



FAIR HOUSING IN BOSTON: A ROLE FOR PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS

by

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The problem of fair housing for Negroes is more complex than legal definition would indicate. The income level served can determine the degree of racial mixing feasible or desirable, and the availability of other rights can encourage success or failure in improvement efforts. Since law has not accommodated these variables, private organizations are becoming more active in interpretation and execution of legal intent.

Boston has a long history of relatively liberal attitudes toward the Negro, culminating in passage of some of the earliest and broadest anti-discrimination legislation in the country. Public and private realities have negated this asset. The ghetto has been neglected by city government and private interests until it is beyond physical recovery without radical social change. Private economic forces have exploited nationally reinforced fears to sustain isolation. The prospect is for new expressions of old inequalities unless changing attitudes are exploited by organized response of concerned citizens to the need for change.

The people who must act on the demands of the situation have varied contexts for response to citizenship responsibility. To influence the decision making governing material and social resource distribution, one must be aware of the rewards and the political resources available to achieve them. This capacity varies with income level and racial experience, making the prerequisites for success most demanding for Negroes and low income citizens. Given these demands and actors, the consequent organizations aim to effectuate compensatory treatment of previously neglected people and conditions, to actualize the equality called for by law, or to supplement regular market supply of housing. Their successes can only be evaluated in relation to specifically defined purposes, since there are too many obstacles to evaluating impact at a total scale.

The suggested focus of these groups, as defined by past experience and the need for regulated resource distribution, is on education, experimentation, and public pressure, particularly on city hall. The greatest contribution to the housing problem has been publicity of varied and experimental approaches to solution, whether right or wrong, as guidance for further activity.

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## I. FAIR HOUSING: FROM MYTH TOWARD REALITY

### A. THE PROBLEM

Television, newspapers, academic and popular periodicals have assumed a responsibility for pathological examination of cities. The diseased cores of America's urban areas have burst relatively suddenly into the consciousness and conscience of the individuals who read and too often forget the message. From the White House to the offices of small dailies, people are proclaiming that American cities are in trouble.

At the same time, Watts and Rochester, Chicago and Harlem send pulses of warning through the same media. Each spring cities and their governments in all parts of the country brace themselves for the civil rights agitation they know will follow during summers of restlessness.

It is easy for most observers to equate restless Negroes with slums, and both with the decline of central cities, since these are such visible elements of the same larger problem. How, then, to explain the coincidence of violent and costly rioting with an area like Watts where only 20% of housing is dilapidated and neighborhood standards are relatively high?

This situation highlights one of the many fictions surrounding the Negro housing problem. Charles Abrams cites five:<sup>1</sup>

- 1) The primary aspect of the Negro housing problem is the slum.
- 2) The best way to solve this problem is to tear down these slums.
- 3) Negroes and whites do not mix and Negroes will destroy the social status of neighborhoods in which they live.
- 4) The federal government is the main protagonist of equal rights in housing.
- 5) The increasing number of state and local anti-bias laws provide the means for ending discrimination.

These "myths" have many implications for policy makers and the public. The problem is not just physical, nor is it centered exclusively in the city centers; the need is for a much more thorough understanding of the metropolitan housing market and the social forces that dictate Negro response to it. There are widespread examples of successfully integrated living situations with neither property nor status loss; there is need for widespread communication of this fact to the individuals who make the decision to exclude or confine Negroes. The federal, state, and local governments' legal defense of integration is essentially only an overdue formality inviting more subtle evasion techniques; the public needs to counterbalance the forces of subtle resistance with increased pressures for clarifying and intensifying legislation, enforcement procedures, and private commitment to the intent of the law.

Boston is typical of many cities in its pattern of racial isolation and virtual public ignorance of the implications of this pattern. A black ghetto, triangularly surrounded by industry, the urban commercial core, and a threatened residential area full of uneasy whites is outgrowing both its bounds and its patience. Unlike many problem cities, however, Boston is small in geographical size and has a small percentage of Negroes in both its metropolitan area (3%) and within the city itself (10%). Nor has it been plagued by the unrest which makes national headlines, except perhaps through open admission of ignorance on the part of occasional publicly placed whites.

The housing market in Boston is tight, and although not yet analysed, it is clearly most burdensome for Negroes at all income levels. Massachusetts has a background of some of the earliest, strongest, and most complete legislation against discrimination in the country, with a special government commission to prosecute violators. Even so, evidence indicates that practice and supply haven't kept pace with the law and its intent.

The problem of fair housing is complex and multifaceted. Basic components of this complexity are the relationship of income level to potential change; varying concepts of integration; unity of the housing, education, and employment aspects of civil rights; and the contributions of private organizations to supplement the efforts of government to achieve "fair housing."

Income:

Pettigrew suggests that characteristics of different income levels determine both the severity of the problem and the mount

of potential for change among these groups.<sup>2</sup> Middle classes are indeed making progress in market invasion, taking more advantage than other income levels of legislative backing. The white liberals who contribute most to the integration effort are usually found in this category, thus giving some emotional and ideological support to Negroes' attempted status improvement, although the barrier of white ignorance often proves more powerful. Highest income Negroes have social characteristics similar to those of the whites they might live near if successful in "breaking" the barrier, and are usually not numerous enough to present a serious threat or a significantly unified pressure group.

Low income Negroes should be the most serious concern of fair housing groups since they suffer the double liability of race and poverty. Their enemies double in turn: higher status Negroes wishing to avoid characterization with this more visible and stereotyped group, and whites of all status levels being oblivious to or evasive of the real problem. The severity of their handicap is increased by past experience with public housing and by the tenuous status security of low income whites whose neighborhoods are most threatened by potential Negro residents.

This group has been least motivated to break the race barrier because of internal loyalties and securities, and established economic habits binding them to ghetto rent structures. These are the people whose contribution to the race question has not been fully felt. They have not been fairly represented in the political process, nor have they exerted pressures on the market in proportion to their needs and numbers.

The scale and direction of solution varies with the income of the Negro group being served. The higher incomes have the resources to avail themselves of the open market but face social obstacles requiring education and persistence to overcome. The middle level faces a market more restricted by white fears but offering the alternative of segregated housing of adequate quality. Lowest income groups need the safeguards against discrimination, an increased supply, and improved quality.

### Integration:

Definition of integration depends on the goals of the person defining it. The variables of grain, scale, and timing are manipulated to fit the argument being made.

At all income levels there is the question of the "right" to choose segregated living inherent in the real meaning of integration. With current thinking and the state of the market what they are, the choice as such does not exist, and the path to its achievement is not singularly obvious. Integration with whites is demanded as the only goal by some, while availability of good quality housing at reasonable cost is the exclusive goal of others. By this latter interpretation, pocket ghettos could constitute solution if standards were high enough.

At present, housing relevant to means must of necessity be integrated in the case of upper income Negroes. It is becoming increasingly clear that this is true at other income levels and will remain so as long as public, social, and economic facilities to serve them are unequal. Middle income Negroes are responding to this inequality in

increasing numbers, although many are tied to ghettos by fear of status repercussions, personal aversion to pioneering, or a defensiveness about the ability of Negroes to solve their own problems.

The difficulty is that token invasion of suburban white "ghettos" does little to effect a lasting change in attitude and does not in itself pave the way for plural mixing, which might be more important particularly for lower income Negroes who wouldn't move as single families. Much of the solution would seem to lie with the attraction of whites into Negro areas; in short, a balanced racial mix rather than a token one, despite location.

In the meantime, there are many Negroes of varied income levels who will continue to live in the ghettos. Their contribution to truly "fair" housing will not come from market invasion, but from awakening an evasive public and its political representatives to the inequalities of segregation, which must be persistently emphasized to be believed or understood. Pressure for truly equal conditions should be as sure a step to integration as the technicality of spatial mixing.

#### Education and Employment:

Horace Mann called education "the great equalizer of the conditions of men . . . the balance wheel of the social machinery";<sup>3</sup> and W. E. B. Du Bois escaped the anguish of racial realities when he said, "I sit with Shakespeare and he winces not."<sup>4</sup> Education represents perhaps the most forceful embodiment of the traditional American commitment to equality of opportunity. Even so, a

sophisticated understanding of the many ways education can serve varied needs and accommodate natural differences in ability has not yet been achieved, even in the average suburban school.

In Boston today, the most public focus is on the problem of education. Beginning in 1954, when the Supreme Court set the tone for the next decade of moral and political reappraisal, schools became the most visible and understandable target for those concerned with racial imbalance or inequality. The scale of involvement is small enough that individuals can communicate with people directly connected with the provision of education in a coherent and unified way. The economic forces are not so complex as in the housing market, nor are the directive powers so dispersed and inaccessible as are employers.

In this question, as in housing, the most publicized emphasis of both Negroes and interested whites is on integration of currently separate efforts. There is relatively little recognition of the need for improving the rewards to teachers in all schools, just as there is disproportionate emphasis on housing integration laws and not enough concentration on code enforcement and standards maintenance. The tragedy of this approach is apparent in the abandonment of a new experimental school which was to be built on Humboldt Avenue in Roxbury, and in the failure to replace facilities which are embarrassingly inadequate and unsafe. The push for integration can overshadow the need for qualitative improvement in all cases rather than stratification by quality, justified by some increased accessibility to some Negroes who will then become reinforcement for the inequalities which now exist.

The myth of Negro scholastic incompetence is one of the great obstacles to residential integration. The state-proposed redistricting to compensate for racial imbalance has the advantage of a broader base of organization, hopefully discouraging differential treatment and exposing ghetto residents to the equal standards they should expect. The equation of Negroes with inferior ability cannot be challenged until the base of competition is equalized. The changing residential structure can make this only a temporary solution unless quality of education is maintained despite racial changes.

As in both schools and housing, Negroes are being actively sought today by employers to help avoid accusations of discrimination. The trouble is that this situation serves the middle income Negro who is making the most steady advances anyway. It is the lower classes with no training who suffer, such as the 60% of Roxbury residents who haven't been touched by the most publicized improvements.<sup>5</sup> Civil rights groups constantly quantify their progress: how many Negroes are actually hired, how many different job categories are they represented in, how many income levels? Reminder of the numbers not reached seems the only way to avoid the relaxed vigilance that comes with tokenism.

There are legal sanctions against discrimination in employment practices, enforceable along with education and housing infractions, by the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination. Much of the problem hinges, however, on the willingness of a Negro to approach an unintegrated agency or concern to make inquiry about a job. Too often employable Negroes don't know about the opportunities available. A study is being done of discrimination in transportation industries

in Massachusetts,<sup>6</sup> but the difficulty will be in making the impact of the study clear to the very people it is trying to help.

Private Organizations:

In this context are functioning a variety of private groups whose declared or implied goals include equal housing for Negroes. These are just part of the non-violent approach to change which is making the Negro revolution.

James Wilson has summarized Bayard Rustin's argument on the future direction of problem solving for Negroes:<sup>7</sup>

"Briefly,, Rustin argues that the problems of the Negro cannot be solved by granting him even the fullest civil rights, for it is his fundamental social and economic conditions, more than his legal privileges, which must be changed. Such changes, in the magnitudes necessary, require radical -- indeed, revolutionary -- programs in education, housing, and income redistribution; these programs, in turn, will be attained only by an organized radical political coalition of Negroes, trade unions, church groups, and white liberals."

This implies the full responsibility of private groups not only to agitate for legislation, but to bridge the implementation gap. In Boston, organizations exist to help fill this role where public forces fail or are inadequate. Since they have it in their collective power to influence public policy and private response, they are in a position to decide on the scale of integration to strive for, the income levels to serve and by what means, and the relationship of housing efforts to the rest of the Negro equality movement.

Much is happening in Boston to arouse new and wider interest among the people who might be most concerned with these questions. The city is increasingly in the public eye locally and nationally because of

dynamic men and ambitious development programs. These are affecting all levels of city life and exposing serious problems hitherto ignored. The recent publicity given the school committee and the system it represents has floated Negro leaders and sympathetic white spokesmen to a more visible and audible level. More attention is being focused on the people and organizations who supplement public programs by efforts growing out of individual concern, ideological commitment, personal drive or ambition, or response to the great need for constant vigilance over larger forces by the people who are moved by them.

#### B. PROJECT CONCEPTION

##### Method:

The project as originally conceived was inspired by the Joint Center for Urban Studies evaluation of Fair Housing, Inc., and its use of a two-year federal grant to encourage low income housing integration; and by an article by George Nesbitt and Elfreide Hoerber citing the need for new perspectives on the part of fair housing committees.<sup>8</sup> These sources helped define the problem of housing the Negro population by implying two relevant questions:

- 1) How much does income level of the client play a role in the success or failure of fair housing efforts?
- 2) Is the solution to be found in integrated housing or simply improved quality per cost, whatever the location or racial mix?

An examination of other Boston groups concerned either directly or indirectly with Negro housing promised to increase understanding of the role of private organizations and the problems they face. It was hoped that an inventory of groups -- their goals, structure, support, and interrelationships -- would provide a basis for comparative analysis. Since there is no real record of this constantly changing inventory, interviewing seemed the best way to cover the widest range of people and groups involved at a single point in time. The informality and cross referencing possible through this method promised a realistic, if somewhat subjective, picture of the local organization structure and approach to the problem.

Background material on previous problems and approaches is not adequate to gain a real understanding of the needs of Negroes, particularly those of low income. Specific studies are few and the market is not open enough to gauge preference by choices made.<sup>9</sup> Studies conducted locally give good coverage of conditions, but don't deal enough with social forces guiding public response, such as unified ethnic resistance or attitudes of those resisting, which must be understood to be overcome. Interviews indicated that these forces were acknowledged but not yet formally analysed for impact and possible counter measures.

An interviewing schedule evolved as contacts were made. Wherever possible, printed material was collected explaining policy, history and activities. Occasional relevant meetings were attended, usually at the invitation of respondents.

The interviews were informal for two reasons. One was a desire to let the respondents create the focus in discussion of their own activities, and to encourage frankness. The other was a hope that structuring of the whole study could evolve out of these individual approaches, rather than be constrained by pre-established conclusions or expectations.

There were difficulties which grew out of the informality. The most obvious is the lack of specific comparability among interviews. Certain respondents were relatively formal and handled discussions in greater detail or precision. Others glossed over structural details and contributed more to the emotional flavor of motivating spirit behind so much of this activity. Certainly both approaches are equally valid. If this study or a similar one were to be reorganized, both aspects should be allowed for in all cases, perhaps by combining an initial structure questionnaire with a follow-through informal discussion of goals, activities, problems, and inter-group relationships.

The cross-referencing possible with this method proved very valuable. This was most true in identifying the scope of impact of particular organizations and individuals, who would appear and reappear in the series of discussions. Many who are vital parts of the effort were not interviewed because of scheduling difficulties. The fact that these people had incredibly full schedules, with as much time spent outside of Boston as in, speaks well for their industry and commitment to a cause beyond reasonable demands on their time.

Usually there was only one contact per organization, leading to the compounded subjectivity of interviewee's own views of his and his

organization's role, and the interviewer's interpretation of these collected views as they supported and contradicted each others. The goals and scope of the groups surveyed were generally discernible, and in combination with other studies and observations, should provide a good basis for judging the possible strengths of such groups in the Boston situation.

