16
\$4000-4999	2,265	1	40,737	12
\$5000-5999	725	.4	20,774	6
\$6000 or more	825	.4	13,056	4
Total with income:	201,885	100.0	332,984	100.0
<u>Washington:</u>				
Under \$3000	143,040	89	139,876	56
\$3000-3999	13,685	9	42,878	17
\$4000-4999	2,315	1	40,263	16
\$5000-5999	765	.4	15,958	6
\$6000 or more	920	.6	12,877	5
Total with income:	160,725	100.0	251,852	100.0

* Source: Housing and Home Finance Agency. Potential Housing Demand of Non-White Population in Selected Metropolitan Areas, Washington, D. C., April 1963, p. 12 (percentages computed by this investigator).

Not only did the percentage of nonwhites making less than \$3000 (the "official" definition of poverty) decrease from around 90 percent to between 56 and 64 percent, but the percentage making more than \$6000 increased from less than one percent to around five percent. Since at the same time the total Negro population was increasing, this represents a gain in the number of Negroes earning more than \$6000 from under 1000 in all three cities in 1949 to a high of more than 13,000 in Philadelphia in 1959, nearly 13,000 in Washington, D.C., and 6,697 in Baltimore. When these same figures are computed for the rise in the number of Negroes earning more than \$3000 per year, the size of the potential market for better housing becomes even more evident. There is no reason to suspect that this increase in Negro income has not continued since 1959; if it has, even at a decreasing rate, the size of the potential market would have at least doubled since these figures were collected.

TABLE 3

Increase in Owner-Occupied Housing Units
Among Nonwhites in Three Cities, 1950-1960*

<u>City</u>	<u>Number increased</u>	<u>Percentage increased</u>
Baltimore	17,045	108
Philadelphia	42,401	106
Washington	19,804	80

* Source: Housing and Home Finance Agency. Potential Housing Demand of Non-White Population in Selected Metropolitan Areas, Washington, D. C., April 1963, p. 50.

Table 3 shows that the increase in income has been accompanied by an increase in the number of owner-occupied housing units among non-

whites, but that this increase is nowhere near proportionate to the rise in income. For example, in Philadelphia, where the number of nonwhites earning more than \$6000 increased by approximately 1000 percent, the percentage of increase in owner-occupied housing units increased by only 106 percent. The implications of these figures in terms of unmet housing needs of middle-class nonwhite families were explored by the Housing and Home Finance Agency with the results shown in Table 4. In the three cities, the discrepancy between percentages

TABLE 4

Indication of Market for Additional Homes Valued at \$15,000 or More
in Three Cities Among Nonwhite Families
with 1959 Incomes of \$7,000 to \$10,000*
(assuming value-to-income relationships comparable to white families)

	Baltimore		Philadelphia		Washington	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Total families, income \$7,000 to \$10,000:						
Number	91,060	9,345	247,500	19,590	111,012	18,531
Percent renters	21	38	17	28	41	43
Percent owners	79	62	83	72	59	57
Owner-occupied homes valued at \$15,000 or more:						
Number	15,860	300	49,754	411	41,974	3,882
Percent	17	3	20	2	38	21
Additional homes needed for nonwhite owners to reach white percentage:						
	-	1,289	-	3,507	-	3,160

* Source: Housing and Home Finance Agency. Potential Housing Demand of Non-White Population in Selected Metropolitan Areas, Washington, D. C., April 1963, p. 51, 53.

of white and nonwhite home ownership, income and type of home being held constant, ranged from 14 percent in Baltimore (1,289 homes) to 19 percent in Washington (3,160 homes). While this is not a large number in terms of the total number of housing units which exist in these areas, it does not represent the size of the total potential market, since it gives figures only for families in the \$7,000 to \$10,000 income bracket. There is, in short, a good-sized potential market among Negroes for homes, and it is a rapidly expanding market as equal opportunities in employment increase and Negro education improves.

The various components of this discrepancy between white and nonwhite home ownership are the objects of the fair housing effort. The fears which developed earlier in the invasion process, when lower-class Negroes encroached upon older, often already deteriorating white neighborhoods and transformed them into slums are now causing resistance when members of the new Negro middle class attempt to obtain housing which they can afford and badly need. Knowing of this resistance, the greater share of Negroes who might otherwise consider moving to another neighborhood remain in the ghetto, often unaware of the possibility of leaving it. As business and government move to the suburbs, Negroes commute out from central cities as long as suburban housing is not open to them. The professional Negro who, because of increasing employment opportunities, has found a good job, spends months finding a home in an area that is not blighted, and in the process goes through the extremely trying experience of being snubbed and rejected by countless real estate agencies and/or white homeowners.²⁸ Real estate agents are deliberately turning away an almost untapped market. While some of the factors in

the segregation of rental housing units are somewhat different from those bearing upon single-family dwellings, there is some indication that the management of rental units is actually willing to take a financial loss to avoid integration. In a study of apartment vacancies in Schenectady, New York, Mercer found that the percentage of vacancies could have been substantially reduced if managers had been willing to rent to Negroes. On the assumption that admission of Negroes would not have resulted in a white exodus, he concluded that "discrimination in the selection of tenants is a major barrier in the way of higher and steadier income for landlords and better housing, with all its concomitant benefits, for a substantial number of people."²⁹

Mercer's argument would be vitiated, of course, if integration did not "work". Can Negroes and whites live contentedly in the same neighborhood or the same apartment building? The evidence illustrates that they can.³⁰ Perhaps the best-known study in this field was done by Deutsch and Collins on an integrated public housing project. They found that the more integrated an occupancy area was, the more friendly contacts developed between white and Negro tenants. The attitudes of whites toward Negroes in general were also more favorable in integrated projects. Physical proximity of the two groups and the social climate created by the management's approval of this proximity were key factors in the development of harmonious relations.³¹ It was previously noted that segregation, which permits minimal contacts between whites and Negroes, actually encourages prejudice; the Deutsch and Collins study suggests that, conversely, integration discourages it. Williams found a somewhat similar result in examining the relationship between interaction with members of the minority group and white prejudice: the

greater the frequency of interaction, the lower the prevalence of ethnic prejudice. This held in all surveys in all communities for all groups that were studied.³²

This phenomenon, sometimes called the "contact hypothesis", is consonant with social disorganization theory, since contact and interaction have often been assumed to increase understanding of the values and meanings of the "out-group". It is not in agreement with the findings of Sherif's famous experiments on group conflict, however, where contact and interaction alone were not sufficient to overcome intergroup hostility; an overriding goal which was shared by both groups and which required the cooperation of both was also a necessary condition.³³ By way of resolving this apparent contradiction, Williams points out that "understanding will reduce antipathy and the likelihood of conflict only if the groups like or respect what they discover by understanding each other or if one group finds that the threat posed by the other, though real, is not so severe, unalterable, or immediate as previously believed."³⁴

This is perhaps why integration in housing has "worked" in so many cases -- as whites observe that middle-class Negro neighbors do not fit their stereotypes (which tend to be based upon the lower-class Negro), that fears of undesirable effects of Negro entry are not realized, prejudices are mitigated and may disappear altogether. If fear leads to panic behavior before integration has had a chance to work, before white neighbors have had an opportunity to interact with a Negro home-buyer as a person rather than as a Negro, the result can be an incident (of violence or of economic loss) which reinforces initial fears and intensifies prejudice.

CHAPTER III

THE FAIR HOUSING MOVEMENT

The Background and Scope of the Movement

'Fair Housing' Groups
Breach Racial Barriers
In More Communities

Neighbors Generally Accept
Negroes Calmly, but Some
Moves Touch Off Violence

-- Headline, The Wall Street
Journal, October 8, 1964

Operating at the grass roots and working for an open housing market in their own communities, these groups have a vast potential for building democratic neighborhood patterns.

-- Edward Rutledge, Director
National Committee Against
Discrimination in Housing

.... The fair housing movement (for the more than 500 fair housing groups around the country are becoming a movement) is one of the most significant trends in American human relations today they express the conscience of America regarding a key question in our national life I expect the movement to spread, and to reach down to the lower income person in the urban centers. Whether or not this happens may determine in part the future of our cities and whether a healthy diversity prevails, or people are boxed off into compartmentalized living with its inherent possibilities for tension and violence.

-- Charlotte Meacham
National Representative
Housing Programs
American Friends Service
Committee

[Fair housing groups] are providing a most important medium of public understanding and reconciliation, of allaying false fears, and laying the base for voluntary open occupancy in our communities. Their

efforts are demonstrating that, in practice, equal opportunity in housing does not lead to a decline of property values, but rather, in this day and time, to stabilization and security of the urban neighborhood and community.

-- Robert C. Weaver
Administrator
Housing and Home Finance
Agency

Introductory Comments. Above is a sample of the commentaries on fair housing which have been becoming more and more common in the mass media and in communities across the United States. The growth in the number of fair housing organizations in the past five years has been substantial; the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing (NCDH), which has made a systematic attempt to keep track of their number, identified 18 in 1960, 250 in 1963, and now, according to a recent estimate by Margaret Fisher, Director of Information for NCDH, there are more than 600.

In this chapter, an effort will be made to describe some of the critical aspects of the growth, structure, financing, and programs of these groups. Detailed documentation of the information sources drawn upon in the collection of this material will not be attempted, since most of it has been obtained through correspondence and interviews with individuals in the forefront of the movement or unpublished material (e.g., booklets, pamphlets, copies of speeches) provided by those who are active in it. The fair housing seminar held in Washington, D. C., on March 4, 1965, with representatives from groups in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington areas and from the District of Columbia Council on Human Relations, was invaluable in providing comparative information on the various groups and situations in which they were operating. While some of the data on the movement in the

Washington area was obtained at first hand, much of it was not, and all of the information on the movement elsewhere has come from second- or third-hand sources. For this reason, and because the statistical information which is available has been collected by the groups which are actively supporting the movement, there is a possibility of bias in facts and figures.

One further note of caution in the interpretation of this material should be sounded, and that is the undefined nature of the key term, the "previously all-white neighborhood." This is the concept used in computing "move-ins", which refer to the entrance of a Negro family into a "previously all-white neighborhood". It will be assumed, when this term is used, that the all-white neighborhood consists of a cluster of dwellings with some identity either as a development, a street or streets, or a block or blocks, in which a Negro family has never lived. The size of a "neighborhood" is what poses the problem; if, for example, two Negro families moved into the same ten-block area, would they be in the same or different "neighborhoods"? If they are counted as different neighborhoods in compiling the move-in figures which constitute the basic criterion of the effect of a fair housing group, the impression of the group's impact would be somewhat different than if they were counted as "the same" neighborhood and only the first move-in in that neighborhood were included in the figure. Resolution of this definition problem would require a study in itself, and the "previously all-white neighborhood" will thus remain an ambiguous concept in the following discussion.

The Values and Philosophy of the Movement. Nowhere in the civil rights movement is Gross's observation that its general philosophy is

that of modern psychological and sociological theories (see Chapter I, p. 13) more apparent than in the fair housing movement. While many of those who have set its basic pattern have had social scientific training, this is less significant than the incorporation in its literature and strategy of both methods and findings of the social sciences, particularly those of sociology and social psychology, which are now being employed by rank amateurs at the grass-roots level.

The basic values underlying the fair housing movement is that of the civil rights movement as a whole -- equal opportunity regardless of race, color, or creed. In this sense, what Gross called the "philosophy" of social scientific theories is being turned to a distinct end, that of equalizing opportunity, and in the process loses the objectivity which is its distinguishing hallmark. However, in the methods by which this end is being sought in housing, a dual emphasis upon empirical evidence and upon the subtleties of human relations and behavior dynamics is found which is clearly in the social scientific tradition, both drawing upon previous findings and urging groups to make use of certain methods developed by social science to do their own studies in the specific community in which they are operating.

The significance of this is its testimony that those leading the fair housing movement are not distorting facts -- their approach is not such that they need be afraid of empirical results. On the contrary, they actively seek factual information and attempt to use it, in the full awareness of the problems which surround the acquisition and employment of the necessary techniques and theoretical material, and the enormity of the task facing the amateur who attempts to master them. This is reflected in a quotation in the following pages from Thelma

Babbit, one of the first full-time professional staff workers in the area of fair housing. It is also reflected in many of the documents prepared for use by fair housing groups in organizing and program planning. The following quotations from the Fair Housing Handbook (jointly prepared by NCDH and the American Friends Service Committee) are illustrative:

[On "ground work" to provide orientation to members]: A workshop on the real estate industry and how it operates, particularly with respect to the sale and financing of housing. Try to find cooperative brokers, builders, and lenders to serve as consultants. Failing this, search out knowledgeable persons from a nearby government housing agency or from a college or university.

[On contact with community leaders]: Urge your town officials to see to it that personnel in government agencies, including the state and local police departments, are given in-service training in intergroup relations. This is extremely important. A local human relations commission, a private agency or nearby college may have professional staff qualified to conduct such training courses.

[On work in the community]: Do an "in-depth" survey of your community: racial patterns; housing conditions and supply; price range of housing in various neighborhoods; housing demand among minority-group families in your general area; practices of the real estate industry; effect or anticipated effect of urban renewal, highway or other projects; racial patterns in schools and other community institutions. Report your findings via public meetings, press, radio, etc.

An understanding of the way in which the self-fulfilling prophecy of the drop in property values following the entrance of Negroes into a community operates, a grasp of the way in which community leaders influence the attitudes and behaviors of those they lead, a realization of the importance of contact and interpersonal communication in breaking down the barriers of prejudice and misunderstanding, are among the many findings of sociologists and social psychologists which are being deliberately utilized in the programming of fair housing activities. These points will not be related by the investigator directly to the

program activities described in the following pages, but the reader familiar with the literature of social science will find the interconnections quite obvious.

One is led to the inescapable conclusion that the fair housing movement is spawning in its wake a large number of applied social scientists. This may indeed be "bastardized" social science, whose practitioners would have a bit of trouble passing the final in introductory sociology or psychology. But, as the findings will illustrate, many if not most of these self-educated sociologists have college degrees, giving them solid educational experience to which the new knowledge may be assimilated. Perhaps the most puzzling thing about this characteristic of fair housing, however, is not that social scientific findings are providing the basis for the movement's strategy, but how these findings came to be translated so rapidly from scientific jargon into grass-roots social action with no apparent help from the researchers, who continue to repose undisturbed in the groves of academe.

The Movement's Source in Stabilization Efforts. The fair housing movement had its beginnings in the activity of the American Friends Service Committee. The AFSC was founded in 1917 by the Society of Friends as "one of the corporate expressions of Quaker faith and practice". Its national office is in Philadelphia, and it has regional offices in Cambridge, Mass.; Chicago, Ill.; Dayton, Ohio; Des Moines, Iowa; High Point, N. C.; Houston, Texas; New York City; Pasadena and San Francisco, Calif.; and Seattle, Washington. Its operations are international in scope, and AFSC projects overseas have been cited as forerunners of the Peace Corps. The sources of its support are not

specified (in the words of Charlotte Meacham, "It is not our practice to give specific information on the source of our funds and amount expended"); however, in view of the scope and diversity of its projects, it clearly has strong financial backing.

AFSC's entrance into the housing field was sparked by a crisis in Cicero, Illinois in 1951, when a Negro family attempted to move into an apartment in a previously all-white area. Thus AFSC's initial systematic efforts were not in the area of the integration of previously all-white neighborhoods, but in crisis situations and in stabilization of changing neighborhoods, when panic and block-busting were affecting the well-being of the individual home-owner. The pioneer effort of this kind was in the Germantown area of Philadelphia, which resulted in the publication by John McDermott and Dennis Clark, "Helping the Panic Neighborhood -- A Philadelphia Approach" in 1955. By 1956, stabilization efforts had spread to Baltimore, Maryland, Teaneck, New Jersey, and Springfield Gardens in New York City. Other successful stabilization efforts have been identified in the Hyde Park-Kenwood area of Chicago, in the South MacGregor Estates area of Houston, Texas, and in Washington, D. C., where Neighbors, Inc., has succeeded for seven years in preventing a section of northwest Washington from becoming all-Negro despite the tremendous pressure existing on the Negro population in that city.

Community action techniques are the major portion of programming in stabilization efforts. One such technique is the placing of "Not for Sale" signs in front of member's homes, to indicate to neighbors and to realtors with block-busting intent that they are not panicked by the appearance of a new Negro neighbor. Another technique is to

insure that the demand by whites for homes in the area will not diminish. This is done by taking steps to keep the neighborhood a pleasant place in which to live -- maintaining yards and homes; putting pressure on the city for street repair, garbage collection, recreational facilities, and other services; insuring that the quality of schools remains high, etc. It also includes attempts to make the area known to newcomers by posting notices on bulletin boards in places of employment and contacting realtors handling property for sale. In these techniques can be seen the awareness of the characteristics, physical and social, of the community which were carried over into the fair housing movement.

The Beginning of the Fair Housing Movement. One of the effects of successful stabilization was to further restrict the housing available to Negroes, since in the operation of an unrestricted and unprejudiced market they were no longer able to "fill up" the areas in which barriers to colored occupancy had been broken. Just who got the idea that stabilization might be combined with efforts to open new areas to Negro occupancy is not known. The pioneer efforts in fair housing, as distinguished from stabilization, however, were in the activities of the AFSC in the Philadelphia area, particularly in Burlington County, New Jersey, where the Burlington County Human Relations Council (BCHRC) was established in 1957.

The project review of the BCHRC, prepared by a four-member subcommittee of the AFSC National Housing Program (which probably represents one of the most thorough and thoughtful case studies of a fair housing group available) cites a number of factors which led to its establishment. Chief among these was the public furor which accompanied the attempt of a Negro family to move into segregated Levittown,

Pennsylvania, in 1957. Burlington County (which is crossed by the Mason-Dixon line) was in a process of transition from a predominantly rural, conservative area into a suburb. Its schools had recently been desegregated, and it was rapidly developing urban-suburban character as "decentralized" industry located within its precincts and "outsiders" came to outnumber original residents. Also, it had a core group of long-time Quaker residents with many contacts in the power structure. Their religious convictions, plus the fact that Levitt proposed to locate another "Levittown for whites and Orientals only" in the county, plus the fact that Negro employees of the new suburban industries had been looking for housing in the area for more than two years and were still commuting out from Philadelphia or Camden, prompted the influential Quaker community to request the help of AFSC in integrating Burlington County housing. Despite the deliberately broad goals adopted by the BCHRC, the project review says that "it seems clear that the Council was established as a local group to carry on an action-education program for housing desegregation."

The Development of Fair Housing Techniques. At the time the Burlington County group was formed, there were really no "experts" in the field of the creation of open housing opportunities. Again, to quote the project review (a statement by Thelma Babbit):

It requires a considerable investment of time and patience to bring along a group of people whose inclinations and attitudes are very open on this subject to a point where they are aware of and informed about the complexities and ramifications of this problem. This means that the most favorably inclined individual is faced with the need to spend much more time than he expected, simply to inform himself to a point where he can meet the opposition equipped with facts that will help him challenge effectively the myths and half-truths that surround this controversial subject.

Out of these considerable investments of time and effort came the techniques which are now being employed, as locally appropriate, in most other fair housing groups. One such technique is the "open covenant". Inspired by the old "restrictive covenant" preventing the sale of property to Negroes, which was signed by groups of citizens and/or attached to property deeds (until declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court), the open covenant is a statement to the opposite effect. The sample covenant in the Fair Housing Handbook reads as follows:

GOOD NEIGHBOR PLEDGE

I Believe: that every person has the moral and constitutional right to purchase or rent a home anywhere without limitations based on race, religion, or national origin.

I Believe: it is imperative that within our metropolitan area all persons of good will unite with others of like conviction to take an active role in helping to achieve freedom of opportunity in housing.

Therefore, I will welcome into my neighborhood any responsible person of whatever race, religion, or national origin, and I will work with him and other neighbors to create a desirable community for all.

In Burlington County, a covenant was presented by BCHRC members to religious and civic groups, neighbors and friends, which served the triple purpose of publicizing the group, giving its members an opportunity to discuss with others their newly developing knowledge in the field of housing and intergroup relations, and providing the group with a list of suburban homeowners who were favorably disposed toward integrated neighborhoods.

Various techniques of developing community awareness of the problem (often referred to as "educational") were tried out. One of the most effective was the leadership conference, where influentials in the community were brought together to discuss the ramifications of

equal opportunity in housing. Others included holding public meetings with well-known speakers (Eleanor Roosevelt and the Rev. Wyatt T. Walker, executive assistant to Martin Luther King, spoke in Burlington County) and by providing speakers on fair housing at meetings of other local groups.

Perhaps the most important of BCHRC's innovations in technique was the listing service, which made it possible for white homeowners who were willing to sell to Negroes and Negro buyers to get together outside the normal real estate channels. While not acting as a broker, the Council served as a medium through which willing buyer and willing seller could bypass the practices of discrimination entrenched in that institution. This activity inevitably involved contacts, both friendly and hostile, with local realtors. While the balance in realtor contacts has been on the hostile side for every group on which information was obtained, there have also been a handful who are willing to take the first steps toward creating an open market.

Evaluation and Present Status of the Pioneer Group. In evaluating the success of the Burlington County Human Relations Council, its reviewers were cautious and carefully avoided giving any figures on the number of move-ins. BCHRC's role as a focal point for many forces working toward equality of opportunity as the civil rights movement gained impetus was emphasized, as was its role in illustrating that white and Negro communities could work harmoniously together. The Burlington County group is atypical in that it has a substantial number of Negro members, which often gave rise to tension in the process of working out goals and techniques. The group is also atypical in that it was at first subsidized by the AFSC, which underwrote its operating

costs for the first few years and gave it the benefit of a full-time professional staff member, an amenity far beyond the means of most fair housing groups. The fact that BCHRC was becoming self-supporting, with AFSC fiscal backing phasing out, was further indication of its success in the eyes of its reviewers.

BCHRC was among those groups receiving the questionnaire prepared for this study who returned it. According to these data, the membership has diminished from 333 at the end of 1963 to 302 in March 1965. The full-time professional staff member is a thing of the past, though one is available part-time. Some 25 volunteers are engaged in showing homes or otherwise working on the listing service. The ratio of houses available (listings) to potential Negro buyers is heavily in favor of the former; current figures are 20 listings and 3 buyers. This ratio was "about average", according to the ex-chairman of the group. However, since June 1957, there have been 127 move-ins in the county. The project review made it quite clear that BCHRC cannot, nor does it wish to, take credit for all move-ins which occur. It does suggest, however, that the climate which the group's activities have begun to establish has made many of these move-ins possible in an indirect way, and of course it assisted directly in many others.

