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RACE RELATIONS AND CITY PLANNING

by

Irving Hand
B.S.S., College of the City of New York
(1945)

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment Of The
Requirements For The Degree Of
Master in City Planning
at the
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
(1947)

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January 17, 1947

Dean William W. Wurster
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Dear Dean Wurster:

I herewith respectfully submit this thesis entitled "Race Relations and City Planning", in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master in City Planning.

Respectfully,

IRVING HAND

262878

"Where multi-group societies have developed the influences of democracy are most clearly manifest; and on the other hand, the fact of a multi-group society has tended to encourage democratic ways of life. In short, a democracy and a multi-group society belong together."

R. M. Mac Iver
Introduction: "Group Relations and Group Antagonisms"
Harper & Bros, 1945

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I

INTRODUCTORY SECTION

Statement of the Subject of Study:

> "The perennial pitfall of planning in America - city planning or any social planning - is the abiding inclination of planners either to make no plans for ... minority groups, or to provide a special set of plans for this segment of the nation. This oversight too often means that the planners are quite ready to forget the minority groups, to allow them to remain in status quo during a period of social change. The simplest and most economical, and yet least frequently considered procedure would provide for the minority groups, not as separate entities, but as integral parts of the body politic participating on an equal basis in all phases of the program.
>
> Planning implies social change - change from haphazard to orderly development. Sound planning requires study and re-evaluation of the whole scope of the economic and social factors involved...particularly true in race relations..." [1]

From this point, Mr. Granger goes on to severely censure planning, or the lack of it, and to press the necessity of bringing the minority group within the orbit of the community.

As Margaret Halsey points out in her recent volume:

> "Most writing on the race problem falls into one of two classes. Either it is passionate fiction about race clashes, lynchings, and various forms of violence and degradation or else it is passionless non-fiction, loaded to the gunwales with statistics about wages and graphs about venereal disease." [2]

This study does not pretend to fall in either of the two classes indicated by Mrs. Halsey - that is, not completely.

1. Lester B, Granger - Inter-Racial Issues in Housing, New Architecture and City Planning edited by P. Zucker, Philosophical Library, N.Y., 1942

2. Margaret Halsey - Color Blind, p.2, Simon and Schuster, N.Y. 1946.

But it does hope to establish unequivocably that the city planning agency does have a definitely constructive role to play in terms of those minority group problems of a planning nature. It is maintained that a program of action may be developed by the planning group within which framework the agency may function and contribute to the solution, and the eventual elimination, of pertinent minority group problems; the ultimate result of which will be the intergration of that group within the community.

City planning, in the past, has been defined as

> "the ordering of the physical elements of a region or a city so that each will serve most effectively in an economical, efficient, healthful, and agreeable development of the entire area."[3]

Queen and Thomas have commented on this definition to the extent of its emphasis on the physical.[4] They point out, however, that the objectives have to do with efficiency, safety, health, beauty, convenience, and order. In analyzing further the basic functions of city planning, it is developed that the latter is made up of four fundamental parts:

1. Research into the situation as it exists and has developed.
2. The civic design, the drawing up of plans and specifications for the urban layout.
3. Regulation by law, which involves legislation and its enforcement in order to make possible the carrying out of a plan which may be devised.
4. The influencing of public opinion, primarily to

3. Social Work Year Book 1937, p. 416, Russell Sage Foundation, New York

4. Queen and Thomas - The City, p. 460, McGraw-Hill Book Co. N. Y. 1939.

secure necessary legislation; but also, to induce the owners of private property to do their part in achieving the purposes of a city plan.

In a later discussion, and development, of methods or measures of effectuation applicable by the planning agency in the formulating of a program for action on minority group problems, the framework of the basic functions of planning are examined further. In terms of this framework, it is established that the methods of action are largely two-fold:

1. The planning agency as a public agency, and the consequent influence it may wield of a social and moral nature.

2. The planning agency as a specific (private) functioning organization, and the measures applicable relative to the technical functioning of the agency. This involves technical planning techniques pertinent to the physical development of the community.

Background for the subject of study:

World War II initiated extensive repercussions on American traditions throughout the nation. The revaluing of almost every element in American life was stimulated. At that time, due to the exigencies of total war it was necessary to survey the capacities of the nation, to estimate the physical resources, to analyze manpower requirements. Planning became a national imperative. And by the same token that industrial planning assumed its position of importance, so did social engineering and social planning theirs. It became necessary to examine the structure of the nation's population and to study the relationships between different groups.

These activities, so important during "total war", are equally urgent in contributing to the basis of a period of peace and prosperity.

During the war, the tremendous scope of population movement across the nation sharply accentuated many city planning problems such as transportation, housing, the extension of community facilities - all associated with the extensive urban boom. These problems were further aggravated due to the fact that this population movement was heterogeneous in nature and those communities never having had minority groups or minority group problems were faced with an unhappy choice. Some towns and cities already in the throes of this dilemma, found it blossoming to proportions never before anticipated; others discovered that it was becoming more negative in nature. All this was a ramification of the population movement, the ensuing increase or decrease in the number of minority groups or the members of these respective groups, and the manner in which the city was disposed to accomodate the needs of these people.

Many decisions made at the time were influenced by the fact that the nation was experiencing a period of stress, the chief characteristic of which was being a participant in a world conflict. Today many of these decisions have become subject to adjustment although the nation must still emerge from a similar period of stress - that of reverting to being a participant in a prosperous world at peace.

Before going further let us examine just what is meant by the phrases minority groups, minority group problems; and consider related concepts.

It has been pointed out that the basis for the classification of groups into majorities and minorities is a matter

of social differentiation. [5] According to the literal use of the terms, such differentiation is based upon a numerical ratio; but there are many illustrations in which the numerically larger group is dominated by the smaller. It is evident that statistics do not provide a sufficient distinction.

A second possible differentiation is of a legalistic nature - the lawful right of one group to dominate another. While such distinction may be valid, there are instances where actual minorities recognized as such do not exist at all in the legal sense. The Negro population of this country is guaranteed all of the rights of full citizenship by constitutional amendment, yet large numbers of Negroes are excluded through social pressure from the exercise of those rights, and in several states from the use of the ballot. In the latter, this political deprivation may be supported by some legal quirk. But the effect of social pressure is sufficient in itself -

> "Northern Negroes are almost as effectively segregated by custom as their southern brothers are by law." [6]

Another aspect of a common legal distinction is on the basis of the country of birth, with the tacit assumption that only the foreign born comprise our minorities. This is untrue. The American Indian - the only American who does not trace his ancestry to those of foreign birth - is today a minority group, as is also the American - born Negro or Oriental.

The definition of minorities then, as is used in this the-

5. Brown and Roucek - One America, p.3, Prentice - Hall Inc., N.Y. 1946.

6. Origin unknown - oral interview.

sis, is drawn primarily from a sociological analysis which is concerned less with numerical ratios and legalistic conceptions and more with social processes and their expression in terms of subtle discrimination or of overt behavior.

> Minorities then are "the individuals and groups that differ or are assumed to differ from their dominant social groups and that have developed, in varying degree, an attitude of mind which gives them a feeling of greater social security within their own groups than they have in their relation to the dominant group." [7]

The differences referred to are varying in degree and are characteristics in the nature of race, religion, nationality, and cultural pattern. It is also to be considered that while many members of minority groups are similarly members of the low income group, this latter status is not necessarily a characteristic of a member of a minority group. This distinction is peculiarly important to the role of the planning agency in dealing with minority group problems of a planning nature since many such problems may be directly associated with insufficient income as being a causative factor. This study is concerned primarily with those aspects of minority group problems of a city planning nature which are barriers to the integration of the respective group within the community life. Although it is impossible to remove the feature of income level, recognition of its influence will enable valid recommendations and conclusions to be developed.

It should be pointed out that both integrating and disintegrating forces are continually playing upon the cultural patterns of minority groups. Similarly, significant changes

7. Brown and Roucek - One America, p.3.

in social attitudes may aggravate or eliminate a minorities problem.

In the United States today, minority group consciousness, although it may have originated in cultural distinctiveness, becomes increasingly a product of enforced relations to a majority treatment and policy. It is then suggested that

> "a minority ... is ... best characterized as a social group whose solidarity is primarily determined by external pressure, which forces it to live in terms of opposition and ostracism." [8]

To explain minority behavior and attitudes one has, therefore, to scrutinize majority attitudes and policies as well.

The minority problem then, resolves itself more and more into the alternative of whether these differences of race, religion, language, nationality, and general culture pattern are reconciled in practical reciprocity and mutual respect or are maintained as barriers of prejudice and group hatred, impeding the progress of the inevitable assimilation of ethnic communities and the achievement of an integrated community structure.

The full predicament of the minority situation emerges more clearly in the case of such groups subject to a forced segregation while living in close juxtaposition or subordinated incorporation with the majority group. Such is typical of the colored minorities - Negro and Oriental - both of them subject to intense and sustained prejudice and ostracism.

---

8. Locke and Stern - When Peoples Meet, p.465, Progressive Education Association, N.Y. 1942.

It is in the functioning of the majority - minority group relationship that race tensions and race problems are seen to develop, all of which may be incorporated under the broad classification of race relations.

The question of race relations in the United States has attracted the energies of the leaders of many fields and there has consequently been developed many definitions of this concept. One most appropriate to this study has been presented by Dr. R. E. Park in his paper, "The Nature of Race Relations":

> "Race relations, as that term is defined in use and wont in the United States, are the relations existing between peoples distinguished by marks of racial descent, particularly when these racial differences enter into the consciousness of the individuals and groups so distinguished, and by so doing determine in each case the individual's conception of himself as well as his status in the community. Thus, anything that intensifies race consciousness; anything, particularly if it is a permanent physical trait, that increases an individual's visibility and by so doing makes more obvious his identity with a particular ethnic unit or genetic group, tends to create and maintain the conditions under which race relations, as here defined, may be said to exist. Race consciousness, therefore, is to be regarded as a phenomenon, like class or caste consciousness, that enforces social distances. Race relations, in this sense, are not so much the relations that exist between individuals of different races as between individuals conscious of these differences." [9]

The extreme position of the colored minority group in this nation is more easily appreciated in terms of this definition.

In the functioning of race relations it is apparent that race problems may be anticipated in an analysis of basic race tensions. The latter have been described as symptoms:

"Symptomatic of man's innate desire for aggression (Freud)

9. E.T. Thompson - Race Relations and the Race Problem, p.3 Duke University Press, Durham, N. C., 1939.

"It is a sympton of our industrial civilization (Adler)
"It is due to a difference in mores (Sumner)
"Nervous tension playing upon frustration (the authors of Race Riot)
"Bigotry inherited from religious wars and witchcraft, constantly fed by knaves and demagogues (Gustavus Myers)
"The principal of cumulation resulting from the vicious circle of the Caste system" (Myrdal) [10]

Racial tension, it has been stated, sums up the trio of bias, prejudice and discrimination. Further, it is to be considered as primarily an urban problem in America and therefore one intimately concerned with industrialization. It is expected that this will become increasingly obvious in the South as that region becomes more and more urbanized and subject to an industrial economy. [11] Certainly this association of race tension, urbanism and industrialism is clearly demonstrated by the several races conflicts which occurred while this nation was at war. This latter condition stimulated urbanism, demanded industrialization and sharply accentuated the conditions bringing about racial explosions.

To completely round out the picture within which the minority group and race relations functions in this country today, it is necessary to emphasize the diversity of the American race problem. Actually, race relations, far from being fixed and unchanging, vary widely throughout the country according to region, economic conditions, varying degree of prominence of certain problems, and the respective histories of the various groups in contact. For this reason, one might

10. A. Rubin and G. J. Segal - Race Tensions, A Sympton, p 31-34, Approaches to National Unity, A Symposium edited by L. Bryson, L. Finklestein, R. M. Mac Iver, Harper and Bros., New York, 1945

11. Ibid, p. 38.

say that there are as many kinds of race relations as there are groups having different backgrounds and experiences, and the United States is conspicuous among nations for the diversity of its groups.

Upon the basis of the completed discussion concerning the definition of minority groups, minorities problems and racial relations in general, it is possible to evaluate the projected role of the planning agency in terms of the information presented.

In the nation today we are at a crossroads. There is the opportunity to spread more widely the impetus established during the course of the recent conflict to deal with minority groups in such a manner as to make them part of the community; or, on the other hand, to re-affirm segregation and its concomitant characteristics.

As has been stated, this thesis is concerned with the evaluation of the function of the planning unit as an integrating force upon all groups in the community. Within the framework established as to the definition of the minority group, race relations and other features; this study is concerned with a consideration of those minorities problems in so far as they are related to city planning, and the role of the planning agency in participating in the development of a program for constructive action, the purpose of which is to contribute to the solution of such problems, subject to the aim of bringing these groups within the sphere of the community.

Minority Group Problems of a Planning Nature:

The examination of majority - minority group relationships establishes the following as the scope of minorities problems subject to effective action by the planning agency:

1. Housing
2. Recreation
3. Education (schools)
4. Health and welfare
5. Transit and transportation
6. Utilities

Perhaps the most serious of these is the situation in housing. [12] Here the interests of the minorities largely coincide with the interests of the general poulation. However, certain minorities, particularly the colored, face unique disabilities. They are victims of the housing shortage and of slums not only by virtue of many of their members being concentrated in the low income groups, but also due to discrimination in the form of race restrictive covenants. The effect of the latter feature cannot be de-emphasized since it has been suggested that the pattern of segregation in other such phases of community life as recreation, schools, transit are further emphasized in light of the wide practice of residential segregation.

It is imperative that the practice of using the courts to restrict minorities to racial and ethnic islands be outlawed. This action contributes largely to the creation of

12. Contempory Social Problems, Ch. III, edited by L. Wirth, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill., 1939

slums through overcrowding and increased density. As such, it severely aggravates the housing needs of minority groups.

The National Housing Agency, after careful examination of the housing problem of the minority groups, made the following recommendations:

> " ... examination of the housing problem ... of minority groups disclosed the fact that it comprises two basic elements; 1) the need of additional housing accommodations at suitable costs, and 2) the necessity for increased living space. Despite the acute nature of this problem, it was agreed that it cannot be considered separately but as an integral part of the overall housing problem of the community and the nation." [13]

The manner in which the housing problems of three important minority groups (Negro, Mexican, Japanese) in Los Angeles County, California, has developed, is interesting as an example of what has occurred largely since 1940 in many parts of the nation. [14]

Before the war, in Los Angeles County, there was more or less an apathetic attitude in so far as these minorities were concerned. One reason for this is advanced as the fact that for the period from 1930 to 1940 the only minority group which grew more rapidly than the total population was the Negro; and the Negroes, already established in large residential areas, were able to absorb much of this growth, so that their invasions, at the worst, tended to be marginal infiltrations

13. Summary of Annual Conference on Racial Relations in Housing: Proceedings, p.3, National Housing Agency, F.P.H.A. Oct. 29 - Nov. 2, 1945.

14. C.B. Spaulding - Housing Problems of Minority Groups in Los Angeles County, p.220 - 225, Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science, Nov. 1946.

into areas close to predominantly colored residential districts.

In 1940, the population of Los Angeles County, as given by the U.S. Census, was 2,785,643. Of this number, approximately 212,000 were Mexicans, 75,000 were Negroes, and 37.000 were Japanese. The Negroes had increased in population from 2.1 per cent of the total in 1930 to 2.7 per cent in 1940. This was an increase of 62 per cent as against an increase of 26 per cent for the total population.

The minorities, in general, occupied the poorest housing in the country. A study conducted in 1939 by the Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles of some 250,000 dwelling units, mostly in central areas of the city, revealed the percentage of the various racial groups living in substandard housing as follows:

Anglo-Americans	18.3 per cent
Negro-Americans	28.6 per cent
Oriental-Americans	47.2 per cent
Mexican-Americans	59.6 per cent

The most noticeable tension existing in 1940 as a result of minority housing developments concerned the Negroes. Their numbers had been growing rapidly and augmented the size of the most highly segregated of the minority groups. [15] Nevertheless, these tensions remained under control and no public attention was attracted by the minority group involved.

With the onset of World War II, however, the movement of

15. Ibid, p.221 "Reference to a map prepared by the Los Angeles City Planning Commission demonstrates this fact."

population were accelerated, the housing shortage developed, race tensions grew rapidly.

The effect on the three minority groups varied. The Mexicans continued to live in their inferior housing. The Japanese were eventually evacuated in 1942. The Negro population continued to increase and with it their need for housing.