### Structure:

The number of organizations related to original project conception turned out to be too large, their character and degree of involvement too varied, for comparative analysis; and the time too short to cover them all in equal depth even for inventorying purposes. However, the contacts made and the problems raised in interviews and reading gave some perspective to a larger view of the private organization's role in solving housing problems. The format finally selected should give some indication of the suggested approach to organizational analysis.

The constraints of the historical and structural situation are vital to an appreciation of the individual group approaches. The second chapter will cover the local forces affecting housing provision and pattern of occupancy. A final section will bring up possible changes in the present pattern and attitudes. Chapter III will discuss the process of private involvement as a component of citizenship responsibility, and some determinants of the kind of response.

With these two chapters in mind, the role of private organizations is discussed in terms of general goals, and individualized approaches

and expectations with reference to Boston experience. The difficulty of evaluation analysis is emphasized in the final section.

Conclusions are presented in two categories: those which grow out of the particular situation as the most influential modifiers of direction, and those which make up the proposed best role for private groups. These organizations are presented as a necessary bridge between law and the people it affects, and a vital factor in the achievement of integration, as most broadly interpreted above.

#### C. SUMMARY

There are many misconceptions about housing and Negroes to be overcome, and new dimensions to be understood. The need is for closer contact between actors in the situation at all levels: public and private, upper and lower class, buyers and providers.

In Negro housing there are no single answers to the need. The basic variables defining the difficulty of solution include three which are most important.

Income level of the group being served determines the degree to which the problem is racial as opposed to economic. Civil rights legislation will not substantially affect the masses of northern urban Negroes whose incomes have held them down more than the law; nor is it the real factor in breaking down the personal prejudice which is the greatest obstacle to middle class equality.

"Fair housing" is generally thought to mean integration, yet by virtue of the above definition of varying need, the best solution may not be just racial mixing. In one sense the educational value of living together will be greater than improved housing quality now, while in another, the problem is too massive to be left to this slow process. The ultimate goal should be a market open enough that Negroes have a choice of living in or out of segregated areas.

The unity of housing, education, and employment problems is seen in the similarity of needed solutions. No gain in one area will be meaningful without equal gain in the others. Negroes at all income levels should know the scope of their legal rights and be encouraged to demand them.

The public rhetoric favoring equal rights is too general to serve such a varied group, too oriented to tangible, clearcut solutions to take detailed account of definitional variables. Private "politics" and personal involvement are vital for interpretation and meaningful contact at all levels of income and need.

This discussion will define the setting of the Boston problem, some factors dictating private response, and the nature of the organizational structure dealing with this question, with an aim to identifying the most effective contributions for these groups.

## II. BACKGROUND: THE HOUSING QUESTION

### A. HISTORY AND SITUATION

The area in which most of Boston's Negroes are concentrated has been described as a "black boomerang." Although this term originally referred to the shape of the area, perhaps the analogy can be extended. This district has been cast out of the mainstream of market and public benefits for so long that there is a very real danger of serious repercussions to those who have contributed to its isolation. The Boston Redevelopment Authority has recognized this: empty lots and construction sites stand witness to their efforts to soften the impact of the decline created by years of neglect.

The district consists primarily of North Dorchester, Roxbury, and adjacent parts of the South End, Back Bay, and Jamaica Plain. Within its confines live all but 1,500 of Boston's 63,165 Negroes.<sup>10</sup> Eighty per cent of this number live in 20 of the city's 156 census tracts, as compared to 85% in 16 tracts in 1950. This is not evidence of increased integration, but rather of an expanding Negro ghetto whose numbers increased 58% from 1950 while white population in Boston was declining by 17%.<sup>11</sup>

Both the Negro population and the district they dominate today are almost as old as the city itself.

Boston is and has been distinctive in its high proportion of ethnic or racial groups to its total population. It is second only to New York in foreign-born population, claiming 18% in this category, 52% if children are included.<sup>12</sup> The intensity of this concentration is magnified by the fact that the city of Boston is only one-third of its metropolitan area, while most are about two-thirds. This gives Boston on a total scale all the problems cities usually reserve for their cores.

Though not the only minority problem in Boston's history, the Negro community is the oldest non-Yankee group, with a record of over 300 years. It was first concentrated in what are now the West and North Ends, and from the beginning was always quite separate from the rest of the city. Residents of "Nigger Hill" requested their own school in 1798 and founded a church in 1805, to establish a firm foothold in what is now a fashionable white residential area.

During the nineteenth century some of Boston's Negroes were nationally known: Robert Gould Shaw led the first regiment of Negro troops to the Civil War, The Liberator was published here in 1830, and The Guardian had national appeal to Negro intellectuals at the turn of the century. The post-Civil War period was characterized by public efforts toward equality which gave Boston a liberal label.

Today 73% of the nation's Negroes are urban; in 1910, 73% were rural.<sup>13</sup> Just after this date the great migration northward began in response to the boll weevil in the South and the shortage of cheap immigrant labor in the North. Recognition of the imminent problem of housing integration took the form of a Supreme Court declaration of the

unconstitutionality of racial zoning practices as early as 1917. At the same time, the use of private race restrictive covenants marked the beginning of extralegal devices to maintain segregated living.<sup>14</sup>

In Boston, the influx of southern Negroes with rural backgrounds encouraged migration of better educated and established Negro families to the South End, an area suffering decline after a very brief period of elegance. World War I had instilled a fear of anything anti- or unAmerican, and attention was thus diverted to nationality minorities while Negroes established themselves quietly in segregated enclaves. Nationally, N.A.A.C.P. and Urban League were heeding warning signs and organizing on a large scale, but locally the spirit and animation which had characterized Boston's defense of equality after the Civil War were being channeled against the growing power of the Irish. Politics was too parochial to accomodate multiple major problems. Negroes were, for all practical purposes, ignored until recently, while the Irish shaped politics and the Yankees moved to the suburbs.

In the meantime, Roxbury and Dorchester were running an ironic gamut in history from the seats of American democracy to the centers of most flagrant inequality.<sup>15</sup> Dorchester was the first New England village to hold a town meeting and the first to institute a public school. During the late eighteenth century construction of stately country homes, it became what can be considered the first Boston suburb.

The location of this area at the neck of land connecting early Boston to the rest of the state has enduring significance. On the only road to and from the city, it was a naturally convenient place for expansion settlement. With the coming of the streetcar and railroad in the

mid-1800's the way was paved for business and industry, and for commuting.<sup>16</sup> Urban groups dependent on public transport expanded along this route until today it is the axis of the Negro ghetto.

The industrial centers which formed here reached their peak around 1914. Leadership and leisure were the domain of businessmen who took these privileges to the suburbs after the breakdown of unified townships, leaving the working classes tied to their small lots and introverted perspectives. By 1934, the W.P.A. had declared all of Roxbury substandard.

The Negroes in the area today are the final element in a succession of lower class or immigrant groups. The earliest working population consisted of Germans and rural Americans, followed by the Irish, then Canadians and Jews, finally Negroes. The gerrymandering of Ward 9 in 1934 to prevent election of a Negro was only one of many formal attempts to hold this group down politically. The paternalistic liberalism which led to the early passage of anti-discrimination laws had no counterpart in effective action, nor was there any real Negro leadership behind their enactment. The unity and challenge that had helped preceding groups out of their ghettos was absent; in fact, the absence of tension only served to encourage factionalism and indifference.

Today the ghetto is well entrenched and spreading. Dennis Clark proposes a seven point hypothesis to suggest determinants of urban Negro movement:<sup>17</sup>

"The major factors determining the concentration and the direction of non-white residential movement in major urban centers have been:

"1. Non-white population growth."

The growth rate in Boston has been mentioned: 54% Negro increase to 17% white decrease, with a total effect of doubling Negro percentage from 5 to 10% of the total. In the suburbs, Negro population increased 16%, albeit from a smaller base; while white increased 18%, a change in percentage Negro from .7 to .8% of suburban population. The growth is centered where it is least able to expand.<sup>18</sup>

"2. The limitations of non-white income."

Median family income for all non-white families is \$4,447, as compared to \$6,687 for all families. Forty-nine per cent of these occupy 21% of all substandard housing in Boston, paying \$65 monthly rent for it compared to \$57 for whites in this category.<sup>19</sup>

"3. The location of non-white concentrations."

Ninety-four per cent of all Negroes live in 35 of 156 census tracts, while 20 tracts have no Negroes at all, and 45 more have ten or less.<sup>20</sup> Although Urban League points out that no "general neighborhood" has more than 43% Negro population and only 15 tracts are more than 50% Negro,<sup>21</sup> these percentages are concentrated in one contiguous area, with older inert whites making up most of the rest. Negro occupancy in the suburbs is generally ghettoized as well.

"4. The disposition of neighborhoods toward non-white entry because of fluid social and economic conditions."

This is one of the most rigid constraints on Negro movement. Past real estate maneuvering has made the fear of radical change very real, particularly for lower income whites whose homes the Negroes can afford. The barrier is somewhat less in suburbs farther out where economic conditions are more stable and lower class Negroes are less likely to follow token integrators.

"5. Neighborhood cults of ethnic solidarity and racial exclusion."

The Irish still have enclaves of residential solidarity, such as Hyde Park and lower income areas bordering the ghetto, supplemented by Italian (Roslindale), and Jewish (Jamaica Plain) strongholds. The Jewish areas have defined the locus of most Negro growth since stronger Catholic areas, reinforced by powerful church unity, have "funneled" the growth by refusing to move themselves. The current hope of many civil rights groups is to jump neighboring suburbs with dispersed placement to prevent the accumulation that follows short distance moving.<sup>22</sup>

"6. Physical obstacles that act as social barriers."

The funnel mentioned above is shaped on one side by Franklin Park and the other by the railroad tracks protecting the Catholic district. These constrictions make the speed of invasion faster and more frightening where it can take place.

"7. Real estate manipulation of property acquisition to restrict and direct non-white movement."

Blockbusting has been common practice since the tight market has limited Negro choice enough to make this easy. A system of "Multiple Listing" by which realtors can take advantage of each other's markets tends to exclude Roxbury agents since they can offer little reciprocation in terms of supply.<sup>23</sup>

The housing situation in which these forces operate has improved in quality, going from 17.0 million substandard units in 1950 to 11.3 million in 1959. Families in overcrowded units went from 6.8 million to 6.0 million.<sup>24</sup> Sixty per cent of substandard housing in 1950 was made sound by 1959. The increasing need in that time has been augmented by Urban Renewal and lack of public housing construction. Attempts to fill this need have been too parochial and small scale.

B. PUBLIC DIRECTIVES

Legal Provisions:

It is recognized by scholars and those familiar with Massachusetts legal history that the "state's laws against housing discrimination [are] a battery of the strongest statutes on any state's law books."<sup>25</sup> In addition to fair housing legislation, laws relating to housing policy, most particularly that affecting low cost housing, are directly relevant to the problem facing most Negro residents of Boston.

Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination administers the Massachusetts Fair Housing Practices Act. It has been a guardian of housing rights since 1950 when violations of the Public Housing Law came under their jurisdiction. The Publicly-assisted Housing Law, enacted in 1957, and the Private Housing Law of 1959 added greatly to the extent of coverage. It was not until 1963 that an amendment was passed "prohibiting discrimination in the sale or rental of all housing accommodations except the rental of a unit in a two-family dwelling in which the owner occupies the other unit."<sup>26</sup>

The difficulty with this legislation is that it requires the initiative of the person being discriminated against. Too often he is reluctant to press the matter so publicly, or he is unaware of either the procedures or availability of counter-discriminatory methods. Provision is made legally for commission initiation of complaints, but staffing is inadequate to carry through with this role. Publicity of the Commission's role and legal sanction against violators is weak.

The case-by-case approach is slow and not massive enough to combat so extensive a problem as continuing housing discrimination at all scales of real estate transaction. The agency has the power to issue temporary injunctive relief after showing probable cause and pending the hearing, which gives it some muscle other commissions covet.

An element of the Negro housing problem which is a result both of discrimination and of the lack of communication between the isolated Negro community and the bodies which govern it, is the shameful neglect of standards maintenance and code enforcement. Last year, in response to pressures from private groups and the burdens of an overload of cases on an inefficient housing inspection structure, a new department was created from the several which has previously handled specialized complaints. Ideally, the new comprehensive housing inspection department would be both a receiver of all complaints and an initiator of prosecution for violation on the strength of systematically conducted inspection tours. Indications are that there has indeed been some improvement, although it is too early to know how extensive the impact will be.

Private groups continue to investigate possible new legislation to make minimum standards enforcement more specific. They agitate for greater understanding by legislators of the magnitude of the problem: local representatives have been brought into the area, representatives who had had no previous conception of the serious hazards and inadequacies that existed.

The Special Commission on Low Income Housing recommendations, submitted to the General Court in April 1965, include provisions covering weaknesses in public and private housing practice. Those of the

seventeen suggested bills which were not passed in the last session are being discussed, most of them favorably, with prospects of passage this year. They include such measures as the appointment of a housing officer to the Roxbury District Court, improved financing arrangements for low-income housing construction and rehabilitation, revised assessment practices and welfare distribution efficiency, rent subsidy, and measures to prevent such evasive tactics by landlords as listing properties under false names.<sup>27</sup> The majority of these most directly affect Boston's Negroes who have suffered most from inadequacies of the market and the checks upon it.

A legislative threat is currently pending in the form of a bill couched ~~in~~pro-civil rights language but carrying a discriminatory message. Seeming to allow more rein to the right of disposition of owners, it actually allows for legalized evasion of non-discrimination responsibility, and effectively removes three-family houses from the power of law enforcement agencies. Some legislators favorable to civil rights legislation have not seen through the intent of the bill, highlighting the importance of legislative watch-dogging to avoid such back door measures.

(An interesting situation exists now on Beacon Hill as Governor Volpe, House Speaker Davoren, and Senate President Donahue have all spoken favorably of legislation similar to, but not the same as that proposed by the Special Commission. The prospect is of repeated hearings so the bills can go through with these names on them rather than that of the Commission. The Department of Commerce has made a plea to civil rights groups to support these bills when these groups have already

spent dedicated man hours supporting the bills the first time they were heard! They are really in the position now of welcoming government recognition of the problem.)

No new public housing, either state or federally sponsored, has been built since 1954. It is only recently that the city has moved to consider approving the public leasing of privately owned housing, as provided for by state legislation and nicknamed "instant public housing." The emphasis in most government supported housing recently has been on the elderly, with too little concern for the most needy larger families now on a waiting list years long.

In summary, legislative shortcomings can be attributed to:

- 1) Inadequate code and law enforcement by city and state agencies due to low budgets, poor staffing, bureaucratic fragmentation.
- 2) Lack of contact and understanding between owner, tenant, law enforcement agent, and private interest group.
- 3) Ignorance by all parties of their own responsibilities, or what they should expect from others.
- 4) The oblivion in which legislative representatives, public servants, and judicial bodies usually function, unaware of the magnitude of the problems or the potential impact of their own involvement.
- 5) The absence of resources necessary to bring low cost housing up to standard while maintaining low enough rents or high enough construction rates to serve the element most in need.