Development and Growth of the Movement. While Burlington County was serving as a testing ground for the development of techniques, the fair housing movement was expanding. Boston, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, New York, and finally Washington, D. C. metropolitan areas became major sites of the effort. It would probably be erroneous to assume that AFSC was the initiator of all the fair housing groups it serves; however, it has often been there with a helping hand, apparently

at the request of local residents. It has not provided financing directly to any fair housing groups since the Burlington County experience. Its consultants are available to many groups to help with organization, community relations, and the general know-how which a decade of experience has given them, but fair housing groups are locally autonomous in policy, programming, leadership, and staff, both volunteer and professional. The AFSC may carry on complementary programs on its own, as the Metropolitan Washington Housing Program is doing in the Negro community in the District of Columbia.

Frances Levenson of NCDH describes the typical fair housing group as follows:

... a strictly indigenous affair, with no formal tie to any national or outside organization. Interestingly, they are found most often in upper middle class white suburbia. These committees are a classic example of grass-roots initiative, formed entirely by individual residents of the localities in which they operate. All of their activities are centered on one objective: making integration a reality in their own communities. The committees are usually organized by a small group who somehow become concerned at the all-white character of their community. They are motivated by moral conviction and most importantly by concern for their children's growing up in a lily-white neighborhood in a multi-racial world. There is no set pattern to the initiation of a local fair housing committee. It may have been directly or indirectly sparked by some program of church or synagogue, or of a civil rights agency, or a political body. A particular incident of discrimination may have aroused indignation of some people with sound democratic attitudes who were heretofore complacent.

This assessment summarizes some of the basic characteristics of fair housing groups. While there is not a great deal of evidence to support Miss Levenson's contention that concern over children's growing up in "a lily-white neighborhood in a multi-racial world" is a primary motivation, or that the sole objective of fair housing groups is integration of their own communities, the fact that fair housing has somehow "caught on" at the grass-roots level seems quite apparent. That

the movement is following the basic pattern set in Burlington County is equally apparent, as the survey of the groups in the Washington, D. C. area will show.

Fair Housing in Washington, D. C.

The Movement's Early Phase. In the spring of 1962, a group of Montgomery County citizens formed a committee to take the preliminary steps toward organizing a fair housing group. Among them were several citizens affiliated with welfare, housing, and stabilization programs in the District of Columbia, and others active in "liberal" groups. The nature of the concerns which prompted their action included their knowledge of the Negro housing situation in the metropolitan area, their own convictions and, according to one informant, the conservative trend of recent political activity in Montgomery County which had given rise among liberals to a hunger for action.

After work had begun on the proposal, they learned that the AFSC had expressed interest in establishing a housing program in Washington. The planning committee, a selected group of citizens from Prince George's and Montgomery Counties, and Mrs. Charlotte Meacham of the AFSC met and laid the groundwork for the establishment of the AFSC's Metropolitan Washington Housing Program (MWHP) and the independent Suburban Maryland Fair Housing (SMFH). The MWHP began work in the fall of 1962, following careful exploration with leaders of religious, civic, and government groups in the metropolitan area, and had a staff of three professionals by June of 1963. In the meantime, on November 19, 1962, the organization meeting of Suburban Maryland Fair Housing, Inc., was held and a 21-member board of directors elected. At the

end of 1962, the group claimed 125 members, growing to 445 at the end of 1963 and to 1,319 in March 1965.*

The Scope and Program of SMFH. As the first fair housing group in the area, the operation of SMFH is of particular interest, as it illustrates the reception the fair housing idea received initially. At present, SMFH is perhaps the largest and most effective group on the mid-Atlantic seaboard. Its membership is almost entirely white and is drawn from a county with one of the highest socio-economic levels in the United States. Its source of funds is solely from membership dues and voluntary contributions, yet its 1964 budget was almost identical to the formerly AFSC-subsidized BCHRC, and SMFH's estimated 1965 budget is \$3000 larger. The only financial problem noted by its executive secretary was a delay in obtaining tax-free status. So responsive were the citizens of suburban Maryland that a "P.S." on an early newsletter suggesting that funds were needed netted more than \$2000 in voluntary contributions.

At present, SMFH has a full-time executive secretary (not related to the AFSC) and 53 volunteers working on its listing service, which has 84 buyers and 55 listings. In connection with the buyer-listing ratio, there have never been more buyers than homes, but the numbers have often been closer. (This is the reverse of the situation in the Philadelphia area, where groups consistently report more homes than buyers. Since there seems to be little, if any, difference in the socioeconomic status of the Negro in the two metropolitan areas -- see Table 2 -- this difference is not immediately explicable, especially since the movement in the Philadelphia area has a history longer by some six years

* SMFH also returned the questionnaire, from which these data were taken.

and is backed by law.) There had been about ten move-ins in Montgomery County prior to the group's establishment; as of March 1965, there were 81 additional move-ins, bringing the total to nearly 100. SMFH has been more successful in finding cooperative brokers than have many other groups (the number growing from three to around twenty in the past year); however, they have not established their own open-occupancy brokerage as has the AFSC in Philadelphia.

The program of SMFH is very similar to that described for the BCHRC. In addition to their listing service, public meetings are held, 15,000 signatures were obtained on the Good Neighbor Pledge Drive (the open covenant), a speaker's bureau provides speakers at meetings of other groups, and a carefully organized network of contacts throughout the county assures that someone will be available to help pave the way in case of a move-in in nearly any neighborhood.

Fair Housing in the District of Columbia.* Not long after the formation of SMFH, a Negro family attempted to move into the Chevy Chase-D. C. area. The problems which this created led to the formation of the Chevy Chase Neighborhood Association in October 1963. (One of the individuals who helped found it was the late Rev. James J. Reeb, who was killed in connection with the civil rights demonstration in Selma, Alabama, in February 1965.) This group has some 600 members in the upper Northwest area. In response to a similar incident, the Northwest Washington Fair Housing and Improvement Association was established in February 1964, covering the Cleveland Park residential area and neighborhoods in its vicinity. As of March 1965, this group had 232 members, and its budget consisted entirely of membership dues. It was operating on a yearly figure of under \$200 (\$50 to \$100 less than

* Both groups returned the questionnaire.

the Chevy Chase group and very small compared to the projected 1965 budget of \$8000 for SMFH). While arrangements for a merger are under way, which may broaden their financial resources and programming, the difference in the scope of fair housing in the District and in Montgomery County is strong. This difference is probably related both to the relative size and populations of the areas covered by the groups, and to the nature of the housing in those areas. Montgomery County has much middle-income housing, while the residential areas with which the District groups are concerned are primarily upper-middle and upper class, meaning that the Negro demand for housing is limited. The combined total of move-ins for both District groups as of March 1965 was 20, perhaps reflecting this demand limitation. The District groups do not operate listing services, though they sometimes show houses informally, but confine themselves to neighborhood educational activities, community relations, and working with realtors and the District Council on Human Relations. It was pointed out by the chairman of the Northwest Fair Housing and Improvement Association that many foreign families living in the Northwest area have lent a cosmopolitan aura which minimizes problems in the neighborhood when Negroes move in. The major problem is with the realtors, who steadfastly refuse cooperation on open listings. He also pointed out that the group has been very careful to see that move-ins are dispersed throughout the area rather than concentrated in a few blocks, to avoid any impression that a ghetto is imminent.

The Spread of the Movement in the Suburbs. SMFH, though allegedly covering the entire suburban Maryland area, found that its membership was drawn primarily from Montgomery County and its activity concentrated there. In late 1963 and early 1964, partly in response to the picketing

of William J. Levitt's Belair development at Bowie, Maryland, partly due to some difficulty which developed in the southwest area of Prince George's County as the result of a move-in, and partly because of the efforts of the MWHP staff in opening the most populous and rapidly growing suburban area to Negroes, a Prince George's County Fair Housing group began to take form. SMFH and the Maryland staff worker of MWHP cooperated in obtaining the help of community leaders and church groups, and SMFH established a separate listing service for Prince George's County. Seven move-ins had already taken place when the organization meeting of Prince George's County Fair Housing, Inc. (PGFH) was held on June 3, 1964. The housing information service was taken over by members of PGFH, and attempts began to establish the necessary network of community contacts to smooth the move-in process. However, the rate of organization has not, to date, been able to catch up with the move-in rate; there have been thirty since the group became established one year ago. Many have taken place without the organization's knowledge, or with very late notification, meaning that community relations work has been sporadic and both volunteer staff members and the MWHP representative have led harried existences. The predominance of buyers over listings characteristic of SMFH is also true for PGFH, though in actual numbers PGFH has fewer of both. It seems likely that this is true due to differences in the social structure and socioeconomic character of the two counties; Prince George's County is making the transition to a modern suburb at a later date, and from a more rural and small-town base, than did Montgomery County. An analysis of these two counties from this standpoint would be a study in itself and will not be attempted here.

Northern Virginia Fair Housing was established in 1964 and covers the entire Virginia section of the suburban metropolitan area. The group has between 500 and 800 members (they did not respond to the questionnaire, so exact figures have not been obtained). Their Fair Housing Campaign is perhaps one of the most systematic efforts at gaining publicity and public cooperation ever engaged in by a fair housing group. After obtaining joint sponsorship at a high level from Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish faiths, they organized a many-faceted program. On "Fair Housing Sunday", 140 ministers, priests, and rabbis preached on the topic of equal opportunity in housing. More than 600 community leaders and citizens attended a fair housing convocation. A \$1000 advertisement in the Washington Post announced the Good Neighbor Pledge Drive, and 3000 volunteers were turned loose on some 50,000 homes in the area on "fair housing weekend" to obtain signatures on an open covenant. The drive was organized on a precinct basis, and the claim was that on the weekend of March 5, 6 and 7, someone would knock on every door in northern Virginia. Radio, television, and the press covered the effort, and 30,000 brochures were distributed through churches in the area. The result was that 14,883 persons signed the pledge, 21,634 refused, the others were not at home or wanted more time to think about it. In the process, the problem of segregation in housing was brought to the attention of suburban Virginians on a large scale.

Were more information available on this group, the effects of the socioeconomic character of the area and the nature of the residential areas it includes would perhaps be as evident as they have been in the other groups discussed. The total number of move-ins to date has not been obtained, but between May 1 and October 1, 1964, there were six,

all having been aided by the fair housing group. This suggests that resistance in Virginia may be even stronger than that in Prince George's County (generally believed to pose more difficult integration problems than Montgomery County by fair housing leaders). Perhaps Virginia's identity as a Southern state also affects Negro demand for homes there.

Overview of Fair Housing Activity in the Washington Area. In the three years since SMFH was established, the movement has grown from a handful of concerned citizens to a membership of more than 3,500 (using the conservative estimate of 500 members in Northern Virginia Fair Housing), and some 30,000 area residents have signed open covenants. Excluding activity in northern Virginia, there were 98 volunteers showing 77 homes to 158 potential Negro buyers as of March 1965, and approximately 150 move-ins had taken place by that date.

If the projected merger of the Chevy Chase Neighborhood Association and the Northwest Washington Fair Housing and Improvement Association takes place, there will be four groups covering nearly all areas of predominantly white residence in metropolitan Washington. This tendency toward centralization is in contrast to the Philadelphia area, where 23 smaller localized groups are coordinated by the "umbrella" organization, the Delaware Valley Fair Housing Council. Liaison between a limited professional staff (provided by AFSC) and many small organizations has proved to be difficult and formation of groups at the community level in the Washington area was discouraged by the MWHP, a sign of the growing sophistication in organizational structure which is being achieved as the movement widens. The result has been that the few small groups in the Washington area which did exist prior to the formation of the larger organizations have since merged with them, with

two exceptions -- the Belair Forum (which deals with other civic problems in Belair as well as fair housing) and Greenbelt Citizens for Fair Housing, the group on which the "case study" was done. The continued autonomy of these two groups is probably due to the fact that both communities are to some extent physically distinct from the metropolitan complex, with unique geographic identities which have tended to keep them aloof from the bustling county of which they are a part.

Some General Characteristics of the Movement. It is perhaps significant that in a metropolitan complex in a border area between North and South, 150 Negro families have moved into previously all-white neighborhoods (many of which were covered by restrictive covenants that were enforced in practice long after they ceased to be legal) without a single incident of violence. Some Negro families have received cool receptions at first; others have been welcomed warmly into the neighborhood. The former director of MWHP gave the following example of the kinds of prejudice Negroes encountered in suburbia: Negro homeowners moving to a Montgomery County suburb in late October 1964 were given a cocktail party by their new neighbors who welcomed them warmly -- until they learned that the Negroes were Goldwater Republicans.

This incident brings up the question of the types of people who are joining the movement. Connections with liberal organizations and social welfare activity have been characteristic of the groups' leaders. While this cannot be gone into in detail at this point (it will be discussed more fully in connection with the Greenbelt case study, where adequate data was collected), the fair housing movement is clearly a part of the general civil rights movement and a product of the "liberal" ideology of the 1960s. To attempt to define the nature of this ideology

is to venture upon perilous waters, for it manifests itself in many ways. However, it basically appears to consist (at least in large part) of the way in which a person reacts to the age-old question of the conflict between the individual and society. While the conservative is likely to emphasize individual rights and autonomy at the expense of groups to which he does not belong, the liberal is likely to think in terms of the welfare of groups whether or not he belongs to them, and to believe that individual rights stop at the point where they begin to have adverse effects upon any group.*

The fair housing movement began, in the stabilization efforts, as a means of protecting the individual property owner against the loss he often incurred in the process of the transition of his neighborhood from white to Negro. This concept is less "liberal" than that of the fair housing movement, which is based on the broader goal of making the housing of their choice available to Negroes -- an out-group, since the membership in fair housing groups is predominantly white. This concern for the out-group, while it has crossed the racial line, has not crossed the socioeconomic and cultural barrier, however. The concern of the fair housing movement is not with the problems of the vast Negro lower classes -- it deals solely with the Negro middle-class housing market. There are some who believe, with Charlotte Meacham, that the movement will develop further to foster the economically mixed neighborhood, whereby lower-class families can be integrated into the middle-class community. However, Negro families who are currently being helped to enter all-white neighborhoods are not the kind of people who need give their neighbors cause for concern over deterioration and loss of property

* It should be emphasized that this definition is based upon the investigator's own observations and is not intended to be a complete description of the many differences between modern liberalism and conservatism.

value. Their stake in keeping the neighborhood pleasant is in many ways greater than that of their white neighbors; their status-consciousness has already been described, they know that they are pioneers and that they will serve as examples of "Negrohood" to their white acquaintances, and should they be forced to move, they have far fewer places to go than do their white counterparts. The very small number of potential buyers utilizing the fair housing listing services illustrates the small size of the group of middle-class Negroes they are designed to serve. And finally, fair housing leaders are quite aware of the difficulty which moving an "undesirable" Negro family into an all-white neighborhood could create, and attempt to avoid it. These are some of the reasons why violence has not resulted from those move-ins which have occurred.

Perhaps a more important reason is the community relations activity. Aside from the listing services, perhaps the community relations function of the groups is the most significant aspect of their programs. While groups differ as to the exact procedure to be followed in insuring that a move-in will take place calmly, they all act to prevent potential trouble. The procedure might go something like this: A Negro purchases a home in an all-white suburban development. A neighbor sees the Negro family looking at the home and becomes upset. She contacts other neighbors and a meeting is held in someone's home to decide what they should do about it. In the meantime, a volunteer staff worker from fair housing or a professional from AFSC is keeping in close touch with the Negro family and with contacts in the community, including church leaders, civic leaders, and fair housing members, if any. If the anti-integration sentiment in the neighborhood is at all

strong, the community relations worker will hear about it and attempt to learn who is causing the trouble. He or she will contact the people who are upset, perhaps individually, perhaps as a group, and explain the situation, including the property value problem, giving examples of other areas where move-ins have caused no trouble and perhaps asking individuals in these areas who have Negro neighbors to accompany him on visits to worried people. Ministers may be asked to discuss the situation in sermons, or with individual members of their congregations. Well-known individuals in the community will contact those who are upset and attempt to allay their fears. Some fair housing groups plan carefully to assure that the actual move-in does not occur on a weekend or holiday, when there is leisure time for protest activity and men are home from work. Efforts are made to avoid prior publicity on the fact that a Negro is moving into a particular neighborhood to prevent its becoming an issue, and to assure that the move takes place just as any "normal" move would. The Negro family is given people to contact should any trouble develop, care is taken to be sure a telephone is installed before they move in, and police are always told of the situation in advance. These techniques have almost always been successful in avoiding trouble. The investigator made every effort to learn about "incidents" and found none in the Washington area. If there have been any, they have not been publicized. In the field of housing, commonly believed to be the most emotional in the entire civil rights field, this is not a bad record.

Fair Housing and the Law

The Law as a Sanction for Fair Housing. A discussion of the fair housing movement would not be complete without noting the role of fair housing laws in its activity. In a recent issue of the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science on "The Negro Protest", Loren Miller, a judge who is also affiliated with several civil rights related organizations, made the following statement: "Voluntary fair housing councils have sprung up in and around every large city and do effective jobs in agitating for and implementing nondiscriminatory laws and decrees, but are impotent in the absence of legal safeguards."¹ As the preceding section illustrates, this is not an adequate characterization of the situation. In the District of Columbia, a comprehensive fair housing law was passed in 1963, including all categories of housing except owner-occupied one- and two-family dwellings.² Virginia has never considered the passage of such a law, and the fair housing bill before the last session of the Maryland State Legislature was not enacted. Yet the fair housing movement is both more active and more successful, in terms of move-ins, in both these areas, probably due more to the economic character of the housing they contain than to the existence of laws or lack thereof. In the Philadelphia area, which is covered by Pennsylvania and New Jersey fair housing laws, the Pennsylvania law being equally as comprehensive as that of the District of Columbia, the rate of move-ins is much slower and the demand by Negroes for suburban housing less than in suburban Washington areas not covered by fair housing laws.

There is no question but that the passage of fair housing laws and ordinances has lent impetus to the movement. In the BCHRC project

review, it was noted that New Jersey's law, passed almost concurrently with the formation of the group, had a strong psychological effect on the organization and on the general climate of opinion in the area. Also, the District of Columbia fair housing groups developed shortly after the fair housing ordinance was passed. However, these laws do not apparently have much practical effect on the housing market, serving primarily as a psychological weapon rather than as a legal threat.

The Extent of Fair Housing Laws. Federal legislation in the area of housing discrimination does not exist. By Executive Order, President John F. Kennedy in November 1962 prohibited discrimination in the sale or rental of housing and related facilities owned or operated by the federal government or "provided in whole or in part with the aid of loans, advances, grants or contributions" from the government made after that date.³ The order did not prohibit discrimination in conventional financing through institutions engaging in FHA or VA transactions, the result being that only approximately 25% of new housing since 1962 is covered by the order.⁴ Existing housing was in no way affected by it, and the civil rights bill passed in 1964 does not touch upon discrimination in housing.

There has been more action at state and local levels. Laws and ordinances dealing with open occupancy had been passed in eighteen states and 42 cities by 1964. In twelve of the eighteen states, private as well as public housing is included, though owner-occupied housing is commonly exempted even in these states. In eleven of the twelve states where private housing is covered, administrative enforcement is provided. No state statute covered private housing until 1959. Six of the seven states who have considered the constitutionality of these laws have

sustained them.⁵ However, California in 1964 repealed its fair housing law by referendum, and future fair housing legislation by the state or its cities was prohibited. Toledo, Ohio and Tacoma, Washington also repealed their fair housing ordinances by popular vote.⁶

Enforcement of Fair Housing Laws and Human Relations Councils.

The means provided for the enforcement of fair housing laws varies. In New Jersey, the law is administered by the Division on Civil Rights in the Department of Law and Public Safety. Complaints may be filed with the state attorney general by aggrieved individuals, the Commissioner of Labor and Industry, or the Commissioner of Education; and the attorney general himself may also initiate complaints. If probable cause for the complaint is found by investigation, conciliation is first attempted by the attorney general. If this is not satisfactory, a hearing is held before the director of the Division of Civil Rights, who may issue a cease-and-desist order, or require other affirmative action. Judicial review is available to persons aggrieved by the orders of the director, which may be enforced by civil action. Temporary injunctive relief, however, is not available.

In Pennsylvania, a Human Relations Commission was created by statute to administer the fair housing law. The procedure followed here is essentially the same as that in New Jersey, except that complaints are filed with the Human Relations Commission (in the Department of Labor and Industry) rather than with the attorney general, and the measures which may be taken for relief and review are also similar. The District of Columbia put enforcement into the hands of its ever-expanding Council on Human Relations (established in 1959 to help increase racial understanding). Complaints may be settled by conciliation and other informal procedures, by the instigation of appropriate

civil action "to preserve the status quo or to prevent irreparable harm", or by referring the matter to the Real Estate Commission for action. The Real Estate Commission becomes involved when one of its brokers or licensees is involved in the complaint.

The creation of Human Relations Councils or Commissions to enforce fair housing ordinances has further obfuscated the proliferating number of groups which call themselves Human Relations Councils. A Human Relations Council can be established by city or county ordinance to deal with potential problems in the absence of any fair housing law, as is the case in Prince George's and Montgomery Counties and the cities of Greenbelt and Bowie, Maryland. Human Relations Councils can also be voluntary organizations, as is the case with the BCHRC. Both of the latter types have elements in common with what are known in the South as Bi-Racial Councils, established in 55 Southern cities to increase communication between Negro and white communities, and usually created as the result of a threat of militant action by the Negroes.⁷ The official city or county Human Relations Council is limited to conciliation as a technique unless it is backed by a fair housing ordinance; the voluntary, private Human Relations Councils have more in common with fair housing groups than with official groups of the same name.

Even when fair housing laws exist, the powers of the Human Relations Council are limited. Injunctive relief is not available, which means that if court procedures are necessary they may be drawn out over an extended period of time -- which does not help a Negro plaintiff whose basic need is a roof over his head. The District Council on Human Relations has relied largely on conciliation in its

procedures and, since they are carried on in closed session, there was no indication of the number of repeated complaints against the same realtors until seventeen civil rights, religious, and civic groups in the District looked into the matter and discovered that one company had been the object of five complaints before the case was referred for prosecution, and three other companies had been before the Council twice, each time being let off with promises not to discriminate and an offer of housing to the aggrieved parties. In all, of 118 complaints made between January 20, 1963, and December 22, 1964, seven cases had been referred to the city's legal office and only one was prosecuted, ending in a suspended sentence.

Under these conditions, while action is being taken on cases of discrimination where no action was taken before, as long as realtors, developers, and private citizens continue attempts to discriminate, the law is not going to have any substantial effect upon eliminating them. The reason for this is the private nature of real estate transactions; the refusal to serve a Negro at a lunch counter must take place in full view of other patrons, but the realtor's office is peopled by no one but the customer and the realtor himself. There are many dodges a realtor can employ to avoid selling homes to Negroes without coming immediately afoul of the law; many are so subtle that a Negro who protested would actually look foolish. The Delaware Valley Fair Housing Council compiled the following list of forms of discrimination and evasion Negroes have faced in seeking suburban housing:

1. Salesman either gives no sales talk or actually makes derogatory remarks about property in conversation.
2. Broker claims house has just been taken off market.
3. Salesman hides in closet to avoid speaking to Negro customer.