A special census of April 1944 indicated that Negroes in the Metropolitan District had increased since April 1940 by 58,791 or 78.2 percent. The increase for the total population of the country was 23.3 percent as shown by this census.

Estimates of the shortage of Negro housing showed it as approximately 11,000 - 12,000 dwelling units; roughly one third of all the housing units available for these people in 1945. It is conjectured that despite a wide margin of error, this reflects a shortage more severe than that suffered by the white residents.

It has been noted that the basic reason for the more severe shortage for Negroes is due to the strict segregation. Of the efforts made to solve this problem, the greatest assistance has come from public housing. Private construction made available to Negroes approximately 2 percent of new private homes constructed under National Housing Agency permits during the war. The Negroes contributed over 12 percent of the in-migrants.

The February 1946 report of the City of Los Angeles Housing Authority shows the following racial pattern of occupancy in the 11,170 units controlled by the authority:

Whites	57.9 percent
Negroes	27.4 per cent
Other (Mostly Mexicans)	14.7 per cent

In light of the exigencies of the situation, the minority groups, organized labor and a large number of individuals and community organizations began to press for action on this problem. As their opposition they encountered "real estate

> "real estate people, speculative builders, financial institutions, contractors - the building industry." 16

The attitudes of the latter group were essentially as follows:

1. They assumed that minorities would live in inferior housing, and expressed no special concern over the situation - that's just the way the automatic economy works.
2. Segregation was taken for granted, and with it the whole set of usual, unobstrusive devices for achieving and perpetuating it.
3. The real fear of the building industry was of the growth of governmental activities in the housing field.

The situation has been further complicated with the return of some 23,000 Japanese evacuees; who have been hard put to find homes for only half their number.

In late 1945 several governmental agencies were working to assist in solving the housing problems of the minority groups.

The Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles has announced a three year program for the construction of 5,000 new units. This agency has been promoting interracial occupancy.

The Planning Commission of the City of Los Angeles and

16. Ibid, p.224

the Regional Planning Commission both took the official stand that they planned for better community living irrespective of race or creed; and in their plans were developing outlines which could not fail to affect minority groups.[17]

The recent housing conference in Chicago,[18] held under the auspices of the National Committee on Housing, formulated a program which included a reference to minority groups. The committee recommended that F.H.A. encourage construction of housing available to minority groups and cease to require enforcement, or to encourage the use of housing covenants restricting homes on racial considerations. It also requested that

> "municipalities face honestly and act effectively to meet the space problem of minorities and start to break down ghetto living."

This brought an immediate reaction from certain groups as is evidenced by an excerpt from the following newspaper article.[19]

> "Public encouragement of special housing for minority groups was characterized yesterday by the Real Estate Board of New York as "an unwise attempt to intrude a social question which could not but hamper sound consideration of the housing problem."
>
> "The board's statement was occasioned by the report of the National Committee on Housing, with whose other proposals the board concurred ..."

17. In these plans, C. B. Spaulding could find nothing but continued segregation.

18. November 1946

19. New York Times, December 6, 1946.

The board, however, said yesterday:

> "The probabilities are that any attempt to force construction into such channels would knot rather than help the chances of new construction for the very groups for which special aid is sought.
> "That is a lesson we should have learned from the attempt to force construction for veterans only."

This brief desription of the housing problem as it affects certain of the minority groups reflects the framework within which the planning agency will find it necessary to function if it hopes to contribute to the solution of this question.

The situation in the matter of recreation facilities is much the same. Here again instances may be cited showing insufficient facilities made available to the minority group. In cases of distinct segregation the problem is further aggravated in the removal of this group from that part of the population using facilities usually regarded as of a community nature. In such instances the argument of duplication of facilities is brought up by those favoring segregation. It is to be noted that in such a relationship, the segregated group must be sufficiently large to warrant this duplication; and even where this does exist, the establishment of a complete range of recreation facilities based on reasonable standards is rarely applied. Relative to the full enjoyment of whatever school and educational facilities are available, minorities are again placed in the position where their relative degree of participation is subject to the qualifications of social attitudes of the other members of the community.

Conditions in different parts of the nation vary from a complete acceptance and full participation of any such group

as in Springfield, Mass., to the complete rejection and ensuing provision of what is supposed to be a complete school system as for Negroes in the South.

It is interesting to note that the California School Code provides that

> "the governing board of any school district may establish separate schools for Indian children ... and for children of Chinese, Japanese or Mongolian parentage." [20]

A California superior court has since declared it to be in violation of the 14th Amendment of the U.S.Constitution to segregate on the basis of race or ancestry.

This matter, however, is far from decided as is evidenced by an article appearing in the New York Times, Dec. 10, 1946, under the headline "Pupil Segregation on the Coast is Fought." This specific case has to do with a ramification of the cited provision of the California School Code, developed to the extent that segregation is being sought for Orientals, Mexicans, and those of Latin descent. [21]

---

20. A Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations, April 1946, p. 288, Social Science Institute, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

21. The school authorities from Orange County in Southern California are presenting their case to the Ninth Federal District Court, to overrule a Federal District Court order enjoining them from putting the children of these minorities into separate grammar schools.
Judge P. J. Mc Cormick in the Federal Court for the Southern District of California issued the injunction against segregation on March 21, 1946, holding the segregation to be "unconstitutional, illegal and void." Referring to one of the chief contentions of counsel for the school officials, he held that "equal protection of laws" was not provided by furnishing in separate schools the same technical facilities, books and courses of instruction available in other schools The school boards and superintendents have sought to justify their policy on the ground that most of the children of Mexican ancestry came from homes where English is not spoken and that pupils of school age must be segregated for efficiency in instruction. Judge Mc Cormick stated that the only tenable ground "for defending segregation lay in

Intercultural education is being developed in California as a possible approach to the solution of the four major types of majority - minority conflict: white-Negro, Anglo-Mexican, Caucasian-Oriental and Gentile-Jew. [22] Efforts are being made to interest civic minded citizens and appropriate agencies of the municipal government to study and develop positive programs in terms of the affects of segregated schools upon the community at large.

Investigations of schools and intercultural relations in seven cities, where minorities are an important population factor, has brought forth the criticism concerning the inadequacy of community planning in dealing with intercultural questions. [23]

In light of the material presented concerning the existing school situation relative to minorities in different parts of the country, it is felt that the position of the former is somewhat tenuous, and that a city planning agency can make a positive contribution to this minorities problem.

In the other public services involving health and welfare, transit and utilities, there is also wide room for action to wipe out many inequalities. The arguments in favor of such action are being pressed by many civic minded individuals and

the English language deficiency of some Mexicans, but he declared that this did not justify "general and continued segregation in separate schools", up to the sixth, or in two instances, the eighth grade.

22. Intercultural Education in Southern California, A Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations, Oct. 1946, p.83 -85

23. T. Brameld and E. Fish - School Administration and Intercultural Relations, p.26 - 33, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March 1946

groups.[24] In these phases of community living the planning agency can be effective not only in bringing about such an equality for minority groups, but also in removing the barriers which surround these people and have removed them from the organic community.

A broad analysis of each of the minority problems discussed would reflect the fact that certain fundamental conditions or characteristics of minorities would of necessity be adjusted if a solution to these questions is to be evolved.

It would appear to be essential that the physical barrier of the "ghetto" be eventually eliminated; that this phase of the one class neighborhood be removed through the gradual assimilation by the community at large of the minority group in specific.

In this respect the planning agency should function within the framework of the conditions of each of the problems posed. Its contribution would be of a twofold nature, as has already been indicated: as a public agency, actively supporting and initiating measures (wherever feasible) making for an integrated community; as a technical agency, applying planning techniques to the respective minority problem in the achievement of this end.

As a final feature, it should be pointed out that the problems of all minorities are interdependent and that the same factors which foster segregation and discrimination against one group are involved in the pressures brought against all groups. The only difference being that the individual problem

24. A Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations, Aug.-Sept. 1946, p.37-41

may be of a relative nature in the sense of varying importance and urgency for different groups - the problems in general being essentially the same.

The Relative Position of Respective Minority Groups in the United States Today:

There are in the United States today about 32,000,000 Americans of foreign birth or descent (one or both foreign born parents). These include some 7,000,000 Slavs and some 4,500,000 Italians. Sixteen per cent of our popualation speaks a foreign mother tongue, including some 4,000,000 Italians, approximately 2,400,000 Poles, nearly 2,000,000 Spanish Americans, and 1,750,000 Jews.[25]

In addition to this group of assimilable minorities, as based upon the 1940 U.S. Census we have in the nation a total of some 17,000,000 colored minority peoples. Specifically, this includes some 12,865,000 Negroes, 3,500,000 Mexicans, approximately 334,000 American Indians, some 205,000 Orientals (Japanese and Chinese) with the balance of some 96,000 persons distributed among Filipinos, Hindus and Koreans.

These statistics indeed reflect the poloygot and multi-group nature of the United States.

Of these, the immigrant groups from Europe have never presented a serious long-range minority problem in this country, though they did contribute a temporary problem. They tended to cluster for a time in immigrant slum settlements

25. C. McWilliams - Minority Groups in the U.S.A., p.19, O R T Economic Review, N.Y., August 1944

TABLE I

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES BY NATIVITY AN RACE 1940

Race	Number	Percent
All Classes	131,669,275	100.0
White	118,214,270	89.78
Native	106,795,732	81.11
Foreign Born	11,419,138	8.67
Negro	12,865,111	9.77
Other Races	588,887	0.44
Indian	333,969	0.25
Japanese	126,947	0.09
Chinese	77,504	0.06
Filipino	45,563	0.03
All Others	4,904	0.01

Data from U.S.Census, 1940

in urban areas and there was much work to be done in the field of cultural adjustment. But the Melting Pot worked although perhaps imperfectly, perhaps too slowly, but nevertheless it worked. Observation and experience point to the fact that the absorbtion of European immigrants up to the first World War did proceed; particularly in view of the magnitude of the immigration itself, with remarkable rapidity. While there was prejudice against immigrants, which in times of depression was more intensely stimulated, no firmly entrenched caste system developed. Recent immigrants may have had special difficulties and handicaps to surmount, but that they were able to do so in most cases is an obvious fact. These groups were subject to such complete assimilation, that with the second and third generation, they became almost completely absorbed in the larger dominant group.

Today immigrant problems have virtually ceased to be of major importance; and for all practical purposes the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924 put an end to the problem of immigrant minority groups in this country.[26] As it was pointed out by the National Resources Planning Board in May 1938,

> "the number of immigrants entering this country during the past few years has been less than the number of emmigrants".

Despite the problem of the displaced persons in Europe today, it is not expected that the national policy as defined by the Immigration Act will be subject to any marked change.

The restrictions on immigration in effect since 1924 have

26. Under this act, 150,000 immigrants annually may enter the United States from all quota countries.

been reflected in the makeup of our population. In 1930 there were 13,983,405 foreign - born whites in the United States; by 1940 there were only 11,419,138. This represents a decline of 18.3 per cent in the number of foreign - born whites during the decade 1930 - 1940. Today, they form 8.7 per cent of the total population as compared with 11.4 per cent in 1930.

The median age of the population in 1940 was 29 years; but it was 26 years for the native whites, 51 years for the foreign born whites and 25 years for the Negroes. Thus the foreign born whites are rapidly passing into the older age brackets and are becoming increasingly more subject to high mortality rates. Unless our immigration laws are substantially liberalized, within the next two or three decades they will constitute only a negligible proportion of our total population. Foreign - born immigrant groups do not, therefore, constitute a major minority problem in this country. Although all foreign - born immigrants have not been completely absorbed into the main current of American life, it is highly probable that they will be absorbed, as were their predecessors, although the process may proceed at a somewhat slower rate due to changed economic and social conditions.

A consideration of our racial, or colored minorities presents an entirely different situation. Their numerical significance has already been noted. The National Resource Committee has described these groups as having an expanding population future.[27] Their experts, on medium assumptions with

27. McWilliams - Minority Groups in the U.S.A., p.17

regard to trends of mortality and fertility, and on the assumption of no immigration, project the expected increases in population for the period 1930-1980, as follows: whites, 19 per cent; Negroes, 50 per cent; Indian, Mexican, and Oriental combined 13.9 per cent.

Thus, the fact that the so-called immigrant problem has almost ceased to exist, and in view of the prolific future predicted for our racial minorities, a consideration of minority group problems tends to focus one's attention more sharply on the latter segment of our population.

When it is considered that native-born whites constitute the bulk of the American people (81 per cent); that the foreign-born white in 1940 was less than 9.7 per cent of the nations' population; that "other races" - largely American Indians and Orientals - make up less than one half of one per cent of the people and with the Negroes (9.7 per cent) make up less than 11 per cent of the total; the question, based on numerical values alone, arises as to why these latter are not absorbed.

In many ways, the position of the Negro in urban communities, especially in the north, has been similar to that of the foreign-born immigrant. The masses of both have come into the city's economic life at the bottom and find their first homes in the slum areas. Both are looked down upon by those who got there first. As time passes the individual immigrant and their ethnic group as a whole rises in status. Many of them are assimilated and become socially accepted. In the case of the Negro (or any member of the colored minority) the process stops short of complete assimilation. Residential

segregation establishes the Black Belt and Ghetto. The color-line preserves social segregation and sets the limits in political and economic hierarchies. Thus, the process of acculturation is brought to a halt.

But absorption may also be spatial. In the past, there has existed a severe handicap to this possibility. The geographical division of the racial minority groups was such as to favor cultural insulation of the minority from the majority. As late as 1940, over three-fourths of the Negroes were concentrated in the Deep South; 47 percent of the Indians, 95 percent of the Japanese, and 62 percent of all other racial minorities resided in the west.

Before World War II, this pattern of "cultural diversity in isolation"[28] was gradually being transformed through the movement of population from rural areas to urban communities. The recent conflict greatly accelerated this process and at the same time initiated the tendency to establish a more typical geographical distribution of racial minorities. Negroes moved North and West, the Japanese-Americans were moved inland. The War Relocation Authority has advised persons of Japanese ancestry not to settle in colonies nor to congregate as they did in the past in two or three western states.[29] Negro leaders have continually advised Negroes to leave the South in large numbers. Those southern Negroes who do leave, however, gravitate

28. Ibid, p. 27

29. New York Times, Nov 6, 1946
"Nesei in Chicago are put at 20,000. Total increased from 300 by war relocations and 15,000 are expected to stay."

to a few selected centers, rather than scatter themselves more widely. Thus we have Harlem in New York and the South Side in Chicago. This is the opposite of spatial absorption.

Nevertheless, this is the framework within which the planning agency must work in terms of minorities problems of a planning nature. Segregation, discrimination, pre-war shortages and needs sharply increased due to the addition of a migrant population which has decided to sink its roots in our urban communities and cities rather than return to a despised ruralism. The problems of minorities were severe before Dec. 7,1941. They have since expanded greatly. It is a challenge to the planning groups in our cities and towns to develop a program to deal effectively with these minorities in such a manner as to include them to the fullest possible degree in community living.

The scope of the thesis:

This study has, and will continue to make reference to all minority groups; but the analysis of minority groups on a national level has revealed the Negro as the largest numerical minority group, the Negro as an extremely unassimilable minority group, and having minorities problems particularly severe in nature and degree. Consequently, the Negro as a minority group; Negro-white relationships and ensuing race problems and race tensions towards the solution of which the city planning agency may contribute - this will be the major consideration of the balance of this study.

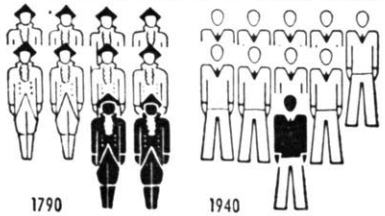
It is further reiterated that this analysis is being made

relative to the specific theory that all minority groups may be so integrated into community living as to contribute to the fullest to that activity. It is obvious that the Negro, being a visible minority group (which fact further emphasizes and solidifies its position as a minority group), is subject to the most complete cycle of race problems and race tensions arising through minority-majority group relationships. It is postulated that an effective program of action of an initiative or influencing nature may be so developed by the city planning agency as to assist in the elimination of certain race problems and race tensions in so far as they pertain to planning; that such a program must not only be applicable to the needs of the Negro, but must be flexible in nature to the extent that it could be applicable to the Negro in different communities in different settings where the various racial problems remediable through planning will be emphasized in varying degrees. Further, that such a program could apply not only to the Negro group in these diverse situations and be successful in bringing the group within the sphere of community living; but that such a program also be applicable to all minority groups in all communities relatve to community-minority group problems of a planning nature. Thus to make fact from theory - that all minority groups may be so integrated into the life of the community as to be to the full advantage of all groups participating in the complete organic functioning of the community.