Solutions to the problems implied above can best be found in the categories of administrative efficiency, public education, and economic inducements. The latter is best dealt with by federal and state governmental action. Boston is taking advantage of both, by creation of numerous non-profit development and rehabilitation corporations, experimentation with a rental subsidy program, and use of the Voluntary Home Mortgage Credit Program, "a joint undertaking of private industry and government that relies on private lenders to supply mortgage funds."<sup>28</sup> This program, created in 1954, is said to have had at least two beneficial affects in the area: "it has helped teach people that a Negro's credit equals a white person's with comparable income. . . [and] by giving the participating financial institutions responsibility for the success of the program, [it] has made these lending institutions more responsive to minority group mortgage applications."<sup>29</sup>

As for efficiency and education, much of the responsibility for improvement lies with the citizens involved.

Government:

In Boston, city government is principally the Boston Redevelopment Authority, more specifically Edward Logue and Mayor Collins. Since 1960, their leadership, a good public relations program, and backing of businessmen and concerned planners, the image of "The New Boston" has begun to take shape. Such an extensive program as Boston's reaches most corners of urban life, giving the BRA power over virtually all aspects of physical and social change.

It is important that at its creation, the BRA incorporated the regular planning functions. This move, plus the alliance with a popular and effective mayor, gave the Renewal Authority carte blanche in its development plan for the city, with little chance of any criticism from within the government structure. One city employee called this, quite appropriately, an "incestuous situation," where most prominent characteristics, be they good or bad, are multiplied through inbreeding of ideas.

There is little evidence of sensitivity to the worst housing problems in the Boston Plan for 1975. It calls for the replacement of 29,000 low cost units by 14,000 luxury units for small families, 15,000 moderate income units, and only 5,000 public housing accommodations.<sup>30</sup> This appears to be the result of several factors. Logue himself is against public housing because of the red tape involved. He also wants to see the suburbs assume more responsibility for low income families, although it is generally recognized that this is in the interests of creating a higher class city. Another factor is the "wishes of people."

The criticism engendered by the West End project made "planning with people" a necessary compensation and safeguard against further blame. The difficulty of definition is great. Experience in Boston has shown that the people who speak when the BRA calls are not necessarily representative of the whole area being affected. Freedom House in Roxbury has been shown to have a definite middle class orientation, and it has supported government decisions which are not necessarily in the interests of lower income groups. Public housing has been flatly vetoed in the interests of maintaining a

better neighborhood image, while most other proposals for housing this income level are too costly to adequately serve the need.

The means of reaching these people are currently under widespread debate. The poverty program is the best example of the problems involved. Boston's administering agency, Action for Boston Community Development, has been a source of tension in Boston's case because of poor organization and insensitivity to the expressed desires of Roxbury residents. The question of power allocation for control of resources is neither easy to analyse, nor subject to a single interpretation. Variables affecting discussion are class, grain of interest mix by area, ability to generate or follow good leadership, and the nature and purpose of political power. Valuable perspectives on these factors will only come with time and trial. The executive director of The Permanent Charity Fund called the A.B.C.D. experience "a lesson in society's improving itself."

BHA is in control of important resources affecting the adequacy and racial mix of low income housing. They have been challenged twice during the past three years on the sense of responsibility to social needs, both times leading to important structure or policy changes. United Community Services concern for social services in public housing led to creation of a new position in the authority to deal with tenant needs and community relations. N.A.A.C.P. and CORE alerted M.C.A.D. to BHA's policies of segregation in tenant selection. The result was a special advisory committee created to supervise and evaluate the efforts made to correct this neglect at both tenant selection and management levels. Progress has been steady but slow since the task is great: in 1964,

of 33 projects, 15 were almost totally white, 4 almost completely Negro, while 5 others had only token Negro occupancy (less than 5%).<sup>31</sup> A closer working relationship with BRA was another most significant recommendation. At present BHA is too padded with patronage positions for maximum efficiency and therefore not effective enough for constructive criticism of BRA or independent strength.

Metropolitan area wide thinking is the domain of Metropolitan Area Planning Council. As long as they are only advisory, their contribution will consist of research and recommendations to locally autonomous governments. In 1965, a study was made of the need for a housing market analysis in greater Boston.<sup>31a</sup> The interdependence of local market conditions and the barriers to comprehensive action on common housing problems were emphasized as justification for Metropolitan Area Planning Council assumption of such a market study. Private groups with area-wide membership, such as League of Women Voters and Massachusetts Federation of Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity already have an amateur concern with these problems and could help such a study by volunteering aid in executing professionally laid plans. The confidence of private groups will be essential for effectiveness.

Of all government agencies, the only one with muscle is the BRA, whose domain is limited to within city boundaries. An important modifier of its public image will be the newly created relocation authority, which could lessen criticism of urban renewal with the right recommendations. Influence over the suburbs will have to come either from state legislation focusing on coercion or compliance incentives (demonstration of new low cost housing techniques acceptable to wary towns), or private publicity of need and solutions at a small scale. Some kind of metropolitan area-wide information coordinator will be necessary.

## C. THE PRIVATE SECTOR

### The American System and Real Estate:

As Dennis Clark points out, the private housing industry is technically one of our most democratic institutions. Decentralized controls, easy entry into the field with small capital output and promise of quick gain, the emotionally backed product, all have contributed to public defense of the industry. Yet this has been one of the country's most powerful forces against integration. Clark notes that American private enterprise and the housing industry with it, has been notably deficient in defense of various eventually accepted movements in this country: labor, social welfare, conservation of resources.<sup>32</sup> It is not inconsistent, then, that current treatment of minorities in the housing market should follow such a history of resistance to changes in the status quo.

Several historical attitudes or approaches growing out of "the American system" help clarify the position of the real estate industry and define the difficulties of combating its contribution to the Negro problem. Beginning with eighteenth-century thinking and progressing through the Industrial Revolution, the growth of big business, muckraking scandals and government expansion, these attitudes can be generally itemized:

- 1) "The prairie psychology"<sup>33</sup> governing expansion policy and commitment to ownership.
- 2) Free enterprise or laissez-faire.
- 3) Commitment to monetary values.
- 4) Distrust of government and politicians.

The prairie psychology is basically a nonchalance about the rate of resource consumption, originating with the land abundance of the frontier, and a commitment to the idea that growth and size mean progress. Today's suburbs testify to the continuing disregard for efficiency of land use, given the needs of a widely varied society.

An adjunct of this philosophy is a reverence for ownership, manifested recently in government's over-enthusiastic sanction of home construction, and in popular attitudes toward property rights. California's passage of Proposition 13 is probably the most direct evidence of this defense of the right of property disposition. A hopeful sign is the response of the California courts in invalidating it. Charles Abrams generalizes that "The average voter will acquiesce when moral leadership is given to an anti-bias law by his legislators or Governor, [but] he will vote his property rights against his moral scruples when put to the test in person. As long as ethical leadership is lacking, the supporters of property rights are in a position to win the tests."<sup>34</sup>

Reliance on monetary values as an index of judgment is widespread in business, the courts, and government. It has contributed much to the omission of social values in policy decisions and in compensation for government imposition on low income victims of urban renewal. Blockbusting is the most blatantly relevant manifestation of this thinking in the private sphere. The corruption growing out of such a value index has required a certain level of explicitness in legislation to prevent misuse of discretionary powers. The paper appearance of tight constraints usually only influences the conduct of those who might have

used discretionary powers well in the first place, and encourages evasion of legal intent on technicalities. The earlier mentioned bill widening property owners' freedom but couched in civil rights language is exemplary of manipulation that can take place.

The most interesting aspect of the free enterprise doctrine and its inherent distrust of government intervention is the fact that most involvement by government in the real estate business has benefited the greatest free enterprise enthusiasts, and they have been able to robe this injustice in the cloak of defense of individualism through the technicality of private capital. Their tool for this subtle manipulation has been powerful lobbying, whereas tenants and concerned groups simply haven't been able to amass such vocal support for their rights as non-owners of property.

It is small wonder that there is much distrust of government by people who don't feel the power of its defense. The whole system suffers from the fragmentation -- and duplication -- of responsibility, the high turnover of political servants with resulting lack of continuity of policy or competence, and the padding of government offices with patronage employees. Again, the organized and sizable private interest groups are most able to take advantage of the generated weaknesses.

It is worth noting that the real estate industry has not been backed up by any other long term, effectively organized groups devoted to excluding Negroes from housing of their choice.<sup>35</sup> The fact that agitation for exclusion usually comes from ad hoc crisis generated unity makes the real estate or housing industry that much more guilty for using their widespread organization to foster segregation, through the easy exploitation of peoples' initial fears.

Other forces connected with the housing market have also helped maintain patterns of segregation: "highly selective mortgage lending, the power of status taboos relating to housing, retarded housing tastes and expenditures of minority families, and high mobility rates . . . have been important factors in the housing market acting to preserve segregation practices."<sup>36</sup> Fears of associated businesses and clients help reinforce the rigid stand of realtors.

The myths perpetuated by the real estate industry have strongly affected the response of developers and contractors. As long as they are working ultimately to serve the real estate market, they are subject to its pressures, as in picayune charges of building standards violation after construction in retaliation against open occupancy policy.

With such a tradition instilled in the very nature of the industry, and with the de facto backing of other economic institutions, there is little hope of significant voluntary contribution to solution of the problem from the real estate business.

#### The Market:

The changing nature of the market deserves some attention. Although the seven points of Clark's earlier-mentioned hypothesis have the forces of inertia and tradition working to perpetuate them, there are also good prospects for change:<sup>37</sup>

- 1) Increasing pressure from both white and Negro communities for equality of housing opportunities.

2) The increasing income level of many Negroes who are really only symbols of the larger market that could be if the housing market were more equalitarian.

3) Changing housing preferences among Negroes in response to the pressures of mass media and competition with more publicly acknowledged white standards.

4) Willingness of Negroes to go through greater degrees of readjustment with new residential locations, once they have made the decision to move, and to persevere through often difficult obstacles to find satisfactory housing.

Although the above seem initially to refer mainly to middle income Negroes, the implications for all income levels are important. Lower class Negroes are not immune to the rising standards expected and achieved by others of their race. Quite often they may be more willing to undergo risk for better conditions since they really have less to lose. The main thing is that the Negro market is becoming more restless and demanding and gaining more confidence to challenge traditional real estate practices.

It is significant, too, that the white market for integrated housing is greater than generally believed. In a study conducted by George and Eunice Grier,<sup>38</sup> they found no particular set of characteristics defining whites who lived in interracial housing, except perhaps lack of susceptibility to pressure for conformity. Otherwise, they seemed more interested in the quality of housing and its real estate value than in an ideal, which seems to indicate that educational measures to break down the myth of falling property values in integrated neighborhoods can do much to widen the white market even more.

#### D. POSSIBLE DIRECTIONS

##### Multiple Ghettos and Income Stratification:

The pattern of "integration" as it is currently tending is toward the proliferation of small scale ghettos in suburbs immediately surrounding the city. This is chiefly due to blockbusting and the extreme tightness of the market. A Negro would rather take a home quickly where he knows he can than wait longer simply for an abstract ideal.

For middle classes this need not necessarily be true, since the housing market at this level is more open. The problem is getting the information on availability to the families willing to move, and reaching people in the recipient area soon enough to stabilize their expectations and prevent panic selling.

For the lower to moderate income families, the tight market seems to promise only ghetto living unless new housing at low cost is provided on a much greater scale than now contemplated. More and better quality housing for this income group in general could have an important effect on racial occupancy patterns. This can be seen in Boston's Academy Homes, for example, where it was the Negro demand more than attitude which prevented balanced integration. Whites probably would have come if there have been more balanced competition for entry.

This system of multiple ghettos can help the short run goal of quality improvement, but will not provide the human contact needed to bring about truly free choice on a completely open market. This will come with a freer flow of market information and an increase in supply of low cost housing.

Changing Attitudes:

It cannot be expected that past attitudes toward property rights will survive the current pressures from civil rights movements, the courts, and government. Several changing dimensions of thought may at public and private levels contribute to this change:

1) Metropolitan area concept. It is probably the schools question which will quicken this kind of thinking most, by exposing Negroes to the better standards they might expect and suburbanites to the "harmlessness" of Negroes. Metropolitan governments have not caught on significantly, but comprehensive planning has been endorsed by the federal government and most large cities. The need for larger scale approach to services provision may provide the best inroads for this thinking.

2) Stronger state action. The weakness of state legislatures and administration is said to fortify the home rule concept, and the fierce independence that usually comes with it. Reapportionment may have the effect of strengthening state legislatures -- in some cases with greater emphasis on the city, in others with a more suburban emphasis. Here is a source of uniformity in regional standards and law enforcement.

3) Court attitudes. Judgments which emphasized the sanctity of the home have been giving way to broader interpretations of the general welfare and equal opportunity.

4) Communications. Television and greater mobility have unified standards and expectations. Isolation of problems is less

of a possibility today. The key factor in location is becoming initial accessibility.

5) Greater reliance on planners and experts. The scale and speed of change and development require specialized comprehension and control. Hopefully planners will be an increasingly respected part of administration.

6) New towns. This movement has so far served primarily middle to upper income people through private development. Perhaps the best relationship of low income people to jobs, housing, and services could take place in the controlled creation of new towns with federal subsidy and restrictions.<sup>39</sup>

7) Federal subsidy and incentive financing. Just as urban renewal and home financing have risen to powerful prominence in shaping development, so must new programs be pushed and supported by federal government power.

8) Income equalization. Pressures for negative income tax or revised welfare allocation could do much to change the nature of low income market forces.

9) Housing as a public utility. This is probably the least likely of attitude changes to be accepted in the near future. There are good arguments supporting it, however, and elements of this thinking are inherent in programs of public housing and rent subsidy.

E. SUMMARY

Until such time as these changes come about, private organizations will have to work in the context of existing structures, public and private. They are faced with a local problem that is serious but not yet out of control, and their task will be to hasten the accommodating response of government and private forces.

Legislation has evolved in support of their interests, and it is now incumbent on them to work for implementation of legal intent. The concentration of effective government power in one body invites organized pressure for equal service to all elements of the city. The Boston Plan and relocation problems indicate that this is necessary if lower income families are to be served.

Such groups can both use and assist M.C.A.D. and M.A.P.C. by feeding them cases and information on needs, while experience with the BHA has shown how effective private pressures on government agencies can be.

Private economic interests in housing cannot be met on their own terms by the necessarily limited scale of private groups. This demands an understanding of the forces creating past patterns so that unified efforts might be made to reach subjects of discrimination on a significant scale. Indications are that market preferences are changing to better serve the interests of equal housing, but it will be through a concerted challenge to the great forces supporting the status quo that these changes will be mobilized. Without coordination of fractionated interests, they will have little impact.

The situation governing response thus defines the following tasks for private groups:

- 1) Pressure on government forces to carry out the intent of moral and legal obligations.
- 2) Liaison between government and private citizens to communicated small scale needs and realities of existing conditions.
- 3) Challenge to the myths perpetuated by tradition and the real estate industry by pointing out alternatives.