4. Dummy agreement of sale kept on file to "prove" to Negro that house in which he's interested has been sold.
5. Inflated asking price is demanded from Negro customer, but quickly reduced for white buyer.
6. White neighbor encouraged to buy, rent, or take option on house to get it off market.
7. Key is out with other salesman; can't find key, so house can't be shown.
8. Broker's service withdrawn from person wanting to sell on open market.
9. Broker nice to Negro client, but says, "Don't call me, I'll call you." Never calls.
10. Price raised in middle of transaction.
11. Furniture kept in vacant house to give impression that it's owner-occupied and therefore not covered by the fair housing law.
12. "For Sale" sign is removed from in front of vacant house so passing Negro house-hunter won't realize it's on the market.
13. Broker refuses to cooperate with non-discriminatory real estate firm, thereby forcing them either to pull out of the transaction or let the client go ahead with the firm forfeiting their commission.
14. Broker always "out of town" when Negro customer calls.
15. Broker tells Negro client openly that he won't sell to a Negro.

Many of these forms of discrimination are beyond the reach of the law altogether. Many others can be detected only through the use of "checkers" or test cases. A white individual will follow a Negro who is attempting to rent or purchase a housing unit, and they will compare notes to see if they were treated equally. For example, if the Negro is told by the resident manager of an apartment building that there are no vacancies, and the white who follows is shown several apartments, it is assumed that the policy is discriminatory. A test case of this kind was recently won by the defending realty company in the District of Columbia, however, on the grounds that

the white checker was misrepresenting himself, since he had no intention of buying the property in question. If this trend continues, in the District or in other jurisdictions covered by fair housing laws, their enforcement in court will be well-nigh impossible, for many of the ploys used by realtors can be detected only by using checkers. For these reasons, then, the listing service maintained by fair housing groups is as important in areas covered by law as those where no laws exist.

The Effect of Legal Sanction on Fair Housing Activity. The major effect of the existence of a fair housing ordinance on the program of a fair housing group is to give it extra leverage in its dealings with the real estate industry. Until an open market is accepted by that industry, it can still discriminate in subtle ways which make the operation of a listing service necessary if buyers and sellers are to get together anywhere but in court. Also, the law leaves untouched the community relations aspect of fair housing, though it does provide official sanction for such activities.

Another result of the existence of a fair housing law is to add the Human Relations Council or other enforcement agency to the number of groups with which an on-going liaison is established, and the function of filing complaints to the other activities of the group. It might be noted that this function exists wherever official Human Relations Councils have been established, whether or not they are backed by law. Few fair housing groups can afford the legal expense of prosecution if a case does reach court; if this becomes necessary, the American Civil Liberties Union or other sympathetic group with money may be called upon for legal advice and financial help.

It appears to be the general feeling among fair housing leaders that Human Relations Councils are not very effective (whether or not they are backed by law) particularly if their members are chosen to represent the community at large rather than for their adherence to a single, consistent position on problems of discrimination. Recent appointments of known conservatives to the Montgomery County Human Relations Council have given rise to a storm of protest, and may lead to so much dissension within the Council that it will not be able to function. Lack of legal backing also vitiates effectiveness; the Prince George's County Human Relations Council has found it impossible to act on some of the complaints it has received from PGFH because the real estate interests involved simply fail to appear when summoned to meetings for the purpose of conciliation. Even when backed by law, their vigor in enforcement has been questioned; the alleged leniency of the District Council has already been discussed. However, probably the largest share of complaints are settled more equitably than they would have been if these bodies did not exist; they do provide official recourse which lessens the temptation to take law into one's own hands; and where backed by law, they are an avenue to legal action. Finally, as the study of Greenbelt will illustrate, in the process of their establishment they serve a distinct function in educating civic leaders and the community at large, creating an awareness of potential problems that otherwise might have gone unacknowledged officially.

CHAPTER IV

FAIR HOUSING AT THE COMMUNITY LEVEL

The Community of Greenbelt

The Establishment of Greenbelt. Greenbelt is known throughout the world as a planned community; a rare example of a town that was completely down on paper before a single tree was cut on its projected site. On April 30, 1935, Franklin D. Roosevelt established the Resettlement Administration, under authority granted him by Congress in the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935.¹ One of the programs of the Resettlement Administration consisted of planning and building model "garden towns" to give useful work to men on unemployment relief, to demonstrate in practice the soundness of the garden city concept, and to provide low rent housing in pleasant surroundings for families of modest income.² The first ground was turned in Greenbelt on October 12, 1935, and construction of the buildings commenced in February 1936. On June 1, 1937, the town charter enacted by the Maryland State Legislature went into effect. It provided for the first manager-council type of government in Maryland's history.³

Original Greenbelt consisted of 885 dwelling units; 574 were in group houses, 306 in apartments, and five were detached houses built as an experiment in prefabrication. The first five families (fourteen persons) moved in on September 30, 1937. Greenbelt's original residents were carefully selected by government interviewers; tenancy was confined to families with an annual income of \$800 to \$2,200, with a

demonstrated need for more adequate housing, and with genuine interest in a progressive, cooperative community such as that envisioned by Greenbelt planners.⁴ The town was not integrated; this was justified by the fact that a public housing project for Negroes was being built concurrently in the District of Columbia.⁵ Jews and Catholics were under-represented among the original residents; the religious composition was 68.1 percent Protestant, 7 percent Jewish, and 24.9 percent Roman Catholic.⁶

The ideal garden town, as envisioned by British planner Ebenezer Howard, is a small, stable, consciously planned town, balanced in terms of agriculture and industry; one of its distinguishing characteristics is self-sufficiency. William Form,* in attempting to "type" Greenbelt in 1944, pointed out that it did not meet these criteria despite efforts by its planners to follow out Howard's concepts. Form characterized it as "a suburb with the face of a garden city" even at the early stage when he studied it.⁷ In the twenty years since 1944, its suburban character has become progressively more marked, and even the "face of a garden city" is being destroyed by new housing developments.

The Growth of Greenbelt. The first spurt of growth took place in 1941, when one thousand housing units for defense workers were constructed, primarily in the North End area (see Display 1). While some effort was made to carry out the original design of the model town, financial considerations dictated that certain features be omitted. The new homes were of frame construction, of lower quality than the original

* Form's doctoral dissertation, directed by the late C. Wright Mills, was the first work on Greenbelt done at the University of Maryland Department of Sociology, and also the first piece of research done in partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy granted by that Department.

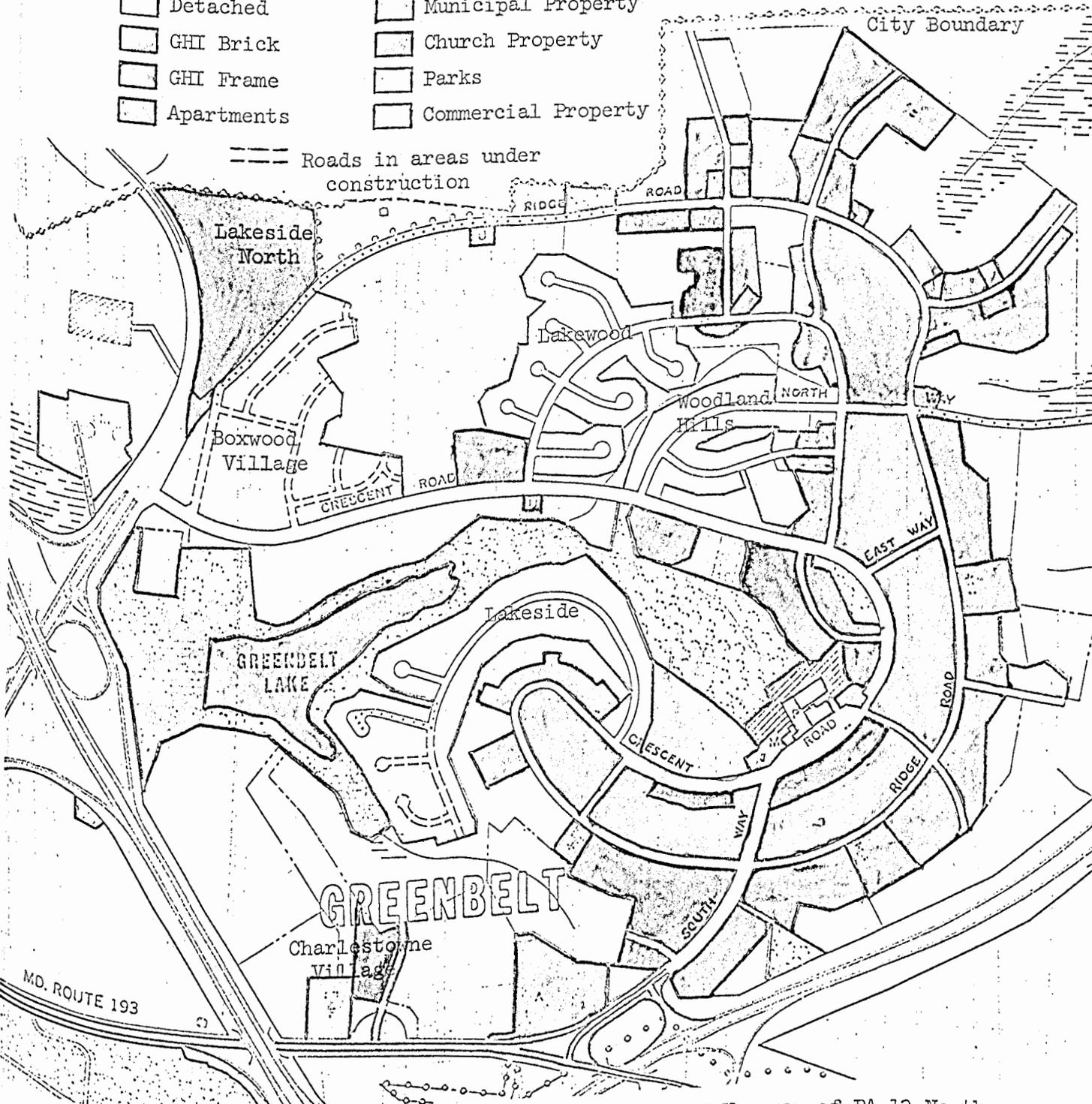
DISPLAY 1

DEVELOPED AREAS IN AND NEAR "OLD GREENBELT"

Key

- | | |
|--|---|
|  Detached |  Municipal Property |
|  GHI Brick |  Church Property |
|  GHI Frame |  Parks |
|  Apartments |  Commercial Property |

== Roads in areas under construction



Source: This map is adapted from the Existing Land Use map of PA 13 North prepared by the Maryland National Capital Park and Planning Commission in January 1963.

brick and cement block structures, and landscaping in the new area was not up to original standards. These homes are currently the subject of an investigation to determine whether they should be improved or torn down and replaced with modern dwellings.⁸ This sudden doubling in the size of the city severely overburdened school and shopping facilities, which remained inadequate until the end of World War II, when resources were again available so institutions could catch up with the population, which grew from 2,831 in 1940 to 7,074 in 1950.⁹

In the decade from 1950 to 1960, growth was slower despite the opening of the Baltimore-Washington Parkway in October 1954, which reduced commuting time to downtown Washington to 25 minutes.¹⁰ In 1953, a group of citizens called the Greenbelt Veterans Housing Corporation purchased Greenbelt (with the exception of the apartment units and the shopping center) from the federal government, including 707 acres of vacant land surrounding the developed area.¹¹ Two subdivisions were developed on land purchased from the Corporation -- Lakeside, 65 single-family houses in a 25-acre wooded area overlooking the athletic field and the lake, and Woodland Hills, 49 lots on 18 acres which were purchased by a cooperative formed by local residents. Various difficulties were encountered by the Corporation in attempting to develop the rest of the land, and interest payments on it were a drain on its financial resources. Thus, in 1955 it was sold to a private developer. In 1958, a 38-acre tract was purchased by a second private developer who erected 104 free-standing homes in a subdivision called Lakewood. And in 1959, four luxury-type apartment buildings containing 83 units were erected by another private developer near the shopping center.

The population rose from its 1950 figure of 7,074 to 7,479 in 1960.¹²

Since 1960, growth has been very rapid.¹³ Lakeside has been extended to include 61 new homes, 40 of which were occupied as of March, 1965. Springhill Lake, a vast garden-type apartment development which will eventually contain 5000 units, had 1200 families living in its completed sections in March 1965. Boxwood Village, with 204 free-standing homes, is currently under construction, though only a few families have moved in thus far. Lakeside North, an apartment development with 276 units, was fully occupied by the end of January, 1965. And Charlestown Village, with 120 units, was partially occupied in March 1965. Greenbelt's 1965 population was estimated by the municipal authorities at 12,000, with more people moving in each week. Display shows the present state of development in the city, excluding Springhill Lake, which is on the opposite side of Kenilworth Avenue (Route 201).

The full impact of this rapid growth is difficult to assess due to its recency. "Old Greenbelt," a term which will subsequently be used to refer to the pre-1960 developed areas, is still the heart of the city. The developments built in the 1950s, due both to geographic proximity to the original Greenbelt and to their small size and consequent dependence upon existing community institutions, have become integrated into the community structure, but the developments of the 1960s are cut off to a large extent. The development of the Beltway Shopping Plaza, a shopping center on Greenbelt Road near Berwyn Heights with a modern drug store, supermarket and discount department store, has taken some consumer activity out of the old Greenbelt Center. Boxwood Village, the new sections of Lakeside, and Lakeside North are

still convenient to the old Center, but Springhill Lake, on the other side of four-lane Kenilworth Avenue and the Capital Beltway, is nearly autonomous, with its own community center, nursery school, and civic association.

Government. The heaviest burden of the sudden growth has fallen upon the city government, which is now concerned as never before with traffic problems, extension of community services, and zoning fracas as the land sold in 1955 has passed through several hands and present owners are anxious to cash in on the proceeds of high-density development. Special meetings of the City Council are becoming routine, and regular meetings last into the wee hours as the councilmen grapple monthly with four-and five-page agenda covering everything from picking up the yearly fall of leaves to the legal intricacies surrounding the installation of a badly needed traffic signal.

The structure of the city government has not been changed since the town was established, though additional municipal personnel have been added as its population expanded. Greenbelt's town charter calls for the manager-council form of government, dividing responsibility between a changing legislative body and a permanent administrative staff. The five-member City Council is elected each odd-numbered year, and the mayor and mayor pro-tem are elected by the council members from their own ranks. The mayor has no greater authority than other council members, his main additional responsibility being the appointment of personnel for the various advisory boards and presiding over council meetings. Council establishes governmental policy, legislates for the welfare, health, safety, and improvement of Greenbelt, and supervises the administrative staff through its city manager, who is

appointed for an indefinite term by council on the basis of professional qualifications. The manager has complete administrative authority over the executive branch of the government, which includes the departments of public safety, public works, recreation, finance, and sanitation. Council maintains contact with current public opinion through the use of advisory boards drawn from the citizenry and from open attendance and participation at regular open meetings and special public hearings.¹⁴

According to Form, Greenbelt has remained somewhat aloof from politics. Nomination to city office is by petition only and local elections are nonpartisan. Also, under the terms of the original charter legislation, Prince George's County was excluded from participation in many city affairs, so Greenbelt tended not to become involved in county politics.¹⁵ This analysis is still valid to some extent, though Greenbelt's involvement with the county has increased. This is due in part to the control of the County Commissioners over zoning decisions, to Greenbelt's dependence upon some county services (e.g., the county library system), and to an increasing sense of being a part of a larger area (both county, and metropolitan) as the original geographic isolation of the community has been broken down by new highways and government industry (the Goddard Space Flight Center) has located in the city. The most influential man politically in the city is a member of the Prince George's County Commissioners.* In many respects, however, the city still retains its unique identity and is an autonomous local unit, solving its unique problems in its own stormily democratic way.

* This judgment of "influence" is based upon the nominations of about six residents and thus should be taken with the proverbial grain of salt; however, no possible rival was named by any of these individuals.

Social and Economic Characteristics of Greenbelt Residents. In this section, statistics from the 1960 census will be employed. While these obviously cannot characterize the 4,500 new residents, they are nevertheless pertinent. Old Greenbelt, whose residents these figures do characterize, is still the core of the viable community -- the community with which this study is primarily concerned. The new areas are relatively homogeneous, built and priced to attract young, middle-income families, whose characteristics are fairly well-documented in the literature. Also, the rapid and recent influx of these 4,500 new Greenbelters means they have not yet really had time for active involvement in community affairs, particularly in the case of the apartment dwellers which account for nearly three-fourths of the increase. These people seem to be less residents of Greenbelt, psychologically, than of the particular subdivision in which they reside and of the larger county unit.

The population of Greenbelt was, in 1960, composed overwhelmingly of whites of native birth or parentage (7,196 of 7,479); 793 were of foreign or mixed parentage, and 283 were foreign-born. There were seventeen nonwhites in the city, none of whom were Negro.¹⁶ (In 1944, according to Form, there were 14 Negroes, living not in the town itself but in its rural environs.¹⁷ Due to redrawing of city lines, urban migration, etc., this nominal number of Negroes has been reduced to zero.)

The median years of school completed by the 3,439 persons over 25 years of age was 12.6 years. Table 5 gives the detailed figures.

TABLE 5

Education of Greenbelt Residents Over 25 Years of Age in 1960¹⁸

Eight years or less:	487
1-3 years of high school:	522
High school graduates:	1,218
1-3 years of college:	477
4 or more years of college:	735

The median family income of Greenbelt's 1,867 families was \$6,819 in 1959. Following are the detailed figures:

TABLE 6

Family Income of Greenbelt Residents in 1959¹⁹

Under \$1000	16
1000-1999	33
2000-2999	50
3000-3999	141
4000-4999	176
5000-5999	275
6000-6999	296
7000-7999	245
8000-8999	159
9000-9999	116
10,000 and over	360

An examination of the occupations of Greenbelt's 2801 gainfully employed workers in 1960 shows them concentrated heavily in the white-collar categories -- professional, technical, and kindred workers; managers, officials, and proprietors; clerical and kindred workers; and sales workers. The next highest category, running a very poor second, is skilled blue-collar workers -- craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers (see Table 7). These figures suggest that Greenbelt can be characterized as a predominantly white-collar suburb.

TABLE 7

Occupations of Greenbelt Residents, 1960²⁰

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	614	174
Farmers and farm managers	4	-
Managers, officials, and proprietors (excepting farm)	195	29
Clerical and kindred workers	287	437
Sales workers	101	68
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	334	16
Operatives and kindred workers	209	28
Private household workers	-	50
Service workers except private household	68	28
Farm laborers and foremen	8	-
Laborers except farm and mine	38	-
Occupation not reported	67	46

Community Institutions. Greenbelt has six schools -- Center kindergarten and elementary; North End kindergarten and elementary; St. Hugh's Catholic School, conducted by the Sisters of the Holy Cross; a junior high school; a Lutheran kindergarten; and a cooperative nursery school.²¹ High school age Greenbelters attend High Point High School. Other municipal organizations include a branch of the county library, located in the Center School; the police department, a volunteer fire department and rescue squad (with Ladies Auxiliary), and the Greenbelt Community Band, which "died" in the 1950's and was revived in the early 1960's.²² The city Recreation Department provides supervision of the swimming pool, tennis courts, playgrounds, softball and baseball programs, assorted indoor sports, special holiday events, and activities at Greenbelt Lake.²³ It also

supervises the Youth Center, completed in 1960, and has arranged a varied program of teenage activities. The Golden Age club is another of its projects. Greenbelt is the only city in Prince George's County with its own recreation department, another indication of its progressiveness and relative autonomy from county institutions. Other activities for Greenbelt's youth include a Boys Club, Little League, Lassie League, 4-H Clubs, and Boy, Girl, and Cub Scout groups.²⁴

Religious facilities include the interdenominational Community Church, St. Hugh's Catholic Church, Holy Cross Lutheran Church, Mowatt Memorial Methodist Church, Greenbelt Baptist Church, and the Jewish Community Center of Prince George's County.²⁵ Civic organizations include the Greenbelt Woman's Club, American Legion Post No. 136 and Auxiliary, Greenbelt Lion's Club, Toastmaster's Club No. 1287, Garden Club, Library Association, and the Sitter's Club, a group of young parents who joined forces to solve their baby-sitting problems.²⁶ A new civic group, established in early 1965 to use "political muscle" on the County Commissioners in zoning matters, is Citizens for a Planned Greenbelt.

Greenbelt Consumer Services owns and operates the cooperative supermarkets, service stations, and drug stores serving the city in eleven locations.²⁷ The Greenbelt News Review is a nonprofit enterprise producing a weekly newspaper which is theoretically delivered free of charge to every home in Greenbelt.²⁸ Delivery to the new developments has been erratic, to say the least, further evidence of their "fringe member" status in the community. Editorial staff and columnists are essentially volunteers, though they receive nominal payments for their services.²⁹ Financial institutions in Greenbelt include the Greenbelt

Credit Union, a branch of the Suburban Trust Co., and Twin Pines Savings and Loan Association, established by a group of citizens in 1957 on a cooperative basis to make loans on Greenbelt's cooperative homes, a venture which was precluded by various legal strictures for the other institutions.³⁰

This list would not be complete without comment upon Greenbelt's lack of that hallmark of community concern and involvement, the civic association, though Citizens for a Planned Greenbelt will probably be doing many of the things which a civic association would otherwise have become involved in. This subject is related to the present study and will therefore be gone into in greater detail than were the other institutions. Originally, Greenbelt did have a civic association -- an extremely active one. The Greenbelt Citizen's Association was the first established group in Old Greenbelt, started by some 200 persons on November 8, 1937, slightly over one month after Greenbelt's first tenants moved in. This group sponsored a dizzying number of activities, some of which follow: It supported Boy and Girl Scout troops and Cub Pack 202; attempted to solve Greenbelt commuter's problems by numerous efforts to attract bus lines to service the community; sponsored meetings at which City Council candidates could state their views and be grilled by the citizenry; worked for the establishment of the cooperative nursery school mentioned above; obtained representation on council advisory committees; raised funds for charitable purposes; served as the voice of the community in registering complaints with the federal government agency which owned Greenbelt and with the City Council, both through special committees and by resolutions from the floor; conducted programs of adult education; and established several special committees

to deal with matters of import to the community.³¹ In short, it was both a public forum and an action group -- as civic associations are wont to do, it seized upon practically any event which was of import to Greenbelt citizens, serving as a channel by which their voices could be heard.