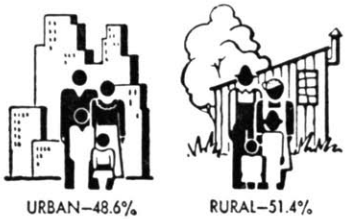
THE NEGRO IN THE U. S. A.

OUR NEGRO POPULATION HAS RISEN FROM 800,000 TO 13,000,000 IN 150 YEARS

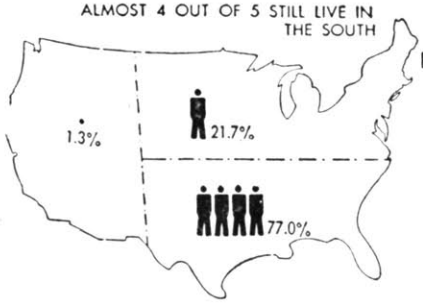
BUT THE PROPORTION OF NEGROES IN THE TOTAL POPULATION IS SMALLER TODAY



ALMOST HALF OF ALL NEGROES NOW LIVE IN THE CITY...

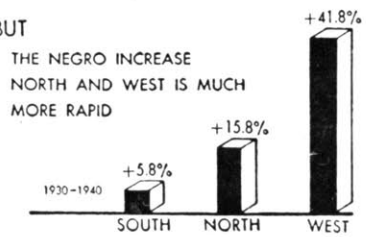


ALMOST 4 OUT OF 5 STILL LIVE IN THE SOUTH



BUT

THE NEGRO INCREASE NORTH AND WEST IS MUCH MORE RAPID



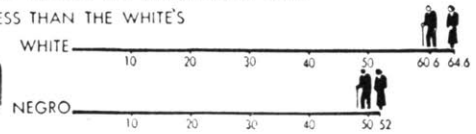
LIFE AND DEATH

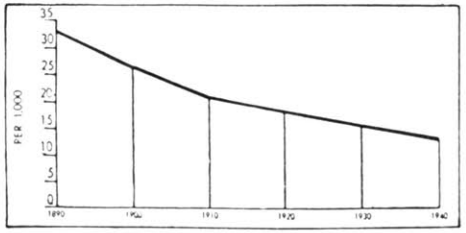


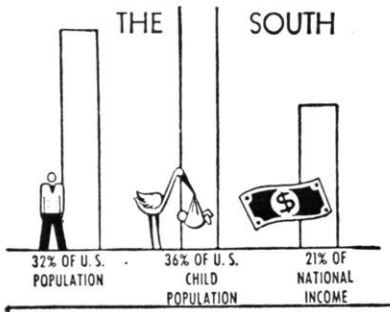
MATERNAL DEATH RATE IS THREE TIMES THAT OF WHITE

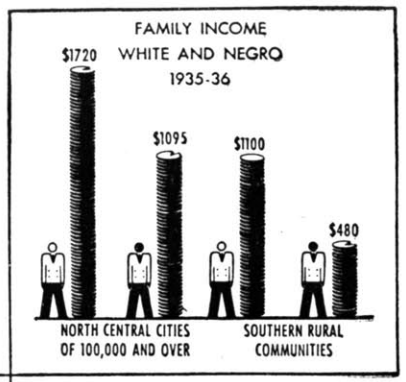
YET NEGRO DEATH RATE IS GOING DOWN

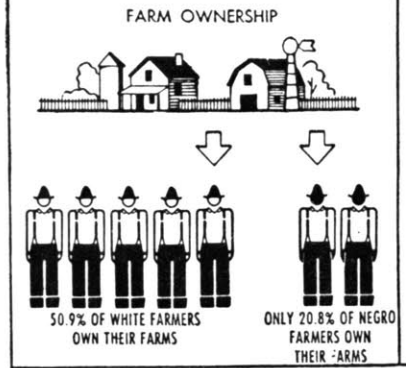
THE NEGRO'S LIFE AVERAGES 10 YEARS LESS THAN THE WHITE'S

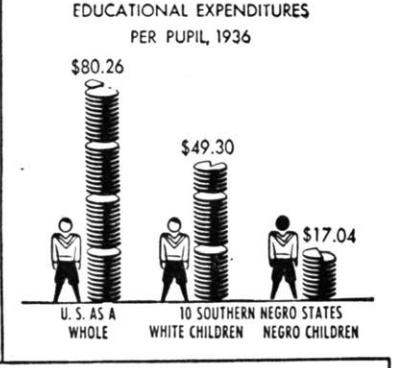


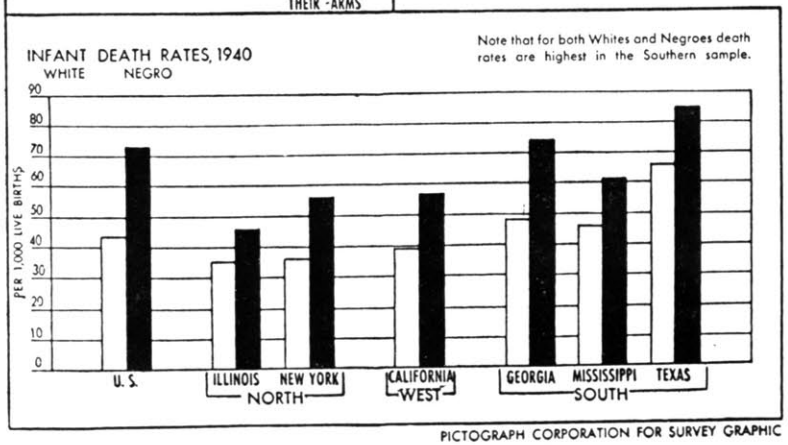












PICTOGRAPH CORPORATION FOR SURVEY GRAPHIC

27a

II

- THE NEGRO AS A MINORITY GROUP: HIS PLACE IN THE NATION TODAY

An interesting observation was made by Carey McWilliams in his recent publication [30] to the extent that

> "no other...problem in the United States has received so much attention as the Negro problem. In addition to the ante-bellum literature on the subject, an enormous body of material has been accumulated since the Civil War. While undoubtedly there is a great deal more to be learned about the Negro, relatively he has been overstudied. In point of fact, there is actually something rather unwholesome about the accumulation of such a bulky literature on a particular problem when that writing is so barren, as it happens to be in the case of the Negro, of definite suggestions for social action.
>
> "On the other hand, if one regards the development of the Negro problem - how our conception of the problem has changed - then I believe that the lack of constructive ... suggestions can be partially explained and the problem itself placed in a workable frame of reference. For while the Negro has been with us time out of mind, the Negro problem itself has not remained the same."

An examination of available statistical evidence reveals the extent of these changes in the Negro problem as suggested by McWilliams.

Everyone who has observed the external aspects of Negro life in our cities knows that they live under serious disabilities; physical, economic and social. These disabilities are reflected not only in low income status, but also in poor housing, inadequate schools and

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30. Carey McWilliams - Brothers Under the Skin, page 255.

recreation facilities, high sickness and mortality rates.[31] In order to assist in the understanding of the nature of these disabilities, their affect on the Negro and the community at large, and the framework within which any planning group must work if it is to act constructively on these problems - this section will be concerned chiefly with a statistical analysis of the Negro population in the nation, and the clarification of certain of the fundamental issues involved in the full appreciation of their needs which are pertinent to planners and planning action.

Statistical Analysis of the Negro as a Minority Group:

Such an analysis involves an examination of pertinent census data, and supplementary material involving the application of trends and conclusions established through the examination of the former.

There have been several important criticisms made concerning the information made available through the census records.[32]

The full validity of such data concerning the Negro population has yet to be established. It is pointed out that large numbers of Negroes are missed in the census enumerations, and that the proportion of Negroes omitted is larger than that of white people. The consequences of such a condition can be more fully comprehended when it is considered that there is a tendency to

31. If we run the gamut of appropriate indices that show us where the Negro stands with reference to the rest of the community-in housing, jobs, health, street cleaning, garbage removal, police service, equal protection under the law-we find every evidence that the Negro is in a disadvantageous position. In some instances this is due to the low income status of some members of this group; in others, it

apportion State and federal funds for such items as education and welfare on a per capita basis. Such a condition could conceivably increase the extent to which a planning agency would be unable to contribute to a positive solution of such problems due to lack of funds.

The statement has also been made that

> "not only are high proportions of the Negro population missed in the taking of the census, but the data that are secured are less reliable than those for other race and nativity groupings." [33]

The inaccuracies are concerned with age and sex groupings. For example, birth registration figures indicate a sex ratio at birth among Negroes of approximately 103.3 males to every 100 females; but the census consistently reports more Negro females than males in the first year of life. Further, a study as to the average understatement of age by native white women aged 30 to 34 inclusive, amounts to 1.6 years, while for the comparable Negro group the average is 4.2 years. Errors in sex and age groups, if extreme enough, can affect planning action relative to i.e. the provision of recreation areas for an anticipated population, since such plans do consider the statistical cross-section of the population by age groups and the type of recreation facility most widely used by

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31. (contd) is due to the functioning of discrimination and segregation.

32. T. Lynn Smith - A Demographic Study of the American Negro page 137
In Search of the Regional Balance of America
H.W.Odum and K. Jocher, editors, U of N. Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N.C. 1945.

33. Ibid, page 138

each respective group.

The validity of records on the migration of the Negro population could also be more firmly established to good advantage.

The pictograph on page 27a points up several striking features concerning the Negro in the U.S.A. today. A closer examination of the several tables submitted makes this general picture specific enough for planning purposes.

As has already been indicated in the previous section (see Table I), the Negro population in 1940 was 9.7 per cent of the total population, which makes it not only the largest racial minority group but also establishes it as a numerically more important minority population than the total immigrant group (8.67 per cent of total population in 1940).

It is interesting to note further that Table II indicates a consistently decreasing percentage of Negro to total population for the period 1880-1930. However, this trend was reversed by 1940 and in view of the fact that immigration is now subject to stringent control in this nation, it is likely that this reverse in trend will continue and the Negro will gradually show a greater percentage relative to total population.

For the purposes of this study, the composition of the Negro population is considered with respect to age, sex and marital status.

Several features of the age distribution of the Negro population are apparent when the age profile for that group

TABLE II

TOTAL AND NEGRO POPULATION BY DECADES 1870-1940 AND PERCENTAGE OF NEGRO TO TOTAL POPULATION

YEAR	TOTAL POP.	NEGRO POP.	PERCENT
1870	38,558,371	4,880,009	12.7
1880	50,155,783	6,580,793	13.1
1890	62,947,714	7,488,676	11.9
1900	75,994,575	8,833,994	11.6
1910	91,972,266	9,827,763	10.7
1920	105,710,620	10,463,131	9.9
1930	122,775,046	11,891,143	9.69
1940	131,669,275	12,865,511	9.77

SOURCE: Table IX, p. 645
One America, F. J. Brown & J. S. Roucek,
Prentice-Hall Inc. N.Y., 1946

is compared with that of the native white population. Consistent with the fact that the Negro group has as a population characteristic a consistently high birth rate and death rate, people under 45 years of age are relatively more numerous in the Negro than in the white population, and there is a marked scarcity of Negroes above the age of 45. Further, the characteristics of urbanism - a low proportion of children, a high percentage of persons in the ages 15 to 45 and a scarcity of the older age groups is emphasized among urban Negroes. A rural population generally has a large proportion of children, a relative scarcity of persons of working and child bearing ages and a greater number of old people. The Negro does not conform too closely to this pattern with respect to the scarcity of persons in the producing age groups; although it is relatively similar for the other two characteristics.

In 1940, there were 94.9 males per 100 females for all Negro age groups, as compared with 100.1 among native whites. This very low proportion of Negro males, or the high proportion of Negro females is consistent with the past trend. Factors important in this relative femininity of the Negro population are a low sex ratio at birth, and a longer life expectation for females.

The affect of this sexual disproportion of the Negro population is the maldistribution of sexes in the various regions of the country. The northward migration of Negroes has carried excessive proportions of males from the South. The result is that the northern Negro population is excessively masculine, that of the South excessively feminine. This

imbalance further distorts the problems of the Negro as a minority group.

Concerning the marital status of Negroes: it appears certain that they mate earlier than do whites; that a smaller proportion live out their lives without mating than do native whites; but due to a high divorce rate and death rate among Negroes, it appears that the extent to which the population is living in married state is about equal for the two races.[34] There are no pertinent evaluations relative to planning which may be drawn from the further analysis of this aspect of the composition of the Negro population.

Relative to the analysis of the growth of a population it is necessary to consider two factors: 1. natural increase; and 2. migration.

Immigration is largely of a negligible nature and the influx is largely from Puerto Rico and the West Indies. In 1940 there were in the United States only 83,941 Negroes who were not born in this country; in 1930 the number was 98,620; and in 1920 only 73,803. Thus fertility and mortality, the components of natural increase, are the important factors in analyzing the growth of the Negro population.

Reference to Table III shows a net reproduction of 107 for non whites and 94 for whites (including Mexicans). In 1930, comparable rates were 110 and 111 respectively. It is possible to draw the conclusion, from available data, that Negroes, like whites, are not reproducing themselves as fast

34. Ibid, p. 141

TABLE III

NET REPRODUCTION RATES BY COLOR AND URBAN-RURAL RESIDENCE, FOR THE UNITED STATES, BY REGIONS: 1930 and 1940

(1940 data are estimates based on a preliminary tabulation of a 5 percent cross section of the 1940 Census returns.)

REGION AND COLOR	1940				1930		
	Total	Urban	Rural non-farm	Rural farm	Urban	Rural non-farm	Rural farm
All Classes	~~96~~						
United States	96	74	114	144	88	132	159
North	87	74	109	133	90	128	150
South	111	75	118	150	86	138	165
West	95	75	120	138	80	129	155
White							
United States	94	74	114	140	90	133	159
North	87	74	109	133	91	128	150
South	110	76	120	145	92	145	169
West	94	76	119	134	79	128	151
Nonwhite							
United States	107	74	114	160	75	119	156
North	83	79	(a)	(a)	82	(a)	(a)
South	113	71	112	160	71	116	153
West	119	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)

(a) Rates not shown for those population groups which, in 1940, had fewer than 20,000 females under 5 years old.

SOURCE: Table I, p. 160

An American Dilemma, Vol. I
Gunnar Myrdal
Harper & Bros. N.Y. 1944.

as they used to although their rate is now somewhat higher than that of the whites. If this latter relationship continues into the future and if it is not fully compensated for by immigration of whites, the proportion of Negroes in the American population is certain to increase, although slowly. In planning for the future, the promise of an increasing population is an important consideration. Since a greater absolute and proportional increase is expected for the Negro, planning for that minority group must include a recognition of that feature.

It is to be pointed out, however, that it seems to be the characteristic of urbanism to have a negative affect on fertility. It has been established that this is even more severe concerning the Negro element since fertility rate among urban Negroes are consistently below those of urban whites.[35] It would seem logical then, that because of the increased rate of urbanization of the Negro population, that the extent of their expected natural growth be subject to some indefiniteness. This is further emphasized through the observation that migration for the Negro reflects an extreme disproportion of the sex ratio, the males being attracted to different cities from the females.[36]

It is widely known that the mortality rate of Negroes is considerably above that of whites. According to life

35. Ibid, p. 142

36. Gunnar Myrdal - An American Dilemma
Harper and Bros., N.Y. 1944
Vol I, p. 164: males - industrial cities
females - commercial cities.

tables prepared in the Bureau of the Census and relating to the years 1939-41, the life expectation of Negro males at birth was 52.26 years, as compared with 62.81 for white males; for Negro females the life expectation at birth was 55.56 years, as compared with 67.29 for white females.

Continual education and use of modern medical facilities, to the degree made available, has resulted in a downward trend of the Negro death rate. The further extension of such facilities is an important problem and the planning agency can be of assistance in bringing this about through a more coordinated use of their planning techniques and those of other municipal agencies.

Analysis of available data relative to the Negro population would be incomplete without reference to internal migration. As has been indicated, immigration and emigration have played minor roles in their affect on the Negro population. Internal migration, however, is of a very different nature, since it reflects a continually expanding movement of the Negro population.

The most important conclusion based on migration statistics indicates an increasing rural-urban movement of the Negro people, the level of which is fast approaching that of the white population. In 1910, only one out of four (27.3 percent) Negroes lived in urban centers, while 48.2 percent of the white population resided in towns and cities of 2,500 or more inhabitants. By 1940, 48.7 percent of the Negro population of the United States were urban residents, while the percentage of urbanities among the white population had in-

creased to only 57.8 percent.[37] Thus the rate of urbanization is seen to be more rapid for the Negro than for the white population.