### III. THE PROCESS AND THE PEOPLE

#### A. THE ACTIVE CITIZEN

In discussing citizenship development in Great Britain, T. H. Marshall identified three components of the status of citizenship: civil or legal, political, and social.<sup>40</sup> These are cited as a temporal series as well as a hierarchy of dependencies, which have their parallels in the American Negro experience.

Legal rights are those which constitute the recorded "application of the value system to the relevant context." Since defense of these rights exists in the Constitution and its amendments, it has been the interpretation of judges which has determined the practical impact. However, these interpretations only set the general tone for implementation: the responsibility for actuating equality has fallen on much lower level decision makers. Reliance on specific local detailed legislation has meant evasion of intent on technicalities and non-uniform application of these rights.

Once these rights are formally guaranteed, the only role a citizen can meaningfully play is to demand them. The revolutionary thinking which supposedly motivated the creation of N.A.A.C.P. and Urban League sixty years ago was a very different kind of "revolution" than that which exists today. Despite changing contexts, persistent demands for equality by these enduring national groups have set the framework for today's response.<sup>41</sup>

At the state level, additional legislation has been necessary to fortify legal protection in specific areas. This introduces one of two important components of the political role or what Parsons calls "participation in collective goal-attainment at the societal level in the processes of government." These components are lobbying, or the right to try to influence policy, and the franchise. These two rights involve the citizen more directly and individually. Their absence has greatly influenced the speed and extent of legal rights implementation.

The idea of lobbying is much broader than simply approaching legislators with support for their bills. It includes also using the public arena for airing disputes and complaints. This puts demands on the politicians to be responsive to publicly expressed wishes and to use them wisely for their own support, and on citizens to educate themselves to the political system. This is perhaps the most demanding of the roles an active citizen can play, particularly the Negro citizen, since he has not been involved in the process in significant enough numbers. The power of political ties, the mass media, and community allies become important in effectuating this role.

The close ties which existed between immigrant Irish and their representatives are no longer part of the political game, especially for Negroes. There are few of their neighbors in government positions to give them jobs or a sympathetic ear. Fragmentation of government implementational responsibility combined with a concentration of decision-making power at the top make small scale contacts less effectual. In this case the "enemy" is organized by virtue of investment scale (real estate) or unified attitudes (prejudicial fear), so the offensive will be more effective if organized.

The institutionalization of mass media is important since "the body of citizens needs 'spokesmen,' the potential influencer needs media for making his wishes and their gratifications known, and leaders need structural outlets for their opinions, appeals, and proposals." Part of the impact could be seen during the Boston newspaper strike when the Governor and House Speaker made their significant proposals mentioned above, with no publicity and no praise from the organized public for encouragement. Careful groups keep close tabs on editorial policy and friends on the staff.

Community allies are most important when they represent existing strength or backing (such as churches), financial endorsement, or the power of a name. This is where appeal to the broadest group can be mobilized, since people often will respond more readily to a familiar name or organization than to the goals content of a particular movement or lobbying effort.

The franchise is becoming more and more of a powerful component of citizenship. It is still not exercised fully, however, even in the North. Boston has had voter registration programs sponsored by League of Women Voters and civil rights groups and supported by the city, which have revealed a significant amount of untapped political potential. One of the most important aspects of this citizenship component is its changing character. Negroes who once voted as a bloc for the Democratic Party are now basing their decisions much more on individual characteristics of candidates, showing an increased sophistication and demanding a less patronizing approach to the Negro voter than has often been the case.

The social component of citizenship concerns the "resources and capacities necessary for [the] implementation [of the rights derived from societal values]." This involves setting standards for allocation of community resources, which include financial means and the capacity to function effectively in one's environment by virtue of health and education.

Control of resource allocation can be through politics (in government and business) or through planning.<sup>42</sup> In either case, there must be a certain level of receptivity, a willingness and structure to make the capacity factor effective. In many ways, this is a function of class level, the middle or upper strata having a greater predisposition to exert influence over their environment. In Boston, those most severely affected by tight housing conditions have neither the financial resources nor the capacity to exert pressure for social change. The resources have been inequitably distributed, and it is up to planners or the community political forces, both formal and informal, to awaken this group to benefits of full capacity response to the social system. It will still be up to the government to supply the financial resources or direct ~~the~~ redistribution.

The advantages which should derive from effective citizen activity are several. It should yield noticeable results. It should educate the participator to his own potential range of contributions to the workings of the overall political system; no program should hope to teach anyone a complete spectrum of power centers or all the legislation being proposed that would affect them. There should be some identification of the local rules by which the political game is played, which

is beyond the scope of national organizations such as C.O.R.E. and N.A.A.C.P. It should bring into the open the conflict of interests in housing, to make residents think more about their own conditions to more effectively communicate necessary information to policy makers. It should make the Negro visible, massively rather than by tokenism. It should give involved parties a sense of the necessity for compromise, a condition requiring confidence of all parties in the validity of their claims and in their own ability to interpret these claims.

B. CLASS DIRECTIVES<sup>42</sup>

Class breakdown, as referred to here, is generally by income, although this usually coincides with educational and occupational differentials. This is more true for Negroes than for whites, since inherited wealth, employment "connections," and the techniques of business politics have not been as available to them, education being their chief key to advancement.

Statistics on the area of Roxbury are somewhat deceptive in defining its economic structure. They would show a relatively average income for a district that represents the worst city slum: \$4,631, with only 18% paid for rent on the average. However, the average income in a middle income sample for a study done at Brandeis University was \$8,500, with only 12% allocated for rent.<sup>43</sup> This is most signifi-

cant in contrast to the quarter of the residents of the whole area who pay more than 30% of their incomes for rent.<sup>44</sup> The statistics belie the conditions which really exist among many of the poorest Negroes and mask the fact that many middle income people are living in easy financial situations since real estate costs here are low compared to their capabilities.

It can't be said that the presence of this income level will help the poorest, nor will more moves of middle classes to the suburbs greatly encourage a white influx by virtue of successful "exposure" to Negroes. The range of the impact of proximity simply does not seem to be that great. The best example in Boston of the lack of communication between class groups is found in the reliance on Freedom House as the spokesman for the Negro community in Urban Renewal decisions. Freedom House felt it was perfectly justified to speak for Negroes while an informal investigation by a worker in the area revealed that of 100 lower income Negroes, 94 had not even heard of the place.

It is understandable that the two have barriers between them since their goals in life stem from entirely different contexts. Among lower income groups there is an internalized focus at a very small scale which only augments their isolation. Compensatory factors for failure to advance in the world of middle income standards include resignation to a fate beyond immediate control, and satisfaction with immediate returns on small efforts.<sup>45</sup> These characteristics are only appreciated within the context where the reasons for them are understood, leading to a substantial barrier between lower class orientation to a short-range time scale and more middle class reliance on delayed gratification.

This barrier works both ways, since the more middle class oriented are just as anxious to avoid being characterized with the more visible and stereotyped poor. Much of Negro's middle class interest in ghetto improvement is based on his own self interest in preservation of the more stable and acceptable Negro. One rather prominent Boston Negro admits to burning inside with the awareness that people on the streets are looking at him as "just another dirty Negro." These are the people who stick with N.A.A.C.P. as representative of their desired image, since they have the resources (education, wealth, social standing) to reinforce rights guaranteed by legal backing.

But the problem is not so simply one of legal rights, or civil rights. As N.A.A.C.P. begins to realize this and recent part of its program to provision of basic necessities for the poorer Negroes, middle class membership falls off.<sup>46</sup> In a sense this is part of the self-liquidating process which should automatically be the aim of civil rights groups, but the problem is more complex than to fix a compact, unified summary. Social needs, functioning of Negroes and whites together on similar aims, particularly at lower income levels, and perhaps most importantly, the interaction of middle income Negroes with lower income groups of their own race without fear of status implication or loss -- these are all yet to be achieved, but certainly not without the concerted effort of the middle class.

Part of middle class response can be explained by the absence of an upper class among Negroes, which, as Frazier points out, leads middle classes to assume the behavior of white upper classes without the fundamental structural or economic bases. The more distance that can

be created between lowest classes and themselves, the more the accuracy of the parallel with white structures. Often this distance is intensified by economic responses to the Negro community, such as willing exploitation of monopoly markets, or limitation of low cost housing supply in earby areas for fear it will cast dispersions on them. The latter is evident in Roxbury's support of urban renewal clearance and disapproval of public or subsidized housing, responses expressed through middle class Freedom House. Even when ties to the Negro community are claimed, it has been found<sup>47</sup> that they can be easily and willingly broken for adequate status improvement. Much of the original tie can be considered defensive adherence because of reluctance to face status competition in outside circles.

Many say it is good for middle classes to stay in the community for the benefit of the lower class. In Boston, it seems there is little communication between these two groups as it is, with increasing distinction between residential areas, and it would only help for them to stay if there were a significant increase in the efforts of middle class Negroes to use their resources for genuine assistance to the rest of the ghetto. Even if their motivations are basically selfish, this is not unique to middle class Negroes. Their concern should be used effectively and not discouraged by white enthusiasm and praise for status rise without coupling this with imperatives for larger reform.

The lower classes, who are the real target of the northern Negro concern, haven't yet been exposed to the rewards of status improvement and seem less concerned with integration than with internal loyalties and needs. These are the masses, however, who hold important protest

potential and are more willing to assert themselves since risk of status loss is minimal. There will be little hope of using this potential for housing betterment without the backing of economic security. Some confidence seems to be afforded by the poverty program's attempts to include "poor" decision makers, with little success due to inadequate forethought. Compensation may be found in the awakening of many, even though only active for a short time, to the fact that governments are concerned and willing to listen whether or not they have been able to structure their means well. It may have also introduced the poor to possible approaches to organization.

Simple figures show that something must be done for this group, but the answer seems to lie in low income housing terms more than racial terms; however, to the degree that racial consciousness can be amassed behind the same effort, that much broader will be the base of support for improvement. Lower classes need more funds poured into structures on which they have already built a social base, not money for new super-imposed institutions; they need appointment or election of truly representative spokesmen, not conciliatory programs giving a semblance of representation; they need better communication with other income levels among their own race and economically similar whites, which should be expected and provided for in all three groups.

## C. RACIAL DIFFERENTIALS

### Possibilities and Obstacles for Negroes:

Active participation of Negroes as individuals or independent masses is a process which in many ways is alien to them. It was not the influence of individual Negroes contributing in the process of their daily lives, but rather the constant struggle of nationally organized groups in which some Negroes worked full time to amass necessary support among whites with power that led to the legislative defense existing today. Too often this level of power was only achieved by major compromise of certain principles to accommodate white demands, so that the possibility of an "organized radical political coalition" including Negroes in any significant way is a relatively recent one. It is only after experimentation with different approaches to equality that the need for revolutionary action has been decided on.

In 1908, an author discussing American Negro citizenship quoted a "wise Negro" as saying, "Forty years ago the white man emancipated us: but we are only just now discovering that we must emancipate ourselves."<sup>48</sup> The goal of equality, even though separate, which began at that time was couched in the same revolutionary terms appropriate to more contemporary movements, and it inspired the creation of N.A.A.C.P. and C.O.R.E. These dominated both Negro and white thinking about racial equality through most of the sixty intervening years, but today, Adam Clayton Powell says, "Like old ladies, [the old Negro organization leadership] have not kept pace with the times. Let's trace the birth of an idea.

It's born as rampant radicalism; then it becomes progressivism, then liberalism, then it becomes moderate, then it becomes conservative, then it's outmoded, then it's gone. The old leadership has not brought forth new ideas."<sup>49</sup> The idea of revolutionary action began sixty years ago, but it's only now that Negroes are recognizing that the power for its success must come from all of them. Masses of people for the moment are speaking as masses and need internally-generated leadership and participation.

The attitude that the white man must make concessions, must be tolerant of the pangs of growth and change among Negro masses, must acquiesce to their demands and assume leadership positions, is not a part of this answer. The condescension implicit in this kind of an attitude, the implication that whites are the only ones who have enough understanding of both sides of the question to accommodate the others' weaknesses, is one of the greatest, if not the greatest, obstacles to satisfactory integration. White liberal leaders need to feel as free to rebuff an impractical statement put forth by Negro groups as they are receptive to Negro proposals, and Negroes must feel as free to criticize whites. It is only with this equality of communication that real barriers will have been broken down.

The active Negro can focus his concern for change in one of four directions:

- 1) On his own immediate environment, such as block or project level organizations.
- 2) On internal groups which affect his environment, such as churches, school organizations, local media, clubs.

3) On external forces whose power is directed toward affecting the Negro community, such as businessmen, civil rights groups, social workers and other professionals.

4) On wider organizations affecting larger environments of which the Negro is a part, such as government agencies dealing with schools, recreation, renewal, the poverty program, church groups, labor unions, local branches of national associations.

The activity directed at these targets can either grow out of existing resources and conditions, as in the mobilization of internal organizations, or it can be spontaneous, such as demonstrations, riots, ad hoc organizations, and response to proffered incentives.

It is usually large scale national organizations that have enduring effectiveness, and even this fluctuates locally, as in Boston where C.O.R.E.'s impact has declined relatively in recent months, probably due to local leadership change. The many national groups functioning with Negro leadership, financing, and membership, such as the Elks, Masons, doctors' and lawyers' associations, could be a very powerful resource to combine with or supplement the large civil rights motivated groups. There are 51 of them, with membership of over 12 million as compared to the 900,000 members in the six main civil rights movements: N.A.A.C.P., C.O.R.E., Urban League, S.C.L.C., S.N.C.C., and the National Council of Negro Women.<sup>50</sup>

In the case of spontaneous activity, Boston has been lucky that the ad hoc organization has been generally more prevalent than demonstrations and riots. Again the effect of size is important. Just as a large school tends to breed more extremist groups, so a larger city

can provide reinforcement for the malcontent. In Boston these have been too few in number and not vocal enough to attract much attention, except as organized by C.O.R.E., as in rent striking or pressure for bank employment, or by such an organization as American Friends Service Committee, which consolidated the registering of maintenance complaints.

The main really indigenous protest was Operation Exodus, an ad hoc organization to bus students out of Roxbury. Its history helps identify the problems of Negro organization. Despite the major obstacles in Boston to good communications on the schools issue, the objections never reached riot proportions, due to the more middle class standing of the organizers and the financial backing which made a more sophisticated kind of protest possible.

Oscar Handlin points out three main obstacles to effective action by Negroes:<sup>51</sup>

- 1) Lack of leadership.
- 2) The need to collaborate with other politically powerful blocs.
- 3) The difficulty of identifying their own interests.

In the case of Exodus, residents with some middle class orientation assumed leadership, the availability of private financial resources replaced the need for voting coalitions, and the school conditions were bad enough that busing was initiated as a general protest rather than as a well-thought-out solution to educational needs. It has happened that unanticipated success has begun to teach the involved parents to define their interests and seek ways to defend them, thus exposing both middle and lower classes involved to the workings of political machinery, formal and informal.