This "town meeting" atmosphere was to be of short duration. As time went by, the Greenbelt Citizen's Association subsided into a mere shell of its former self. Form describes the process as follows: "Meetings were held less frequently and less periodically until the organization was threatened with dissolution. Whereas there was keen competition for offices in the organization in the early days, it was difficult to 'give away' the presidency by 1943."³² This shift, according to Form, was primarily because as special interest organizations were established, they tended to take over many of the functions of the Association, i.e., education, recreation, and entertainment. Why, then, did it continue to exist at all? Form answered this question as follows:

First, in case any "emergency" arises, which does not fall into the sphere of interest of any specialized organization, the citizens may take over the organizational shell of the Association to meet the "crisis"....The second purpose...is one of a therapeutic nature. At its meetings, it is possible for anyone to express any opinion about anything he desires....A few who have "pet peeves" use their "democratic prerogative" of self-expression. Association officers find that this type of thing has greater attraction than all the refreshments, games, or community singing that have been used to entice people to meetings. 33

Not too long after Form's work was completed, the Association did dissolve. Its members elected a president on the platform that if elected, he would abolish the Association; he was elected, and he did. Its therapeutic role was transferred to open meetings of the City

Council and Annual Meetings of Greenbelt Homes, Inc., and there it has remained, for the most part. However, in June, 1963, a new civic association was formed, the Greenbelt Civic Association. Most of the subdivisions in Greenbelt have civic associations (Lakeside, Lakewood, Woodland Hills, and Springhill Lake), but the Greenbelt Civic Association, despite its name, bears no relation either to the original citizen's association or to its sister organizations in the city. No public meeting of this group has ever been held, except for a zoning hearing in February, 1964. (This meeting had excellent results, gaining public approbation from both city officials and the citizenry.) With this exception, the group's activities can best be described as clandestine.

The Greenbelt Civic Association (GCA) addressed communications on zoning matters to the City Council, which that body refused to entertain until an officer or representative of the group could be identified. A member of the group publicly stated that he did not know who they were. GCA members displayed a marked reluctance to speak publicly for the group (except at the zoning hearing) and private queries about it have been unrewarding. Individuals wishing to join it were treated curtly and never invited to meetings (they concluded, whether rightly or not, that the reason for this was that no meetings were held). Estimates of its membership have been difficult to obtain; its president claims that "at one time" it had 40 or 50 members. Members known to the investigator numbered seven, three of whom had joined to find out what the group was. Of the others, two were members of the GHI board of directors (see the following section), and one (the president) was a former mayor of Greenbelt, defeated for reelection in

1963. There are indications that it serves as a political "front" for the conservative minority in Greenbelt (a group of individuals who have been active in elective positions but not reelected in 1963 and 1964). However, it also played an important role in one phase of the history of Greenbelt Citizens for Fair Housing, and it will subsequently be discussed in that connection.

Housing in Greenbelt. On January 1, 1953, a group of citizens in Greenbelt concluded the purchase of 1,575 dwelling units from the Public Housing Administration. Most of the members of the Greenbelt Veterans Housing Corporation (GVHC) were amateurs in the business of running a cooperative, but they did not want to see their city sold to another absentee landlord who would exert the degree of control over Greenbelt that the federal government had. The term "veterans" in the corporate name later proved misleading to persons desiring to move to Greenbelt, and in July, 1957, the corporate name was changed to Greenbelt Homes, Inc. (GHI).³⁴ GHI is run by a nine-member Board of Directors elected at large every even-numbered year from the membership. This election arouses nearly as much interest, and is perhaps as significant to GHI members, as the City Council elections. GHI is managed by a permanent general manager, and handles the financing, utility services, and maintenance of homes in original Greenbelt (excluding 306 apartment units, but including the frame dwellings). In addition, it has participated actively in zoning matters and has 60 GHI members serving on nine committees dealing with matters of import to the membership.

The other dwelling units in Greenbelt are individually owned, with the exception of the apartment units, which are managed by realty companies. The 1960 census showed a total of 2,154 units, of which

2,148 were pronounced sound. Six were deteriorating; three of these had all plumbing facilities, two lacked hot water, and one lacked other facilities. None of the units were delapidated. This was true despite the fact that nearly half of the units (original Greenbelt) had been built prior to 1939, which speaks well for the diligence of GHI maintenance. Only 270 of the units in 1960 were built since 1950, and 266 of these were constructed since March 1955.³⁵

Greenbelt is characterized by a high rate of dwelling unit turnover. Nearly 1000 of its resident families in 1960 (including both renters and owners) had lived there two years or less, and more than 500 families had moved to Greenbelt since 1954. Only 33 of the pre-1939 families remained in 1960.³⁶ The major reasons why people leave Greenbelt would seem to fall into three categories: 1) offers of jobs elsewhere or job transfers; 2) the small size of GHI homes, providing a strong incentive to growing families to move elsewhere; 3) Greenbelt is not a status community; though a relatively large down payment on GHI homes is required, monthly rates are very low (ranging approximately between \$42 and \$65), and for many -- e.g., university students -- it is stop-gap housing which will be abandoned when income increases. The age of the housing means that many modern conveniences are lacking, and in many respects the architectural design leaves something to be desired, even in the solidly built brick and cement block homes. All homes lack basements, cement block units also lack attics, and three-bedroom units have no closet in the third bedroom, creating storage problems for larger families. Problems with old plumbing fixtures are not uncommon, and unless a unit has been improved by former owners, kitchen and bathroom fixtures are ancient. The dark-brown asphalt

tile floors are unattractive; private yards are postage-stamp-sized; private parking lots are too small in the age of the two- and three-car family.

However, many people will endure these inconveniences gladly for the sake of large wooded plots where children can play away from traffic; where youngsters can walk to stores, schools, and their assorted social activities, relieving Mother of her bus-driving functions; and where the feeling of being a member of a democratic community in which one's voice can be heard has not been overshadowed by high-rise apartments, muffled in the roar of freeway traffic, or silenced by big-city political machinery. These are the features which endear Old Greenbelt to its residents and attract new families who treasure these rapidly vanishing "small town" characteristics. These are the sentiments which were voiced by old and new residents alike at the public zoning hearings on the Master Plan of the Maryland National Capital Park and Planning Commission for the Greenbelt area, which proposed to surround the city with high-rise apartments, whose accompanying traffic density would have forced the city to widen streets through the heart of Old Greenbelt into four-lane highways.

The question of whether Old Greenbelt will eventually lose its community character as the path of "progress" ruthlessly changes its green belt to a gray belt can not be answered here. However, New Greenbelt will probably never become part of the old tradition to the extent that GHI residents are, and while Old Greenbelt is protesting vigorously at every proposed encroachment, the city's own Master Plan also abolishes the green belt, though it substitutes single-family

residences for high-rise apartments. The community is in transition, a fact attested to by the daily assault of bulldozers upon the remaining wooded areas. The nature of this transition will ultimately depend upon the states of mind of the County Commissioners when strip-zoning proposals are brought forward, the amount of pressure the private developers owning the remaining undeveloped land are able to exert upon that body, the legal finesse of Greenbelt's attorneys in detecting flaws in unpleasant decisions, and finally, the weight exerted by the strident voice of Old Greenbelt, perhaps about to be muted in an era which has outgrown the town meeting.

Integration in Greenbelt. While the fair housing movement is gathering forces across the country, the state of affairs in Greenbelt provides a case study in the types of problems which these groups are tackling, and some of the forces other than the movement itself which will affect its impact. Greenbelt is not integrated. GHI claims that no Negro has ever applied for membership, and there is no reason to doubt this claim. Since only two qualifications are required -- financial responsibility and good character -- there are no formal barriers to Negro occupancy. The unofficial policy of the apartment developments in both Old and New Greenbelts, with the exception of Charlestown Village, is nonadmission of Negroes; this is official management policy at Springhill Lake. Representatives of Greenbelt Realty, which handles the Lakeside property, claim that no Negro buyer has ever attempted to look at these homes. (The fact that an individual closely associated with this company testified against the proposed Maryland fair housing law suggests that Negro buyers might not be welcomed.)

However, a Negro family has moved into Charlestown Village, and at least two homes in Boxwood Village have been sold to Negroes, though as of this writing they have not moved in due to construction delays. (The suspicion of discrimination in this regard was laid to rest by the investigation of a GCFH member.) Thus, Greenbelt's status as a lily-white-collar suburb has technically ended, but the impending and actual move-ins also leave many potential problem areas untouched, particularly the integration of GHI, which is a matter of some concern to many individuals associated with it.

No systematic effort was made to assess the state of public opinion in Greenbelt on the integration issue. Hearsay evidence has it that not long ago, a proposed housing project for senior citizens, to have been built with federal funds, was defeated by a very small margin in a referendum, allegedly because the proposed federal financing would have required that Negroes be admitted. This suggests that at that time, public opinion was against integration. There has been a marked reluctance by pro-integrationists to submit the matter to the voters under any guise. There are several reasons given for this; first because that by doing so they would make it an issue which could split the community and leave a residue that would make integration difficult even if the majority approved it, second because of the questionable legality of submitting integration to a vote in view of the recent Supreme Court decision, and third because they are afraid they would lose, perhaps by a margin as slim as the 17 votes by which the senior citizen's housing proposal was defeated. On the other hand, those who are wary of the integration of GHI have encouraged the idea of a referendum, suggesting confidence on their part that integration

would be defeated, and/or that majority approval of integration would prevent an exodus and the ensuing loss of property value and Negro influx which they fear. These proposals have been blocked not only by those in favor of integration but by moderates who have wanted to avoid making a public issue of integration.

There are some indications, however, that while integration is a matter of concern to a sizable group of citizens, this group is a minority. No really "hard-core segregationists" were encountered by the investigator, and no anti-Negro feeling as such was expressed in any public or private interchanges, suggesting further that the concern which does exist is based upon practical considerations rather than upon prejudice. One overt event illustrates unquestionably that fear of integration is not an overriding concern in GHI. In the election of the Board of Directors in May 1964, a member of the board running for re-election, in a letter to the News Review of May 14, made the integration issue a firm foundation of his platform. Previously he had been involved in several interchanges with other board members, some of which became quite personal and did not reflect favorably on his public image. However, though his anti-integration stand was confounded with these other issues, it was plain:

GHI is faced with a very definite problem regarding integration -- and this is a problem that the political machine is afraid to discuss in fear of making enemies these liberals don't want these issues discussed openly or the electorate letting their will be known. Is this democracy? I believe that immediate integration will lead to mass vacancies, chaos, and a corresponding effect on property values However, I also believe that eventually ... GHI will be peacefully integrated. But, because we live in row houses, very close together, GHI should be one of the last areas to integrate. If we are the last to integrate a person running away from integration has no place to run to -- everywhere else is integrated.

.....
 I am subject to name calling because I dare to speak
 my opinions -- however, I will run on my record and on this
 issue -- I solicit the support of those that agree with me.

-- G. H. Porter

The final election tally showed Mr. Porter with 150 votes (the highest number received by any candidate was 366), the third lowest number received. In short, he was defeated. However, since no candidate replied to his challenge with a pro-integration stand, this is at best a negative indicator.

There is some evidence suggesting genuine concern on the part of a minority of residents regarding the consequences of integration. Unpublished data collected by Lilian Castaldi, in connection with an undergraduate sociology course at the University of Maryland, indicates that frame home residents are more apprehensive over the prospect of Negroes moving in than are residents of either brick or detached homes or apartments. Of the total of twenty-eight interviewees, sixteen said they would not mind if Negroes moved in, and twelve said they would object, suggesting that as a group, citizens of Greenbelt are fairly evenly divided on the issue and that a vote, under any guise, would be close. However, none of the residents of detached homes had strong objections to integration, while five of seven residents of frame homes said they would consider moving if Negroes began buying homes in the city. In the brick homes in GHI, four of seven interviewees said they would not move, and in the apartments, three of seven said they would not. A chi square analysis performed on the distribution of those objecting and not objecting, by type of home, indicated that this distribution of opinion could occur by chance only five times in one hundred cases ($p < .05$).

Since opinion was evenly divided in brick homes and apartment units, the significance of this figure can only be attributed to the difference between residents of detached homes and residents of frame homes.

Castaldi's sample has two shortcomings: 1) its small size; and 2) its lack of randomness, in the strict sense of the word, as it was stratified by type of dwelling unit. (The final report by Castaldi was not available to the investigator, and the exact means by which the sample was chosen within dwelling-unit type is not known in certainty.) However, a recent questionnaire survey of frame and brick units within GHI provides a check on some of Castaldi's data. This mail survey was conducted by Subcommittee No. 1 (popularly known as the "reformation committee") of the GHI Long-Range Planning Committee, and questionnaires were sent to 585 brick and 1000 frame units in an effort to determine how people felt about their residences, in order that a decision could be made on the fate of the frame homes taking the attitudes of the residents into account. The question "If you have not made any improvements in your home, what are the reasons?" was asked, and respondents were given eight alternative answers. Table 8 shows the results from the 400 frame home returns and 273 brick home returns which had been received by the committee as of early April. Respondents could check more than one of the eight reasons, and thus percentage columns do not add to 100 percent.

These data suggest that there is less difference in the attitudes of brick and frame home residents than was found by Castaldi. They also show that integration is a matter of concern to approximately 15 percent of GHI home-owners. The primary differences between brick and frame homeowners as reflected in these data are first, that about twice

TABLE 8

Reasons Why GHI Homes Were Not Improved by Their Owners

<u>Reason</u>	<u>Brick Homes</u>		<u>Frame Homes</u>	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Lack of money for desired improvements	79	28.9	123	30.8
Unsure of future value	48	17.5	94	23.5
Happy with home as it now is	40	14.7	64	16.0
Concerned about integration's effect on home value	40	14.7	60	15.0
Plan to move	15	5.5	40	10.0
GHI "red tape" involved in making improvements	20	7.3	38	9.5
Problems in obtaining financing	14	5.1	23	5.8
Other reasons than above	27	9.9	48	12.0

as many frame owners as brick owners expect to move in the near future, and second, that frame owners tended to check more reasons for not making home improvements than did brick owners, suggesting that frame home residents are less satisfied with their homes for a variety of reasons.

In evaluating the potential effects of integration upon property values in GHI, it has tentatively been concluded that there is some slight danger of an adverse effect. GHI homes have several characteristics of other older housing which has been completely invaded: somewhat lower socioeconomic character than surrounding developed areas, an edginess among some of its residents regarding integration, and in the case of the frame homes, poor construction requiring a good deal of careful maintenance to avoid deterioration. On the other hand, Green-

belt is physically removed from large existing centers of Negro population and thus there is no pressure on the area to provide relief from an adjacent overcrowded ghetto. Also, it does not offer employment opportunities for many low-class Negroes, and finally, down payments on GHI property are at present beyond the means of most lower-class families. The size of the down payment has been credited by some people as a major reason why Negroes have thus far (according to GHI) not attempted to buy in Greenbelt, the point being that Greenbelt is not a status community and those Negroes who could afford to buy into it could also afford better housing in newer subdivisions. Thus, despite the high "natural" turnover in Greenbelt, which could conceivably be accelerated in the case of a move-in in GHI, unless there was a greater demand for the housing by Negroes than now seems to be the case, the danger of the creation of anything resembling a black ghetto would be minimal. Given a change in the demand situation, the ghetto potential is there, particularly in the frame homes; if GHI chose to raze this housing and replace it with new units costing more initially and requiring less maintenance, this potential would be reduced to the vanishing point.

Summary: The Community of Greenbelt. Greenbelt in 1965 consists of a core community, Old Greenbelt, including the original row houses built in the 1930s and 1940s by the federal government, and three small developments of free-standing homes constructed during the 1950s. In the 1960s, New Greenbelt has begun to take shape in three apartment developments (one a vast complex physically isolated from the city core by the Capital Beltway and a four-lane highway) and new housing developments currently under construction. Greenbelt is a predominantly white

collar suburb, with relatively high education and income levels; its earlier reputation as a "slum clearance project" has been counteracted to quite some extent by its fame as a planned and cooperative community (with the concomitant benefits accruing to the residents thereby) and by the very pleasant character of the developments built in the 1950s.

GHI (the frame and brick structures owned cooperatively and managed by Greenbelt Homes, Inc.) has been well-maintained through the years and is lower-middle to middle-middle class in character. The outstanding set of community institutions in Greenbelt has been developed and maintained by people living in GHI and the developments built in the 1950s. Adjustments in these institutions have been made over the years, but Old Greenbelt has remained relatively untouched by (though by no means unconcerned about) the development of the old "green belt" surrounding them. Involvement in suburban (county) politics has increased to some extent as a result of new highways, zoning concerns, rising population, and perhaps a generally more cosmopolitan outlook by residents somewhat higher in socioeconomic status than those who originally occupied the garden city project.

The defense housing constructed in 1941 is currently a major concern to the corporation which owns it, due to the low quality of the original construction. The economic character of GHI housing (including the brick units) has caused some to fear integration and its possible consequences in an area which retains its respectability primarily on the basis of conscientious maintenance and improvement and the "good character" of its residents. An assessment of the possibility of the frame homes turning into a Negro ghetto in the event that GHI became integrated resulted in the tentative conclusion that it is

unlikely, due both to Greenbelt's far-out suburban location and to the financing, which requires a large down payment that could be met by few lower-class Negroes. The possibility is even more remote in the brick homes of GHI, where down payments and monthly payments are higher, particularly in view of the citizens' apparent lack of real fear of integration which could lead to an exodus. Integration is a matter of practical concern to many of them (though many others regard the possibility as a positive benefit to the community), but there is little evidence of a hard core of resistance which would cause panic or violence in the event of a move-in. No problems have accompanied the move of a Negro family into Charlestown Village in New Greenbelt, and two Negro families have purchased homes in one of the developments currently under construction.

Greenbelt is in transition in many ways. As of yet, the core of the old community exists almost intact, but the future depends upon decisions made on the fate of the frame dwelling units in GHI, the outcome of pending zoning requests, the extent to which involvement in the county expands at the expense of city institutions, and perhaps most of all, upon whether the attraction of older, cooperative homes in a setting such as that provided by Old Greenbelt can continue to recruit a stream of people who are willing to forego many of the aspects of modern suburban living for the unique "small-town" characteristics offered by this community -- people who are less concerned about status and gadgets than about safety, convenience to shopping and schools, trees, and perhaps democracy. Thus far, this stream of recruits has included no Negroes.

The Establishment of Greenbelt Citizens for Fair Housing

The Incident. As was illustrated in the preceding chapter, the formation of a fair housing group is often triggered by an incident of discrimination. In Greenbelt's case, it was really two incidents, one of discrimination and one of threat, unrelated to one another, yet both serving to arouse concern over the fact that Greenbelt was not integrated.

The first incident involved a Negro undergraduate at the University of Maryland, who was to be married in the fall of 1963. This student asked one of his professors, a Greenbelt resident, for help in finding a home near the university. The professor agreed to help. On August 21, the professor found a vacant apartment in one of the privately owned buildings, spoke to the resident manager, looked at the apartment, picked up application forms, and left a \$25 check as a deposit. At the end of the conversation, the resident manager said she was ashamed to ask, but were the prospective tenants colored? The professor replied, "No more than you or I."

Ten days later, the resident manager had apparently confirmed her suspicions about the skin color of the prospective tenants, for she telephoned the student and left word that the apartment wasn't available. In the meantime, the young couple hadn't found another place to live; the Negro student's belongings were stored in the garage of another Greenbelt couple, in the belief that the apartment would be available, since the deposit had been accepted. Both this couple and the professor were highly indignant when they learned of the resident manager's action. The professor and another Greenbelt

citizen thereupon canvassed all the other rental facilities in Old Greenbelt and found none of them available to Negroes. The next day, the young couple, in the company of the professor, went to the GHI sales office to inquire about "buying" a home (becoming a GHI member). They were shown an available house in the North End area with no sign of discrimination. The same evening, it was learned that neighbors had told the sellers that Negroes were interested and the home was removed from the market.

The second incident concerned the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), which was at that time picketing the William J. Levitt development, Belair at Bowie, Maryland, for its exclusion of Negroes. (William J. Levitt appears to deserve a good deal of credit for sparking the fair housing movement.) The president of the Prince George's County chapter of CORE lived in Greenbelt, and since the group had recently been banned from the University of Maryland campus, they held a meeting at his home. In attendance were three of his neighbors, not CORE members. One of the topics of discussion was the lack of integration in Greenbelt, and perhaps due to the picketing mood at the time, it was suggested by one of the "hot-headed kids" (as one of the observers described them) that the same technique be tried in Greenbelt. This upset the observers, who did not want Greenbelt torn by the tension which might accompany picketing and its publicity, and their concern was communicated to others, including some of those who had been involved in the experience of the young Negro couple.

The result was that exactly one week from the date on which the North End home had been withdrawn from the market, the first formal meeting of the GCFH steering committee was convened on September 9, 1963.

The Steering Committee. Membership on the steering committee required only that an individual be aware of its existence (he had to hear of it via word-of-mouth) and that he be interested enough in the problem to put in some time and effort. Most of its members were fairly new in the community, though it also included several long-time residents; the established group of "liberals" in Greenbelt was bypassed (to their pique) with one exception, Mr. Jones, a former member of the GHI Board of Directors and former councilman who had been active in the formation of Suburban Maryland Fair Housing and subsequently in Prince George's County Fair Housing. A partial list of the other members includes the aforesaid professor and his wife; a University of Maryland graduate student and his wife; a music teacher and his wife; an engineer from the Goddard Space Flight Center and his wife, a college graduate in English; a microbiologist from the Beltsville Agricultural Research Center and his wife, an aspiring social worker; the manager of one of Greenbelt's financial institutions; and a member of the Pacifist League. All were homeowners; they covered a wide age range though most were under 50. They were, in short, a group with little in common except their concern for the problem and a generally high level of education.

The Development of Objectives and Preliminary Program. At the time the first steering committee meeting was convened, much of the "idea work" had already been done. A public meeting featuring speakers on community integration had already been suggested and the date set, although the program had not been planned in detail. A draft of proposed objectives had been prepared. After arrangements had been made to contact possible speakers, attention was turned to the objectives.

The intricate considerations discussed that night regarding the degree of forthrightness which should characterize the group's published position were to come up again and again during the course of its existence. The issue with which they were attempting to deal was an extremely delicate one, and with the possible exception of Mr. Jones, whose experience with SMFH was invaluable to the group, none had had practical experience in fair housing or community relations. They were quite aware of the potential high cost of a mistake; the question was, how could they remain true to their own consciences and yet come up with a set of objectives which would not upset the community? They considered having two statements of purpose -- one for their own use and one for publication. They considered appealing directly to the preservation of present values of the city (an approach which would not antagonize even staunch conservatives); the obverse of this, also considered, was to come out openly and firmly for open housing immediately. Finally, a five-man committee was formed to write a statement of purpose which would compromise the views expressed, to be returned to the entire group for approval at the next meeting on September 16.

At that meeting, "after a short discussion on several minor points," according to the minutes, the statement of purpose was adopted unanimously. The plan was to publish it in the News Review of Thursday, September 26, with an advertisement for the public meeting and the names of Greenbelt citizens who wished to endorse it. Display 2 shows the result; 57 sponsors were obtained (most married couples were counted as two people, which substantially lengthened the list) and \$1.00 per name was collected to pay for the ad.