In 1940, the distribution of the Negro population by region was as follows:[38]

Region	Number of Negroes	Percent of Negro Pop. in each Region
The North	2,790,193	21.7
The South	9,904,619	77.0
The West	170,706	1.3
	12,865,518	100.0

Of these figures, as has been indicated, 48.7 percent of the Negroes live in urban centers. However, urbanization of this group is greater in the North and the West than in the South. In 1940, 63.5 percent of the Negro population in the South resided in rural districts, whereas in the North 89.4 percent, and in the West 83.1 percent lived in urban areas.[39]

Certain pertinent facts may also be established through reference to Table IV. Most of the states listed reflect an increase for the period from 1930-1940. However, those states where agriculture is an important economic activity and where there are located no important manufacturing centers, i.e. Iowa, Kentucky, reflect a decrease in Negro population.

Comparative data for a greater period of time (to include both World Wars), would show a larger proportion of increase

37. T. Lynn Smith - A Demographic Study of the American Negro, p. 144

38. National Urban League of New York - Racial Aspects of Reconversion, August 27, 1945, p. 3

39. Ibid, p. 3.

TABLE IV

NUMBER OF NEGROES IN SELECTED STATES 1930 and 1940

Southern States	1930	1940
Alabama	944,834	983,290
Florida	431,828	514,198
Georgia	1,071,125	1,084,927
Kentucky	220,040	215,081
Louisiana	776,326	840,203
Mississippi	1,009,718	1,074,578
North Carolina	918,647	981,298
South Carolina	793,681	814,164
Tennessee	477,616	508,736
Texas	854,964	924,391
Virginia	650,165	661,449

Northern States	1930	1940
Connecticut	29,354	32,992
Illinois	328,972	387,446
Iowa	17,380	16,694
Indiana	111,982	121,916
Massachusetts	52,365	55,391
Minnesota	99,445	99,280
New Jersey	208,828	226,973
New York	412,814	571,221
Ohio	309,304	339,461
Pennsylvania	431,257	470,172
Washington	6,840	7,424

SOURCE: Table X p. 645
One America
F. J. Brown & J. S. Roucek
Prentice - Hall Inc., N. Y. 1946

in the industrial North. This further emphasizes the two fold movement of the Negro population in the past - to urban communities and to the northern states.

The recent conflict was an extreme stimulus to Negro migration, and in other than the usual bands of flow.

For the period 1940-1944, it is estimated that approximately 750,000 Negroes (exclusive of servicemen) crossed state lines. [40] This figure is to be kept in mind especially when it is pointed out that the peak in the population shift among Negroes was not attained until early 1945. [41]

Thus the Negro minority group, constituting one-tenth of the total population contributed approximately one-sixth of the total war-time inter-state movement. Non-white migrants formed 11.2 percent of the 1,840,000 increase in total population between 1940 and 1944 in ten congested production area surveyed by the Bureau of the Census. The Negro population in the same centers rose by 49 percent above 1940 levels in comparison with a total increase in population of 19 percent. [42]

The geographical patterns of this Negro migration correspond with the areas of greatest industrial expansion for the period involved. Of the total interstate migration involving 750,000 Negroes from 1940 through 1944, more than 100,000 are estimated to have moved to Southern industrial centers from other urban and rural communities in the South. Approximately 300,000 southern Negroeworkers moved to the

40. Ibid, p. 3

41. Ibid, p. 4

42. Ibid, p. 4

border states and northern industrial communities. More than 100,000 went from the northern and border states to other areas. The West Coast gained over 250,000 Negroes from the rural and urban South, the Mid-West and East. Approximately 200,000 of this total were from the South. In 1940, Negroes constituted only 1.5 percent of the population of Arizona, California, Oregon and Washington; but by 1944, they had accounted for more than 10 percent of the total immigration to this area. [43] The migration of Negroes to the West Coast did not reach its peak until early 1945 and little reverse movement has been evidenced. This fact further emphasizes that the proportion of Negroes who will remain in centers of in-migration will probably be significantly higher than the average for all in-migrants.

A summary of the indications revealed through this statistical analysis supports the fact that the Negro is and will continue to be the largest numerical minority group in the nation; that the planning problems presented by this group are peculiar to the population composition such as the divergency of the sex ratio with respect to the industrial city as against the commercial community; that the cultural insulation and isolation of the past is being changed rapidly because of the redistribution of the geographical disposition of this population, thus further complicating the local Negro problem due to the standards of Negroes from different regions bringing a new point of view to such questions. It is urgent then that the role of the

43. Ibid, p. 4

planning agency be a positive one in dealing with the Negro minority problems of a planning nature.

Negro Minorities Problems of a City Planning Nature:

As has been previously pointed out, the problems of all minority groups are fundamentally similar. In the case of the Negro, however, this is true only to a relative degree, beyond which point various influences of an economic, social, political and psychological nature are brought to bear upon them. The results of this action have been successful in the prevention of the assimilation of this group within our social structure; in addition to making the problems of this group more severe and consequently more difficult to act upon in such a way that both the problem may be solved and the solution accepted by society in general.

The essential distinction between the Negro minority problems and other minorities problems has been the wide use of a policy of segregation, the degree of inflexibility being relative to the respective region in which it is practiced in the nation.

What originally was residential segregation for our Swedes, Italians and Jews who became Americanized in a generation or two and then dispersed, became permanent residential segregation for our Negro population. This relative inflexibility of residential segregation has successfully been reflected with a similar policy in schools, in hospitals and other public places even when it is not a matter of policy.

As the Negro has developed, in the more progressive regions of the nation, his entire social life has been largely

restricted to the Negro neighborhood with very little care for the rest of the community, and white people have been conditioned to look upon this as a natural and desirable situation.

Many of those aware of the severe nature of the needs of this group have advocated a solution which is within the framework of this philosophy of segregation. Their suggestions have been concerned with the development of "equal but separate" facilities. [44]

The advisability of such a policy is questionable. It would be impossible of economic achievement if the Negro population were numerically small within the community. In such a case, it would put an unwarranted drain upon municipal finances to provide community facilities in the nature of schools, recreation areas, and utilities for a population insufficient in numbers to make the fullest effective use of such facilities. If the Negro population, on the other hand, were sufficiently large enough to support at least the full functioning of such facilities through their sole use by Negroes, there are other objections which must be considered. The latter are of essentially a social nature and are concerned with the advisability of creating and/or maintaining a one class neighborhood within the community. Such a condition would be a major impediment to the possibility of eventual integration of the community and its consequent advantages, that is, of each group contributing to the fullest to a community life functioning in the best interests of all groups.

An evaluation of those areas where the formula of "separate

44. Barry Bishop - The Negro Problem: Housing a Basic Factor Dallas Morning News, 1944

but equal" is now being practiced does not yield encouraging conclusions. [45] In the South, the whole range of publicly administered facilities - such as health and welfare, schools libraries, parks and similar recreational facilities - are much poorer for Negroes than they are for whites. This is true in spite of the fact that the higher sickness rates and the inferior housing conditions in Negro sections make the need for all sorts of health and recreational facilities so much greater in Negro neighborhoods.

Despite the fact that the "American Creed" [46] provides that rights are given to individuals and not to a group or to a race, the Negro is subject to this differentiation. There are examples of Negroes who pay high taxes, but who meet discrimination in public services. Further, there are examples of whole Negro communities which actually pay more in taxes than is expended upon the particular public services supported by the taxes. [47]

In other parts of the nation this policy of segregation and "separate but equal" facilities is not nearly as consistent or complete in covering all phases of the Negroes' life as it is in the South. Nevertheless, it is practiced to varying degrees, as will be indicated. [48] However, even

45. Gunnar Myrdal - An American Dilemma, Vol I & II, Appropriatee sections on housing, schools, other public facilities.

46. Mydral's designation of the American way of life.

47. Gunnar Myrdal - An American Dilemma, Vol I, p. 336.

48. In addition to the several cases discussed with respect to the various Negro problems pertinent to planning, additional profiles of the West Coast cities of Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles are available in the November 1945 issue of the Journal of Educational Sociology. Each of these discusses the Negro as a minority group; his relative position in the overall population picture of the city; his relative needs, specifically in housing, schools and recreation.

in these instances has it been shown that the proposal of the provision of"separate but equal" facilities has not been provided without discrimination to this segregated group.

In light of this discussion of the race problems manifested in the course of Negro-white relationships, it is advisable to examine specific instances reflecting those problems of a planning nature - housing, recreation, schools, health, welfare, transit and utilities - before considering the respective planning functions pertinent to these problems.

Nothing is so obvious about the Negroes' level of living as the fact that most of them suffer from poor housing conditions A consideration of a cross-section of Negro housing throughout the nation serves only to emphasize this fact.

The South, generally, has the poorest housing conditions in the country and here the Negro, in every respect, is worse off than the white farmer.

> "Half the white, and four out of five of the Negro farm homes, were made of unpainted wood. The proportion of houses having foundations, floors, roofs, in poor conditions, although high for white farmers, was still higher for Negro farm families. One-half of the Negro farm homes in 11 Southern states had foundations in poor condition, and about an equal number had roofs, and interior walls and ceilings in poor condition ... 10 percent of the Negro farm families and over 2 percent of the white farm families were without any toilet or privy of any kind ... there is more overcrowding in farm regions in the South than in any other farm region. Such overcrowding particularly hits the large families of which, in the Negro group, the majority seems to be more or less suffering from cramped housing conditions." 49

Race differentials in Southern villages are equally extreme. Based on the Consumer Purchases Study [50] more than

49. Gunner Myrdal - An American Dilemma, Vol I, p. 376

50. Ibid, p. 377

three-fourths of the Negro village families in the sample were wi
were without water supply; the proportion in such families in the white group was 15 percent. Two-thirds of the large Negro village families - as against 28 percent of the white families - were living in homes with more than 1.5 persons per room.

Like its rural areas, housing conditions in the Southern city are much worse than cities in other sections of the country. However, a visit to the Negro district of virtually any American city is not pleasant. Dilapidated dwellings, neglect of streets, absence of pavements, long accumulation of waste, congestion, the haphazard scattering of shops and noxious commerical and industrial uses - all this presents an unsavory picture of the area and its people.

The residence sites of Negroes will almost invariably be found near the center of the city, in the oldest residential areas, where buildings are out of date, run down, difficult to keep in repair, and practically impossible of sale because the area has only a limited residence value. The land, on the other hand, is potentially valuable for business, its tax rate is high, and its value is usually beyond the purchasing power of the economic class which occupies the buildings. It is impracticable to repair the houses which are already there to any great degree, or to do anything that will increase the cost of maintaining them while the maturity of these values is being awaited. When Negroes move in as the last class to occupy them, the rentals tend to increase because, being less desirable as a group than a white group of somewhat lower economic status, they are

expected to pay more for the privilege of occupancy.[51] This situation, in which there is observed a confusion of racial and economic matters, contributes to many of the city's problems of congestion, property deterioration, health and morals.

Negroes are much worse off than are whites both in Northern and Southern cities. There are instances even where Negro non-relief families suffered from certain specific deficiencies, such as lack of toilet facilities, to a greater extent than white relief families.[52]

A more complete appreciation of the conditions of crowding in urban housing is possible through consideration of Table V and Chart I. From Table V it is immediately

51. American Public Health Association, New York - An Appraisal Method for Measuring the Quality of Housing p. 48-49, 1945.

"Quality of dwellings available to Negro families. The appraisal method gives a quantitative answer to the question: Do Negroes receive poorer houses, dollar for dollar, than white families?

"...(New Haven survey)... show a median penalty score for dwelling facilities of 47 points for white-occupied dwellings and 72 points for homes of Negroes. This figure is the best measure of what the rental dollar buys, for it excludes overcrowding and insanitary conditions which might be due to the occupants themselves...

"An earlier test survey in a mixed neighborhood of another Connecticut city showed this facilities index to be from 35 percent to 150 percent worse for Negro families than for whites in every rental bracket. Such a condition not only shows the need for remedial action among the lower income groups, but strongly suggests that Negro families with relatively high incomes may offer an untapped field for private builders who will develop housing outside the present restricted areas."

52. Gunnar Myrdal - An American Dilemma, Vol. I, p. 377

TABLE V

PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS LIVING IN HOUSEHOLDS WITH VARIOUS DEGREES OF CROWDING, CLASSIFIED BY COLOR AND GROUPS

ALL COLORS

Persons per room	Percentage of persons				
	All ages	Under 15 years	15-24 yrs	25-44 yrs	45 yrs & over
More than 1	25.9	43.0	28.8	20.8	12.7
More than 1½	9.2	17.4	10.I	6.4	3.5
2 or more	5.2	9.7	5.3	3.9	2.1
WHITE					
More than 1	23.3	38.9	26.9	18.3	11.5
More than 1½	7.2	13.8	8.6	4.7	3.0
2 or more	3.6	6.5	3.9	2.6	1.5
COLORED					
More than 1	50.3	75.2	47.4	42.3	27.8
More than 1½	27.2	45.2	25.0	21.4	10.8
2 or More	20.5	34.6	19.3	15.1	9.0

SOURCE: Table 15, page 24
Urban Housing and Crowding
Public Health Bulletin #261
U.S.Public Health Service
Washington, D. C. 1941

apparent that the case of overcrowding in Negro households is more severe in all the categories cited, in some instances four and five times as great. Chart I further indicates this unfavorable condition principally in the South, the least in the Northeast, and with the Northcentral and West relatively the same. It is possible that the position in the latter two regions may become more favorable since in these areas the Negro problem is comparatively recent having become a matter of public attention only through the intense migration since 1940. It is possible that before the patterns of segregation and discrimination become too well established the position of the Negro as a minority group may improve.

There have been many studies made, and there is much data available in support of the fact that racial minorities occupy a disproportionately high amount of substandard housing in the United States. However, it is only since data heretofore unavailable was published as a section of the 1940 U. S. Census that it has been possible to examine the extent to which operations of the discriminated housing market limit the access of racial minorities, at every income level. Thus, through the examination of the relationship between the condition of dwelling units and rental value by race of occupants, has it been established that racial minorities receive proportionately less housing value for the same price than do white families. who have access to the open housing market.[53]

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53. C. K Robinson - Relationship Between Condition of Dwellings and Rentals by Race
The Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics Nov. 1946, Madison, Wisconsin.