In Boston, the current leadership in housing is partly in government spheres with the State's Special Commission on Low Income Housing. Its proposals have been backed by high government officials, but only after much pressure and hard groundwork by private lobbying groups such as MCDH, the Massachusetts Federation of Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity, settlement house directors, League of Women Voters, religious organizations, and the traditional civil rights strongholds. This has been their main function in relation to housing since there is little that can be done without government backing, at least formally. Leaders from the Negro community tend to exert their influence through these larger groups of more heterogeneous membership. Such mass tactics as rent strikes and coordinated inspection pressures were not spontaneous, indigenously led movements as was Operation Exodus. Fair Housing, Inc., often looked upon as the torch bearer of improved accommodations for Negroes, is and has been run by whites.<sup>52</sup> This is not to deny that there are leaders and potential leaders in the community, but it points out that the intensity of the crisis has not reached the conflict proportions that yield solidarity as a black group against debilitating forces.

As for the second obstacle, that of need for collaboration with significant voting blocs, there are avenues open for this collaboration, not necessarily with large identifiable blocs of voters, such as the Italians or the Irish or the working class whites, but with influential organizations. The replacement of this requirement with financial resources, as was possible in the case of Exodus, isn't feasible here since the resources needed are too great for private sources to generate

a meaningful contribution to housing need. The most significant contributions at a reasonable scale could cover administrative expenses and communications costs for trying to generate larger involvement and impact. The problem here is the necessary independence of fund source from policy.

There is less and less difficulty identifying the interests of Boston's Negroes, at least up to a certain point. The need is for better standards maintenance, increased supply for low cost housing residents, better access of moderate income families to an unhindered market, and more careful and widespread scrutiny of discrimination practices. The problem is to maintain an awareness of these needs among people with influence and the numbers to back them. The specific goals will ~~probably~~ need to be figured out by a few leaders, but they will be worth little without popular, not just tacit, support.

Significant in the Boston case for identifying interests is the total makeup of the Negro community. It is varied due to the alignment of the "boomerang" along a cross-section of living conditions, from the poor city center to rather fashionable suburban style living, all within the city. This has meant dilution of the forces of discontent by higher class, less disgruntled people whom the power structure would rather consider as representative of the ghetto. There is too much reliance on the established few contacts as communications links with the total mass. This is true for the government, the white community, and the Negroes, both the links and those "linked to."

Motivations for Whites:

Whites are moved by conscience and fear. None of them can really sympathise with the plight of people whose situation they can never fully understand. Thus they are usually outsiders to the spirit of the need while controlling most of the resources which must be mobilized to meet it.

Much involvement is on a 9 to 5, middle class basis, since the white participants in the active organizations often go home to their suburbs at the end of the day. These are the people who keep in touch with the larger problem and forces and can exert their influence on the resources they help control. Often it is an intellectual challenge more than an emotional or physical one, but this has validity since the education behind the concern can lead to effective resource manipulation. Volunteering of professional services is an important part of this level of involvement, and has been vital to the success of advisory groups such as Interfaith Housing, and non-professional developers such as the non-profit rehabilitation corporations. Instead of intellectual or professional resources, many will substitute money contributions to assuage their public consciences.

The moral nature of the question has motivated religious groups most readily. Theirs is among the earliest active concern, and as recently as eight or ten years ago was the only significant supplement to the nationally-based civil rights organizations. Then it was the Jewish groups, the Friends, and some Protestant bodies who showed the most interest. The Catholics have involved themselves more recently, but with welcome vigor on the part of liberal laymen and some clerical

leaders.<sup>53</sup> Even so, South Boston, a prime target for integration interests, still remains a "den of conservatism" with the full backing of local churches. One white respondent pointed out that Catholics are more successful arguing on theological grounds while Protestants have more success with political and practical reasoning. One suburban church was mentioned where the minister would take no initiative in support of integrated housing until he felt that his congregation had already accepted the principle in response to secular pressures.

It is government and business interests which tend to respond out of fear. Public pressures on government officials are too well organized to resist, whatever one's personal feeling. The commercial community is seeing the larger harm to the city economy which derives from segregation. Many are hiring and training Negroes in response.

A restlessness and discontent has been motivation for many, particularly students. The mood rather than the specific cause seems to be dominant, if national trends can be considered indicative. National groups report that peace movements and the poverty program have drained much strength from more action-oriented civil rights organizations.

Whites thus tend to contribute their talents and resources more often than themselves, occasionally breaking suburban barriers by assisting Negro entry. Dilution of the suburbs can only be token, whereas a small immigration of whites to the cities might have a tremendous impact on middle class morale and public image. Washington Park gives indications that this might happen, but not without vigilance on the part of private educatory groups to encourage a certain balance of departures for the suburbs with the entry of white families, most

likely from other areas of the city. This use of new housing to attract outside residents follows the same principle as providing new school programs or facilities to improve the image of the city student, perhaps making integration come to the school naturally instead of creating a rather forced superstructure on rapidly changing patterns. In both cases, private organization can provide controls through education and broad contacts, and the needed simultaneous pressure for supply increase and constant government awareness.

#### D. SUMMARY

Of the components of full citizenship, the legal aspect is most nearly adequate. The constant pressure by middle class Negro groups and whites willing to devote time to the effort has had some success. The remaining requirements of public participation in decision making and capacity to acquire social equality have not been as effectively activated.

The participants in the required process are of widely varied characteristics, but one fact is clear and important: the low income needs coincide well with Negro needs, and the obstacles to involvement by these groups are similar. The housing problem in Boston is not close enough to crisis for mobilization of these people in a way that is meaningful to their frame of reference.

In the meantime, middle class interests have been the focus of public attention and private concern, creating a false semblance of

representation because of the tendency to consider all Negroes as a unitary group. Aspects of this racial unity could be used to justify greater involvement of the middle class Negro with the whole racial problem: he stands to gain personally from improved conditions, while whites have a moral or social interest in broader scale improvement.

The implications of such varied capacity for organizational response are the following:

- 1) The lack of crisis means organizationally oriented middle classes of both races must participate at all levels, but with all possible effort to represent or include increasingly interested lower classes.

- 2) More accurate definitions of differences between lower and middle income interests is needed.

- 3) Pressure on both Negroes and whites is needed to encourage middle income integration.

- 4) The best chance for housing improvement among lower income Negroes is through the general effort for better low-cost housing.

#### IV. THE ROLE OF PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS

##### A. APPROACHES TO THE PROBLEM

The organizations formed in Boston to respond to the above conditions and resources can be said to focus on three efforts, paralleling the political and social components of citizenship responsibility: pressure on government, for the guarantee of civil or legal rights; public education, to awaken Negro and white citizens to political skills and housing realities, and to encourage the exercise of social responsibility or capacity; and housing provision, to provide resources by supplementing the normal workings of the market. There are certain generalizations which can be drawn from this categorization in light of material already presented.

##### Public Pressure:

Public pressure is the category which deals with the law and public officials, and as such is concerned with equality guarantees. This is the level where Negro and white can work on most equal footing, with few fears for social repercussions to either. This effort is made in the public arena, where few can afford to come out in support of segregation or unequal facilities and treatment. This is where the moralistic suburban whites and the Negroes who have "made it" can really thrive, and do. Here the local N.A.A.C.P., now C.O.R.E., and

and the resentful middle class Negro mentioned earlier can take out their need to "do something." Here the intellectual can focus his attention on a rational approach to equality.

The appeal of purely equal treatment can attract both those who favor more extreme positions on civil rights and those who would agree with a Columbia University professor that the problem is a general one for resourceless groups across the board: "There is little prospect that white America will do much for the handicapped Negro group, but we can expect our democracy to attend to its less fortunate citizens, Negroes included. . . . To the extent that we move energetically toward these national goals, to that extent will the status of the Negro be improved."<sup>54</sup>

This attitude gives strength to the Special Commission on Low-Income Housing position which is able to amass a broader base of support by virtue of the inclusion of some whites among the disadvantaged. This is particularly helpful in Boston where recent urban renewal dislocation and the poverty program have coincided too directly with the ghetto, reinforcing the "Negro equals slum" myth. Here attention based on income stratification seems more advantageous than racially-based categorization.

The important tool for this goal is communication: among policy-making parties, among organizations working for the goal, between these two, and from the people to the government and back via the lobbying groups.

Communication at an effective level requires a good command of legislative workings, the content of legislation, and the working rela-

tionships of public bodies. Everyone concerned with the questions under consideration need not learn all the details if there is some system for sharing knowledge. In Boston, this has taken the form of the Massachusetts Commission on Discrimination in Housing for those interested in housing questions, while broader groups, such as the Massachusetts Federation for Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity supply suburbs with legislative and public information on a variety of interests, housing included. In the latter case, and others of more general scope, the schools question has diverted much attention from housing.

In both cases, the unified action of organizations has led to a strong legislative background. Emphasis now is changing to pressure politics and implementation, although one white civil rights worker points out the continuing need for "legislative tools" lest lawmakers forget the need. Private groups can now turn to pressuring of enforcement agents, as American Friends Service Committee has done by encouraging tenants to report housing complaints, and as any groups involved with housing discrimination must do by feeding violations to the understaffed M.C.A.D.

There are omissions in both targets and clients served. Pressure on state bodies is greater than on city hall where most decisions affecting housing are made, although this may change with the passage of the low income housing bills when energy won't be so completely consumed by one effort. Also, the views of lowest income families aren't heard enough. This may be changed with improved community education.

### Community Education:

Public education is a more direct involvement of concerned people with the recipients of their attention. The use of the word "education" implies for one party a superior command of either fact, technical know-how, or access to forces affecting change; and for the other, voluntary or forced ignorance. The idea, then, centers on compensation for inequalities by preferential treatment and seeking out "students" among private citizens.

The most important target of education is personal prejudice, a concept growing out of fear and ignorance, and reinforced by selectively restricted experience. In this case, it seems logical that its demise should come from an establishment of new cause and effect relationships. The difficulty here is that prejudice is not a rationally held idea,<sup>55</sup> and is not, therefore, susceptible to factual argument aiming to change basic philosophies. It must be experience, then, and not ideology, which is the educator, the challenge to irrational fears.

Since this experience will reflect the status quo without intermediary manipulation, there must be some force to regulate the content of that experience. Whites are important in execution of this effort since they command more preparatory resources, such as professional expertise, access to a wider range of public and private community power centers, and experience with organizational structures and requirements. The most important contribution the Negro can make to the educating process is his visibility.

The objects of the manipulation are both Negro and white: the Negro must be educated to make use of the resources technically available to

him, both in the market and in the political system; whites (both public and private individuals), to accept the realities of integrated living, to understand the severity of housing conditions in areas they seldom see or care about, and to accept their share of responsibility for progress.

Participation of the poor must often begin with an indirect approach aimed at satisfying the need for immediate gratification mentioned earlier. At this stage, "education" means actually doing the organizing in hopes that the process will inspire local awareness of potential powers. It is not to be hoped that enduring organizations will grow out of this, but the experience can provide a base on which to activate later movements as the need arises.

The gains of such activity must be clearcut, probably material -- as in rent strikes sponsored by C.O.R.E, or services -- as with the channeling of housing complaints, as facilitated by the A.F.S.C. Call for Action program. Here the concept is an obvious one with means clearly related to the ends. This can have more impact than teaching the content of the ideology which justifies the larger, more abstract level of the struggle. This is not to imply exploitation, but rather to indicate the interrelationship of different scales of concern and to justify limiting the education to partial understanding and participation, at least as an immediate goal. It seems significant that when economic benefits are involved for these groups, the color of the enemy or the directing friend is not so important as the prospects of success.

This effort is not really a self-liquidating one. Although the longer range goals may be as abstract as "effective political partici-

pation," the incentive for initial participation is provision of concrete services. Frances Piven, of the Columbia University School of Social Work, points out that once this focus is established, it tends to "overwhelm any less urgent activities and the provision of services consumes the energies of staff and recipients alike."<sup>56</sup>

There must be other groups, then, to attract those who have benefited more broadly from the incentive established by providers of services. This distinction can be seen in the separation of Fair Housing, Inc., the provider, from the Federation for Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity, which is made up of citizens groups, often former recipients of Fair Housing, Inc., services. The aim of A.F.S.C. is to inspire local groups brought together by its efforts to carry on independently, while provision of housing improvement services continues.

Another means of education is by example, that is, influencing the people outside a formal organization by independent but visible pursuit of goals relevant to their needs. The larger scale organizations, such as churches or nationally based racial interest groups, are constantly involved in educating the broader public by virtue of their size, visibility, and basically indisputable goals. They have a public enough position that they can ask questions and expect answers, perhaps one of the most effective means of educating. Employers, real estate agents, and the public housing authority can maintain discriminatory practice for purely emotional reasons if left to make policy in private. Asking these groups to publicly answer strategic questions can effectively challenge this isolation. Just as a child will remember best the answers he looks up himself, so the questioned party can be more profoundly

influenced by seeking answers in its own defense or "looking up" new ones than if it were simply told to change. The challenges to BHA from U.C.S., N.A.A.C.P., and C.O.R.E. are exemplary of the use of this technique. Both the mayor and the governor have advisory bodies on race or housing problems to keep them informed and able to account for public stand on an issue. This idea of education by example raises a debate that prevails among civil rights activists concerning the educational impact of the rate of change and means of achieving it. Some would say conciliation, as in the above case, has the most beneficial impact by discouraging the ill will and defensiveness of particular challenged parties, but it is a slow process, and hasn't as many ramifications for other offenders. The more impatient would have an "industry-wide" approach,<sup>57</sup> actively seeking and mass-processing offenders, with meaningful punishments for the transgression. The conciliators claim this will leave an embittered party to build up stronger, more inimical, and probably more devious defenses. At the present time, M.C.A.D. doesn't have the capacity to handle the wider approach, but the larger network of groups might serve this need with some planning.

Another major task of larger groups with good information access is to keep members and public aware of the less publicized accomplishments in integrated housing. Any discouraging incident is usually seized upon to criticize the effort. Success, both individual and group, should in turn be built up proportionately. The public needs to be aware of alternative answers and approaches, to better defend itself against challengers or to be able to change its views with changing demands, perhaps one of the most sophisticated aspects of education. This is as

important for increasing confidence of Negroes as for affecting the views of whites.

This raises the importance of researchers and information flow, definitely vital as educating forces. In addition to the obvious implications for policy and decision making for government and organizations, there is much that can be usefully passed on to the public. Ideology can be a substitute for action in the cases particularly of middle class whites. But their background makes them amenable to the proof of experience if they are thoughtfully and sincerely approached. This kind of education will perhaps have the most impact. If it is true, as findings begin to indicate, that concern for housing quality and commitment to an investment can take precedence over prejudice if security in the former is strong, proof of this security should be forthcoming to dispel fear. This is a casewhere experience elsewhere can take the place of personal discovery which too often leads to hasty response before digestion of meaning.

Consistent and thorough data on housing in Boston does not exist. The Housing Advisory Research Committee of M.C.D.H. probably comes the closest to systematic coverage of the problem with three reports: one on low income housing, one on public programs, and a third on housing discrimination.<sup>58</sup> The Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights has reiterated much of this and backed it with predigested information from witnesses at an open hearing. 1960 census figures are used with no updating for changing conditions. Edward Logue considers the available data unreliable, and whether or not he is right, data should be well enough presented and defended that conclusions are self-evident.