DISPLAY 2

ADVERTISEMENT PUBLISHED IN THE GREENBELT NEWS REVIEW

BY GCFH STEERING COMMITTEE

September 26, 1963

(Names of the 57 sponsors omitted)

— PAID ADVERTISEMENT —

GREENBELT CITIZENS FOR FAIR HOUSING

We, the member of Greenbelt Citizens for Fair Housing, believe that Greenbelt is a good place in which to live. It is physically well-planned to meet the varied needs of our modern community. Here we find friends, bring up our children, work together, play together; in short, engage in most of the things that makes our lives meaningful. We citizens of Greenbelt are a diversified people with varied backgrounds: ethnic, religious, and social. We are even multi-racial to the extent that we include Orientals and Indians in our community. Each of us contribute to the wellbeing of our community. The end result is a thriving and viable democracy. It is this democratic tradition that we are imparting to our children.

Clearly the most valuable asset to our community is the people who live here — either for a short time or for the major portions of their lives. Yet it is here that we fall short of our own democratic and religious ideals, for our community excludes, without exception, all members of one race — the Negro race.

We say that democracy is fine, but we stop at that point. We believe in fair play and moral and religious ideals, but we go no further. We stop there for many reasons, only one of which is racial bias. Mostly we stop because of fears of property value decline, formation of ghettos, downward trend of property maintenance, social conflict, etc.

Yet despite all the fears, we all know that in the future — perhaps even the near future — Greenbelt will be integrated. There are too many legal, economic, moral, and political forces at work on the national, state and local levels to ex-

pect Greenbelt to be by-passed by this social revolution. Still, our community is doing nothing to prepare for this inevitable transition. We of Greenbelt Citizens for Fair Housing hope to fill this vacuum.

We believe that the transition to a fully open community can be accomplished in an orderly and sensible manner, with preservation of property values and the other qualities which make Greenbelt a good place in which to live. Whether or not a satisfactory transition will be accomplished depends on the people. The choice is ours. To accomplish it will require the enlightened efforts of all members of our community. We of Greenbelt Citizens for Fair Housing are dedicated to this end.

Therefore, our objectives are as follows:

1. To promote community acceptance of minority group families.
2. To sponsor forums, workshops, and neighborhood coffees to provide information about the experiences of other communities into which Negro families have moved for the first time.
3. To preserve property values by combating rumors, allaying fears, preventing panic, and resisting block-busting sales tactics.
4. To provide the opportunity for the exchange of views and discussions of open housing as it would affect us individually if a Negro family moved next door.
5. To petition City Council to address itself to the issue of Fair Housing in Greenbelt.
6. To assist Greenbelt in taking its place with other communities which have adopted open housing policies successfully.

PUBLIC INFORMATION MEETING

8:30 pm Wednesday, October 2, 1963

Greenbelt Youth Center

PROGRAM

The following persons will speak on selected aspects of our objectives:

GEORGE GRIER - Staff Associate of the Washington Center for Metropolitan Study.

MERLIN MYERS - Director of the Metropolitan Washington Housing Program, for the American Friends Service Committee.

KARL GREGORY, Ph.D. - Negro Civic Leader.

QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD

Coffee and Refreshments

The public meeting attracted an audience of 200 citizens, "packing every corner of the Youth Center meeting room", according to the News Review. Again quoting that document, "The remarks of the speakers and the questioning that followed focused attention on integrating GHI housing. The major points they made were 1) integration will definitely come to Greenbelt 'probably in the reasonable future'. 2) that Negro families moving in would not 'inundate' the community and that only a few middle-class families would probably purchase homes here, and that 3) recent move-ins of Negro families into all-white communities in neighboring Montgomery County had been accomplished without incident."

The Initial Form of Resistance. That same issue of the News Review also contained the first hint of opposition. What later came to be known as "the Wilson letter" was a 2-1/4-column communication "To the Editor" from a Lakewood homeowner, detailing the dread results which he felt would accompany integration of GHI. First, Mr. Wilson commented upon GCFH's alleged goal of discussion and education of the public. " ... I fear discussion of integration is not, by any stretch of the imagination, their goal, but only a means to an end." He noted that since integration in Boxwood was held to be inevitable, and since Lakewood, Lakeside, and Woodland Hills were too small to "justify such an elaborate organization," "the only logical goal of this group is the integration of GHI." If it were true integration, with a "substantial and stabilized Negro minority", the effort would be "laudable", he said, but went on to point out that "Greenbelt would not be the first where the attempt has been made -- only the first where it succeeded." He cited two apartment developments in the Washington area which were rapidly becoming all-Negro, pointed out that if the market for GHI

homes became predominantly low-income families, property values would drop and elderly and retired people would "see the greater proportion of their equity wiped out." The frame units, particularly, without a high degree of careful maintenance, "would soon degenerate into the worst and most massive slum in Prince George's County."

Finally, Wilson suggested either an opinion poll or a referendum to determine the attitudes of Greenbelters on the issue. "If a substantial majority of GHI (perhaps 2/3), in the privacy of a voting booth, is willing to vote to integrate, then, but only then, will attempts to integrate work, with a stabilized community and a Negro minority." If such a majority is not obtained in a referendum, GCFH should continue to educate the public and "look forward to the day that their view will be the proven view of the majority of Greenbelters, as expressed in secret ballot." His closing comment expressed fear of militant action: "If they plan to foster action which could make Greenbelt another Cambridge, or Belair, or Birmingham, simply so they can say we are 'integrated', then they deserve neither our support nor our sympathy."

Soon after this, on October 14, 1963, the first organizational meeting of GCFH was held. All Greenbelters had been urged to attend, and some of the people who, like Wilson, questioned the motives of the group, were there. Among them were two members of the Greenbelt Civic Association. Everyone was encouraged to participate in the discussion, and nearly everyone did. The first item of business was the adoption of the rules of procedure, the first section of which covered the six objectives of the organization as previously written by the steering committee (see Display 2).

Immediately a dispute arose over Objective No. 5 -- "to petition City Council to address itself to the issue of Fair Housing in Greenbelt." What did the term "address" mean? What did City Council have to do with it anyway -- why not "address" GHI? Finally, a motion was passed to include "other community leaders" among those to be "addressed".

Then, after having once been ruled out of order, one of the GCA members, Mr. Porter, proposed a seventh objective: "to prevent racial tension, prevent picketing, and adopt only peaceful means to reach objectives." There was a prompt objection, to the effect that this was already implicit in the original six. The discussion went on for some twenty minutes, GCFH founders pointing out that they had no intention of supporting violence or disobeying the laws of the land, and others insisting that the term "peaceful" be inserted at some point, and that they wanted no part of an organization which supported picketing. The final vote on the seventh objective was a narrow victory for the side of the steering committee, 34-30. Since everyone who attended a meeting at that point was assumed to be a member, there was no control over the voting procedure, and those opposed to integration had an equal voice with those in favor of it in the proceedings. A similar problem came up over Objective No. 1 -- "to promote community acceptance of minority families." It was suggested that the word "promote" be changed to "study", and one woman interjected, "What do you hope to gain from bringing Negroes to this community?" She was ignored by the chairman, as was another who asked the same question at a later point. In the end, a motion to change "promote" to "study" was defeated, 36-26, and Section I of the Rules of Procedure was adopted.

The conflict here was a subtle one. As ensuing events indicated, the steering committee and those who collected around them to form the core of the group were dealing with an issue which to them represented a strong moral commitment. While the moral issue seldom was raised in public, it dominated in the informal organization and association between active group members. The efforts of the opposition in this first meeting were viewed, by those who saw in GCFH an outlet for action on their beliefs, as an effort to "pull the teeth" of the organization by committing it solely to innocuous objectives and strategies. Many -- perhaps the majority -- on the steering committee would have been willing to picket if picketing were required to attain an objective. The thing which prevented a more forceful stand than they had taken was the knowledge, common to all fair housing groups, that avoidance of publicity likely to arouse organized resistance is the key to successful neighborhood integration. However, they had left certain loopholes in their phrasing of the objectives to permit them to further their ends by other than strictly peaceable means if the occasion warranted and other alternatives had failed. They were determined to preserve these loopholes for the possibility of stronger action, for without them the organization would no longer embody their real feelings on the subject of integration. In this sense, some of the criticisms leveled at GCFH by Mr. Wilson (and, later, others) were justified. For some members of GCFH, it took a good deal of self-control to avoid forcing the advent of something they deeply believed to be "right". However, it is this characteristic which so strongly differentiates fair housing from more militant forms of the civil rights movement.

Sections II and III of the Rules of Procedure, on membership and the election of officers, were adopted with little discussion. There was some debate over Section IV on the duties of the executive committee (a seven-member group from whose ranks the chairman, vice-chairman, secretary and treasurer would be chosen) which was settled harmoniously by submitting that section to a rules subcommittee of the not-yet-elected executive committee to make the necessary changes. The next item on the agenda was the election itself. There were sixteen nominees, two of whom were candidates which could be identified as leaning toward the conservative side. One of these was defeated; the other was elected and subsequently selected as treasurer. While he was never particularly active in policy-making, he was never a cause for dissension. Most of the others elected had been on the steering committee. Since there was no control over the voting, it was fortunate for the group that members of the steering committee were elected.

Following the election (after which several advocates of "peace" got up and walked out in disgust), there was a short discussion on how City Council was to be approached and for what purpose. There was some disagreement regarding the degree of formality that should be employed, some people insisting that the initial meeting should be private and informal, others holding that this might prove embarrassing for the council, in view of the clandestine interpretations it could give rise to. Finally, another subcommittee was set up to seek an informal exploratory meeting with the councilmen.

The October 17 issue of the News Review brought a flood of letters to the editor in response to the Wilson Letter, including a letter from GCFH as a group (which had been approved by the membership at the October

14 meeting) clarifying their goals. Two GCFH members wrote as individuals, one opposing a referendum on integration on the grounds that "it would almost certainly bring to Greenbelt demonstrations of the type most opposed by proponents of such a vote", and the other an extensive rebuttal of Wilson's arguments on property values. A long communication from a non-GCFH member supported the referendum idea and accused GCFH of intending to "resort to any means to gain their purpose" (bringing a Negro family to Greenbelt) because of their rejection of the seventh objective introduced by Mr. Porter. The husband of the Pacifist Leaguer wrote a biting letter criticizing Wilson, adding that his one contribution was stating openly "some general attitudes and interpretations which would have been more harmful if they had remained anonymous scuttlebutt as in several recent Greenbelt elections."³⁷

Finally, there was a brief, one-paragraph letter from the president of the Prince George's County chapter of CORE, stating simply that the question was not whether Greenbelt should be integrated, but whether it "should be integrated through the methods of Greenbelt Citizens for Fair Housing or through the methods of CORE."

The early form of resistance, then, took the form of protests in the News Review and a futile attempt to take the moderate objectives of the group and neutralize, by changing the language, any possibility of direct action on integration. (It is doubtful that even had the proposed changes in language been adopted, it would have had much effect upon the group's subsequent programs.) This resistance was in no way organized; even the presence of a number of dissenters at the organization meeting reflected the concern of individuals rather than a systematic attempt to infiltrate GCFH.

GHI Action on the Referendum Proposal. Mr. Wilson's proposed referendum on whether GHI should be integrated seemed to the opposition to be an excellent idea. Their rationale was that if a majority of the residents approved integration, the danger of panic and property value loss would not exist, and if integration was rejected by the members, GHI had a duty to them to prevent it. On October 24, the Wilson Letter was on the agenda of the regular GHI Board of Directors meeting. Both Mr. Porter and his GCA colleague, Mr. Hart, were members. Porter had placed the letter on the agenda, and when the item was reached, he made a motion that the referendum suggested by Wilson be held. Another member of the board pointed out that no action by GHI on integration was called for; the by-laws gave the qualifications for membership and that was that. Porter persisted, saying that information on the feelings of the membership was necessary in order that the "correct" policy on integration could be adopted. The chairman-elect of the board had taken the precaution, earlier in the meeting, of changing the wording of the agenda item from "Discussion of the Wilson Letter" to "Qualifications for Membership in GHI". The chairman now used this wording to declare that policy on the qualifications for GHI membership was already in existence and no further statement was necessary. Mr. Hart then seconded Porter's motion that the referendum be held.

This irritated the other board members, who became progressively more vehement in their objections, calling the proposal "stupid", "unrealistic", "foolish", "silly", and "ridiculous". "Integration is here," one pointed out, "and a referendum will not change that." "What could we do," asked another, "even if 75 percent of the membership voted to move out if Negroes moved in?" Porter responded by pointing out that

the corporation could stand to lose money if property values went down; it was strictly a matter of business and should be considered as such.

A small number of GCFH people and others concerned with the referendum issue were present in the audience. Discussion was opened to the floor before a vote on the matter was taken, and one of the "old liberals" who had not been included in the GCFH steering committee launched into an oration over the folly of submitting a moral principle like integration to a vote. (The Orator was a spell-binder, but unfortunately tended to lose the advantage his speaking ability gave him by exercising it over too long a period of time.) Several other audience members also spoke, nearly all of them against the referendum. When discussion was cut off and a vote taken, the referendum proposal was defeated, 5-2.

The October 24 issue of the News Review brought two more hearty criticisms of GCFH. One called it "a most silly and senseless organization", and hoped it would "die a quiet death before things really get out of hand." Another more forceful communication expressed resentment over the choice which had been presented by the president of CORE in his letter of the previous week:

Either you let yourself be dictated to by something called "GCFH" or else "CORE" will get you! Halloween is upon us, but we will not be frightened by these dispensers of civil disorder and civil disobedience! Are we law-abiding taxpaying citizens of Greenbelt about to be dictated to and threatened by such as these?

In summary, the immediate public response to GCFH came mostly from its opposition, forcing the new group into a defensive position. This opposition at no time took a racist point of view, sometimes stating that they too were in favor of integration under the proper circumstances. They concentrated primarily upon the practical aspect of integration -- property values. The fear of declining values provided the main rationale,

and self-determination via referendum was the main action proposed by those who eyed the group with doubt. These people had some tendency to view GCFH as another civil rights group attempting to force unwanted changes and willing to use militant action to gain their ends. There was also some resentment over the fact that many GCFH leaders were not long-time residents of the community (the fact that others had lived there for fifteen or twenty years was overlooked); they were newcomers who were attempting to force their beliefs on older residents. With GHI's defeat of the referendum suggestion, the opposition temporarily faded into the background.

The Moral Issue is Raised. The next GCFH meeting was held on the rainy night of November 1, 1963. Forty-four members turned out. The lack of control which had characterized the first meeting was eliminated; a special row of seats was reserved for visitors (though since there were only two, GCFH members overflowed into this section) and yellow "voting slips" were given to listed members as they came in the door. (The narrowness of the defeat of Porter's seventh objective had impressed the executive committee with the need for this measure. However, the procedure was never employed again, since visitors no longer came to meetings, and the regular GCFH members who attended were recognizable on sight.) In the relative calm of this well-organized procedure, the group could settle down and go to work; dissenters had been eliminated from its ranks and posed no immediate threat from outside.

The first item on the agenda was Section IV of the Rules of Procedure, and an amusing in-group debate ensued over how much dues should be. An irate lady school teacher protested over "discrimination against single people" inherent in special family rates, and eventually \$2.00 per person, married or not, was settled upon.

Next, the problem of what to "address" to the City Council was discussed. The executive committee had come up with the suggestion that GCFH request the establishment of a Human Relations Advisory Board. The newly elected chairman was not well-versed in parliamentary procedure, and discussion was frequently interrupted to iron out questions of propriety. In a significant interchange, one member suggested that a Human Relations Advisory Board (the counterpart of official Human Relations Councils not backed by law, as discussed in Chapter III) would have power, and council might not want to establish such a body unless they were convinced of the need for it. The chairman replied, "Do you mean to bring up actual cases of discrimination?" This was the first time that discrimination in Greenbelt had been referred to in public as anything but a theoretical possibility. "Oh, no," the member hastily assured the chairman, with a sudden awareness of the possible repercussions of making specific accusations. The subject of publicizing "actual cases" was thereupon dropped.

Then, for the first time, the morality issue was given an airing. Mr. Simms, a two-year resident of Greenbelt, got to his feet and stated his opinion that the wrong approach was being taken by GCFH. "Integration is not a bitter pill, and it shouldn't be presented to the people of Greenbelt or to City Council with the attitude, 'Let's take it like a man.' It is a moral principle, and it should not be apologized for." (Mr. Simms was elected to the executive committee on May 14, 1964.)

Prior to this point, the group had been concerned primarily with the delicacy of the issue with which they were dealing and the need to avoid antagonizing those who did not agree with them, which moral accusations were certain to do. After some weeks of this restraint, the response to

Simms' sudden introduction of the "real" issue was a round of spontaneous applause, reflecting relief that someone had finally brought the moral side of the question out in the open.

A discussion then ensued over whether the group should use an "ethical-moral" or a "planning" approach with City Council. It was pointed out by a lawyer that it was necessary to leave morals out of it if an impression was to be made on the council; forcing them into a moral stand would be "political suicide" for them if it succeeded and for GCFH if it failed. This phase of the discussion wound up with a heated statement by a young man, "It is selfish of you to take a strong moral stand just to satisfy your own conscience, when the important thing is to get something done and to hell with your conscience." This is perhaps the best summary of the fair housing philosophy of action, as it relates to the philosophy reflected in the rhetoric of the general civil rights movement, that was expressed by any of the individuals encountered in the course of the investigation.

At this point, the Orator of the GHI meeting who, as noted before, had not been included in the steering committee, rose to his feet. (He was one of the two "visitors".) He pointed out condescendingly that the integration question was already on the City Council agenda for November 4, in the form of a request for a public hearing on the Goals of Greenbelt. (The connection he was making here was a rather tenuous one between that aspect of the Goals of Greenbelt dealing with democracy, and the relationship between integration and democracy.) He also made the point that despite the fact that GCFH was a housing organization, they should broaden their coverage to include equal public accommodations and equal employment opportunity, contending that an article in the

News Review had noted a "hole" regarding skin color in the last GHI statement on hiring policy.

The latter statement was promptly challenged by a GCFH member who quoted the policy expressed by the Board of Directors on August 19, that hiring was to be based on merit only regardless of race, color, or creed. The Orator replied, in his most squelching manner, "Well, Mary, I would be happy to believe that such was actually the case, but I don't think the News Review reporting can be entirely ignored."

At this point, the chairman began to manifest concern for getting the meeting adjourned. The Orator was subtly attacking the group, criticizing their incompetence for not recognizing the council meeting as an opportunity to present their case, and his tone was becoming progressively sharper as he failed to be recognized as making a contribution to their program. As a fair housing group, they were not concerned with other aspects of the civil rights movement, as he implied they should be, and they simply waited for him to conclude. Since he was a well-known community figure, they felt the attack uncomfortable and wanted it terminated. The chairman's effort to adjourn was interrupted by an excited GCFHer who demanded to know what was going to be done about the November 4 council meeting. "I'm glad," put in the Orator, "that at least one person understood the point I was trying to make." He was ignored by the chairman and the meeting was hastily adjourned. (The Orator did not come to any more meetings and apparently discarded the cause, except for a letter to the News Review on the subject of integration, signed by his daughter, some months later.)

It was at this meeting that the general tone of the organization crystallized. The opposition no longer attended. Concern had turned from the group's public image, now established, to their action program

-- specifically, to how City Council was to be approached. When the November 1 meeting adjourned, so did the formative stage of the organization. From that point on, meetings were less well attended, and the discussion was less lively as consensus rather than dissension marked the opinion leaders in the group.

Informal Responses to Resistance. No effort has been made systematically to examine the personality characteristics of GCFH leaders. However, it has been suggested that the people who were intimately involved in founding the organization and in the early course of events which accompanied its advent were deeply committed to the moral principle of equality of opportunity regardless of race, color, or creed. The November 1 meeting had been an emotional one, and the aura of a "cause" pervaded it, though the aura of practicality had, in the end, dominated. The aftermath of this was felt in a small group which gathered after the meeting in the home of one of the individuals who had been active on the steering committee.

Over coffee, the Orator, the wife of the professor, a social worker whose husband worked for an integrated taxi-cab company part time, and several others found themselves discussing the referendum proposal. The Orator had a suggestion to counter that of Wilson and Porter -- a referendum against integration. The intensity of his scorn for the conservative position (and his lack of the moderation which characterized GCFH members in public encounters) was reflected in this proposal, which would have Greenbelt voters subscribe or refuse to subscribe to a series of such statements as, "We are against Negroes coming to Greenbelt because, although we profess to believe in democracy, in fact we are against it." He pointed out that all that was required

to obtain a referendum was a petition with fifty signatures, which he was certain he could get through GCFH. His listeners responded with delight to the suggestion, which provided them with the opportunity to express opinions of the opposition which heretofore had been politely suppressed. However, since GHI had defeated the referendum proposal, the suggestion had little practical value.

The social worker then began to discuss another aspect of the public's response to GCFH which had not come up before -- vandalism. The gas tank of her car had been drained on Halloween night, and the windshield of her husband's cab was smashed. She related these events to their participation in GCFH rather than to Halloween pranks due to some previous incidents which had occurred, she believed, because they had entertained their friends in their back yard all summer "no matter what color their skins were." Since then, she claimed, all communication with her neighbors had broken down. She stood in the doorway with a bowl of candy on Halloween night and was by-passed by young trick-or-treaters accompanied by their mothers, when three months ago, her daughter had been invited to their birthday parties. She recalled vividly that when four cars in her lot had been double-parked one night, her husband's cab was the only one towed away by the police (a policeman lived in their court), and the remark was circulated around the court that it was a nigger cab and didn't belong in Greenbelt anyhow. And one morning, she found a cartoon in her car -- the picture of a littered street, an unkempt yard, and the handwritten caption, "Greenbelt after your nigger friends move in." After this narration, she idly picked up a guitar that someone had gotten out of the closet and began humming, "We Shall Overcome."

With the exception of a few cryptic telephone calls in the early hours of the morning, which were reported by several other leaders of GCFH, this was apparently the only "hate" response to the group's formation. No other incidents of outright vandalism or harassment which could be related to GCFH participation were reported to the investigator, and those that did occur were never made public. The phone calls were treated by their recipients as a minor nuisance, hardly worthy of note.

The group that night seemed united by their common belief in equality and their shared animosity toward their detractors, which was enhanced by the narration of the vandalism incidents. The Orator held forth on his referendum proposal at great length, despite the obvious lack of need for a plan to counter an already defeated issue. The strains of the civil rights hymn "We Shall Overcome" betrayed a deep identification with the cause of the general movement which, to that point, had remained in the background, an implicit reason for involvement in fair housing.