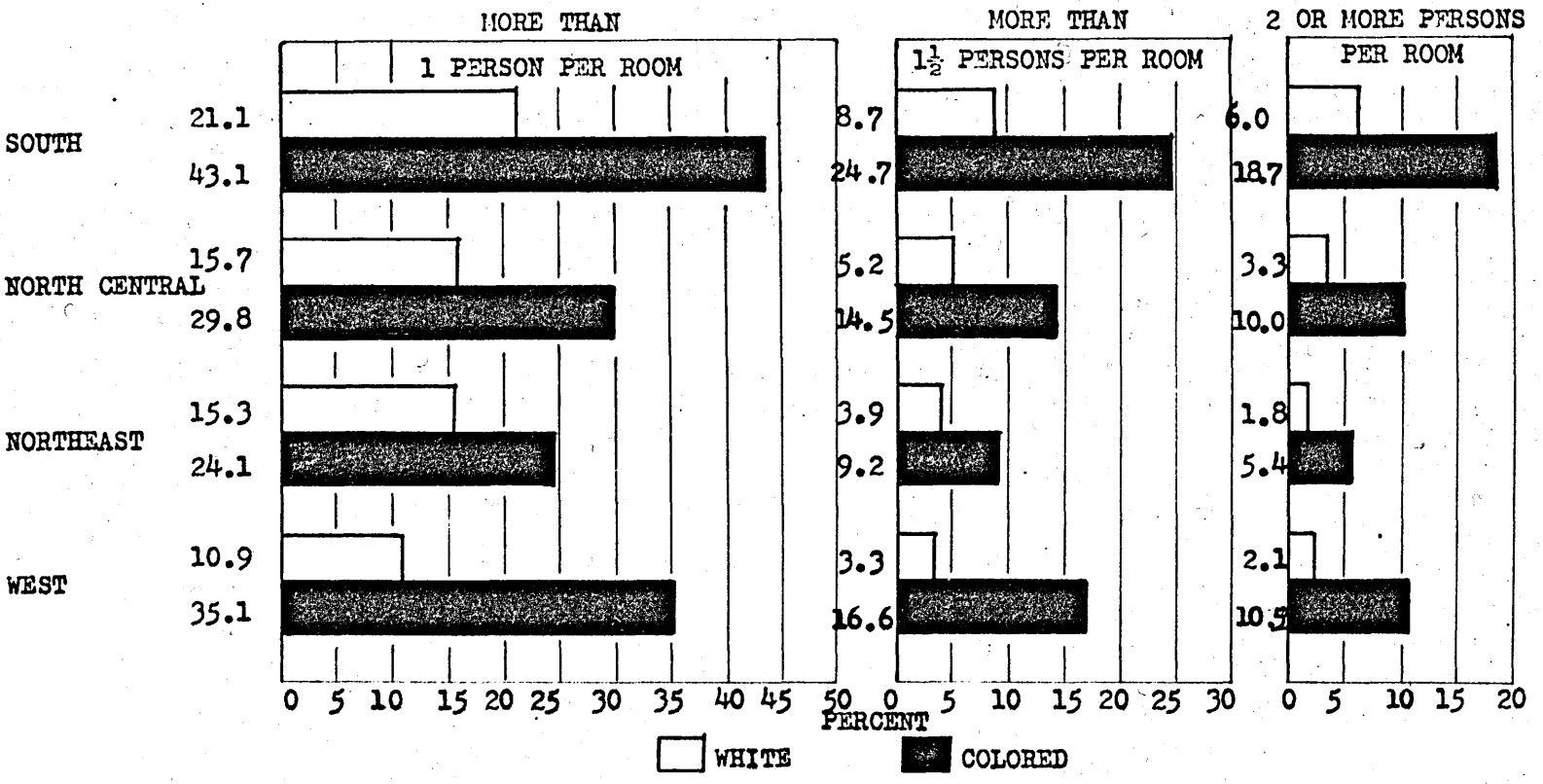


CHART I. - PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH VARIOUS DEGREES OF CROWDING BY GEOGRAPHIC REGION AND COLOR

SOURCE: Urban Housing and Crowding, Public Health Bulletin No. 261, U. S. Public Health Service, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 1941

It has been pointed out that urban Negro housing is poorer than even the low income status of the Negroes would enable them to buy. Based on recent Real Property Inventories, in Detroit 34 percent of the Negro-occupied dwelling units were considered to be either unfit for use or in need of major repairs; the same proportion for white-occupied dwelling units was 6 percent. Corresponding figures for Harrisburg, Pa. were 73 and 14 percent respectively; for Norfolk, Virginia 25 and 5 per cent respectively; for Savannah, Georgia they were 55 and 11 per cent respectively.[54] This differential is considerable in virtually any city where there is an appreciable Negro population. In some cities it even goes so far that the general slum problem becomes part of the general Negro problem.

There have been many reasons advanced as causing this situation. The one, however, which seems to be of extreme importance is that of the artificial limitation in the choice of housing for Negroes brought about by residential segregation. This feature is of somewhat more importance in the North than in the South, since laws and social etiquette to isolate whites from Negroes are prevalent in the South and virtually non-existent in the North. Therefore, segregation in the North finds its cornerstone in the maintenance of residential segregation.

Housing segregation necessarily involves discrimination, if not supplemented by large-scale planning in the housing field. The latter has yet to be developed in the United

54. Gunnar Myrdal - An American Dilemma Vol I, p. 378

States. As has been pointed out [55], housing segregation represents a deviation from free competition in the market for apartments and houses and curtails the supply available to Negroes. It creates an "artificial scarcity" whenever Negroes need more residences, either due to raised economic standards or increased numbers of the Negro population.[56]

Analysis of available statistics indicates the actual concentration of Negroes in certain areas of a city and the segregation in the sense of forced concentration. Surveys of such data have been conducted in the past. One study of 64 cities [57] showed that 84.8 percent of the blocks were occupied exclusively by whites, while only 4.9 percent of the blocks were completely occupied by Negroes. The percentage of blocks containing both whites and non-whites was 10.3 - twice the percentage of blocks having no whites. Most of these mixed areas, however, are cases of whites living in "Negro areas" and not of Negroes living in "white areas."

Residential concentration has tended to be influenced, if not determined, by three main factors: poverty, ethnic attachment, segregation enforced by white people.

From this point of view residential segregation and residential concentration become virtually interchangeable, since even though it were voluntary at the beginning or

55. See page 45 of thesis.

56. Roi Ottley - New World A-Coming, Houghton Miflin Co. Boston, Mass. 1943.
"Housing - the need exists at every income level - is particularly acute among Negroes in the higher-income brackets, since they cannot escape the Black Belts despite their ability to pay for better quarters." p.180

57. Gunnar Myrdal - An American Dilemma, Vol I, p. 619

caused by "economic necessity", it has been forced upon the group from the outside: the Negro individual is not allowed to move out of a Negro neighborhood. The question whether the average Negro "wants" to live among his own kind then becomes largely academic, as we have no means of ascertaining what he would want if he were free to choose. In this sense practically all the statistically observed Negro housing concentration is, in essence, forced segregation, independent of the factors which have brought it about.

Housing segregation has developed in roughly two patterns in cities: one is found in Northern cities where there are few Negroes and in old Southern cities where the successors of local slaves make up the bulk of the Negro population; there Negroes live in practically all parts of the city but only along certain poorer streets or alleys. The other is found in Northern cities with a fairly large Negro population and in Southern Cities where the proportionate bulk of the Negroes has come in since the Civil War; there Negroes live in a limited number of distinct Black Belts. This is a rather broad classification of types of residential concentration in cities since both patterns are to be found in the same city and there are many variations.

Despite the difficulty in generalizing upon Negro housing due to the great variation in types and patterns of segregated areas, certain definite characteristics of Negro sections may be established: the artificial limitation of the areas; the enforced association of all types and classes of Negro individuals; the tendency to municipal neglect of sections abandoned to Negro residence; the lack of strict

enforcement of sanitary regulations; the absence of modern equipment such as bath tubs and running water, the neglect of garbage; and the consequent and frequently original indifference of Negroes themselves to these unfavorable conditions.

As a final factor, it is interesting to note that the geography of the city itself may help to determine the pattern of segregation. [58]

On the basis of existing conditions then, the problem of housing for Negroes is not only concerned with the supplying of a decent standard of housing, but also in the elimination of the arbitrary limitation of land area available for occupancy by Negroes involving the provision of more living space - all to be closely associated with the development of well-planned neighborhoods functioning as an asset to the community.

Segregation and discrimination against the Negro as a racial minority group in the use of available educational and school facilities is a matter of extreme importance despite the fact that it is not practiced as widely as in residential segregation. The constructive application of planning techniques in support of plans and efforts to make school facilities available to all groups can aid in the achievement of this goal which would be extremely instrumental in destroying other barriers revolving around segregation.

The use of school facilities by Negroes varies in different sections of the nation.

In the South the system of "separate but equal"

58. Gunnar Myrdal - An American Dilemma, Vol II Appendix VII: Distribution of Negro Residences in Selected Cities.

facilities is practiced - only not to the letter. [59] In many of the states with separate school systems, there are counties in which the Negro population is large, sometimes larger than the whites. By reducing the amount per capita for Negro children it was found that educational funds alloted to counties by the state, on the basis of child population, could be made to yield a larger amount for white children. Thus, the greater the Negro population, the more funds there were that could be made available for white children. [60]

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59. A Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations, March 1946, p. 243

"...In the South, where separate schools are maintained for Negroes, much less is spent on Negro children than on white children. In nine southern states, the expenditure per Negro pupil wasonly thirty-two percent of the amount spent per white pupil ... School buildings and equipment are far inferior.

"The need for intelligent planning .. in developing a program of more schools, better equipment, ... is considered... fundamental for meeting the new responsibilities of the post war world."

June 1946 p. 346-7

"The main educational issue of the month concerned the general pattern of separate education. In Louisiana, Negro citizens sued for the 'equal' educational facilities to which they were legally entitled. The stateof Missouri paid half a million dollars to graduate one lawyer and ten journalists from the schools it chose to erect rather than admit the eleven Negroes to the University of Missouri . . . it was disclosed that the average expenditure for non-Jim Crow schools in the North and West is $2,199 per classroom unit per year. For white schools in the Southern states $1,166 per unit is spent, and on each Negro unit $477, the figures for Negroes being but 22 percent of the national figure and 41 percent of the amount spent for white schools in the South."

June 1946 p. 357

Further commentary on the price of segregation to Missouri taxpayers.

60. Charles S. Johnson, A Preface to Racial Understanding, p.68 Friendship Press, N.Y. 1936.

In this manner, inequality begun as an expedient, has been continued as a principle and has been given various justifications. It has been explained that Negroes do not pay as much in taxes and thus should not get as much of the educational fund. The resulting curtailment of the Negro budget has resulted in fewer schools for Negro children, fewer educable children in school, shorter school terms, lower salaries for Negro teachers, less equipment and general service. It is estimated that because of these conditions it would require in some areas seventeen years for the Negro child to complete the grammar grades.[61]

The whole character of the caste relationship in the South has tended to keep the Negro school low at all levels. This despite continued improvements in Negro education.

The extreme wastefulness of this aspect of Negro white relationships in the South cannot be reconciled when various studies reveal an excess of facilities in white schools and inadequate duplicate services in Negro schools.

In the North the situation is markedly different. Here is demonstrated a degree of segregation of a completely illegal nature, as well as a large amount brought about through the relationship with housing segregation and the system of gerrymandering districts and permits - the effect of which is to develop racial islands of residential areas with schools located at the center. This is by no means to say that such schools are more or less adequate than white schools, but it does effectively keep to a minimum the establishment of a student body which may be truly representative of the community.

61. Ibid, p. 68

It is unfortunate that one of the most important factors in educational segregation has been residential segregation. The educational policy varies widely between cities. Philadelphia, Trenton and Indianapolis have separate schools. New York City makes no race distinction but as a result of the high residential concentration the result is much the same. In Cincinnati there are both mixed and separate schools.

There is no doubt that the mixed school insures equal facilities and standards. This fact should be given full consideration by the proper planning bodies when the questions of the establishment of schools in terms of proper city planning and the integration of the community are under consideration. It is obvious that the latter would be difficult to achieve if the school structure itself belied the basic idea - the breaking down of barriers and the promotion of a successful and compatible multi-group living

Negro recreation has been described as being conditioned by three factors: First, Negroes are barred from using public recreational and amusement facilieis in many places even in the North, and are inadequately provided with (separate) facilities. [62] Second, their geographical concentration in the South means that many of their recreational patterns follow those of the rural South. These are carried over to

62. A Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations, July 1946, p. 369
Statement discussing lack of recreation facilities for Negro children within reasonable distance from their homes, and consequent action in obtaining a needed playground, the provision of which has been directed in such a way as to enforce and highlight segregation. (St. Louis, Missouri)

the urban North by migrants from the South and are further shaped by the fact that much of the Negro population is of low economic status and lives in slum areas. Third, because recreation and amusement must be carried on almost entirely within the isolated Negro community, Negro recreation has developed peculiar traits of its own, different from those that characterize the white community [63]

In light of these features, it is apparent that the manner in which recreation has functioned is to turn the Negro group inward upon itself and further emphasize their withdrawal from participation in general community activity. Notwithstanding the fact that the existence of a minority group functioning in such a manner is a drawback to the community; the general inadequacy of facilities, in this case of a recreational nature, creates conditions which are conducive to stimulating race tensions and further complicate the minorities problem.

In this instance then it would be the place of the proper planning groups, when considering the possibilities of acting constructively upon the elimination of conditions which strengthen segregation, to be concerned with 1. the planning of Negro areas on the basis of recreation standards sufficient to remedy the inadequacies now enjoyed by them 2. the development of these facilities in such ammanner as to stimulate their use by more than one group.

The importance of health and welfare activities to such as the Negro is not to be underestimated. The condition of their environment as it exists in a number of Black Belts today is such that it is effective in enforcing high

63. Gunnar Myrdal - An American Dilemma, Vol II, p. 982

rates of illness and a high death rate, in addition to which the economic frustrations of this group have thrown them repeatedly upon the relief rolls.

It is virtually axiomatic that low economic status and the lack of adequate medical care go hand in hand. The distortion of the housing market in so far as the Negro is concerned has served merely to aggravate other problems without giving him, at least, liveable housing conditions. Thus situated as they are, beneath the combined load of a low income level as against a relatively high rental expenditure, their need for public health assistance is great.[64] This involves not only placing at their disposal public health services of a medical nature, but also the adjustment of their environmental conditions to assist in eliminating one of the causes of this distress. In the latter instance, the city planning agency can be of effective assistance. In attempting to improve their environment, it

64. A Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations, April 1946, p. 276.
"Health conditions of Tulsa Negroes are disquieting. In 1944, Negroes in Tulsa accounted for 349 or 8.9 percent of the total births and 216 or 16.1 percent of the total deaths, as compared with their ten percent in the total population. In view of this ... (community) agencies should immediately institute a more determined program among Negroes to encourage ... a larger participation in their services. The health commissioner should issue a directive to his department heads insisting that services in the Negro community be carried out in the same manner as in other sections of the city. The Health Department should enforce present regulations regarding standards and should insist that property owners repair many of the houses which are a menace to the health and safety of the occupants. It was also suggested that more regular inspections of eating places, alleys, toilets and unsanitary houses in the Negro community be made."

is probable that an indirect result will be an increased degree of economic security leading to the possible curtailment of extensive welfare assistance.

Transit and transportation are in need of considerable attention especially in so far as they have become the points at which the release of racial tension is most likely to occur. As in other phases of their life, segregation and discrimination mark the use of these facilities by Negroes.[65] In all parts of the nation its inadequacy has been noted as being an immediate cause of any racial explosion. In view of this fact, it should be worth the while of the planning agency to consider the possibilities of working for the improvement of facilities of this nature in order to eliminate a straining influence on Negro-white relationships.

The matter of utilities is obvious when one considers the fact that a characteristic of the Negro neighborhood is unpaved streets, lack of street lights, inadequate sewage disposal, water supply and the like. The result of such conditions only adds to problems of the Negro and ultimately of the community, as in the extreme need of public health assistance. So long as this too common tendency of cities to

65. In the case of Morgan vs the State of Virginia, April 1945, a six to one decision was rendered by the United States Supreme Court which held that state laws requiring separation of the races on interstate buses to be unconstitutional. The enforcement of this decision has not been clear and has contributed to racial tensions in those states where segregation in vehicles is practiced and where buses vary as to interstate and intrastate travel. This situation merely serves notice to the fact that legal decisions alone are insufficient relative to the elimination of discrimination and segregation.

neglect the areas in which the Negro lives is continued, just so long will the conditions be present which make the minority problem so particularly difficult for the city to solve.

Relation of These Problems to the Activities of a City Planning Agency:

During the course of the research and investigations upon which this study is based, the question was asked as to whether or not it was the function of a planning agency to deal directly with minorities problems.

Any reply to this statement must be fashioned in terms of what are believed to be the functions of a city planning group. As has been presented in this thesis, the scope of activity of the planning body has been considered not only from the point of view of guiding the growth and development of the community; but that in so doing, its plans would have a positive affect on any efforts being made to bring all groups within the organic functioning of the municipality.

An evaluation of minorities problems in general, of those racial problems involved in Negro-white relationships in particular, has indicated that there are certain of these problems which are of particular significance to planners and which may be acted upon by the planning group without necessitating any broad interpretation of the functions of a planning agency

In this respect, it has been postulated that the planning agency may act in two ways relative to their direct contribution to minorities problems of a planning nature:

1. As a public agency involving its social and moral

position in the community. As an agency of this character its job is to influence the growth and development of the community in terms of the good and welfare of its citizens. In such a role, it is imperative that the planning body throw its weight behind, and initiate, plans and proposals to integrate all groups within the community.

2. As an agency with certain technical functions, it should apply and recommend the application of planning practices in such a manner as would assist in the solution of racial tensions and enable the destruction of segregation in the effort to incorporate all groups of the municipality within the active community.

The manner in which this may be done is considered in the following section.

III

PLANNING MEASURES AND TECHNIQUES APPLICABLE TO RACE PROBLEMS AND RACE TENSIONS INVOLVED IN NEGRO-WHITE RELATIONSHIPS

Development of the Master Plan:

Just as in other aspects of planning action, so in race relations it is sound policy to develop a Master Plan concerned with the racial problems of the community. Such a plan would reflect the relative position of the minority group in the community, indicate what minorities problems were of a planning nature and how particular planning techniques might be best applied to a specific problem. In this manner a broad program of action could be developed which might be effectively applied in this phase of the activity of the planning agency in the municipality.