The newly organized Citizens Housing and Planning Association of Metropolitan Boston may serve the necessary function of assembling and unifying of direction on policy and programming. The goals are broad and undeniably just: "To stimulate the improvement of housing and related neighborhood conditions and to promote sound planning for the Boston metropolitan area."<sup>59</sup> There is allowance for the depth voluntary organizations lack, since it is adequately funded and widely representative of community interests as expressed through individuals, rather than organizations, as is the case with M.C.D.H. As backed by the political maneuvering of M.C.D.H., the resource analysis of M.A.P.C., and the specialized interests of smaller unitary agencies, C.H.P.A. should be the ideal watchdog and educator on community housing problems, Negroes' included.

Significantly underemphasized in community education is the Negro's use of his visibility. He should present himself at the personnel desk of industry, in the classroom, on the doorstep of a suburban home. The story is told of a Negro couple who, for entertainment, would take their Sunday walk through white suburban neighborhoods, pausing at all "For Sale" signs. Although originally meant to be a humorous example of white vulnerability, the story is important for two reasons: the whites didn't know what realistic impact this would have if it were an actual possibility, and justifiably, since their experience included nothing to reassure them; and secondly, Negroes too often work through intermediaries when they want a house, thus breaking down their self-respect, and giving an unrealistic public impression of demand. Fair Housing, Inc. has  
~~/a wise policy of~~ asking Negroes to go house hunting by day and to do the

talking themselves. This could have the advantage of obviating resentment of whites over hoax, and encouraging their understanding and support by letting them in on the process of decision. Certain ones will resist, but a trick on them with delayed undesirable response has accomplished less than the gaining of latent allies. In any kind of education, activating potential is one of the most meaningful accomplishments.

#### Housing Provision:

In provision of housing for Negroes, money is usually scarce or reluctantly forthcoming, for new construction, rehabilitation, or research on needs. Since the private sector cannot provide the needed resources on an adequate scale, one solution is for government and organization to fill the role together. Important for this discussion are those instances which involve private leadership and organizational backing, with the financial incentive coming from the government. Examples are the non-profit development corporations now concentrating on rehabilitation and 221(d)3 housing, and the federal support of demonstration programs.

The non-profit rehabilitation corporations have attracted a great variety of parties with varying backgrounds and experiences. Churches and lay religious groups and settlement houses are natural nuclei around which to coordinate such efforts. They have the financial backing that comes with a tradition of good works, and a moral commitment which makes for a consistently good public image and sincerity in what could so easily become a profit venture. Several respondents pointed out that churches make the best landlords because tenants are more ready to trust them and vice versa.

Another advantage to their involvement is experience in social concerns. With construction and social service efforts under one roof, there can be a much more comprehensive approach to problem solving. A variety of contacts already exists to draw on for assistance and advice as well as funds, all of which had been established through social services programs and motivated by the same kind of public conscience which should back up the housing effort.

The commitment of government to the demonstration idea creates another outlet for organization energies. Three different kinds of efforts have been supported in Boston, all in an attempt to evaluate the difficulties of providing low cost housing: South End Community Development, Inc., to determine feasibility of low cost rental housing through non-profit sponsorship of rehabilitation; Interfaith Housing, for advising non-profit builders outside most congested areas; and Fair Housing, Inc., to experiment with moving assistance to low income families.

The proposed demonstration cities program would also inspire private organizations. The intensiveness of analysis required would necessitate full cooperation of local concerns in fact finding, need identification, and cost estimates. Although Boston itself wouldn't qualify, its needs could influence programs in neighboring cities, if they were known and well articulated.

An exception to the dependence on government funds exists in Boston where the Roxbury Development Corporation was formed to test the possible contribution to the low income housing problem by a completely private group. The theory was that income from realty investments

could be plowed back into the same community via a non-profit corporation, which could concern itself with social necessities. So far the effort has lost money, due mainly (according to one director) to destructive tenants, management demands, and the reluctance of local business to contribute to unguaranteed investment spending. Perhaps the greatest contribution of this group is to point out with factual evidence the difficulties inherent in this kind of project. One director of the corporation classified rehabilitation as "over-improvement," which, with inequitable real estate taxes and a high risk insurance rating, made private financing too difficult. The same difficulties exist with the publicly assisted groups: unsubsidized rehabilitation cannot provide low cost housing. This does not rule out the technique but merely begs redefinition of goals.

The value of this group's experience is great. The independence of funds allows the risk-taking necessary to learn. Permanent Charities considers this one of its own most important roles. It is obvious that no single answer has been found to the problem of housing, nor will many of the difficulties even be identified unless someone makes a commitment and takes a chance. Certainly taking no risks and doing nothing is as risky a course of action.

At another scale, interested parties in command of sufficient resources can set individual examples to providers and users of housing. There are many specific examples of housing development projects undertaken to accommodate racially mixed groups of residents.<sup>60</sup> A frequently-referred to example is Friends Suburban Housing outside Philadelphia. A privately financed and developed real estate corporation, it has bucked

the routine realty processes, hiring its own specially qualified brokers and restricting its occupancy to a racially balanced mixture.<sup>61</sup> The success of this group has inspired others and could have great impact with the right publicity. Grodzins concludes that:<sup>62</sup>

"The investment in almost any city of, say, a million dollars in a revolving fund for the purchase of homes to foster interracial neighborhoods, with careful planning and public relations, could make a dent in the pattern of segregation. A well-staffed, resourceful office with the objective of publicizing success of interracial residential contacts would be a valuable positive aid to enlarging those contacts and no less valuable a means of dissipating images of disagreeableness and violence that widely prevail."

The example is set for residents, realtors, developers, and institutions with funds to invest. Boston might benefit well from following it.

Another case, which might have some impact for Boston, is that of a concerned individual, Morris Milgram. He is now raising money for the Mutual Real Estate Investment Trust, to finance integrated housing. With the backing of prominent names and experienced businessmen, it should be able to rally the support necessary for profitable investment, particularly in apartment buildings. Both these cases are most significant for the problem of housing middle income Negroes, once again emphasizing that private groups have little chance of success in providing low cost housing.

B. EVALUATING THE ROLE

An organization cannot continue to exist without some measure of "success." The factors mentioned in the first section can determine criteria for evaluation. The difficulties of qualitative judgment at the larger scale of the overall problem will be discussed in the next section.

Factors:

Relationship of goals to needs and resources is .....  
perhaps the single most important factor to consider. It involves, first, the clarity of definition of the primary goals of an organization. This would seem quite obviously a prerequisite for action, and yet the urgency and complexity of the problem being dealt with make precision of goal definition difficult. Jack Russell, of Bishop's Housing, was particularly realistic about the role of his group by claiming a commitment to low cost housing provision first and a secondary interest in promoting occupant ownership. He made no claims to any policy on integration, calling such involvement in multiple goals a threat to the directive purpose of a limited resources group.

The ability to define one's role, then, would seem to depend on an awareness of the problem at a much larger scale, an acquaintance with the contributions being made by other resource centers, and a realization of the strengths and limitations of the group's collective abilities. This demands a rather profound understanding of a large scale effort.

A product of this understanding should be definition of scale of the individual effort in terms of people reached, territory covered, and resources needed. This is where one of the greatest difficulties arises. Both the people being served and outsiders seeking to evaluate tend to look at a problem through their own subjective view of what constitutes the greatest need. The only defense against resulting criticism is clear definition of role according to some pre-established criteria based on fact.

It is important to note the difference of approach depending on motivation for response. Goals tend to be more clearly identified, but at a superficial level, when the activity is a crisis response, as with rent strikes. With continuing involvement, however, comes an incrementing awareness of the larger problem and a need to adapt goals to it. The longer range or continuous organizations need to devote a good portion of their effort simply to keeping goal definition abreast of the need, while still satisfying basic ideological criteria for achievement.

This raises the question of specialization of resources to allow for better complementarity of efforts. Could individual organizations, in fact, become part of a larger unitary system without sacrificing the dynamism that comes from multiplicity? This would probably be possible if the party responsible for definition of the problem could remain objective in its gathering and presenting of fact, allowing individual groups to respond in terms of their own limited objectives. Boston is in a particularly good position for this kind of structure with a wealth of university resources to provide the problem analysis. An information

"bank," such as this might be, could give direction to the total effort by providing unified assumptions from the start.

Given this definition of need, the importance of communication among groups appears vital. This is most imperative for preventing duplication of efforts when need is great and resources scarce. A well-directed referral system depends on general awareness of the goals and means of other groups, both friendly and alien to one's cause. Such contact encourages meaningful alliance in times when unity is needed, as during lobbying for the low income housing legislation.

Leadership is a complex concept, often with a significant distinction between the real and the public filling of the role. Perhaps this is hardest to evaluate, mostly because of the political implications of revealing real structure. In some cases, the name is the most important aspect of the position, whether that person is active or not. An example is the list of incorporators of Interfaith Housing, which includes top names from each religion, attracting member churches for the non-profit sponsorship of the housing it wants developed. In other cases, the outsider's concept of leadership depends on the liaison between administrative heads and the people reached, as might be important with white administrators or professionals contacting lower income Negroes through a Negro intermediary taking on a leadership role.

Leadership can take on several meanings related to different aspects of the activity. It can mean professional guidance, or expertise, in which case training is important. Or it can be administrative leadership, which usually depends for most success on experience. A third possibility is handling of public relations, which may depend mostly

on personality. A more subtle form of leadership is the idea generator who functions from the sidelines without ever being formally identified as a leader. This has importance in the case of M.C.D.H., where the legislative chairman keeps closest tabs on the needs and effectively regulates lobbying efforts of the whole group.

Base of support has many dimensions. Different kinds of support  
.....  
need not be mutually exclusive, but they can be substitutive. Strong financial backing can maintain the most unpopular of efforts, for example, or powerful organizational or constitutional interest in a project can obviate the need for public approval. The important kinds of backing, then, are financial, formal political, informal public (such as the press), numerical, and institutional.

In Boston, there is such an overlap of memberships in the strongest groups that the network is actually a hierarchy of individuals rather than of distinct organizations. This has obvious implications for repetition of policy commitments from group to group, and creates the misconception that wide support is necessarily representative. This may also contribute to the reluctance of "smaller" citizens to participate where such a high-powered group of people are involved.

There are two aspects of publicity which are important. One is  
.....  
contact with the people who might be classified as "clients" or objects of the goal. The other is the more public aspect of keeping both allies and opponents aware of accomplishments. The means vary with the resources from newsworthy publicity through mass media, to the hiring of public relations consultants for maximum exposure efficiency, as has been done by Boston itself and some private organizations which depend

on good public image for support.

An important aspect of the publicity factor for the Negro is visibility. One respondent cited the N.A.A.C.P. as being more interested in widespread visibility than in small scale action projects, leading to a passive role in the housing question except for public statements of support or denouncement. This allows them to cover a wider range of concerns without disrupting a time and resources commitment in one direction. For other organizations, visibility of Negro participants is necessary to attract certain clients or allies.

A final, and most important factor for organizational success is continuity in time and process. The former involves the formal provision for leadership change and administrative flexibility while staying within goal definitions. C.O.R.E. is an example of weakness in this respect. Continuity of process is a bit more complex.

This latter factor is strongly affected by the increasing access of outside professional (and amateur) analysts to policy making mechanisms. The once pragmatic participation in political processes is being challenged by academic awareness of process and change. The overt manifestation of this is widespread emphasis on statistics, recording, and conceptual framework definition. People are increasingly aware of the complexities of organizational structure and are constantly seeking generalizations for clarity. In self-defense, the local activities must strive for some self-awareness, or submit to the more brutal scrutiny of objective outsiders, who may know nothing of relevant constraints. In consequence, decision making is more in the public eye. Interested parties have greater access to the realities of power structure, requiring much more concern at all levels for consistency and awareness of process.

Obstacles to Effective Evaluation

Despite the fact that organizations can be judged by their relationship to the above factors, actual impact on the problem of housing for Negroes is more difficult to evaluate. Measurements can be made of dwelling units improved or added, Negroes moved and income levels redistributed, but just as individual Negro success stories don't represent theyet unreached ghetto residents, so statistics here do not reflect the magnitude of the problem overall, but are magnified in relation to the paucity of pre-organizational involvement. It is difficult, too, to pinpoint inadequacies of individual groups in meeting this challenge, for the reasons discussed below.

A main problem for any group concerned with housing is the lack of a housing market analysis. "A basic thrust of such an analysis is to measure the future of market forces -- supply and demand -- as they will occur within the existing framework of public and private institutions."<sup>63</sup> On the basis of such a study, needs can be estimated, and the cause of over- or under-supply established. Obviously no group can assess its own contribution without an understanding of the need it is trying to fill. This makes definition of evaluation criteria vague: Given that the housing market is "tight" for Negroes and conditions are proportionately "worse" for them than for whites, what can private groups do to alleviate the problem? With such an indefinite assumption to begin with, much effort must necessarily be spent on defining the problem, thus tying up resources which might be attacking a more specific aspect of the larger need. Groups with housing as a subsidiary interest

to broader goals, such as the League of Women Voters, civil rights groups, service centers and settlement houses, could concentrate on aspects of the problem most relevant to their specific strengths. Public policy-making bodies could be factually rather than emotionally attacked for their shortsightedness of plan. Perhaps goals could be more comprehensive and farsighted, an obvious gain in the case of A.F.S.C. where there is no command of supply to serve people they themselves have displaced by housing quality and value increase.

Need aside, there is very little known about the desires of Negro  
.....  
and low income families. The market for them has never been open enough  
af.....  
to test their wishes against experience. There are indications that despite declared intentions or preferences, Negro families are more strongly bound to present residence and the security it offers than widely believed. This would indicate that until the housing market is freer for Negroes, or more variety is offered even at the small scale necessary at first, little can be known about the pattern their choice would dictate.

The experience with 221(d)3 housing in Roxbury has added a major dimension to the outlook on Boston's housing situation. The waiting list for non-subsidized, thus middle income families is remarkably long and can't possibly be accommodated by scheduled construction. This is beginning to reveal the impact of the latent desires of middle income Negroes, who have kept to the ghetto before now because of the disproportionately advantageous market values of housing there. The possible contribution to low income housing need by natural filtering processes might be greater than any efforts now under way. The desires in

relation to degree of segregation have never been known either, and might surprise those now making policy decisions affecting supply. The choice to live in segregated areas is implicit in the real meaning of integration, and the desire for this can't really be known until both opportunities are equally available.

The treatment of good housing by low income families has not been adequately tested. It is too easy for observers, realtors, and skeptical contributors to judge the majority on the basis of most visible characteristics. The impact of current legislation on slumlords has yet to be felt; solution to the problem of tenant maintenance might emerge from any correction at the landlord level.

Even though income level is known, there is little understanding of the relative importance of available market commodities. Old generalizations, such as the "typical" desire of Negroes to invest in most personally visible signs of wealth, have yet to be significantly challenged. Demands are changing with job structure and transportation availability, and have not begun to be understood or met.