Summary: The Establishment of GCFH. GCFH was triggered by an incident of discrimination in one of the apartments in Old Greenbelt and by the veiled threat of CORE to force integration in GHI. A steering committee composed of individuals who had been involved in these incidents and others who were interested arranged a public meeting, and took a large ad in the Greenbelt News Review, signed by 57 sponsors, to draw the new group to the public's attention and to create an awareness of the problem of discrimination in housing. The meeting was a success, and more than 60 people showed up for the organization meeting of GCFH, including several people who feared that the group would try to force

integration (a rather paradoxical twist, since it was the forcing of integration by CORE which the group was formed to help prevent). The dissenters attempted to limit the range of tactics and strategy GCFH would support by rewording its objectives, without success. Those who overtly opposed integration left the meeting and never became an organized resistance group. A plan for approaching the Greenbelt City Council on the matter of integration began to evolve, and the issue received a thorough airing in the columns of the News Review as citizens of all shades of opinion participated in a three-week public correspondence with one another. An effort to have the integration of GHI submitted to a vote by its members was defeated, and GHI's Board of Directors reaffirmed the existing membership policy, which contains no stipulations with regard to race.

The ethical considerations which were shared by the group's members remained undercover until the group had rid itself of dissenters and achieved the beginnings of an identity, which developed as initial resistance faded and the proposal for a Human Relations Advisory Board began to take shape. It was finally voiced at the second meeting, where a speech, stating that integration should not be approached as if it were "a bitter pill for the community to swallow" was greeted with applause. While GCFH as a group never alluded publicly to the shared moral convictions of its members, this seemed to be the reason why many had joined -- they believed in the civil rights cause. However, in contrast to the better-known segments of the general movement, they committed themselves as an organization to a "planning" rather than an "ethical" approach, and to working through existing legal channels (the City Council) rather than defying them. In essence, this approach

exemplifies that of other fair housing groups. In the results of the tactics which have been employed by groups on both the "left" (e.g., picketing, demonstrations, publicity) and the "right" (e.g., cross-burnings, vandalism, terrorism), they have ample illustration of situations in which no self-respecting community wants to become involved. In the course of taking action in such a manner as to avoid unpleasant incidents, they are in a position of serving the community rather than destroying it, as extremist tactics on either side of the fence can, at least temporarily, do, while assisting the community to achieve integration which, according to their assessment, is inevitable.

The Program and Strategy of GCFH

Formal Organization. The formal leadership of GCFH consists of an elected seven-member executive committee. Terms of office are staggered so that while each member serves one year, an election to replace either three or four members is held every six months. Chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, and treasurer are elected by the executive committee from its own ranks. For each election, a nominating committee of three volunteers or (if no one volunteers) appointees of the chairman, select nominees for the vacant positions. One individual for each position is chosen by the committee, and prior to the election, the floor is opened for additional nominations. The executive committee holds meetings in addition to membership meetings (closed for all practical purposes, since the membership is not notified) during which policy is formulated and administrative matters settled.

In addition to the executive committee, permanent membership and education committees have been established. The purpose of the member-

ship committee is to keep records of the membership, including their distribution throughout Greenbelt and their length of residence. The education committee is responsible for organizing the neighborhood workshops, including finding hosts and speakers and notifying the members of the dates and places of the workshops. Temporary committees are formed to consider special programs (e.g., public meetings, the presentation at the Labor Day Festival) or other non-recurrent matters (e.g., preparation of the proposal for City Council).

This organizational structure is similar to that of the larger fair housing groups discussed in the previous chapter, except that the executive committee is smaller and there are fewer permanent committees -- the natural result of the restricted functions imposed by smaller size and narrower objectives. While most of the housing restrictions which would be found in Prince George's County have their counterparts within Greenbelt's city limits, the establishment of a listing service covering only Greenbelt would be duplication of effort, since Greenbelt's listings can be handled by the existing machinery of Prince George's County Fair Housing more efficiently. As far as the relations between GCFH and the Metropolitan Washington Housing Program are concerned, they are nonexistent except through the medium of personnel shared by GCFH and Prince George's County Fair Housing. GCFH strongly resisted merger with the larger group, due to the unique problems imposed by the cooperative ownership of most of the homes in Old Greenbelt; however, it has avoided any duplication of function with PGFH, largely due to the personnel cross-over which makes for excellent communication between the two groups.

The Major Program Goal. As noted earlier, the Greenbelt City Council has established several advisory boards composed of interested citizens to aid in its planning and fact-finding functions. The establishment of such an advisory board in the area of human relations remained the major goal of GCFH through the period studied, and this effort was followed by the investigator until a city ordinance established the board on January 11, 1965. The main goal of GCFH in attempting to establish this body was to obtain official acknowledgment that a potential community problem existed, and to assure that legitimated means to cope with the problem would be available if difficulties developed. At the time the proposal was first advanced, the concept of a Human Relations Advisory Board was quite foreign to Greenbelters, including many members of GCFH.

The inexperience of most of the group members in official dealings was evident in the manner in which the proposal initially was handled. A draft delineating the proposed nature and functions of a Human Relations Advisory Board was voluntarily prepared by two GCFH members who, though they were amateurs, had a fair idea of what such boards were like. Before this document had been submitted to the general membership of GCFH for approval, it was duplicated in several copies as a "mark-up draft" and circulated among the members of the executive committee. In the meantime, the chairman requested a slot on the council agenda by letter for discussion of the proposed board on November 18, 1963. This letter was duly placed on the agenda under "written communications". Several GCFH members were present at the council meeting, and when the item came up, it was in the form of a request that the board be discussed, rather than the discussion itself, since it was the chairman's request

which was on the agenda, and the request was the content of his communication.

The mayor noted this and interpreted it to mean that the council was to take action to place the item on the agenda for the next regular meeting. Another councilman intervened and suggested that since representatives of the organization were in the audience, the council might as well take advantage of it and get some idea of what the proposal involved. The chairman of GCFH was then asked point blank by the mayor to set forth his ideas and recommendations.

The chairman, while he had come prepared to discuss the board, was nevertheless caught off guard. He had not written the mark-up draft himself, and apparently had not studied it sufficiently to summarize its contents. Rather than allow the opportunity to slip by, he suggested to council that the draft contained recommendations for the establishment of the board. After pointing out that it was a preliminary document, he then handed copies to the council members, who said they would peruse it before the December 2 meeting, at which discussion of the proposal would take place.

The Reactivation of Resistance. At some point during the ensuing two weeks, a copy of the mark-up draft fell into the hands of a member of the Greenbelt Civic Association. The draft was not a polished proposal in the legal sense, and some of the wording suggested that the board would have judiciary power over matters which even the most radical leftist would consider his own private business. On December 1, a mimeographed handbill was circulated to every doorstep in GHL, "printed as a public service by the Greenbelt Civic Association, Inc." (This was apparently the first time anyone in Greenbelt except GCA members

themselves had heard of the organization, though it had been incorporated the previous June.) After firmly establishing their own neutrality ("We are neither for nor against forming such a Board at this time, pending hearing all sides of the issue"), they pointed out that "some of the material submitted to City Council by the Fair Housing group ... goes considerably beyond a rational proposal ..." Two paragraphs of the mark-up draft were quoted verbatim, as follows, the underlinings having been added by GCA:

PURPOSE: A committee or Board should be appointed by the City Council to serve as a study and recommending body to the Council on all matters of inter-racial, inter-religious, inter-national, inter-sex, or inter-class matters. Discrimination problems, whatever the categorical definition, will fall under the jurisdiction of this Board."

POWERS OF THE BOARD: The Board will have the authority to call meetings, hold hearings, conduct studies and the like to determine what the dimensions of the problem or problems are. The Board shall also have the authority to require the parties concerned to comply with the fairest solution as arrived by the Board by a majority vote. Problems which threaten the community welfare will be decided by majority vote of the council.

The handbill closed with the statement, "Your opinion should be heard at the council meeting on December 2, 1963, at 8 p. m."

The council meeting convened as usual, but by 9:00 it became apparent that the council chamber could not contain the crowd that appeared. Prior to moving to larger quarters at the Youth Center, a written communication from GCA regarding zoning came up on the agenda. One of the councilmen, unfamiliar with the group, requested the names of the officers of the organization and the number of members. Mr. Hart, who was in the audience, said that he was a representative of the organization but he didn't know who the officers were. Another councilman said that in that case, the communication could not be entertained. Mr. Hart accepted the verdict silently.

The hearing at the Youth Center -- for a hearing it was, despite council's lack of anticipation that it would be -- was in the best "town meeting" tradition. The room was nearly filled, and some 25 or 30 citizens had their say. Points made by those who doubted the purposes of the board and GCFH included the fact that Greenbelt was, after all, part of a county, and that Prince George's County already had a Human Relations Council; that GCFH, a group of "new people", was asking for official power to force integration that would allow Greenbelt to "fall to the Negroes"; that state and county regulations were "good enough" and that a referendum on integration ought to be held "the way it should be in a democracy"; that the intimation that official help was needed in human relations was "degrading" to the upstanding citizens of Greenbelt; that advisory boards in general should be done away with and council should handle matters themselves (from Mr. Hart); that the concerns with which a Human Relations Council would deal were moral and social, not legal, and were thus no concern of the City Council's; and that the secrecy which had marked the treatment of the mark-up draft by both GCFH and City Council was objectionable.

Both moderates not affiliated with GCFH and GCFH members countered their critics with the following points, among others: that the Prince George's County Human Relations Council was working in different areas than those proposed for Greenbelt's board; that a Human Relations Advisory Board could not, under the terms of Greenbelt's charter, have any judicial powers so fears regarding its powers were ungrounded; that City Council, not GCFH, would determine the composition of the board, so it could not possibly be a "pawn" of GCFH; that since Greenbelt was a part of the United States, it could not vote on whether or not the

Constitution applied to it (in reference to the proposed referendum); that the hearing itself indicated that the board was not being proposed in secrecy; that the reason for establishing a board was preparedness for potential problems, not to force integration; and that the mark-up draft should be considered as a whole rather than as the few reprinted paragraphs seized upon by the Greenbelt Civic Association.

At this point, a gentleman in the back of the room stood up and demanded that the mayor rule on whether or not the mark-up draft was part of the public record. Since it had been presented to council in a public meeting, the mayor had no choice but to rule that it was. Amid an effort by another councilman to overrule the mayor and objections from the GCFH chairman and his supporters that it was an unofficial document, it was so ruled. Then the gentleman, who identified himself as the president of GCA, read the unfortunate mark-up draft into the record.

The meeting was concluded by a motion that City Council would take the proposal under advisement, leaving it open to further debate. Political and practical considerations were very much in evidence in summary statements made by the councilmen that night, and in their subsequent handling of the request. While one councilman was chary of the proposal and another strongly in favor of it, three appeared neutral. Their statements reflected a reluctant but genuine intent to look into the proposal more thoroughly, put in such a way as not to offend either side. No definite commitment regarding when it would be considered again was made.

The Major Goal Redefined. GCFH learned from its experience with the mark-up draft (which caused the resignation of one member in disgust at the inept handling of the proposal). At the next meeting, the chairman

somewhat sheepishly explained what had happened, and it was proposed that he be given a vote of thanks for his handling of the situation. A round of applause indicated that those present bore him no hard feelings. It was then proposed that GCFH take the initiative in a well-thought-out proposal to establish a "blue ribbon" Human Relations Advisory Board, to be composed of representatives of other organizations in Greenbelt. Some discussion ensued over whether than attempt should be made to involve these groups in the planning phases, or whether their support should be solicited after GCFH had formulated the proposal. The need to obtain broader support in the community was noted, but there was some fear of circulating a proposal, even to GCFH membership, without having it first thoroughly "gone over" for statements which could be misinterpreted. For this reason, the membership decided to approve the proposal first, and then seek the support of other organizations.

A committee was formed to write a new draft, to be submitted to the membership at the next meeting. The wording of the new proposal was less liable to misinterpretation, the draft was only one page in length, it restricted the concern of the proposed board to interracial matters, and its functions to advising, studying, and working with other groups. With minor changes, this draft was approved by the membership at a meeting on January 16, 1964. It was then submitted to 27 religious and civic groups in Greenbelt for their consideration. On February 8, the chairman again requested an agenda slot for the issue. He did not get one until March 16, when the proposal was read and put on the agenda for review at the next regular meeting, April 6. The March 19 issue of the News Review contained an angry letter from a citizen accusing GCFH of attempting to force integration inside and outside Greenbelt, and

expressing doubt as to whether she wanted her City Council to work with such a group.

Official Reception of the Proposal. The efforts of GCFH to obtain broad support from other groups failed. On the April 6 agenda, under "written communications", were two letters. One, from the Greenbelt Community Church (whose minister was on the GCFH executive committee), supported the proposal. The other was from the Greenbelt Shopping Center Association, stating that they had no discrimination problem and expected none in the future and therefore saw no need for the establishment of such a board.

In the meantime, at least some of the councilmen had been studying the legal intricacies of Human Relations Councils. As one of them began discussing the fine points of the ordinance passed by Bowie, Maryland, however, he was interrupted with a reminder that the topic under consideration was the procedure for considering such materials, not their actual consideration. The question was, "How are we going to handle the whole thing?" They discussed open vs. closed meetings and finally decided to discuss it as a committee-as-a-whole, with a public meeting after sufficient study had been completed. An open meeting with no public discussion allowed was to be held on April 23. This meeting was not held, and the council did not consider the matter again until June 16, when Mr. John Fields from the Community Relations Service of the Conference of Mayors testified on the experience of other municipalities with Human Relations Councils.

In Greenbelt, most groups go into hibernation for the summer, and GCFH was no exception. City Council, while it could not go into hibernation, nevertheless did so as far as the Human Relations Advisory Board

was concerned. The subject did not come up again until the new chairman of GCFH (elected on May 14 before the group adjourned for the summer) became impatient and requested an agenda slot on December 7, 1964. All GCFH members were called and asked to attend the meeting, but only ten were there as the chairman chided the council: "This proposal has been before the City Council for over one year and, in the opinion of Greenbelt Citizens for Fair Housing, this represents a reasonably adequate length of time for the Council to have considered the matter with the necessary careful and even prayerful deliberation." The letter also drew attention to the fact that two cases of discrimination in one of Greenbelt's new developments had been placed before the Prince George's County Human Relations Council. "Needless to state, had our City Council established the proposed Human Relations Advisory Board the two cases could have been acted upon by our own advisory board and the aggrieved parties would not have had to go outside the City of Greenbelt for the relief they seek."

Official Action is Taken. As the foregoing chronology illustrates, the council had not pushed on the matter of a Human Relations Advisory Board. Whether they were suddenly struck with guilt over the long delay in taking action, or whether the actual cases of discrimination impressed them with the need for a Human Relations Advisory Board, they went into a five-minute executive session and upon emerging, scheduled an open session on the question for December 14. The chairman of GCFH graciously thanked them for their prompt action.

The December 14 meeting was uneventful by previous standards. The council's caution that no audience participation would be allowed was scarcely necessary, for even when discussion was opened to the floor at

the end of the meeting, few of the 20-odd people present (mostly GCFH members) had anything to say. After considering whether or not the board was needed, what its objectives and functions should be, how members should be appointed and removed, and what qualifications they should have, it was agreed that an ordinance would be prepared, to be voted on at the next regular meeting. And on January 11, 1965, the City Council of Greenbelt passed Ordinance 600, establishing a seven-member Human Relations Advisory Board to be appointed by the mayor, to carry on research and studies on human relations in Greenbelt.

The problems encountered by Human Relations Councils, even when they have laws to back up their efforts, have been discussed earlier. In view of this evidence, it seems likely that the most significant results of the establishment of a Human Relations Advisory Board in Greenbelt will not arise from the actions of the board itself, but occurred in the process of its establishment. The City Council, in order to pass the ordinance, had to educate its members about the nature of such groups and the problems with which they are designed to deal, matters to which they would probably not otherwise have given so much thought. And in the process of public interchange of opinions which accompanied the council's drawn-out consideration of the GCFH proposal, many citizens of Greenbelt also gave thought to potential problems of race relations. The News Review served as a forum where nearly all shades of opinion were presented at one point or another, and the public hearing cleared the air of the formerly subtle and untraceable negative aura which was believed to characterize the feelings of many Greenbelters on the race issue. In short, the Human Relations Advisory Board was a guise under which the integration issue could be aired without the

necessity of anyone's taking a stand for or against an actual move-in, though it is doubtful whether it was planned that way by GCFH.

The Educational Program. This was to be the major activity of the group, as it was originally described to the investigator. Objectives No. 2, 3, and 4 of the organization (see Display 2) all deal with its education-communication function. Yet this is probably the area in which the group was least successful, if the process of establishing the Human Relations Advisory Board is not considered to be educational. The major part of the education activity consisted of arranging neighborhood workshops (as stated in the second objective) in homes of members. The goal of these workshops theoretically is to involve people who are indifferent to, dubious about, or overtly against integration and through such activities as role-playing, outside speakers, and discussion, point out the facts of discrimination vs. integration in housing. Between November 5, 1963, and April 27, 1964, nine of these workshops were held. Speakers from the American Friends Service Committee, Suburban Maryland Fair Housing, the N.A.A.C.P., the Mental Health Study Center of the National Institute of Mental Health, and GCFH members who were particularly well-versed in various aspects of the integration problem, were employed as leaders. However, based on the attendance lists kept by the chairman of the education committee, only three non-members of GCFH attended these nine meetings. Many of those who attended were GCFH leaders and had been active in formulating policy either on the executive committee or from the floor. Many others attended GCFH meetings frequently. However, the fact that all attendees, regardless of their level of activity, were GCFH members (who were almost by definition already pro-integration) meant that the part of

the community most in need of "education" was not reached at all, their sole source of information being the interchanges in the News Review.

In listening to discussions in meetings and at the workshops, when GCFH members were extemporizing with little or no advance preparation, it became obvious that many of them were extremely well-informed, not only on the statistical "facts" of discrimination, integration, and property values, but on the social and psychological factors involved in desegregation. In short, many of them were sophisticated people (though others, of course, were a good deal less sophisticated) who did not "need" the education and were sometimes better informed than discussion leaders. An interview with the education chairman revealed that only those on the GCFH mailing list (in other words, members) were called about these workshops. She reported "all possible reactions" from them, including some very negative ones, which on the surface might indicate that not all of the opposition walked out after the organizational meeting. However, at least in some cases, this negativity was due not to opposition or ignorance, but to misunderstanding of the purpose of the call or to personal factors. In short, it is doubtful that the workshops changed anyone's attitudes, though they did serve to communicate facts and concepts pertaining to civil rights to those who were already receptive to (and in many cases, familiar with) them. The neighborhood coffee has apparently been employed more effectively by the Northwest Washington Fair Housing and Improvement Association, where neighbors who were not members of the group were the objects of the educational effort.

Other educational activity included the showing of a movie on February 11, to which "everyone" was invited, but not even a quorum of the membership attended. GCFH had an information table at the Greenbelt

Labor Day Festival, at which fair housing literature was dispensed. They also showed a film at the Festival, which was poorly attended; it may have been viewed by a maximum of fifteen or twenty non-members. The letters written by both the organization and its members to the News Review in response to their critics were probably the most widely circulated of the educational efforts, though their influence on attitudes was probably negligible; the same could be said for the thorough presentations made by some members at City Council meetings. The second public meeting sponsored by GCFH, held on January 28, 1965, where Washington realtor Tighe Woods discussed "Property Values and Race", was attended almost entirely by members, and not one of the real estate brokers in the area, to whom special invitations had been extended, showed up.

Support of Legislation. Another area in which GCFH was active was following closely the civil rights legislation at both national and state levels and writing to their representatives in support of it. Individual members were urged to write on their own, in addition to group letters which were sent out by the secretary, and more than one discussion of how best to influence politicians sparked their meetings. When the civil rights bill was before the U. S. Senate, communications to Senators Beall, Brewster, and Humphrey, and to the White House, were sent, and GCFH members were urged to write to the Prince George's County delegation in the Maryland State Legislature and to the chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Delegates in support of the three civil rights bills on public accommodations, discrimination in employment, and fair housing which were presented in early 1965. This activity further illustrates the fact that the fair housing move-

ment is a part of the civil rights movement, but that its participation is of a different nature than that of more militant groups.

The "Liberal Group" Function. Fair housing organizations are recognized by many other groups as a source of support for a variety of liberal causes, and at nearly every meeting there was an announcement requesting support for some aspect of civil rights more or less related to equal opportunity in housing, as well as some requests for support which had no relationship to housing whatsoever. During the November 1964 election, help was solicited for the distribution of the literature of liberal candidates at the polls; the publications of various disarmament and peace groups turned up on the refreshment table; contributions to the Mississippi Summer Project were sought. The most interesting of these propositions was put forth by a man who had infiltrated the White Citizen's Council movement in the Washington area, so successfully that he was made an official in the Prince George's County branch. GCFH members were asked to cooperate in the infiltrator's efforts to wreck a White Citizen's rally at Glen Burnie, Maryland, by filling the Glen Burnie Armory with pro-civil rights people. The effort was at least partially successful, and caused no little consternation among the organizers, who repeatedly warned the silent, integrated group in the front rows (several of whom were GCFH members) that no violence would be tolerated.

The outside group promoted most actively by GCFH was the Educational Home Visit Day program, during which Negro families visit white homes, and white families visit Negro homes, and frankly discuss the problems of integration. Basically an attempt to cross the barriers to interaction which social and residential segregation have created,

Home Visits are organized twice a year by the Educational Home Visit Office in Washington, D. C. Registration blanks were mailed to all GCFH members, as well as handed out at meetings, and members who had participated in the program urged those who had not to do so.

Relations Between Fair Housing and Other Civil Rights Groups.

Contrary to the opinion of many individuals who identified GCFH as a radical left-wing group, they from the outset attempted to avoid all identification with groups which might have justified this opinion. The CORE members living in Greenbelt, though they signed the initial ad in the News Review and subsequently wrote a letter to the editor, never attended a meeting and were in no way active in the group. (Even the names of these well-known individuals in the ad, however, was enough to convince at least one Greenbelt resident that CORE had engineered GCFH, and this impression may have been enhanced by the News Review letter offering a choice between GCFH and CORE methods of integration.) GCFH never set up a deliberate test situation as a group, although members acting as individuals did become involved in the case of discrimination which triggered the group, did accompany the first Negro family to Boxwood, and in two cases briefly joined CORE picket lines outside Greenbelt. The temptation to "test" around Greenbelt may have been lessened by the lack of a fair housing ordinance, but it was also tempered by the realization of several of the leaders that in the long run, forcing integration was likely to do more harm than good to the group and to the community. Anything that could be called an incident, that might be publicized, was shied away from; the case of discrimination which triggered the formation of the group was never alluded to publicly in any way. While GCFH leaders and other

fair housing leaders in the Washington area admit that having CORE in the background as a threat is useful, particularly with realtors who are by and large not pleased with picketing at their establishments, they do not want CORE or other militant groups to become directly involved in housing, since the methods used by these groups make behind-the-scenes community relations activity and peaceful move-ins well-nigh impossible.