Such an application of planning methods would not require the reinterpretation of the planning function or its measures of effectuation. The fundamental tenet of this thesis - the integrated community - could be achieved through the objective and complete use of planning tools now being applied in other phases of planning action. An examination of these measures will serve to illustrate how they may be used not only in demonstrating the extent of the minority group problems in the community, but also to suggest how best to deal with these problems in terms of integrating all groups within the community.

Basic to the development of any Master Plan is an investigation of the extent of the community facilities as balanced against the community needs. This information is available,

in part, through reference to a land use map, a map showing the major street pattern in addition to the traffic flow, transit and circulation pattern. The application of such material to the Negro as a minority group could be effectvely demonstrated through the use of an overlay showing the residential areas of this group in terms of their relation to other areas in the community. In this manner the encroaching of industrial and commercial areas is apparent in some cases, as is the mixed land use of the Negro residential area in other instances. The poor location of this area with respect to the circulation pattern of the community may emerge as a more obvious feature; as,well as unfavorable location relative to getting to and from schools, recreation areas, shopping centers, the business section and the employment center of the community. In addition, an indication of a more favorable land use of such residential areas may become more apparent - for some such purpose as open space, business or industry. In the process of developing plans for a more constructive land use it might be possible to so relocate Negro homes as to assist in the incorporation of this group into the community.

Examination of the utilities plan of the municipality can show the extent to which such items as water lines, sewer lines and electric power are supplied in the appropriate sections of the community. In so far as the minority group is concerned it would be of importance to evaluate the degree to which such facilities are made available to them as compared to other groups and the community at large.

Through the use of surveys of a specialized nature dealing with the specific phases of community living as schools, recreation, housing, transit and those activities of a similar nature, it is possible to contribute to the sound development of the Master Plan in terms of minorities problems. During the course of such surveys an examination of the condition of the community in each of these phases is involved. An evaluation may be made of what facilities are available in each category, which in turn can be related to the current needs and projected development of the city. As part of this over all picture is included a consideration of the minority group in terms of their use of available facilities and their needs in housing, schools, and other features being studied. A further association may be had in a comparison of the needs of the community as against the needs of the minority group, to reflect the needs of the latter in terms of those of the community at large. This in turn , would be effective in highlighting any discrimination in these phases of community living and further suggest those categories where racial problems are likely to develop because of such discrimination. In investigating such problems further, it would be revealed as to whether or not the needs of the minority group were due to inadequacy alone, or to segregation and consequent neglect by the community as well. On the basis of such an investigation steps could be taken to remedy the situation.

The evaluation of any long range capital outlay program would serve as an indication as to the steps being taken to remove any of the causes of racial tensions due to certain

lacks of minorities involving major expenditures on the part of the community. There would be reflected the needs of the community, the plans being made to meet these needs and the place of the minority group in terms of these decisions.

A financial analysis of the community would serve to establish the extent of the municipal debt, the borrowing capacity of the city and the ability of the community to provide the financial basis for any program developed to meet the needs of the people in so far as facilities of a community nature are concerned.

A social analysis and population survey may also serve to indicate the numerical extent of the minority group, the composition of the population of this group and the relationship of this fact to any plans developed by the planning agency in terms of the problems of the minority group. The social analysis will serve to indicate the extent to which community facilities are further made available to (i.e.) Negroes, and are used by them.

The aforementioned planning techniques are largely concerned with the compilation of the data upon which any planning group leans in evaluating the condition of the community. In that respect these techniques are instrumental in indicating those minorities problems which are of a planning nature, in addition to suggesting possible ways in acting upon such problems in terms of trying to eliminate their cause.

The previous sections of this report have indicated certain urgent minorities problems which are of particular pertinence to planning. These problems are of the nature that they

would be promptly revealed through the use of such fundmental planning techniques as have been enumerated in the previous paragraphs of this chapter. These problems not only reflect the needs of the minority groups, the Negro in particular; in addition they are a key to those features of Negro-White relationships which must be acted upon in the effort to effect. the elimination of race tensions and segregation. As such, their consideration would be important in the development of any planning program of which the aim is to assist in the integration of the community. It is advisable then to consider each of these problems as manifested in housing, recreation, education, health, welfare and utilities; and the planning techniques involved in acting upon each of these. In addition the planning instruments of zoning and urban redevelopment will be examined in terms of their affect upon minorities problems of a planning nature and there contribution to the constructve solution thereof.

Planning Techniques in Terms of Negro Minority Problems of a Planning Nature:

Racial problems and tensions incident to housing have been most severe in times of large-scale migration of minorities. In view of the data presented reflecting the extensive movement and relocation of one million members of the Negro population during the past five years (1940-1945), it is apparent that the housing shortage for minorities in general, the Negro in particular, has become more more urgent.

Most minority groups have experienced as one phase in the

process of assimilation, the residential segregation of their respective ethnic groups. Thus, there has developed the Jewish "ghetto", the "Little Italy", the "Chinatown" and "Harlem". Of these, it is for the colored minorities that the ghetto looms as a permanent impediment to the completion of the assimilative process. This is due to the fact that the residential segregation of such peoples as the Negro has been fairly inflexible.

The development and perpetuation of racial segregation in housing has been based largely on three factors: 1. race prejudice; 2. the acceptance of the mass of white persons of the attitudes and justifications of higher income whites for restricting areas against Negro occupancy; 3. The fear that the entrance of any Negro family will inevitably bring in a horde of additional Negro residents, occasion the out-movement of whites, lead to overcrowding, physical deterioration, decline in neighborhood standards, and loss of property values.[66]

The features involved in the efforts to eliminate these factors are predominantly concerned with public education and the practice of the race restrictive covenant. Of these the former is virtually self explanatory in terms of the re-education of the public; the latter, however, has provided the basis of the immediate action taken in opposition to the elimination of racial segregation in residential areas. Of all the instruments which effect residential segregation, it is the race restrictive covenant which is most dangerous.

66. Robert C. Weaver - Housing in a Democracy, p. 96, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March 1946.

Simply defined

"race restrictive housing covenants are compacts entered into by a group of property owners, subdivision developers, or real estate operators in a given neighborhood, binding them not to sell, rent, lease or otherwise convey their property to specified groups ... for a definite period unless all agree to the transaction. Some racial covenants are signed long after an area has been developed; others are incorporated in deeds at the time a new sub-division is opened or when it is first improved." [67]

The effectiveness of this instrument of segregation is largely enhanced by the fact that such covenants give legal sanction (until declared unconstitutional) and the appearance of respectability to residential segregation. [68]

It is general in communities which have a considerable non-white population that certain subdividers, real estate operators, home builders, building and loan associations, banks and neighborhood groups have established a vested interest in maintaining deed restrictions against racial groups. The activities of this pressure group has been of a formidable nature

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67. Robert C. Weaver - Hemmed In, p. 2
American Council on Race Relations, Chicago, Ill. 1945

68. The constitutionality of race restrictive housing covenants is doubtful and this question is being raised in many courts throughout the nation today. Prof. D. D. McGovney, U. of California, in the March 1945 issue of the California Law Review, stated that state court enforcement of race restrictive covenants is unconstitutional.
This does not imply that it may be illegal for a group to sign such agreements, but it does mean that when one or more of the signers breaks the agreement, it may be unconstitutional for the state court to force such a person or persons to keep his original pledge. If it is established that the state cannot take such action, or if these covenantsare declared unenforcible on any other grounds, the race restrictive covenant will no longer be an effective means of excluding minorities from given areas.

in so far as the elimination of such restrictions is concerned. It is unfortunate that they have been aided by a government agency, the Federal Housing Administration. A standard set of restrictions issued by the F. H. A. includes the following:[69]

> "(f) No race or nationality other than those for whom the premises are intended, shall use or occupy any building on any lot, except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants of a different race or nationality employed by an owner or tenant. (The wording of this restriction should not be used in actual restrictions which are to be recorded, but a racial restriction should be properly drawn so that the objectives as above set forth will be accomplished)."

With the acceptance and wide application of the practices favoring residential segregation along racial lines, results come about which are a threat not only to the Negro as a minority group but also to the community.

One of the most important of these is the limitation of the supply of housing available to minority groups on all income levels. There follows then not only inadequate housing but its concomitant evils - congestion and the perpetuation of overcrowding, deterioration of physical facilities, decline of neighborhood standards and resulting neglect of such neighborhood services as street repair, garbage and trash removal, police and fire protection, deterioration of sanitary facilities, the lack of adequate light, air and open space. All of these factors contribute to the creation of an area which is a social, economic and physical hazard to the community.

69. Catherine Bauer - Good Neighborhoods, p. 105 Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science - November 1945.

The extent of the menacing nature of these conditions is not to be underestimated. It is of interest to refer briefly to the investigation of conditions of the Black Belt in Chicago as an illustration.

There exists in Chicago extensive residential segregation based upon differences of race, religion, and national origin. This wide-spread segregation includes not only the restriction ofthousands upon thousands of Negroes to the South Side area, known as "the Black Belt", but many smaller black ghettos, and other isolated communities in Chicago. All of these people pocketed in these restricted residential areas suffer the conditions already described. In addition, they enjoy to a more extreme degree the shortages and inadequacies reflected in other parts of the "better neighborhoods" of the city.[70] As the tensions have increased the following headlines have begun to appear too frequently in newspapers:

> "Social Peril Seen in Chicago Slums
> Human Relations Group Says Crowded
> Negro Areas Breed Elements of Explosion"
>
> N.Y.Times, Chicago, May 25, 1946

> "Major Race Riot in Chicago Seen, S.D.
> Alinsky Says His City Is on Verge of
> Serious Clash of Negroes and Whites"
>
> N.Y.Times, Dec 11, 1946[71]

70. Any consideration of minority groups is concerned with two features: 1. The need to remedy inadequacies as of housing, recreation, schools, etc; 2. but to do so in such a manner as to assist in the elimination of the enforced segregation of these groups from the community as a whole.

71. Excerpts from this article:
"Chicago's current tension exploded Monday into an outbreak of stoning that required 100 policemen to quell. A crowd of 100 persons hurled rocks at a truck moving the furniture of a Negro war veteran into a housing project near the Chicago airport. Theproject was the scene of several neighborhood demonstrations last week.
"The tension was attributed to...local resentment against any occupancy of units in the housing project by Negroes.

Analysis of available information furnished by the Chicago Planning Commission indicates that fundamental to the solution of the housing features of the race problem in that city is the need for new areas to release the population pressure on the South Side. It is estimated by some observors that the population of some sections of that area are in excess of 80,000 persons per square mile.[72]

That section of Chicago between 22nd and 65th Streets and Wentworth and Cottage Grove Avenues, largely a Negro residential area, has a population in excess of 300,000 persons.[73] In 1940, the average population density for blighted areas in Chicago ran roughly 40,000 persons per square mile.[74] Fifty thousand persons per square mile was established as a reasonable maximum density figure.[75]

The so-called Black Belt area four miles in extent, contained in excess of 250,000 persons; thus reflecting an excess population of at least 50,000 persons. According to the Chicago Plan Commission, 12,000 to 15,000 persons per square mile is the average desirable density in the city in new areas. It is,

71. Only one or two Negro families remained ... the others having withdrawn under intimidation.
" ... In this area the Chicago race riot of 1919 developed..."

72. Human Relations in Chicago, p. 20
Reports of Commissions
Chicago Conference on Home Front Unity, Oct 30 - Nov 6, 1945

73. In 1944, the Negro population of Chicago was 337,000 persons. See: St. Clair Drake and H.R. Cayton - Black Metropolis, Harcourt, Brace & Co., N.Y. Table I, p.8, 1945

74. Human Relations in Chicago, p. 20

75. Ibid, p. 20

therefore, clear that something more than 3 square miles of vacant land is necessary to adequately house this excess population now cramped in the Black Belt.

In 1942, the Chicago Plan Commission divided all residential areas into five types and made plans for the future status of each.[76] Thus, "blighted and near blighted" areas are to be eliminated, becoming rebuilt areas; "conservation" areas are those which will, in the future, become ripe for rebuilding; those which are, at present, "stable" are expected to become conservation property; present areas of "arrested" or "progressive" development and "new growth" will some day be stable. "Vacant" areas will gradually become ripe for new growth.

It is noted that two thirds of the main Black Belt area has been classified as "blighted" or "near blighted" and a third as "conservation" property.

Of the 250,000 people in the Black Belt, the Commission estimated that at least 87,000 persons should be moved out in order to thin the population down to the optimum in conservation areas and to a level of health and decency upon rebuilding the blighted areas with a combination of walk-up apartments and row houses. At least 16,000 should move even if three-story walk-up apartments replaced all the present housing in the blighted areas.

The commission favored intensive new building within two small Negro communities outside of the Black Belt and the creation of a new segregated community on the edge of the city limits. These three communities could accommodate 30,000-40,000

76. Master Plan of Residential Land Use of Chicago Chicago Plan Commission, 1943 ch.III

people from the main Black Belt. [77]

From the information it is concluded that by working within the framework of the continued application of residental segregation, the Chicago Plan Commission was not able to develop plans to provide housing for a minimum of 47,000 members of the community; except in the extreme instance in that three-story walk-up apartment replaced all the present housing in the blighted areas. This latter presentation was not favorable relative to the constructive use of the land in these areas.

Thus, in the case of Chicago, as in many other cities, the handicap of the restricted residential area and the use of the race restrictive covenant is obvious. At the best, some of the inadequacies suffered by a portion of the Chicago Negro population would be remedied. On the other hand, 1/5 of the Negro population would be completely dislocated; in addition to the fact that very little, if anything, would be done to bring those segregated communities within the orbit of the city itself in the sense of full participation in the community life.

It was pointed out by the Subcommittee on Housing, of the Mayor's committee on Human Relations of Chicago, that on the basis of evidence of this nature made available to them in connection with planning factors in regard to the housing of minority groups

> " ... in the City of Chicago, restrictive covenants present a block to the production of new homes on vacant land for Negro occupancy in anything like the number required; they almost completely prohibit the use by Negroes of vacancies in the existing houses. The only areas where Negro housing

77. St. Clair Drake and H.R. Cayton - Black Metopolis p.208-209

> construction can take place because of the lack of restrictive covenants are areas already occupied by Negroes; in these areas there is already so much overcrowding that rebuilding at densities prescribed by the Plan Commission would result in a tremendous surplus population with no place to go ... the Committee estimated that 100,000 Negroes on the southside will have to be provided for elsewhere in order to conform with the Master Plan for Residential Land Use." [78]

Racial restrictive covenants not only define the limits of residential areas for minority groups but also make indefinite the land use of areas adjoining the Negro ghetto. In addition many municipalities base their tax structures on the continuation of these covenants. Overcrowding and congestion have been evaluated by some builders as an indication of increasing value rather than as a symptom of dislocation in a phase of community activity.

> "Since the income from a parcel usually increased with intensive use, congestion, sanctioned by customs or by law, fixed land values in the most densely populated districts at extremely high levels, and the maintenance of those levels depended upon the maintenance of congestion. "Mortgage loans were made on the basis of current values to builders whose set-ups indicated large rent-rolls and profits. Assessed valuations, on which cities base their taxes, likewise adjusted themselves to new price levels" [79]

It is true then that the functioning of deed restrictions of a racial nature has not only enforced segregation in community development but also has an influence upon the possibilities for the establishment of a sound tax stucture in the community. Its financial ramifications are similarly experienced in the higher credit rates demanded of these minorities in any of their building ventures. It has further affect on community finances in

78. William E. Hill - Racial Restrictive Covenants p.120-1
Opportunity Magazine, Summer Issue 1946,
National Urban League, New York

79. Charles Abrams - Revolution in Land p.81
Harper and Bros. 1939

that the areas defined by the race retsrictive covenants usually reflect high crime, delinquency, and mortality rates since these sections generally are slums of which the former are characteristics. It has been pointed out that in some instances the Negro housing problem is the slum problem of the community. [80]

In areas of this nature there is usually inadequate police and fire protection, health and building inspection. Consequently the removal of the restrictive covenant and the ensuing rise in the standards of the amenities of living may result in the overt increase of the financial expense of this area to the community. Actually, however, this is not necessarily so, since in terms of the ratio of the population of the ghetto as compared to the population of the community, the expenditures for certain community facilities and services in the restricted area may have been subnormal and are only in the process of being brought back to par. [81]

In terms of the income received by the community from a formerly resticted area, it is felt that the rehabilitation of the area will have an affect upon the rehabilitation of its population. With the changes wrought in the physical environment the possibilities of the development of decent standards of personal living are enhanced. The results of such a transition,

80. See p. 46 of thesis

81. It is also likely that the decreases in certain of the expenditures due to such factors as excessive delinquency rate, extreme vice rate will be absorbed in the increase of such expenditures as those involved in the construction and maintenance of parks and playgrounds in the area.

if a policy of non-segregation is consistently applied in all aspects of community living, will not only be the upward adjustment of the economic status of this group but a similar decline in such community expenditures as health and welfare relief and assistance. The income available to the community is thus affected in both a positive and negative manner. With the removal of restrictions and the resulting decrease in conditions fundamentalsto many community problems already described, there will follow a valid adjustment of the tax base available to the community in addition to augmenting the stability of the tax structure. This is based on the assumption that assessed valuations will reflect a more constructive use of the land and enable the municipality to estimate more reliably the extent of its taxable resources. An improvement of the physical environment will most certainly have an affect on the decrease of such features as mortality rates; delinquency, crime and vice rates. 82

It is to be considered then that segregation establishes a framework whereby only inferior opportunities are available to the group in question. Thus it symbolizes a method favoring the perpetuation of a group in an inferior status as part of the community structure. The ramifications of such a relationship have been described and on the basis of the evidence presented it is indicated that fundamental to the achievement of an integrated community is the necessity for the elimination of the race restrictive covenant.