These have been the difficulties of identifying most meaningful goals for organizations. There are also unmeasurable factors inherent in structural relationships. One difficulty has already been hinted at: the imprecision of goal and scope definitions. It is hard to know whether ..... there has been maximum efficiency of effort if that effort has not been well delineated. It is equally difficult to assess impact on the larger situation since individualized criteria for measuring impact in terms of resources can't be accurately defined.

Dependence of organizational character on personality creates a  
.....  
major obstacle to evaluation. The chain being no stronger than its  
strongest link is an appropriate concept to describe the problem. A  
dynamic person may be a strong leader but poorly motivated, while some-  
one with the best intentions might have little power to command, or a  
poor image with the people he must reach.

This factor is both difficult to measure and awkward to point out.  
Who can say how much impact a person may have independent of his quali-  
fications on paper, one way or the other? Dependence on an individual  
might be not apparent until after the fact, as was probably the case  
with C.O.R.E. Or unexplained factors of evaluation may be wrongly  
attributed to other causes, either for political reasons, or because  
real causes are the imponderables of individual character. It must be  
pointed out, too, that the personality of leaders in other organizations  
or governing positions can radically affect the workings of a group,  
particularly evident in the case of Boston's government.

The importance of practical politics is another difficult measure  
.....  
to establish. Knowing the right people and how to reach them can have  
more impact than all the good planning and leadership a group might  
command. The creation of a post called Governor's Secretary of Inter-  
group Relations has put a part of this contact on a formal level, but  
seems to have helped at a more informal one. M.C.D.H., for example, is  
able to test the governor's reactions through someone close to both him  
and to the group before confronting him with proposals or demands.  
"Friends" in the legislature have been vital to effective lobbying,  
while personal allies in the press can be better publicity sources than  
objectively newsworthy accomplishment.

A problem to measure in any venture is the impact of source of  
.....  
funds on policy. A particularly good example is the scarcity of local  
.....  
foundation funds and the need for conformity to standards of the single  
largest local philanthropic group, The Permanent Charity Fund. In this  
case, the group seems well enough informed and directed to be a positive  
force in shaping private response. But their views on worthwhile invest-  
ments have changed quickly with time (again aparallel to administrative  
change), perhaps coincidentally), and who is to say they are always  
"most right."

Church funds can also be restrictive of goal definition and activity.  
The moral overtones of church involvement might prevent the guts politics  
which can spell power, or at least meaningful assistance. Or they might  
emphasize social services as the ideal philanthropic effort within their  
moral limitations while shunning involvement in real estate.

The dependence of so much actual construction or rehabilitation on  
government aided financing might be having a major impact on innovation  
in process. The use of non-union labor might have contributed to other  
aspects of local needs, and certain non-profit developers bemoan the  
prohibition. Yet the effect of either the non-union employment or the  
failure to use it are equally unmeasurable if the alternatives remain  
untested.

These are just a few of the many possible reasons why qualitative  
judgment can only be incomplete at best. And the main factor out-  
hindering them all is the subjectivity of the evaluator, only partially  
compensated for by pre-stated assumptions.

C. SUMMARY

Response to the demands of the situation and people available to implement and benefit from this response has been, for the most part, well directed in Boston. It is difficult to know the real need or to criticize the efforts now being made because of inadequate information on the problem and the variables of organizational structure.

It seems clear, however, that greater precision of goal definition could help identify needs by emphasizing the areas not adequately covered; for example, the existence of Fair Housing, Inc. seems to satisfy the need for moving assistance, whereas it only serves a small portion of the need. Were it to admit concentration on one group, it could do a more thorough, directed job, and at the same time be de facto evidence of greater need by virtue of its own exclusiveness. The same applies for services provision. This precision might be facilitated by information coordination to avoid duplication of effort and incomplete basis for response.

Groups organized specifically to serve fair housing interests are better off working with the people and the government than involving themselves in construction or rehabilitation since this effort involves large scale financial backing and a full time management commitment.

Since the obstacles to meaningful evaluation of impact are many, the importance of experimentation becomes apparent. There can be no definitive statement of need or solutions, so the private organizations, by virtue of their diversity and autonomy, are in a position to present alternatives available with at least some indication of effect

on the total situation. This effort can be most valuable if information on need is well coordinated and scope of the contribution is well defined. Boston has mobilized potential to bring about the former, but needs greater variety and depth of involvement to allow the latter.

## V. CONCLUSION

The most meaningful contribution private organizations can make is efficiency. The individuals concerned with housing problems have various definitions of need according to their own experiences and ability to contribute. An organization brings these unitary elements together for complementarity and reinforcement. The aim is to maximize the product and minimize resource output by defining goals to satisfy collective demands, eliminating duplications of expense, and attracting supplementary resources. The result is direction and coordination for expenditures and activities.

In Boston, the need for this efficiency to serve fair housing interests is clear. Although housing conditions are poor for low income Negro families and supply is limited both for them and for moderate income groups, there is existing legislation which provides for improvement, and a well-publicized government which can't afford such a scar on its achievements. The concentration of power in a single city agency should make it vulnerable, but the checks on its activities have been limited by the lack of an objective planning function and by the weakness of other public agencies through inertia, patronage padding, and inadequate structuring.

These forces are susceptible to public pressure, as has been indicated by experience with lobbying and challenge to agency policies, but it must be from knowledgeable sources and have the power of public support behind it. With the presence in the Boston area of numerous

academic institutions and research facilities, there is no excuse for ignorance of problem dimensions; with so many private individuals either suffering from discriminatory practices in housing or sensitive to their harm, there should be enough material for amassing public support.

The variables of income and race have significant impact on the grain of response. Interests are really much more fragmented than usually believed, as are the dimensions of solution to housing inequalities. In general, it is the middle classes who are more likely to respond to the need for organizational coordination, thus skewing the nature of this response in the direction of their own interpretation of need. Since they have the resources to make such organizations effective, they should certainly be encouraged to do so; but they should undertake such a responsibility with a willingness to limit their effort to a fine enough scale to be relevant to fragmented needs.

This is true for all the main thrusts which have been and proven worthwhile: public pressure, community education, and housing provision. It is for the government to deal with supply and contact on a large scale, and for private interests to act as liaison between these larger efforts and the smaller scale which collectively dictates need.

The main value of private organization, then, is magnification of independent needs by encouraging communication among individuals and between them and the political powers that govern them. Since it is difficult to know which approach is most effective, great contribution can be made by experimentation, or exploitation of the variety of interpretations and interests to present a selection of alternatives to policy and decision makers, both public and private, Negro and white.

APPENDIX A  
HOUSING REFERENCES

The roles prescribed or described for private groups in achieving truly "fair" housing are those which appeared most important from an examination of the variety of roles being played and the demands of the forces now shaping housing policy and patterns. There is no pretense of evaluative judgment of the groups discussed. Rather an attempt is made to use acquaintance with declared intentions and attitudes of the people making up these efforts to show what kinds of impact they can have within the limitations of their structures and resources, both human and financial.

The problem of evaluating individual contributions to the need for fair housing is complex, as can be seen by the difficulties involved in the Joint Center evaluation of Fair Housing, Inc. This was an organization with a process allowing for good recording of social and procedural data, one which had the pressures of a government grant encouraging the presentation of defensible achievements and concrete conclusions. Yet the Joint Center conclusions were made difficult by inadequate documentation, disagreement on basic goals formulation, and opinion differences on need. The nature of private involvement is often more informal than such an analysis would technically require.

If maximum efficiency of effort is to be achieved among private groups, it can be argued that there should be some qualitative estimation of contribution. One's definition of efficiency derives from the context of his analysis, however, so that without a clear statement of need or agreement on approach to solution, this judgment cannot be

validly made. The conclusion of this thesis is that individual attitudes and motivations make up the private response to public need and that there is virtue in the diversity of interpretation: the only really accurate evaluation is a group's own estimation of its success. The contribution of the outsider can only be to measure relationships of specifically identifiable elements of the process, and to suggest a framework for evaluative questioning by the people in the group.

In the organizations examined for this study, it is difficult to do more than identify what, in fact, they think they are doing or will do, some of the limitations of the resources they have to meet these goals and how appropriate they are for the scope of activity they have outlined for themselves, and what the operational structure is. Many of the groups are either too new to have accomplished measurable success, or they are too informal to have quantified their procedures, having concentrated instead on spontaneous capabilities and direction in response to individualized interpretation of wider need.

Any study that could really contribute to greater efficiency and revised structure would have to begin with an analysis of need on a wider scale than has been attempted by anyone to date. Even then, conclusions could only indicate where there are deficiencies in meeting the need: knowing the situation, how much would be necessary to meet the need, what other attempts in Boston or elsewhere have implications for Boston's demand, what information would be helpful to record in preparation for evaluating an effort?

In the meantime, an analysis like that of the Joint Center has some validity in pointing up the need for such a project. Its value for

estimating impact on the housing situation is less certain. Until need is analysed, similar reviews for other organizations could only quantify what little data is available and recommend procedural recording for use when measurement of impact becomes a possibility, and even this will be based on unproved criteria for success.

Summaries of history, general goals and patterns of function follow. There is some indication in most cases of the relationship of each group to the evaluation obstacles mentioned in the text. This material, and in turn the text discussion, was derived from personal interviews with members, usually officers, of the organizations mentioned, and from printed material distributed by these organizations.

Fair Housing, Inc., and Mass. Federation for Fair Housing and Equal Rights:

The Federation began in 1960, in response to the need for coordination among independently organized Fair Housing Committees in suburban towns. Although the Federation continues to function under the above name, Fair Housing, Inc., was formed in 1963 as a tax exempt, charitable, apolitical corporation operating as a clearing house for open occupancy listings and demand in the metropolitan area.

The latter group claims to be "organized primarily to maintain a housing service for families and individuals who, because of their race, color, or national origin, find it difficult to buy or rent housing on the open market in areas of their choice." A federal grant to assist low-income families to locate housing added a new dimension to its goals. The Joint Center for Urban Studies, in its evaluation of the grant use, found that they had not served low-income groups but rather

had aided potentially mobile, already motivated Negroes, usually into better, but often segregated housing. They found gaps in data, lack of professional ability to handle arising problems, a program too ambitious for staff and knowledge of needs, and uncertain income and race orientation.

The key to difficulty is in the last two findings: goals and functional limitations have not been well enough delineated to fit the capacities of the resources. The two full-time and three part-time staff are in fact making a contribution where one needs to be made, to the moderate income housing problem; but by not focusing explicitly on one aspect of the challenge, they create the semblance of wider coverage, preventing creation of new efforts and limiting the effectiveness of their own. In fact there is need for more such groups to be each responsible for all aspects of specifically defined problems, to provide the desirable depth and completeness of approach, to have wider scope for experimentation within the context of a single problem, and to allow for more staffing. Good publicity of such a concerted effort could have the desired result of pointing up inadequacies in the total organizational structure. Although relocation is only one of many aspects of fair housing, it is one which needs much more thorough handling than now available.

American Friends Service Committee:

The national organization, a manifestation of the concern of Quakers for helping others where they have difficulty helping themselves, has a regional office in Cambridge

serving New England. One aspect of its work, occupying a separate facility on Blue Hill Avenue, is the Community Relations Division.

The stated aims of the program when organized in 1964, were "to support the people of /Boston/ struggling with the difficulties arising from deteriorating and dilapidated housing, the lack of sufficient and adequate job training and opportunities, a deficient educational system, generally inadequate public services, and other related difficulties...The area of immediate focus will be Roxbury-North Dorchester." The specific goals covered a multiplicity of problems including integration, local community participation, diminishing of prejudice, increasing housing for low-income families, educating the public to the problem and possible alternative solutions, and communicating interests of low income families to policy making powers.

Today the division is coterminous with its Metropolitan Boston Housing Program, and consists of several parts. "Call For Action," which was the main thrust of the effort until December, 1965, was adopted from the Mass Freedom Movement when it closed in 1964. It provides a well publicized telephone number for registering and channeling complaints about housing, particularly code violations. This is supervised and carried out completely by volunteers with advice from the permanent staff if necessary.

Currently, the main focus chosen from the wide spectrum originally suggested is the elimination of "Call For Action" by activating tenants and landlords to help themselves. Working actively in the neighborhood are three staff members: one who meets and encourages

tenants; one who concentrates on landlords and factors governing the nature of the problem, such as the welfare system; and one who coordinates and directs the overall program. All are involved in gathering material for public hearings or meetings with other agencies.

Although the burden on the "Call For Action" volunteers is increasing, those in the main program have had the wisdom to trim their goals to fit staff and budget, aided by the use of referral and working contact with other agencies. The benefits of full time integrated staff, the backing of and foundation in a national organization, the location in and contact with the target neighborhood, the leadership of trained personnel set the program on good footing despite a year-long lull after the death of the first director. The staff claim to be working within the limitations of a small budget to "point directions" rather than promise solutions. The greatest potential for this program lies with good publicity of its efforts and achievements. Earlier weaknesses of dependence on inadequate volunteer staff for a too ambitious program should be overcome by a shift of focus to the permanent staff and its activities. Even the volunteer program is now being analysed for improvement potential by the Joint Center.

Massachusetts Committee on Discrimination in Housing:

Organized

in September, 1962, MCDH is the outgrowth of concern by organizations in the Boston area over the nature and extent of housing discrimination. It is technically a state-wide committee, although activity has tended to center on Boston since organizations and government concentrate there.

The declared aim of the organization is "attainment of open, non-segregated communities throughout the Commonwealth, and the provision of decent, safe and sanitary housing for all income levels. It hopes to accomplish these goals through coordinating and supplementing the legislative, research and educational activities of affiliated groups."

The membership consists of representatives of 28 groups who meet monthly. Officers are both Negro and White, but none are paid positions. The budget is essentially nominal, being raised from dues or reprints sales. The main activities have been lobbying, in response to the increase of pertinent legislation now or recently under consideration; issuing of public statements, often radical in nature since there is no bind from financial sources; or organization of public forums for topics relevant to stated goals.

A most significant part of the effort is the Housing Advisory Research Committee, made up of university and professional planning personnel. Their output has been a major contribution to the base of material now existing on the housing situation in Massachusetts. These reports were completed in 1963 and 1964, and still appear to be the most recent authority on conditions.

Legislation has dominated the activities of MCDH recently and has been principally the domain of the few most active members who are most easily in contact with each other for policy making decisions. Since goals are rather loosely defined, direction is often in response to most immediate need as perceived by this group or as the general trend of organizational interest dictates. This has the advantage of keeping many groups in touch with current thinking and adding their

weight to decisions which can be made by a more manageable body than their composite memberships.

Present indications are that implementation and pressure on government agencies is becoming and will be the main emphasis. The informality of the organization and responsibility distribution will probably mean that much of the existing activities will be taken over by the more formalized Citizens Housing and Planning Association, which bases its membership on individuals with active interest rather than on organizations' nominal representatives. MCDH may still have an impact as a unity of related and important groups, particularly as they wish to express more radical opinions prohibited by government constraints on the function of CHPA by virtue of its non-profit, corporate and tax-free status.