Summary: Program and Strategy. The lack of any effort to "force" integration is illustrated by the activities of GCFH. The establishment of an official Human Relations Advisory Board was the major goal of the group. After prolonged consideration (extending from the night of the public hearing, December 2, 1963, until January 11, 1965) gentle prodding from GCFH succeeded in obtaining official sanction for two of its basic contentions: integration was a possibility, and it should be handled decorously and locally.

The educational program of the group succeeded in communicating to many of its members some of the facts of discrimination in housing, property values, and racial differences. However, it did not reach non-members, including those most opposed to integration. GCFH encouraged its members to support civil rights legislation, and served as a channel through which other groups, more or less related to fair housing and civil rights, could reach an additional audience for support of their programs. GCFH made a deliberate effort to avoid becoming identified as a "radical" group, and analysis of its program indicates that it was not, in terms of tactics, strategy, or objectives. The extent to which its individual members were "radicals" is discussed in the following section.

Leadership and Membership in GCFH

Characteristics of the Leadership. While no socioeconomic data was collected systematically on either leaders or membership, through informal association and some deliberate questioning enough information was obtained, particularly on the leaders, to enable some generalizations about their characteristics. The identification of leaders was based on the following criteria: 1) they had been elected to serve on the executive committee during 1963 or 1964 (this included the first two elections held); and/or 2) they served as resource persons for at least one workshop; and/or 3) they were appointed as chairman of one of the permanent committees. On this basis, thirteen leaders were identified, nearly all of whom had been on the steering committee. As several studies of leadership have indicated,³⁸ different individuals are chosen as leaders depending upon the leadership criteria selected by the investigator. The above criteria are based upon participation at a high level in the group's formal structure. Two individuals not meeting any of the above criteria were also judged to be leaders, one due to his key position in forming the group, his frequent selection for duty on temporary committees, and his nomination for offices; the other due to his substantive contribution to the program as a regular commentator from the floor at the early meetings. If these two individuals are included, the total number of leaders reaches fifteen.

The actual number of people included in the leadership group goes above that figure, however. While four of the leaders joined the group as individuals (three were married, one was not), the other eleven joined as couples. Husband and wife frequently shared the leadership duties which one or the other had been delegated or elected to

officially. Thus the actual number of members included in the leadership group is twenty-six. This sharing of leadership is known to have existed in the case of six couples. One might stay home with the children while the other attended a City Council meeting. If one could not be present at a meeting at which some function had to be performed, the spouse would fill in. Positions taken in debate or in policy formulation by one spouse would have been thoroughly talked over with the other beforehand, in a sort of preliminary debate. In several cases, the husband would attempt to gain facts and figures about a relevant issue, or to make contacts with local acquaintances, in order to back up his wife in a presentation or proposal, or simply to satisfy the curiosity of both. In some cases this was an almost formal arrangement (wives and husbands worked out in advance which one would actually hold an office, regardless of which of them was nominated for it, and communicated their decision to the nominating committee); in other cases, it simply evolved as a sharing arrangement. Some spouses were more active in this respect than were others; but since so much of this husband-wife sharing activity went on informally, a workable distinction between spouses which were actually leaders in their own right and those which were not was impossible to arrive at. Thus, in discussing the characteristics of the leaders, these couples will be referred to as one person.

Several religious faiths were represented in the leadership group. There were more Unitarians (including interdenominational, i.e., the Greenbelt Community Church) than any other single faith, including one ordained Unitarian minister (who was holding a job unrelated to his religious training) and the minister of Greenbelt Community Church. Lutheran, Catholic, Episcopalian, and Jewish Reformed were also represented. Several GCFH leaders, notably Catholics and Unitarians, were

also active in church groups working to improve race relations. This suggests a dual relationship between religion and leadership: first, that activity within the church concerned with civil rights may have aroused motivation in those participating to extend their efforts; and second, that the activity represented by fair housing tends to attract those who are not dogmatic in their religious beliefs, e.g., the Unitarians and the members of an interdenominational Protestant church.

Nearly all of the leaders were professional people; many of the housewives had professional aspirations which they planned to act upon as soon as their children were all in school. At least five of the leaders had done graduate work, and of these two had Ph.Ds (both in psychology). Their occupations were varied, from housewives to lawyers, salesmen to professors. They were predominantly younger people with school-age and pre-school children.

Some writers have found that those who are active in social movements are what might be called "participation-prone" -- individuals in search of a "cause", who may also be characterized by certain other personality traits such as authoritarianism or desire for martyrdom.³⁹ It has also been found that community opinion leaders are characterized by participation in many voluntary associations, in what might be called a "participation orientation" toward the community.⁴⁰ Several GCFH leaders were queried as regards their participation in other groups, both past and present, in an effort to determine whether these associations indicated that either of these characteristics applied to them. It was found that while several had previously been active in civil rights organizations, this characteristic was by no means general. Nearly all GCFH leaders were, however, active in at least one other community

organization dealing with substantive public issues. Several were members of the advisory boards set up by the City Council and GHI; others were involved in zoning problems; one was active in improving county library facilities and serving as a member of an official advisory board of the Prince George's County Commissioners; several were or had been active in the management of Greenbelt Consumer Services; others, while not actively associated with any of the current issues, were known for a long history of community participation and their willingness to cooperate in community projects. (Notably absent in the associations between GCFH leaders and community institutions is the Greenbelt News Review. It was agreed at the outset between members of the steering committee and their contacts on the News Review staff that no staff members would join the group, to prevent charges of bias being leveled at the News Review by individuals not in sympathy with GCFH.) Finally, there was some evidence that the fair housing group had recruited one or two leaders who were attracted to it due to its potential for the application of social scientific techniques on the practical level rather than to their concern for community problems.

On the whole, the participation levels of GCFH leaders (in GCFH and other groups combined) varied substantially, from token participation in one other group to leadership roles in several other groups. This indicates that they were, by and large, participation oriented toward both community and in some cases, county. However, this participation was not in other "causes", but in community organizations dealing with substantive issues. This record suggests that they were not "participation-prone" in the first sense mentioned above; they were not "left-wing radicals" but closer to what are usually called "solid citizens".

Four GCFH leaders (one an individual, three couples) were also active in fair housing at the county level. One had been instrumental in founding Suburban Maryland Fair Housing and in establishing Prince George's County Fair Housing as a separate entity. Another had been a leader in SMFH prior to his election to the GCFH executive committee. A third worked on the PGFH housing information service as well as serving as chairman of a permanent GCFH committee. The fourth was on the executive committees of both PGFH and GCFH, and finally resigned an active role in GCFH in favor of activity in the county organization and the Metropolitan Washington Housing Program. (This individual held three official positions in the two organizations at last count.) This is the closest approach by any of the GCFH leaders to the "cause" orientation described earlier. Significantly, it is these individuals who account for the only picketing activity engaged in by GCFH members (to the investigator's knowledge). They are oriented not to Greenbelt, but to a general problem -- to them, a wrong which they are working very hard to set right. They might be described as the cosmopolitan element in GCFH leadership, in terms of their degree of involvement in organizations reaching beyond Greenbelt city limits.

However, in some respects this would be misleading. Other individuals, apparently with comparable feelings and equally cosmopolitan orientation in conversation if not in participation, were not nearly so active. These differences in participation raise a question regarding the nature of dedicated participators which is beyond the scope of this study. Perhaps there are differences in values and motivation which would not become apparent without the use of depth techniques; perhaps other personality variables such as sociability, persistence, or self-

confidence account for the difference. Perhaps career pressures and family situations, and the amount of time and energy which individuals find it necessary to expend upon these basic activities, are important variables.

It is the individuals who were most "cause-oriented" who had to exert the most self-restraint in confining themselves to the quiet methods of fair housing (as their rare ventures into picketing activity indicates). However, they are also the most dedicated to overcoming residential segregation using these quiet methods, as their participation in the area fair housing movement illustrates.

Active and Non-Active Members. In addition to the identification of leaders, a further distinction was made between active members, defined as those who attended at least one workshop, and non-active, those who attended only regular meetings or no meetings at all. A legitimate objection might be raised with regard to the "active" criterion, on the point that regular attendance at membership meetings is at least as important, if not more important, than attendance at workshops. There is no question that attendance at meetings should have been taken into account. However, early in the organization's history, when meetings were attended by 40 or more people, it was impossible for the investigator to attach names to faces with the accuracy necessary for obtaining attendance records. Later on, as name-face connections became established and attendance diminished, it was possible. It was then found that nearly every individual who attended meetings regularly had also attended at least one workshop; essentially, that both criteria over a period of time as long as a year select the same people as "active". The workshop group is somewhat larger than the group which

attended meetings regularly; however, it was felt that if individuals were willing to spend an evening to learn more about fair housing (even if they did not attend meetings), they should be distinguished from those who did not make this effort.

Using these criteria, there were four individuals and 26 couples included in the "active" group, and 10 individuals and 15 couples in the "non-active" category. About the non-active members, very little is known. It appears that many were contacted via word-of-mouth about the organization early in its history, and simply acquiesced to the use by the group of their names. Very few of these people were encountered by the investigator in any capacity, and none as a participant observer. The active members, however, covered a wide range of participation. Some were nearly as active as the leaders, though their interests in fair housing were confined to Greenbelt -- they were not cosmopolitan in their participation. Many were also active in other community organizations, the same organizations participated in by GCFH leaders. Several came to City Council meetings when the Human Relations Advisory Board was being considered, and attended zoning hearings. However, as a group they were not as vocal as the leaders and they seemed more erratic in their concern for community affairs. Other members which fell into the active classification bordered upon the non-active by virtue of seldom attending meetings and not participating at all in other community events which were observed in connection with GCFH. (It is possible that there was more of this type of participation than was recognized by the investigator, since many of the less active "actives" would not be recognized on sight and thus could not have been identified as GCFH members at other meetings.) The active group thus covers that part of the continuum of

participation between the substantive involvement of leadership and the state of membership in name only. The group's new leaders will undoubtedly be recruited from the upper ranks of the active, while the old leaders may subside into those ranks, as two members of the original executive committee have already done.

The Ecology of Membership. Members (in all three categories) were overwhelmingly drawn from Old Greenbelt, and in Old Greenbelt, from GHI. Only two couples from New Greenbelt joined, and one of these subsequently asked to be removed from the mailing list as they had lost interest. (They were among the non-active word-of-mouth recruits, and never had much interest to begin with.) Of the remaining 117 members from Old Greenbelt, all but 19 were from GHI. Further, of these 19, 8 were non-active, 9 were active, but only 2 (one couple) were leaders. A spot map constructed on the distribution of members within GHI showed that of 58 families, 36 lived in the brick and cinder block dwellings, and 22 in the frame homes. When these were classified by extent of participation, it was found that of the 14 leadership families, 12 lived in brick dwellings. Active members were distributed evenly (13 frame, 12 brick), and there were more non-actives in brick dwellings (12) than in frame (7).

It was noted earlier that among frame home residents, there seems to be less satisfaction with the dwelling unit, reflected in a tendency to check more reasons for not making home improvements than do brick residents (see Table 8), and more importantly in an expressed intent to move out, found in nearly twice as many frame as brick residents. This suggests that residents of brick dwellings are more likely to see their homes as permanent than are frame owners, which may account for the

somewhat greater participation by brick homeowners in GCFH -- they are more concerned about the long-range future of GHI, since they plan to be there longer. However, it also illustrates that these people who do intend to stay in the community (if the results of the GHI survey indicate a reliable trend) are in favor of integration rather than against it.

Summary: Leadership and Membership. Leaders of GCFH were representative of varying occupations and religions, with interdenominational and Unitarian predominating as regards the latter. Most were professionals; most were married and shared the leadership function with their spouses. They tended to be active in other community activities, but not in other civil rights groups (though many had former affiliations with such groups)* except for church-related inter-racial councils and other fair housing groups in the area. Factors surrounding the extent of involvement of the leaders in the group appear to be complex and not determined solely either by cosmopolitan outlook or degree of moral commitment to equal opportunity.

Less information was obtained on active and inactive members; active members appeared to be less involved in community affairs than leaders, and more involved than non-active members, who often had lent only their names to the organization. Several of these were known to have been recruited through friendship with the most active members or leaders. The groups new leaders are being recruited from the most active members, as the original leaders resign their positions or become involved in other activities.

* Since the investigation was arbitrarily completed, several fair housing members in the Washington area, including some GCFH members, have become active in CORE's newly formed housing committee, in an effort to prevent militant action which could have a negative effect upon the fair housing effort by firing up organized resistance and strong public sentiment.

Membership was drawn overwhelmingly from Old Greenbelt, and within Old Greenbelt, from GHI. Within GHI, more leaders and inactive members were from brick units, while active members were distributed evenly between brick and frame units. Since there is some tendency for brick home-owners to be more satisfied with their homes, and to have less intent to move, this ecology suggests that GCFH leaders and the bulk of its membership is composed of individuals who are concerned with the long-range future of GHI, and who believe this future can best be served by peaceful integration.

CHAPTER V

GREENBELT CITIZENS FOR FAIR HOUSING IN PERSPECTIVE

GCFH and Other Metropolitan Washington Fair Housing Groups

GCFH is unlike its sister organizations in the Washington metropolitan area in several ways, all of which are related to Greenbelt's uniqueness and identity as a community. Most obvious is the small size of GCFH in relation to the others and the fact that despite this it has not been absorbed in the county organization. Second is its lack of a listing service, the core activity of all larger and some other smaller groups. A major effect of this lack is the consequent paucity of activity which requires the sustained involvement of its members in volunteer work, particularly since the other major goal of the group, the establishment of a Human Relations Advisory Board, is now realized. In view of the apparent lack of demand by Negroes for homes in Greenbelt, which means that the community relations function is not being exercised, the group finds itself in somewhat of a vacuum as far as useful activity is concerned. This is not true of the larger groups where listing services, an accelerating rate of move-ins, and a large population from which to draw attendance at public meetings and on which to exercise educational and community relations activity provides more than enough work for available leaders and volunteers.

This lack of immediate work-to-do was reflected in a recent meeting, where several members urged that GCFH attempt to force GHI to

take a definite public stand on integration. While they were dissuaded by other members of the group, who felt that GHI should be given a chance to practice its policy before being made the object of suspicions regarding discrimination, this renewed demand suggests frustration over the slow pace with which things are moving in Greenbelt. When the Human Relations Advisory Board begins to function, there may be a spurt of activity in drawing to its attention the cases of discrimination in one of the new apartment developments or in otherwise attempting to start it working on constructive activity. Another possible source for activity might surround the actual movings-in of the Negro couples who have purchased homes in Boxwood Village, but since this is a new development and no established "community" exists within it, there will be little opportunity to practice community relations full-scale. It seems highly unlikely, in view of the analyses regarding why people move discussed in Chapter II, that anyone who has purchased a new home and just moved into it will turn around and move right back out again if they find that they unexpectedly have Negro neighbors.

In this lack of activity lies a danger to GCFH as a viable organization. It could lead to gradual death, since groups without functions have a history of nonendurance in Greenbelt. On the other hand, it could lead to the deliberate creation of a function by impatient members. There have been murmurings in private about "wouldn't it be wonderful if we had a test case" which, in the absence of any other activity, might become translated into action. The former seems more likely than the latter at this point, however, mainly because there are other groups in Greenbelt which are concerned with live issues, and GCFH leaders tend to be participants in these other groups. Thus the

desire for activity need not be expressed through GCFH; it has other outlets, particularly in the county fair housing activity which is busy enough to absorb more workers than are presently involved, and in the new Citizens for a Planned Greenbelt, which is dealing with issues as important to the community as integration or lack thereof.

In the Greenbelt group can be seen the commitment to moderation, to creating conditions under which the integration process can take place without fanfare, which is characteristic of the fair housing movement. Here was seen in sharp relief the restraint which members impose upon themselves in adhering to techniques of intergroup relations which have been shown (through social scientific research and through a decade of experience) to be effective in avoiding violence, overcoming prejudice, and fostering understanding and harmonious relationships. GCFH also illustrated the lack of concern on the part of the fair housing movement for poverty, cultural deprivation, and forms of discrimination which result from these rather than from race alone. They are concerned solely, at this point, with discrimination against middle-class Negroes in cases where it is race-based. And this concern is expressed moderately--so moderately that GCFH failed to stir up any organized opposition in Greenbelt despite the concern over integration which is manifested by many of its citizens. Had other approaches been used, the quick public response to the veiled threat posed by two paragraphs in the mark-up draft illustrates that the potential for resistance was there and could have been channeled by one of the major spokesmen who, under the circumstances, confined themselves to writing letters to the News Review and speaking out in City Council and GHI meetings. The Greenbelt Civic Association provided an ideal vehicle

for organized resistance, but it never took form, perhaps because it never, after the mark-up draft affair was straightened out, had any cause to. If the fair housing movement has a potential for widespread social change, it is perhaps due to the use of moderate techniques, which by their nature seem to avoid the arousal of resistance.

Perhaps the techniques do not deserve full credit, however. The Greenbelt study also illustrated that it was unfashionable to give voice to racial prejudice. Resident managers in particular were uncomfortable when put in positions where they had to acknowledge discriminatory policies. The opposition to GCFH avoided the issue of race qua race, concentrating upon practical implications and in many cases denying outright that they were prejudiced in any way. This avoidance of being tagged as "prejudiced" could have made the organization of resistance difficult, insofar as organization would have required the open expression of this unacceptable attitude.

A Theoretical Examination of the Fair Housing Movement

The theoretical frame of reference within which this study was presented consisted basically of three premises: first, that the social movement was an instrument of adjustment operating to bring changes in some social institutions into line with changes in others; second, that while a great variety of these institutional factors were operating in the civil rights movement, the economic institution seemed to be at the core; and third, that the combination of explanations of these social changes as alterations in attitude and alterations within institutions serves as a better context for understanding the movement than can either of these approaches by itself. The adoption of a dual

frame of reference almost inevitably leads to conjecture about cause and effect between them. However, as in the classic rhetorical riddle of the chicken and the egg, there does not seem to be an answer; both chicken and egg somehow evolved, and in the scale of evolutionary time, it is doubtful that either came "first".

While science is supposed to concern itself with causal relationships, at least at some levels, it also seeks to understand, to make meaningful, the relationships it discovers whether or not a causal chain is discovered -- thus the popularity of the statistics of correlation. The general economic expansion which the United States has enjoyed has carried Negro as well as white Americans to higher standards of living. But was it this economic expansion or a lessening of prejudice which has made improvements in Negro status take place? Is it possible for a group, integrated into an economy structured as is that of the United States, to remain "constant" in income and its corollary amenities while nearly all other groups rise? If this is possible, then changes in attitudes might be credited with the new opportunities opening to Negroes. If it is not possible, a lessening of prejudice might well be viewed as the response to, rather than the cause of, the development of a Negro middle class.

The combination of individual and group decisions which result in the change of an institution constitute a social force which, as the civil rights movement illustrates, is difficult to evaluate before one is faced with the facts of its results. Some results are a Negro co-worker suddenly appearing in an erstwhile all-white group of associates; the acceptance of a Negro as a customer in a night club where noted Negro entertainers had appeared for years; or a new Negro

neighbor down the street, with whose children one's own inexplicably seem to play quite enjoyably, with no apparent cultural ill effects. Experiences such as these are jolting more and more average Americans out of what for years they have considered "normal". In some cases this jolt is painful, and an attempt to return to normal, to white, to familiar, can lead to many behaviors rationalized in many ways.

Still the general movement grinds on, pushed by many, resisted by many, viewed as a disturbance that hopefully will blow over by those who have not yet been touched directly by its impact. However, it is now sanctioned by laws which, when violations must be made openly and publicly (as in the case of school and public accommodations desegregation), can wreak the change by force. Even when discrimination can be cloaked in as many subtleties as it has been by employers and realtors, the law can serve as a threat, though its enforcement under these circumstances is more difficult. Thus, some change in attitudes must accompany the institutional change if the laws are eventually to take effect in private as well as public accommodations. Change can be forced, as current events clearly show, even when attitudes do not change. And perhaps attitudes can change without institutional change, though this is less clearly evident in the civil rights movement. But something is making the institutions change -- the question is, is it attitudes, or is it the operation of those massive social forces (e.g., economic prosperity, the many effects of education on a population, the results of urbanization and industrialization) which, while they may be sought for a particular reason and justified by a particular ideology, carry in their wake many unforeseen consequences (Merton's "latent functions")?

Regardless of how the movement is explained, it is being felt in many ways throughout the United States and it gives no immediate signs of stopping and allowing things to return to what past experience has defined as normal. If and when it does "stop", "normal" is going to be different than it was before. In the fair housing movement, an adjustment is being made in the neighborhood "institution" in response to improved education and employment opportunities which have created a Negro middle class. In this movement, there is a sort of culmination and merger of what has been learned and gained in the earlier and more spectacular (in terms of tactics) phases. What is held to be the inevitability of desegregation in other spheres, whether token or genuine, has made the desegregation of housing a good deal easier, for there are many precedents. The philosophy and method of social science, applied to the field of housing, illustrates that in many cases, desegregation has "worked" to the satisfaction of all concerned. Thus armed with arguments in a nation of people who have learned to respect "studies" and "data", community relations experts have been able to avoid the violent confrontations which occurred in earlier phases of the civil rights movement, which took place when the two ideologies subscribed to by Americans clashed head-on, by the persuasion par excellence which "findings" provide.

The above analysis is based upon the premise that neighborhood integration is here to stay; that it is just a question of time until an open housing market will be a fact in the urban United States. (This is not a suggestion that Negro ghettos will disappear, however; there seems to be no reason why segregation based on cultural differences and socioeconomic status should diminish simply because skin color

becomes less relevant in human relations than it has been in the past.) However, there are other interpretations which might be placed upon the fair housing movement. One is that it is the offspring of a single organization -- the American Friends Service Committee -- and that what appears to be a spontaneous social movement is in fact a carefully planned effort. (What it is an effort toward would depend upon the interpreters' attitudes toward liberal groups; it could be accused of being subsidized by communist agitators, for example, which would be difficult to disprove without learning more about its sources of funds. However, it is not on the Attorney General's list.) Even if one does not go so far as to suspect it of subversive tendencies, it could be accused of carefully engineering the movement through the selection of handfuls of sympathetic influentials in the urban areas where it is established, who then proceed to gather 'round them a slightly larger handful of "liberals" (the actives in Greenbelt) who provide the illusion of popular support and some of whom are idealistic enough to work for their beliefs. This kind of action, despite its gathering of some popular support, could hardly be called a spontaneous social movement, insofar as that term refers to the nearly simultaneous response of a diverse variety of individuals to an institutional lag or failure because the failure exists and is causing trouble, not because someone (e.g., the AFSC) incites them to take action on it.