82. Clifford Shaw's studies concerning Chicago slum neighborhoods has demonstrated this possibility.

That this problem has been recognized by the Federal Government is certain. Despite their expressions of deep concern, however, no decisive action has been taken by them on a national level or in the stimulation of such action on a local level. [83]

Many public and private organizations have pressed for action relative to race restrictive covenants. Several agencies have developed a program to combat this means of limiting the space available to Negroes, and have indicated four aspects through which such restrictions might be fought - the courts, sources of publicity, legislation and through economic action: [84]

> "1. The fight in the courts is of long standing, while good cases should be pressed, there is danger that poorly chosen or poorly presented cases may occasion costly, adverse legal decisions. Competent legal authorities should define the issue and local groups should urge lawyers to guard against unsound action.
> "2. Race restrictive covenants - and more particularly, restriction of all Negroes to the ghetto - are economically and socially unsound, as well as morally wrong. The facts on the incidence and effects of race

83. "Housing for minority groups ... in accordance with their needs is beset with peculiar problems which must be faced and solved primarily in our communities. The Federal Government ... has a deep concern in the elimination in this country of all discrimination, including restrictive covenants, for reason of race, creed, color, or national origin. We have said before and I am glad to go on record again that every effort will be made to assure veterans of all minority groups equal consideration under the Veterans Emergency Housing Program. Yet we are well aware that emergency methods cannot solve the problem of adequate housing for our minority groups ... "
Wilson W. Wyatt, National Housing Expeditor
Excerpt from a statement sent to the Conference for the Elimination of Restrictive Covenants, Chicago, Illinois, May 10-11, 1946.

84. Facing the Job of Housing Negroes, p.10-11
C.I.O. Committee on Housing and Community Development, December 1945.

restrictive covenants can and should be assembled and disseminated. From them, three specific results can follow:

a. Community organiztions and agencies can condemm race restictive covenants.
b. The action outlined above and the dissemination of the facts can and will lead to public discussion and newspaper publicity on the problem.
c. Legislation barring future race restrictive covenants can be introduced and enacted.

"3. In most cities there is vacant land not now covered by such covenants. Local organiztions should concentrate upon encouraging the development of attractive, well-planned housing and neighborhoods open to occupancy by Negroes on these sites. The most desirable development is that which is available to all racial groups, which has adequate community facilities, and is planned to house several income groups.

"4. Economic action in terms of developing housing open to all groups within the city, free movement of all groups within the residential areas of the city." [85]

All of these efforts are directed to the elimination of restrictions on account of race, creed, and color in favor of agreements binding the property owner not to lease or sell except in terms of type of occupancy (single family, barring excessive roomers), ability to pay and standards of this nature. [86]

85. A further discussion concerning the indicated program of action relative to the elimination of deed restrictions is available in the following reference:
Minutes of meeting N.A.A.C.P. Lawyers and Consultants on Methods of Attacking Restrictive Covenants p.21-24, Chicago, Illinois, July 9-10, 1945.

86. Robert C. Weaver - Housing in a Democracy p. 99
In addition to sound planning for post-war housing involving the elimination of racial covenants, Weaver indicates the desirability of establishing adequate protection for neighborhood integrity. It is his opinion that the decline in many areas starts long before the racial type of occupancy changes, thus the need for occupancy standards which will operate regardless of the racial group using the property. Such minimum conditions would, it is believed, afford all of the economic protections aimed at (but not achieved) in race restrictive covenants; in addition to being effective during occupancy by whites, as well as minority groups. The following stipulations are recommended - owners and occupants agree that:
"1) they will abide by and assist in the enforcement of all ordinances and codes covering properties in the community;

This would protect the integrity of the neighborhood and afford an opportunity for the member of a minority group who has the means and the urge to live in a desirable neighborhood. It would also have a preventative affect on the exodus of all whites upon the entrance of a few Negroes - a very important feature in depressing property values.

Covenants based upon occupancy standards would also become an important factor in removing racial covenants and other restrictive devices in improved and vacant areas. Such action would permit areas open to minority group occupancy to expand more normally. It would provide more space and housing units for colored people. This, in turn, would be effective in lessening the pressure upon other neighborhoods, permit selective infiltration of minorities into such areas and reinforce the type of protection available through the neighborhood standards as mentioned previously.

If neighborhoods are well planned and desirably located, and if there is adequate protection of neighborhood standards,

86. 2) they will join existing neighborhood associations or organizations to maintain neighborhood and property standards in compliance with these agreements; 3) the architectural design of the community and the building restrictions already established by city codes will not be violated; 4) the premises shall be reserved exclusively for residential use; 5) the number of adults in the dwelling unit shall not exceed two times the number of bedrooms; and 6) the premises (and adjoining yard space, in the case of a single or duplex unit) shall be maintained in conformity with the average for the neighborhood, as measured in terms of cost of labor and improvements made.

"In the case of sales, it should be agreed that real estate brokers involved will investigate the financial ability of the prospective purchaser. If this potential purchaser is of a minority group, it should be agreed that he will be considered desirable or undesirable on the basis of applying the same objective standards as are applied to prospective purchasers of the majority group. "

they will meet the needs and aspirations of all groups.

That the current housing problem is further aggravated through the application of segregation has been previously demonstrated. The continued application of such a policy will not contribute the solution of this problem, it will merely postpone it without eliminating the possibilities for racial tension and racial conflict. Segregation creates racial vested interests and prevents a normal growth of group participation whether in jobs, schools, or housing. To plan soundly for the future involves the elimination of segregation. Unless there is developed non-segregated housing, there can be very little real progress in establishing democratic schools, recreation and other public facilities.

A consideration of activities in public and private housing will serve to indicate the extent of any progress along these lines in terms of the elimination of segregation and discrimination and the achievement of an integrated community.

Public housing projects have developed under diverse conditions and consequently reflect a variety of patterns ranging from the completely integrated development, in which no controls are exerted to effect racial separation, to those so completely separated that the only unifying factor is identification by the same project number.

As based upon the policy of the F.P.H.A., the following classifications are indicated: [87]

87. Experience in Public Housing Projects Jointly Occupied by Negro, White and other Tenants p.1, 1944 Annual Conference of Racial Relations Advisers National Housing Agency, F.P.H.A.

"Controlled - projects in which the accommodations for Negro and White or other racial groups are identified under a single project number but in which there is decisive control over the distribution of tenants by racial groups. These include projects divided into sections definitely assigned by racial groups; those with rigid allocation of dwelling units by race; and others similarly inflexible in racial pattern.

"Partially Controlled - projects in which the degree of control is modified to permit relative flexibility. These include projects in which buildings are allocated by race, but the buildings are mixed in a checker-board pattern so as to avoid establishment of inflexible sections of racial segregation; projects filled by one race beginning at one end and another race beginning at the other extreme, with a flexible area between; and similar patterns and combinations of contolled and uncontrolled area in the same development.

"Uncontrolled - projects in which the selection and distribution of tenants is flexible with no management control to effect separation. " [88]

Generally, the patterns of racial occupancy have been developed by the local housing authorities which own and operate the projects or which act as agents of the Federal Government.

88. A further breakdown of this system of classification has been suggested by Charles Abrams:

"1. Insulated homogeneous, i.e., projects occupied by whites and Negroes separated into different areas.

"2. Insulated bi-racial, i.e., projects occupied by whites and Negroes in different sections of the same project.

"3. Mixed token, i.e., projects occupied predominantly by whites with a token Negro family to indicate absence of intentional discrimination.

"4. Mixed equal, i.e., projects occupied by whites and Negroes in equal or nearly equal proportion.

"5. Mixed minority, i.e., occupied by whites predominantly but with Negroes represented by a minority.

"6. Insulated bi-racial-token, i.e., projects in which the Negroes are predominantly separate within the project but with one or a few token Negro-families mixed in with them."

Living in Harmony p.116, Opportunity Magazine, Summer Issue 1946

Public housing projects have tended to follow the patterns already established in the area. In those localities where public facilities, such as schools, playgrounds and hospitals are established to serve racial groups separately, the public housing project will likely be of a similar nature. (This fact further serves to indicate the manner in which the use of public facilities functions in maintenance of segregation).

It has been the general approach of the F.P.H.A. that public housing should not establish racial patterns less democratic than those which currently exist. Consequently, it is in communities where racial segregation is not required by law and has not been rigidly crystallized by prevailing customs where the widest variety of racial occupancy patterns has occurred. Nevertheless, it has been indicated that public housing, except in a few cities, has avoided developing projects for joint Negro and white occupancy even in communities where other public facilities are not segregated. [89]

The extent of low rent housing and war housing developed under the direction of the F.P.H.A., and the relative position of the Negro in such developments, is available through refer- to Tables VI - VIII.

Table VI indicates the extent to which the Negro population has participated in the allocation of the available dwelling units of this nature. There is reflected the fact that the Negro enjoyed a greater participation in available low rent housing as against war housing (34.8 per cent as against 14.3 per cent of

89. Richard Sterner - The Negro's Share p.320, Harper and Bros., N.Y. 1943.

TABLE VI

DWELLING UNITS IN PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECTS (FPHA) UNDER DEVELOPMENT AND MANAGEMENT, OCCUPIED BY OR PROGRAMMED FOR NEGROES, BY REGION [1] AS OF SEPTEMBER 30, 1944

Region	WAR HOUSING Number of Dwelling Units			LOW RENT HOUSING Number of dwelling units under management		
	Total	Occupied by or programmed for Negroes	Per cent Negro	Total	Occupied by or program'd for Negroes	Per cent Negro
All Regions	577,047	82,480	14.3	132,552	46,114	34.8
I	31,009	2,020	6.5	10,711	1,562	14.6
II	64,057	11,260	17.6v	32,408	8,505	26.2
III	33,071	6,550	19.8	11,634	4,039	34.7
IV	95,127	14,275	15.0	32,139	18,487	57.5
V	48,194	2,105	4.4	14,167	6,133	42.4
VI	135,239	18,731	13.9	1,651	210	12.7
VII	83,194	8,090	9.7	1,227	33	2.7
VIII	54,782	14,701	26.8	17,445	5,753	33.0
GFO	21,876	4,220 [2]	19.3	11,181	1,392	12.4
Defense Housing Corporation	10,498	528 [3]	5.0	-	-	-

Region I: Conn., Maine, Mass., N.H., R.I., Vermont
Region II: Deleware, Md., N.J., N.Y., Penna.
Region III: Ill., Indiana, Iowa, Minn., Missouri, Nebraska, N.Dakota, S.Dakota, Wisconsin
Region IV: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Miss , N.Carolina, S. Carolina, Tenn., Va.
Region V: Arkansas, Colo., Kansas, Louisiana, N.Mexico, Okla., Texas
Region VI: Arizona, Calif, Hawaii, Nevada, Utah
Region VII: Alaska, Idaho, Montana, Oregon, Wash. Wyoming
Region VIII: Kentucky, Mich., Ohio, W.Virginia
G.F.O.: General Field Office

1. Based on number of assigned units where definitely programmed for Negro tenants; for all other projects with 95 percent occupancy or more, based on number of occupied units, and for projects with less than95 percent occupancy, on proportion of total occupied units occupied by Negroes.

SOURCE: Table I, p. 354, Journal of Negro Education, Vol XIV No. 3, Summer 1945, Howard U. Press, Wash. D. C.

TABLE VII

SUMMARY OF RACIAL PATTERNS IN PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECTS, TENANTED PARTIALLY OR TOTALLY BY NEGROES, BY PROJECT (as of Jan 31 1944)

I	Total Number of Projects Occupied by Negro Tenants	622
II	Number of Projects Providing for Total Occupancy by Negroes	297
III	Number of Projects Providing for Occupancy by Negro and White Tenants	325
	A. Controlled (Assignment of buildings or sections to effect racial separation, including those located and managed as independent projects, bisected racially, with sections for Negroes located on separate sites)	124
	B. Partially Controlled (combinations of uncontrolled and controlled patterns)	89
	C. Uncontrolled (no management control to effect separation of races)	45
	D. Information on Racial Pattern not available	8
	E. Not Classified because Occupancy of Negroes is less than Four	59

SOURCE: Table I, p. 4, 1944 Annual Conference of Racial Relations Advisers, Experience in Public Housing Projects Jointly Occupied by Negro, White and Other Tenants.

TABLE VIII

SUMMARY OF RACIAL PATTERNS IN PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECTS, TENANTED PARTIALLY OR TOTALLY BY NEGROES, BY DWELLING UNITS OCCUPIED BY NEGROES
(as of Jan 31 1944)

I	Total Number of Dwelling Units Occupied by Negro Tenants	92,476
II	Number of Dwelling Units Providing for Total Occupancy by Negroes	64,914
III	Number of Dwelling Units Providing for Occupancy by Negro and White Tenants	27,562
	A. (Controlled (Assignment of buildings or sections to effect racial separation, including those located and managed as independent projects bi-sected racially, with sections for Negroes located on separate sites.	10,039
	B. Partially Controlled (Combinations of Uncontrolled and Controlled Patterns)	8,626
	C. Uncontrolled (no management control to effect separation of races)	8,562
	D. Information on Racial Pattern not available	202
	E. Not Classified because Occupancy of Negroes is Less than Four	133

SOURCE: Table II, p. 5, 1944 Annual Conference of Racial Relations Advisers, Experience in Public Housing Projects, Jointly Occupied by Negro, White and Other Tenants, National Housing Agency, F.P.H.A.

the total number of dwelling units occupied by or programmed for Negroes).

Table VI reflects the distribution of racial patterns in public housing projects tenanted either partially or totally by Negroes. Here it is indicated that 52 per cent of the projects were made available to Negro and white tenants. Of this amount 38 percent was of the nature of Controlled Occupancy, and 38 percent was Partially Controlled and Uncontrolled Occupancy.

An analysis of the distribution of the dwelling units of the projects either partially or completely tenanted by Negroes (Table VIII), indicates that 71 percent of such dwelling units were available in projects totally occupied by Negroes. Of the 29 percent available to both Negro and white tenants 36 percent were classified as Controlled Occupancy as against 62 percent Partially Controlled and Uncontrolled Occupancy.

From the data thus presented it is seen that the factor of their low income is of a limiting nature in making private housing available to Negroes. Of those public housing projects which have been made available to them, a little more than half of that number were open to Negroes and whites. It is to be noted, however, that despite this fact 71 percent of the available dwellings units were in projects totally occupied by Negroes. Thus it would appear that the extent of inter-racial occupancy is not great.