Thus, despite its broad organizational base, the lack of resources and formal structure limit strengths to the extent of individual commitment and time for involvement. No real effort has been made to reach the unorganized or those of low income, a criticism similar to that of the Joint Center about Fair Housing, Inc., and which emphasizes the nature of need rather than the success or failure of a specific group.

#### Citizens Housing and Planning Association:

This organization is still in the process of final formation. It grew out of United Community Services' analysis of Public Housing services, which led to a recognition of the need for coordination among various groups concerned with low-income housing. None existing at the time had support, staff or resources enough to adequately coordinate the diversity of efforts. Financed

by grants from the Permanent Charity Fund, the UCS Committee on Public Housing focused on development of a citizens group during 1964 and 1965, climaxed in December 1965 by the formulation of a planning committee which has since drawn up corporate purposes, by-laws and incorporation documents.

The group defines itself as "an independent, broadly based agency designed to integrate and to coordinate existing efforts in the housing field, to plan new approaches, and to conduct a wide program of public education regarding the facts and issues related to housing, especially low-income housing, in the metropolitan area...it must find its basic support in the concern of private individuals, businesses, and foundations...a broad base of community support is the organization's ultimate goal. Individual memberships will be sought in categories ranging from two dollars to five hundred or more. Likewise, businesses will be invited to join at fees beginning at \$25."

More specific purposes include the criticism of government programs affecting housing, advising and stimulating private groups and agents involved in housing provision or financing, conducting and publicizing research, demonstrations, information distribution, and if necessary, involvement in financial transactions to further goals, if they are within the requirements of the Internal Revenue Code governing tax-free groups.

The goals are ambitious, but the resources should be high-powered and plentiful. Budgeting allows for permanent staffing and adequate scale programs of research and experimentation, reinforced by a solid base of support drawing on the most active individuals in the active

organizations, ambitious leadership and a formal structure with good financial backing. Emphasis has been drawn away from purely discrimination problems, although these are implicitly a major target of the program, and is now on the indisputable goal of better housing by private means and concern. The sufficient budget and wide community appeal give this group muscle. There is no low-income orientation in membership. Rather is it aimed at the social and economic power structure. This will have impact on functioning of processes affecting housing rather than directly influencing supply.

#### Non-Profit Rehabilitation Groups:

These groups are non-profit, tax-exempt corporations formed one to two years ago by or from existing organizations, principally for the purpose of rehabilitation of housing to serve low-income tenants. There are six active in the South End where this part of the study concentrated. They are basically a response to the declaration of this area as an urban renewal area, which facilitates land acquisition and provides supervisory direction and assistance from the BRA, who have an office located in the district. Seventy-five percent of the existing residential buildings are scheduled for rehabilitation according to the renewal plan, so that this private activity is not only consonant with but also necessary for the implementation of the authority's plan.

South End Community Development, Inc., is the third party under contract with United South End Settlements, and has the resources of this group at its disposal. They are operating with a demonstration

grant from the federal government

"...to determine the feasibility of providing private rental housing to low-income families or persons through the combination of means following: Use of a non-profit corporation eligible for tax advantages, to acquire tax delinquent or other low cost residential structures, to rehabilitate them through the use of its own professional staff and construction workers to the extent feasible; to finance the property at below-market interest rates for non-profit ownership and operation, with financing proceeds being used on a revolving basis for extension of the operation."

This summarizes the general approach of these groups.

Three of the six groups are derived from church interests in the problem of housing: Low-Cost Housing Corporation was organized by a minister of the Trinity Church Episcopal and some interested parishioners who are raising their money from private sources with the initial backing of the church; Bishop's Housing Action Corporation has a loose affiliation with, but was incorporated outside the Tremont Street Methodist Church which partially supports it along with private individuals and foundations; The Benevolent Fraternity of Unitarian Churches is the parent body for the Joseph Tuckerman Memorial, Inc., providing it with a major part of its funds and the services of the North End Union, to assist in the social aspects of this group's program.

Goodwill Industries operates the Massachusetts Housing Association on a similar basis, and King-Bison Associates is a partnership of two political and economic consultants involved in the same kind of activity but on a private basis.

These groups have the advantage of being necessary channels for essentially government requirements, and are ultimately directed by the city authority. They appear to have the approval of the main foundation in Boston, in addition to the substantial and secure backing of their

founding organizations. Difficulties occur in the scale of operations: it is necessarily small due to investment requirements, so that policy of one group would not have a major impact on the pattern of change or development in the area; they do not accrue the scale advantage of large construction operations yet they are subject to government construction requirements, such as the use of union labor and prescribed minimum property standards; they do not have the benefit of scale in management operations.

Despite difficulties, the experiment is proving valuable by stimulating re-evaluation of the feasibility of private provision of low-cost housing needs. Even with the benefits of their structure, they have not been able to produce truly low-rent housing or property purchasable by low-income families. These are well documented efforts, strongly backed for the scale they were seeking, whose impact must be evaluated in terms of higher income housing provision and the adequacy of non-professional development. Potential is there for contribution, but the goals have not fit the resources.

Roxbury Development Corporation and its value have been discussed in the text (p. 72-3).

#### Interfaith Housing Corporation:

Manifesting an awareness of the limitations of in-city solutions to the low-income housing need is this corporation, "Chartered to provide specialized service and guidance to non-profit sponsors of housing for low and moderate income families... to perform /a/ consultant role, beginning in the Greater Boston area, for

any non-profit groups that may need its service, particularly those groups seeking to construct new housing outside the most congested areas of Metropolitan Boston."

Interfaith Housing Corporation has been endorsed and is being served by prominent religious leaders from all denominations, many of whom are presently directors. Prestige and broad contacts are used to tap potential suburban church sponsors of 221(d)3 housing. The effort is directed by two full-time staff members, with the services of a lawyer and an architect on retainer. This group recognizes the passive nature of the sponsoring organization and the need for professional aid and advice. It is using the scale possible in serving many groups to concentrate on quality and completeness of service, rather than dispersing resources more thinly over a greater spectrum of needs. Government and foundation money have given them great potential, but do not assure continuity without substantial financial backing from the member organizations.

This group has particular importance for having recognized the need for serving moderate income groups as well, and will probably eventually concentrate on this category without direct government assistance.

The Civil Rights Groups (CORE, NAACP, the Urban League):

The nationally based organizations depend on volunteer membership and support, tending to be middle class oriented in membership and activity. The continuity of the national groups allows slacking in activity without collapse, while at the same time dictating a certain amount of moderation<sup>c</sup>

of response. Most of their effectiveness appears to depend on the strength of individuals and their changing degrees of involvement.

Their main strengths have been in use of established names for publicity and public criticism or lobbying. Their scope of interests is too broad to be of specific assistance in housing provision, particularly when schools and employment are now demanding much energy and attention. They have a continuing and important responsibility to point up need and foster unity among Negro groups, especially now that low-income needs and causes have been espoused so publicly by groups of all income level orientation.

#### Other Organizations with Housing Interests:

There are too many groups with subsidiary concern for housing problems to be itemized here. Prominent among those who have aided in the lobbying effort growing out of recent legislation and publicity are the League of Women Voters, Americans for Democratic Action, the settlement house and social agencies, certain union groups, tenants and neighborhood councils, student activist organizations and religious movements, such as the Boston Conference on Religion and Race, The Catholic Interracial Council, the American Jewish Congress and Jewish Community Council, the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, the Unitarian Universalist Churches.

Most of these have been involved in research, lobbying, community education and communication of the problem via specialized interest channels. Much effort is duplicated and could be made more efficient by some means of cooperation among the individual groups or most active members.

members. They could probably be most effective by channeling well documented information to their wider memberships, and using their resources to fulfill the aspect of identified need most readily met by their capacities.

APPENDIX B  
PERSONS INTERVIEWED

1. Ruth Batson:  
Commissioner, Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination,  
Member, NAACP.
2. Wilbur Bender:  
The Permanent Charity Fund.
3. Julius Bernstein:  
Civil Rights Secretary, AFL-CIO.  
Co-Chairman, MCDH.
4. James Bishop:  
Governor's Secretary of Intergroup Relations.  
Member, CORE.
5. Ellen Feingold:  
Legislative Chairman, MCDH.  
Vice Chairman, Americans for a Democratic Society.
6. Gordon Gottsche:  
Boston Redevelopment Authority, South End Office.
7. Robert Gustafson:  
Director, Community Relations Program and Metropolitan Boston  
Housing Program of the American Friends Service Committee.
8. Chester Hartman:  
Co-Chairman, MCDH.
9. June Hopps:  
Roxbury Multi-Service Center.
10. Mrs. Theodore Howe:  
League of Women Veterans.
11. Helen Kistin:  
Housing Advisory Research Committee, MCDH.
12. Joan Langhorn:  
Associate in Special Programs, United Community Services.  
Acting secretary of Citizens Housing and Planning Association, Inc.
13. Helene Levine:  
Massachusetts Federation of Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity.
14. David Liederman:  
Roxbury Federation of Neighborhood Centers.  
National Association of Social Workers.

15. Westbrook McPherson:  
Executive Director, Urban League.
16. Samuel Mintz:  
Roxbury Development Corporation.
17. Virgil Murdock:  
Tuckerman Housing.
18. Malcolm Peabody:  
Interfaith Housing.
19. Jack Russell:  
Bishop's Housing.
20. Sadelle Sacks:  
Director, Fair Housing, Inc.
21. Richard Scobie:  
Director of Tenant and Community Relations, Boston Housing  
Authority.
22. Robert Segal:  
Jewish Community Council.
23. The Secretary of South End Community Development.
24. Daniel Weisberg:  
Realter.
25. Clifford Wiley:  
Roxbury Development Corporation.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Charles Abrams, "The Housing Problem and the Negro," Daedalus, Vol. 95, (Winter, 1966), p. 64-70.
2. Thomas Pettigrew, "Metropolitan Boston's Race Problem in Perspective," p. 43.
3. Charles Silberman, Crisis in Black and White, p. 249.
4. E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie, p. 125.
5. Pettigrew, op. cit., p. 50.
6. The statewide study is part of a federal interest in performance of state agencies, discussed by Robert Parker, special assistant to the chairman of Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination, at a conference of the Massachusetts Federation of Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity, March 26, 1966.
7. James Q. Wilson, "The Negro in Politics," Daedalus, Vol. 94 (Fall, 1965), p. 949.
8. The Fair Housing study as used was in the first draft stages, made available by Ralph Conant, coordinator of the study.
9. The Joint Center for Urban Studies is currently conducting a study on the effects of changes in housing on neighborhood and social life.
10. The figures used are usually representative of non-whites, Negroes making up just over 90% of this number. In this discussion, however, the terms will be used interchangeably.
11. Massachusetts Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Discrimination in Housing in the Boston Metropolitan Area, pp. 2-3.
12. Robert Coard, Historical Background of the Negro Community in Boston, p. 2. The discussion of Negro history is based on this article, except where noted otherwise.
13. Karl and Alma Taeuber, Negroes in Cities, p. 1
14. Davis McEntire, Residence and Race, p. 73.
15. Samuel Warner, The Discarded Suburbs: Roxbury and North Dorchester, 1800-1950. Discussion of area history is based primarily on this article.

16. Samuel Warner's discussion of The Streetcar Suburb focuses on the importance of this location as a determinant of development character and patterns.
17. Dennis Clark, The Ghetto Game, pp. 207-208.
18. Massachusetts Advisory Committee, op. cit., p. 2.
19. Chester Hartman, Low-Income Housing in the Boston Area: Needs and Proposals, p. 7.
20. Ibid., pp. 2-3.
21. Westbrook McPherson and Robert Coard, Brief presented to the New England Urban Renewal Institute, p. 3.
22. This pattern was brought out in interviews with Malcolm Peabody and Robert Segal.
23. Massachusetts Advisory Committee, op. cit., p. 25.
24. Bernard Frieden, "Metropolitan Housing Problems," p. 55.
25. Pettigrew, op. cit., p. 42.
26. Massachusetts Advisory Committee, op. cit., p. 48.
27. See Special Commission on Low-Income Housing, Final Report.
28. Massachusetts Advisory Committee, op. cit., p. 27.
29. Ibid.
30. Frieden, op. cit., p. 75.
31. Advisory Committee to the Boston Housing Authority, "Report and Evaluation of Activities: November 15, 1963-November 15, 1964," table.
- 31a. The proposal presented by Langley Keyes to the M.A.P.C. has been favorably received. "A Proposed Housing Market Study for the Boston Metropolitan Area."
32. Clark, op. cit., pp. 105, 97.
33. From John Delafons, Land Use Controls.
34. Abrams, op. cit., p. 72.
35. Clark, op. cit., p. 37.
36. Ibid., p. 93.

37. Ibid., p. 220; and George and Eunice Grier, "Market Characteristics in Interracial Housing," Journal of Social Issues, Vol. XIII, No. 4, p.
38. Grier, op. cit.
39. See Bernard Weissbourd, Segregation, Subsidies, and Megalopolis, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, New York, December, 1964.
40. As cited in Talcott Parsons, "Full Citizenship for the Negro American? A Sociological Problem," Daedalus, Vol. 94 (Fall, 1965), pp. 1016-1020. All quotations in this section are taken from Parsons' discussion.
41. See Clement Vose, Caucasians Only, a study of the role of N.A.A.C.P. in the evolution of legal defenses of fair housing.
42. An idea evolved from discussion in Lisa Peattie's class, Planning and Poverty.
43. Lewis Watts, et al., The Middle-Income Negro Family Faces Urban Renewal, p. 31.
44. Massachusetts Committee on Discrimination in Housing, "Policy Statement on the Low-Cost Housing Crisis in Massachusetts," p. 2.
45. Walter Miller covers these characteristics in his discussions of lower class sub-cultures.
46. "Lull in Civil Rights Demonstrations," The New York Times, April 18, 1966, p. 24.
47. Watts, op. cit.
48. Ray Stannard Baker, Following the Color Line, p. 147.
49. Robert Penn Warren, Who Speaks for the Negro?, p. 136.
50. Adam Clayton Powell, as cited in Warren, op. cit., p. 139.
51. Oscar Handlin, "Goals of Integration," Daedalus, Vol. 95 (Winter, 1966), p. 277.
52. See the Joint Center analysis of Fair Housing, Inc.
53. Robert Segal, interview.
54. Silberman, op. cit., p. 239.
55. Relma and Sheldon Sosna, What You Can Do About Racial Prejudice, p. 9.

56. Frances Piven, "Participation of Residents in Neighborhood Community Action Programs," Social Work, Vol. II (January, 1966). p. 78.
57. Ruth Batson, interview.
58. Chester Hartman, Low-Income Housing in the Boston Area: Needs and Proposals, Helen Kistin, Housing Discrimination in Massachusetts, and William Nash, The Impact of Public Programs on the Housing Shortage in the Boston Area.
59. "Citizens Housing and Planning Association of Metropolitan Boston, Inc.," p. 1.
60. See George and Eunice Grier, Privately Developed Interracial Housing.
61. Clark, op. cit., p. 102, and Morten Grodzins, The Metropolitan Area as a Racial Problem, p. 7.
62. Grodzins, Ibid., p. 23.
63. Keyes, op. cit., p.

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