Had it not been for the Greenbelt case study, this would have seemed the most likely conclusion. However, the Greenbelt experience illustrates that the AFSC, while its efforts may have put the fair housing idea into people's heads originally, is not engineering the establishment of all fair housing groups. The entrance of the sole

connection with AFSC and Suburban Maryland Fair Housing, Mr. Jones, into the group of GCFH leaders took place after the steering committee had been organized. He was called in as a consultant by a group whose purpose had already crystallized. This makes the claims of the AFSC that they have been called in after fair housing groups have formed for professional help and advice seem more tenable. Perhaps the stabilization movement and the fair housing movement would not have become movements without the aid of the AFSC, but it seems safe to say that the grass-roots sentiment is there; the AFSC makes it possible for that sentiment to be constructively channeled using techniques that do not arouse resistance.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER I

1. Back, K. W. "Sociology Encounters the Protest Movement for Desegregation," Phylon, 1963, 24, pp. 232-239.
2. Killian, L. M. "Leadership in the Desegregation Crisis," in M. Sherif (Ed.), Intergroup Relations and Leadership, New York: Wiley, 1962, p. 145.
3. Hughes, E. C. "Race Relations and the Sociological Imagination," American Sociological Review, 1963, 28, pp. 879-890.
4. Hughes, op. cit., p. 882.
5. Back, op. cit.
6. Rose, P. They and We, New York: Random House, 1964, p. 77 (paraphrased).
7. Park, R. E. and Burgess, E. W. Introduction to the Science of Sociology, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1921, p. 623; and Park, R. E. Race and Culture, Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1950.
8. This approach developed from a major research project on the "authoritarian personality" following World War II, reported in Adorno, T. W., Frenkel-Brunswik, Else, Levinson, D. J. and Sanford, R. N. The Authoritarian Personality, New York: Harper, 1950. Since then, many investigators have used the instruments developed in this study, or modifications of them, as measures of prejudice, particularly the "F-Scale." See also, Allport, G. W. The Nature of Prejudice, New York: Addison-Wesley, 1954.
9. Supporters of this position (aside from the author of this paper!) include Blumer, H. "Race Prejudice as a Sense of Group Position," Pacific Sociological Review, 1958, 1, pp. 3-7; Rose, A. M. "Intergroup Relations Vs. Prejudice: Pertinent Theory for the Study of Social Changes," Social Problems, 1956, 4, pp. 173-176; Faris, R. E. L. "Interaction Levels and Intergroup Relations," in M. Sherif (Ed.), op. cit., pp. 24-45; and Williams, R. M. Strangers Next Door, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1964. A discussion of the relative merits to arguments for prejudice as a personality variable vs. a group norm can be found in Allport, G. W. "Prejudice: Is it Societal or Personal?" Journal of Social Issues, 1962, 18, pp. 120-134.

10. A complete list of these studies would be very time-consuming to compile. Examples of such efforts are provided by Tumin, M. "Readiness and Resistance to Desegregation: A Social Portrait of the Hard Core," Social Forces, 1958, 36, pp. 256-263; and Williams, op. cit., pp. 53-79.
11. The link between this theory and action strategy was noted by Rose, A. M. "Theory of the Study of Social Problems," Social Problems, 1956, 4, pp. 189-199. The extent to which the effort to change attitudes by the use of persuasion has been carried can be shown by reference to the number of social-psychological studies on attitude change; for example, Hovland, C. E., Janis, I., and Kelley, H. H. Communication and Persuasion, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953.
12. Gordon, M. M. "Recent Trends in the Study of Minority and Race Relations," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1963, 350, pp. 148-156.
13. Rose, A. M. "Theory of the Study of Social Problems," op. cit.
14. Killian, L. M., op. cit., p. 144.
15. Turner, R. H. and Killian, L. M. Collective Behavior, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1957, p. 308.
16. Meadows, P. "Behavioral Bases of Social Movements," Sociology and Social Research, 1943, 28, pp. 112-117.
17. Vander Zanden, J. W. "A Note on the Theory of Social Movements," Sociology and Social Research, 1959, 44, p. 4.
18. Blumer, H. "Social Movements," in A. M. Lee (Ed.), New Outline of the Principles of Sociology, New York: Barnes and Noble, 1946, p. 199.
19. Heberle, R. Social Movements, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1951, p. 6, as summarized by Olds, Victoria M. "Freedom Rides: A Social Movement as an Aspect of Social Change," Social Work, 1963, 8, pp. 16-23.
20. Frazier, E. F. Black Bourgeoisie, Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1957.
21. Glenn, N. D. "Occupational Benefits to Whites from Subordination of Negroes," American Sociological Review, 1963, 28, pp.
22. Cutright, P. "Negro Subordination and White Gains," Communications, American Sociological Review, 1965, 30, pp. 110-112.
23. Rose, A. M. The Negro in America: The Condensed Version of Gunnar Myrdal's "An American Dilemma", New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1964, pp. 196-197.

24. Baldwin, J. Nobody Knows My Name, New York: Dell, 1954, p. 111.
25. Glenn, N. D. "Some Changes in the Relative Status of American Nonwhites, 1940 to 1960, Phylon, 1963, 24, 109-122 (abstract).
26. Rustin, B. Strategies in the Civil Rights Movement, address at meetings of the Eastern Sociological Society, Boston, Mass., April 11, 1964.
27. Vander Zanden, J. W. American Minority Relations, New York: Ronald Press, 1963, p. 99.
28. The establishment of a "separate but equal" Negro society appears to have been the original hope of both white and Negro leaders following the Civil War. Booker T. Washington established the National Negro Business League in 1900 with the purpose of encouraging Negroes to turn some of their meager income into capital which could be used to purchase or establish businesses which would hire Negro workers and be patronized by Negro consumers. This scheme failed (with a few notable exceptions such as Negro life insurance companies and the Negro press) because initially the Negro was dependent upon employment within the existing economic structure. Due to lack of qualifications and/or discrimination, he was confined to menial, poorly paying work. Not only did this make the accumulation of capital difficult, but it meant that the Negro market had low purchasing power. White owned and operated businesses were willing to accept the Negro dollar for consumer goods and they could afford to sell at lower prices than could the struggling Negro businessman who tended, for this reason, not to benefit from such low consuming power as the Negro community possessed. Thus Negroes remained dependent upon the white economy both for earning and for spending; the separate but equal society could not become separate.
29. Yinger, M. J. "Desegregation in American Society: The Record of a Generation of Change," Sociology and Social Research, 1963, 47, p. 432.
30. Hughes, op. cit., p. 887.
31. Killian, L. M. and Smith, C. U. "The Tallahassee Bus Protest Movement," Field Report No. 5, New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1957; and Killian, L. M. and Smith, C. U., "Negro Protest Leaders in a Southern Community," Social Forces, 1960, 38, p. 253.
32. Vander Zanden, American Minority Relations, op. cit., pp. 217-218.
33. Laviolette, F. E. "The Negro in New Orleans," in Glazer, N. and McEntire, D. (Eds.) Studies in Housing and Minority Groups, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960, p. 133.

34. Isaacs, H. R. The New World of Negro Americans, New York: Viking Press, 1964.
35. A summary of Supreme Court cases can be found in Yinger, op. cit., p. 430.
36. Gordon, M. M., op. cit., p. 154.
37. Perhaps the most publicized example of this was Lester Maddox's Gateway Cafeteria in Atlanta. Following the passage of the 1964 civil rights bill prohibiting segregation in places of public accommodation, Maddox continued to refuse to serve Negroes. His restaurant was thereupon closed by injunction, throwing some forty Negroes and whites out of work. On February 2, 1965, the restaurant reopened under new management on an integrated basis. While Maddox remained adamant on his right to serve whomsoever he chose (his attitude, in other words, did not change), the institutional change was wrought anyway.
38. Several examples of this type of situation are given in a booklet published by the Housing and Home Finance Agency, Equal Opportunity in Housing: A Series of Case Studies, Washington, D. C., June 1964. However, many developers and realtors have employed a variety of ways of making the enforcement of fair housing laws very difficult. Some of these are discussed in Chapter III.
39. Gordon, op. cit., p. 148.
40. Gross, F. "Democracy and Color: Political and Social Factors of Integration in the United States," Quad. Sociol., 1961, 41, pp. 242-269 (abstract).
41. Vose, C. E. Caucasians Only, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959, pp. 74-99, 187.
42. Vander Zanden, op. cit., Chapter 3, pp. 41-65.
43. See, for example, Hunter, F. Community Power Structure, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953, Chapter 1, where Hunter makes no secret of the fact that his concern for democracy -- more specifically, whether community decision-making was democratic -- was a major motivating force behind his study of Regional City. A similar concern was unearthed by Hacker, in the work of Talcott Parsons; see Hacker, A. "Sociology and Ideology," in Max Black (Ed.), The Social Theories of Talcott Parsons, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1961.

44. This is discussed at some length by Mills, C. W. The Sociological Imagination, New York: Grove Press (Evergreen Edition), 1961.
45. The American Dilemma which Myrdal analyzed was essentially that the American Creed to which U. S. citizens subscribed was contradicted in their behavior; though they "believed" that all men were created equal, they continued to discriminate against Negroes.
46. Quoted by King, M. L. Why We Can't Wait, New York: Signet Books, 1964, p. 32.

CHAPTER II

1. Vander Zanden, American Minority Relations, op. cit., p. 215; and Lubell, S. White and Black: Test of a Nation, New York: Harper and Row, 1964, p. 31.
2. Lubell, op. cit., p. 32.
3. Housing and Home Finance Agency. Our Nonwhite Population and its Housing: The Changes between 1950 and 1960, Washington, D. C., July 1963, p. 3.
4. Housing and Home Finance Agency, op. cit., p. 5.
5. Weaver, R. C. Equal Opportunity in Housing, Anna Hunt Billings Memorial Lecture, Smith College, Northampton, Mass., February 8, 1963 (mimeo).
6. Lieberman, S. "The Impact of Residential Segregation on Ethnic Assimilation," Social Forces, 1961, 40, 52-57.
7. Taeuber, K. E. and Taeuber, Alma F. "The Negro as an Immigrant Group: Recent Trends in Racial and Ethnic Segregation in Chicago," American Journal of Sociology, 1964, 69, 374-382.
8. Williams, op. cit., p. 130.
9. Yinger, op. cit., pp. 428-445.
10. Weaver, R. C. The Disadvantaged and the Amenity Seekers, address to a conference on The Metropolitan Future, University of California at Berkeley, September 27, 1963 (mimeo).
11. Thompson, R. A., Lewis, H. and McEntire, D. "Atlanta and Birmingham: A Comparative Study in Negro Housing," in N. Glazer and D. McEntire (Eds.), op. cit.; and Williams, op. cit., pp. 132-133.
12. Grodzins, M. The Metropolitan Area as a Racial Problem, Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1958.

13. The following items were included in the exchange:
 - a. Wolf, Eleanor P. "The Invasion-Succession Sequence as a Self-Fulfilling Prophecy," Journal of Social Issues, 1957, 13, pp. 7-20.
 - b. Rose, A. M. "Letter to the Editor," Journal of Social Issues, 1959, 15, pp. 63-65.
 - c. Wolf, Eleanor P. "Reply to Arnold Rose," Journal of Social Issues, 1959, 15, pp. 72-74.
14. Weaver, R. C. The Disadvantaged and the Amenity Seekers, op. cit. Weaver made the following statement on residential segregation: "There is little need to delineate the social consequences of existing racial residential patterns. The literature of housing is replete with analyses of the costs that this situation extracts in terms of exploitation of the group restricted, impediments to code enforcement, and control of urban blight. By now all sophisticated advocates of urban renewal recognize that enforced residential segregation is a threat to their program."
15. Yinger, op. cit.
16. Rose, A. M. The Negro in America, op. cit., p. 210.
17. Lubell, op. cit., pp. 139-142.
18. Weaver, R. C., Equal Opportunity in Housing, op. cit.
19. The investigator made a few superficial efforts to determine the reasons underlying resistance to integrated housing on the part of the real estate industry, but it soon became apparent that to really understand this situation would require a study in itself. Apparently resistance is related in part to fear of lessening demand for homes by whites in integrated areas, and in part to the reciprocal agreements realtors have among themselves relating to integration. The general consensus among fair housing people seems to be that realtors are afraid of being the first in their areas to handle listings on an open-occupancy basis; yet resistance certainly does not disappear once the opening wedges have been made. For example, after three years of effort by fair housing people in Montgomery County, the number of realtors who have open listings has grown from three to twenty, perhaps a significant change but by no means indicating that the real estate industry has become cooperative.
20. This account has been pieced together from many sources. Some of them are: Vander Zanden, American Minority Relations, op. cit., pp. 215-241; Vose, op. cit.; Glazer and McEntire, op. cit.; Grier, G. The Challenge for Suburban Housing,

- address to the Leadership Conference on Changing Housing Patterns, Moorestown, N. J., May 17, 1960 (mimeo); Woods, T. Property Values and Race, address to Greenbelt Citizens for Fair Housing, Greenbelt, Md., January 28, 1965 (unpublished).
21. Mayer, A. J. "Russel Woods: Change without Conflict," in N. Glazer and D. McEntire (Eds.), op. cit., pp. 198-220.
 22. Fishman, J. A. "Some Social and Psychological Determinants of Intergroup Relations in Changing Neighborhoods: An Introduction to the Bridgeview Study," Social Forces, 1961, 40, p. 44.
 23. Ibid., p. 49.
 24. Housing and Home Finance Agency. Potential Housing Demand of Non-White Population in Selected Metropolitan Areas, Washington, D.C., April 1963, pp. 23, 24, 27-30.
 25. Grier, op. cit., p. 4.
 26. Frazier, op. cit.
 27. Fishman, op. cit.
 28. Both of these situations are reflected in Greenbelt. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration's Goddard Space Flight Center is located in the city, which also has a shopping center employing many Negroes. The problem of a professional Negro in finding a suitable home in the Washington area was the topic of the first public meeting held by Greenbelt Citizens for Fair Housing. Speaker Karl Gregory, a Negro economist from Detroit, had come to Washington as part of the "New Frontier" and spent several heart-breaking months searching for a home. Dr. Gregory, who was active in fair housing activities while in Washington, has since returned to Detroit.
 29. Mercer, N. A. "Discrimination in Rental Housing: A Study of Resistance of Landlords to Non-White Tenants," Phylon, 1962, 23, pp. 47-54.
 30. Much "evidence" is contained in the Housing and Home Finance Agency pamphlet, Equal Opportunity in Housing: A Series of Case Studies, Washington, D.C., June 1964. The extent of suburban integration described in Chapter III will provide more indications that it does, indeed, "work".
 31. Deutsch, M. and Collins, M. E. Interracial Housing: A Psychological Evaluation of a Social Experiment, University of Minnesota, 1951.

32. Williams, op. cit., p. 174.
33. Sherif, M. (Ed.) Intergroup Relations and Leadership, New York: Wiley, 1962, Chapter 1.
34. Williams, op. cit., p. 25.

CHAPTER III

1. Miller, L. "The Protest Against Housing Segregation," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1965, 357, p. 78.
2. Housing and Home Finance Agency. Fair Housing Laws: Summaries and Text of State and Municipal Laws, Washington, D. C., September 1964.
3. President's Executive Order 11063, Equal Opportunity in Housing, November 20, 1962, Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1963.
4. Miller, loc. cit.
5. Pearl, L. D. and Turner, B. B. "Survey: Fair Housing Laws -- Design for Equal Opportunity," Stanford Law Review, July 1964, as reprinted by the Housing and Home Finance Agency, pp. 1-3.
6. Miller, op.cit., p. 76.
7. Grigg, C. M. and Killian, L. M. "The Bi-Racial Committee as a Response to Racial Tensions in Southern Cities," Phylon, 1962, 23, pp. 379-382.

CHAPTER IV

1. Skolnik, A. M., Skolnik, Elaine, Williamson, Mary L., Sucher, Dorothy, and Zubkoff, H. City of Greenbelt: 25th Anniversary, Greenbelt, Md.: Silver Anniversary Committee, 1962, p. 3.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Form, W. H. The Sociology of a White Collar Suburb: Greenbelt, Maryland, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1944, p. 68.

6. Ibid. Form collected these data from the files of the Farm Security Administration on Greenbelt's original residents.
7. Form, op. cit., p. 103.
8. George A. Warner (reference cited below) noted that the lower quality of the defense housing would sooner or later face Greenbelt with a problem. The questionnaire survey (or "canvass" as it is called in Greenbelt terminology) taken by GHI to determine what should be done contained a question on integration, the results of which will be discussed later in the chapter.
9. Skolnik, et al., op. cit., p. 9.
10. Ibid.
11. Skolnik, et al., op. cit., p. 36.
12. Skolnik, et al., op. cit., p. 9.
13. The following information was obtained by the investigator from a survey taken of realtors, resident managers, and a telephone conversation with a municipal official.
14. Skolnik, et al., op. cit., p. 13.
15. Form, op. cit., p. 247.
16. U. S. Bureau of the Census. U. S. Census of Population, 1960, Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population, Part 22, Maryland, U. S. Government Printing Office: Washington, D. C.: 1963, pp. 22-145.
17. Form, op. cit., p. 68.
18. U. S. Census of Population, op. cit.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Skolnik, et al., op. cit., pp. 27-28.
22. Skolnik, et al., op. cit., pp. 16-18.
23. Skolnik, et al., op. cit., pp. 20-23.
24. Ibid.
25. Skolnik, et al., op. cit., pp. 28-30.
26. Skolnik, et al., op. cit., pp. 38-39.

27. Skolnik, et al., op. cit., pp. 31-32.
28. Skolnik, et al., op. cit., pp. 32-33.
29. Ibid.
30. Skolnik, et al., op. cit., p. 34.
31. Warner, G. A. Greenbelt: The Cooperative Community. An Experience in Democratic Living, New York: Exposition Press, 1954.
32. Form, op. cit., p. 268.
33. Form, op. cit., p. 269.
34. Skolnik, et al., op. cit., p. 36.
35. U. S. Bureau of the Census. U. S. Census of Housing, 1960, Vol. I, States and Small Areas, Part 4, Iowa-Massachusetts, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.: 1963, pp. 22-51.
36. Ibid. This is contradicted in Skolnik, et al., which lists names of the original families remaining in 1962, totalling 74. This is a large discrepancy, but not a significant one for the purposes of this study.
37. He was referring here to the most recent elections for both GHI and City Council, which were victories for the "liberals", and also perhaps to the referendum on the home for senior citizens (discussed on page 90), where the racial aspect of the issue was more implicit than explicit in the defeat of the proposal.
38. Freeman, L. C., Fararo, T. J., Bloomberg, W., Jr., and Sunshine, M. H. "Locating Leaders in Local Communities: A Comparison of Some Alternative Approaches," American Sociological Review, 1963, 28, 791-798; and Burnham, Lucy E., Hunt, Ruth S., and Lee, H. E. "Reliability and Inter-correlations between Thirteen Leadership Criteria," Perception of Leadership in Small Groups, Technical Report No. 8, prepared by Stanford University Graduate School of Business in connection with ONR Contract Nonr-225 NR 171388, 1964 (mimeo).
39. Turner and Killian, op. cit., pp. 409, 440-441.
40. See, for example, Katz, E. and Lazarsfeld, P. F. Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communication, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1955.

APPENDIX A

FAIR HOUSING QUESTIONNAIRE
AND COVERING LETTER

On the following pages are the fair housing questionnaire which was mailed to fifteen groups in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Washington, D. C. metropolitan areas and its accompanying cover letter, usually directed to the chairman of the group.

FAIR HOUSING QUESTIONNAIRE

Name of organization: _____

Questionnaire completed by: _____
(Name and position of individual)

1. Date of first public meeting of organization: _____

2. Total population of area covered by organization: _____

3. How many members did your organization claim:

a. at the end of 1962 (if then in existence): _____

b. at the end of 1963 (if then in existence): _____

c. at present _____

(Please count married couples as two people)

4. What was your annual budget (in expenditures):

a. in 1962? _____ b. in 1963? _____ c. in 1964? _____

d. estimate of 1965 budget: _____

5. Has your organization had any financial problems? Yes No

If yes, in what respects? _____

6. What are your sources of funds? Membership dues Grants from
private foundations Government grants Voluntary contributions
 Other (please specify) _____7. Please rank the following items in the order of amount of money expended
for each in 1964, one (1) being the item on which the most was spent,
two (2) being the item on which the next most was spent, etc.

<input type="checkbox"/> Publications for general circulation	<input type="checkbox"/> Member communications (e.g., newsletters)
<input type="checkbox"/> Postage	<input type="checkbox"/> Professional salaries
<input type="checkbox"/> Housing Information Service	<input type="checkbox"/> Other (Please specify)
<input type="checkbox"/> Office rental	_____

8. Do you have an office? Yes No If yes, how large? Donated or
rented? _____9. Do you have any full-time professional staff members? Yes No
If yes, how many? _____ Any part-time paid staff? Yes No
If yes, how many? _____10. No. of move-ins in area covered by organization prior to first public
meeting: _____ No. of move-ins since first public meeting: _____11. Number of current listings: _____ Number of current buyers: _____
Is this balance between buyers and listings typical for your organization,
or is it unusual? How much fluctuation in this balance have you experienced
and in which directions? _____12. How many "regular" volunteers are currently working on housing information
service, showing homes, etc.? _____

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I am preparing a Master's thesis on the Fair Housing movement for the Department of Sociology at the University of Maryland. I have found that exact data on the size of fair housing organizations, the area(s) they cover, and their action programs are not presently available in systematic form. For this reason, I am enclosing a questionnaire requesting information about your organization, in the hope that you will be able to help me get a better idea of the actual scope of your efforts.

While I hesitate to impose upon you and the other busy members of your organization, you are all part of a significant social movement, the effects of which will be felt in the next few years in many ways. The opportunity to obtain data on the early phases of this movement (in which you are presently involved) is fleeting; in another year or so the effort may have taken quite different forms. Thus, unless the data is collected now, it may be lost to those interested in the processes of social change. Your cooperation for this reason will be doubly appreciated.

You may find that information is requested which is not provided by your records in exact form. For example, you may not know just how many members there were in your organization at the end of 1963. If this happens, I would appreciate an "educated guess", preferably labeled as an estimate so that caution can be used in comparing it with exact figures. If you find you have no records which would enable you to answer a particular question, and you simply cannot make a good estimate, please indicate this also (e.g., "no records" or something to that effect). You might also pass the questionnaire along to others who could provide exact figures or estimates which you are unable to give.

If there is any important part of your program which is not referred to in the questionnaire, please feel free to use the back of the page to describe the aspects not covered. This is a preliminary effort to collect data, and it is quite likely that significant items have been overlooked.

If you would be interested in comparing your organization to other Fair Housing groups, I will be glad to send you a summary of the findings from this survey when my thesis has been completed. If for any reason you would prefer that your organization's name not be mentioned in reporting the results, please indicate this when the questionnaire is returned hopefully before April 1, since I have a May 1 deadline to meet.

Thanking you in advance for your consideration

Yours very truly,

Kaye Sizer Noe

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