Evidence has been submitted by many individuals and agencies to the effect that projects where the Negroes are integrated with the whites into self-contained communities without segregation, reach daily contact with their co-tenants, are given the

same privileges and share the same concerns and responsibilities, initial latent tensions will subside, distinctions become reconciled, cooperation ensue, an environment created in which interacial harmony is effected. [90]

In opposition to these presentations are statements emanating from other groups, largely private developers, refuting the position described above with the criticism that public housing cannot demonstrate the workability of mixed housing since these groups are virtually forced to live together in such projects due to the exigencies of their respective economic situations. [91] In conjunction with this criticism it should be pointed out that there has been no survey or study of any public housing project or projects by any private or public group the purpose of which has been to scientifically measure and evaluate racial tensions in mixed housing projects during the period of residence of specific tenants. [92]

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90. a. Charles Abrams - Living in Harmony p.117
b. Experience in Public Housing Projects Jointly Occupied by Negro, White and other Tenants, N.H.A., F.P.H.A. p.6-49
c. C. Copperman - Ghettoes, U.S.A., Take San Francisco (Housing in Marin City), Task #6 West Coast Issue Winter 1944-5
d. New York Herald Tribune Jan. 5, 1946 "Racial Friction Is Found Absent In Kingsboro (Public Housing Project) In Brooklyn (New York)"

91. Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. of New York; interview with George Gove, III Vice President in charge of Stuyvesant Town and Riverton. Developments, February 1946

92. Such a study is now being conducted in public housing projects in Pittsburgh, under the auspices of the Lavenburg Foundation. The Council for Community Inter-Relations Council, 212 West 50th Street, New York City, is developing a basis for similar investigations. Their chief consultant is Dr. Kurt Leevin, currently in charge of the Group Relations Section at the Mass. Inst. of Technology.

In addition, it should be considered that the lack of any overt racial conflict within the confines of such projects is not necessarily due to the constructive efforts of the local housing agency or housing manager. To the contrary, such agencies or individuals in most cases have not developed any program or objective approach to the consideration of the racial problem. Their efforts rather reflect their emotions and biases, underlying which is only the hope that their project will not be the scene of a racial conflict. [93] Groups or individuals deviating from this role have been the exception rather than the rule.

In a sense, this latter condition is due to the lack of any enforced federal policy in support of the elimination of discrimination and segregation. Consequently, the effect on the local level has been to apply purely local policy. In those instances where minority groups are sufficiently well organized to be able to effectively represent themselves in local affairs, this removal of federal influence from the local scene may work out well. In those cases where the minority group is completely shut out from community activity, the possibilities of using housing as a means of opening the door and bringing them within the community life are extremely limited.

At the recently held National Public Housing Conference (March 1946), a committee was formed under the chairmanship of

93. The easy way out, of course, has been to completely segregate racial groups and maintain a formal and distinct separation to keep to a minimum the contacts these groups will have with each other.

Mrs. Catherine Bauer Wurster, to consider segregation and discrimination in public housing and to prepare a statement on race relations to be submitted to the agency for approval and further action on a national level.[94]

Since it is considered that non segregated housing is fundamental to the integration of all groups within the community, it is important that the controlled conditions influencing such developments be applied as assisting in the success of such projects.

Location is of extreme importance in determining the success of racially mixed public housing projects. This factor is in turn related to size. In the case of an extremely large project,

94. This resolution reads as follows:
"Whereas, our nation subscribes to the Charter of the United Nations Organization which guarantees basic human rights to all men, regardless of race or creed, and whereas, the objective of our form of government is equality of opportunity and equality of all men before the law, and whereas, enforced division or separation of the many racial, social, and economic elements of our population is divisive and desruptive to this fundamental goal of our national life and whereas, the principle of non-discrimination in meeting housing needs is already accepted in all public housing programs throughout the nation:
Therefore Be It Resolved that the National Public Housing Conference, while fully conscious of the principle of local autonomy, goes on record in support of the elimination as rapidly as feasible by local communities of all arbitrarily - imposed lines of separation between social, economic and racial groups in all phases of city planning, redevelopment and housing wherever public funds or public credit are utilized to aid these developments; and be it
Further Resolved, that this Conference commends those local authorities whose programs are in accord with this principle and urges all other local authorities to adopt their policies to this objective as rapidly as is feasible in each of the various localities."
Personal memorandum from Catherine Bauer Wurster.

it tends to exert a great influence on the surrounding neighborhood or to create a neighborhood of its own. Where smaller projects are concerned, however, the reverse is true. They tend to take on neighborhood characteristics and attitudes. It is then concluded that location is of less importance in determining the possibilities of Negro and white occupancy in the case of the large project as against the smaller development.

For the latter, location is an extremely important factor. It has been suggested that in such instances the possibilities for successful Negro and white occupancy can best be secured in projects which are outlying and will become the nucleus for a new neighborhood, or on sites contiguous to existing bi-racial neighborhoods. [95]

In addition, general action on a national (federal) level relative to public housing should be concerned with a continual evaluation of the policies and procedures of federal and regional offices in light of the provision of housing for such minority groups as the Negro; the opening up of new areas of occupancy to alleviate overcrowding and high density; investigation, collection and dissemination of experiences with unsegregated occupancy patterns in public housing projects throughout the nation; stimulate the establishment of unsegregated housing patterns in the programs of local housing authorities in areas where state or

95. In addition to these features, fundamental to the success of any inter-racial housing is the importance of selecting tenants objectively, proper publicity as to the racial complexion of the development (the fact that it is flexible in nature and that the racial pattern of occupancy will reflect the changing population in the neighborhood), the selection of proper management and staff.

local law requires unsegregated public facilities such as schools, or where, in the absence of such a law, custom has established unsegregated use. On the local level, organizations should maintain constant contact with local housing and planning agencies and exert their influence to obtain at the local level the objectives which national organizations have been postulating.

It has been pointed out that public housing provides facilities for those members of minority groups of a low income status. In public housing, the selection of tenants is guided by a minimum and maximum income range, and the ability to pay a proportionate rental within a certain rental range. For those persons whose income falls below the necessary minimum and who cannot consequently pay a minimum rental, there is necessary one of two things or a combination of both. Either the floor establishing tenant eligibility be removed, or welfare assistance be of the nature to raise the prospective tenant's economic status to the extent that his eligibility is confirmed by the project. For those persons whose income is above the maximum figure, thus making them ineligible for public housing, the only alternative is private housing.

Here one is immediately faced with the dilemma that the private developer has continually found himself hard put to produce housing for the middle income group in general. But what has occurred in the case of the minority group segment of the population at this economic level, especially as related to the elimination of segregation and the ensuing achievement integration?

It has been extremely difficult to obtain privately financed housing open to all racial groups. In this connection, it must

be realized that private enterprise operates in order to make a profit and that realtors, builders, and financial institutions are generally convinced that inter-racial housing won't pay dividends. Consequently little or no progress has been made in breaking down the barrier of segregation.[96] The practice of the restrictive covenant is still widely applied and exhorbitant rents are being drawn from minority groups, as the Negro, for similar facilities afforded whites at lower rentals.[97] In addition, the F.H.A. practices in loan insurance are still of the nature as to support the private developer in his efforts to segregate such "undersirable" population elements as the Negro group.

The private developer faces further difficulty in that the usual subdivision in the past was insufficient in size and number of dwelling units to establish an environment of its own. With the advances in housing and planning, however, the possibilities for the private developer to contribute to the elimination of segregation are improving. The new approach to housing now looks to the large self-contained neighborhood or community, one which creates its own environmrnt. Here, there would be no threat of the Negro as an infiltrating group threatening to disturb not only the equilibrium of the population but property values as well. If a cross-section of such a planned community reflects members of different groups, including those

96. The Mutual Life Insurance Co. of New York is currently developing plans for inter-racial housing development in an area to be disclosed by them.

97. C.K. Robinson - Relationship Between Condition of Dwellings and Rentals by Race.

of a minority nature, it is certain that the presence of Negroes or other minorities will not affect the security of the financial investment or the social status of neighborhood asscociations. This is so since the racial composition of the project can be so stabilized and free from the threat of material change that minority pressures will be minimized and their affect upon the social and financial features will be nil.[98]

However, even in such instances the advisability of daring to challenge segregation has not been accepted by the private developer. In the case of the Stuyvesant Town (New York) Development by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., Frederick H. Ecker, Metropolitan's chairman of the board made this statement:

> "Negroes and whites don't mix ... perhaps they will in a hundred years ... If we brought them into this development, it would be to the detriment of the city, too, because it would depress all the surrounding property." [99]

Nor was Stuyvesant Town to have a school, though its population would be one fourth that of Nevada, for Ecker feared Negro children might attend.

In challenging these conclusions, Henry Lee Moon, former race relations adviser to the F.P.H.A., and currently associated with the C.I.O. - P.A.C., pointed out that the number of Negroes who would seek occupancy in the project would total but a small part of what would be the entire population of the development. [100] He felt that the usual methods of occupancy control and tenant selection as practiced by Metropolitan

98. Charles Abrams - Living in Harmony p.118

99. Charles Abrams - The Future of Housing p.322 Harper and Bros., N.Y. 1946

100. Personal interview July 1946

(investigation of character, economic and financial status of applicant) would be sufficient in selecting those desirable members from among the Negro applicants as in the case of those from other population groups.

It is apparent then that if private developers are going to contribute constructively to the destruction of segregation, that their fears as private investors must be allayed, that they must be convinced of the economic stability of their investments relative to bi-racial developments.

A most serious threat to real estate values is the shifting of minority groups for whom inadequate shelter has been provided. Value of considerable residential real estate seems predicated in America on the maintenance of class lines and exclusiveness. The slightest threat of infiltration is often sufficient to start values on the downgrade. Sometimes values bound back after adjusting themselves to the new tenantry but where the influx is by a group of a lower income status they remain down. The sequence of value decline may start by the advent of a single Negro into a white neighborhood. Rumors of the area "going colored" run through the section and white tenants begin to move out. Rentals collapse, physical deterioration sets in as repairs are neglected, houses are sold at sacrifice prices, mortgage finances ceases, and ultimately aided by the new vacancies the neighborhood is transformed into a Negro neighborhood. Those neighborhoods immediately adjoining are then subject to the same sequence.

This threat of minority groups to land values has been

investigated further by Homer Hoyt.[101] It has been pointed out relative to his study as to the causes of the difference of land values within Chicago, that the significance of racial movements upon Chicago land values lies in the fact that certain racial groups, because of lower economic status and standards of living, pay less rent and cause a greater physical deterioration of property than groups higher in the social and economic scale. Due to instability of the tenants, high collection losses, and the aversion of persons higher in the social order to living near these classes, the rents received are capitalized at higher rates, and consequently yield lower capital values than property yielding the same net income in more desirable areas. Land values in areas occupied by such calsses are therefore inevitably low.

Part of the attitude reflected in lower land values is due to racial prjudice. The entire effect of low land values occupied by racial groups, considered objectionable, however, cannotnbe attributed to this factor alone, since these groups frequently have moved into old areas that are already in a state of deterioration .

It has been cited that the colored population in one area may affect property values in surrounding residential areas. In many cases, nevertheless, the undesirable racial factor is so merged with other unattractive features, such as proximity to factories, poor transportation, old and obsolete buildings, poor street improvements and the presence of vice

101. Homer Hoyt - One Hundred Y ears of Land Values in Chicago
U. of Chicago Press 1933 p.314-317
Chicago, Illinois

and criminal elements, that the separate effect of race cannot be disentangled. Consequently, it is difficult to study the changing land values of a particular area and evaluate such fuctuations in terms of a changing racial occupancy as distinct from the use of the land and the maintenance of the improvements thereon.

It has been demonstrated, in several of our northern cities, that the presence of a scattering of upper and middle class Negroes in a white neighborhood does not cause racial conflict; and, in turn serves to better race relations. The fact is largely neglected by whites that there exists a Negro upper and middle class who are searching for decent homes and could contribute to property values in a white neighborhood rather than cause them to deteriorate.

Let us consider Chicago again. In this city, efforts are being made by the Plan Commission to decrease the population density of the Black Belt. Some private real-estate groups have become interested in the possibilities of investing in Negro housing. Both the Plan Commission and these private groups are still faced with the question:

"Where shall it be situated?" [102]

Newton Farr, a former president of the National Association of Real Estate Boards and one of Chicago's most intransigent defenders of restrictive covenants, conducted a survey of "

"hundreds of the best posted real estate men in eighteen large cities on their opinion of Negroes as renters and

102. See p. 69 of thesis

rehousing, or for the provision of homes elsewhere on a sufficiently large scale to satisfy more than 300,000 persons. So nothing constructive has been done and the city grows more congested and tensions increase.

In light of the discussion of private housing and minority groups in so far as segregation is concerned it is apparent that constructive action by this group relative to the elimination of the latter condition would involve the revision of policies and procedures of N.H.A. and F.H.A. so as to permit and facilitate ready insurance of loans to Negroes who are good risks in terms of accepted economic standards; making housing available for Negro occupancy; and the opening of new and unsegregated areas to Negroes.

On the basis of the data presented to this point, there has been developed a picture as to the extent of the housing needs of the Negro as a minority group, the forces which have been brought to bear on any efforts being made to satisfy these needs - the manner in which this is being done, and a reference to the preparations of the future in terms of such needs. Throughout, it has been demonstrated that housing is a factor making for increased racial tensions. The provision of housing is a minority problem of a planning nature. At this point it is pertinent to investigate such planning techniques as may be applicable in solving this problem and evaluate the manner in which these measures are used in terms of their contributing to the elimination of discrimination and segregation, and the ensuing integration of the community.

Of fundamental importance is the fact that the local planning agency adopt an objective policy relative to the minorities problems of a planning nature. In this respect such a such a policy would press for well-planned, integrated housing developments which will serve all racial groups. The

The burden of implementing any program developed to meet a community's housing should rest with local groups. It is essential then, that all segments of the population participate in local planning; [104] that there be a group with continuing status to push for community action on local, state and federal levels; that another function of such a group be the educating of the community to the need for better housing and ways and means of implementing a program directed to this end.

This would involve the planning agency working with a well-organized and effective group of local citizens constantly insisting upon meeting the housing needs of the entire population; these needs to be defined in terms of income, family size and local housing requirements. [105] In this respect the housing survey is instrumental in determining the character of housing in the community, an evaluation of the community's

104. It is essential that there be a correlation of racial factors with community planning in order that all elements of the population will be interested in the production of the total housing program.

105. Carol Aronvici - Housing the Masses p.252-260
John Wiley and Sons Inc., N.Y. 1939
In this volume there is presented a general outline pertinent to housing research and the housing survey. For additional information also see the survey methods developed by the American Public Health Association, N.Y. City.

housing needs, the extent of these needs, the people's housing desires (single family or multi-dwelling, home ownership or rental), how these desires fit into the character of existing housing, the financial ability of these people to support their housing demands. In addition, there should be investigated the possibility of eliminating the "individuality" of the housing for minority-groups - make it adhere more closely to the general community pattern (by such action to eliminate the physical differentiation of housing obvious in the contrast of the housing of minority groups to that of the rest of the community). The relationship of planning agency - citizens committee should further evaluate community needs in terms of the place of private housing and public housing in satisfying the demands of all income groups. All planning activities of housing agencies in turn should be coordinated with the local activities of the planning agency.

The planning commission should support and initiate efforts to fully enforce building codes and the application of health ordinances in order to remedy some of the inadequacy of the housing for those groups suffering from a neglect in the application of such codes. This also would have the affect of stimulating efforts to remove the health hazards involved as dangerous to the community in general, to the respective group in particular.

Action should be taken to eliminate segregative zoning, It is to be noted that zoning as it is currently applied to residential areas functions in such a manner as to set up distinctions of an economic nature (in terms of areas for different

income groups). In certain sections of the nation, however, such as the South, zoning is of the nature that is racially segregative in residential areas. The unconstitutionallity of such ordinances has been recognized and efforts should be made to eliminate entirely the application of zoning of this nature.

The planning agency can contribute much to the possibilities for community integration by supporting attempts to house members of minority groups in different parts of the municipality rather than in one concentrated section. In this respect, the elimination of the residential islands of minority groups should be accomplished.

The importance of the development of a sound program for site selection and location of housing developments has already been indicated. It is in this respect that efforts may be directed toward the destruction of the ghetto rather than to the creation of one. Such a program can be applied by both public and private housing developments. It has been pointed out that the large project may create its own environment and possibly influence the surrounding neighborhoods; while the small project is not capable of this and is in turn more pliable in terms of the environment of surrounding areas rather than its own.

This is important in the consideration of the opening up of new areas as well as rehabilitation of the old. Relative to the large development, here the opportunity of bi-racial community living has a greater chance for success since it is more a subject of its own standards rather than those of any other project or group. If the smaller project is to contribute to the inte-

gration of the community, the question of location becomes increasingly important. It is essntial to locate a project of this size in such a manner that it may open up a heretofore segregated area in a manner less reflective of abrupt change. It should stimulate the wider acceptance of the minority group by the rest of the community through functioning in such a manner as to bring this group into wider and more frequent contact with other groups in such activities as use of leisure time, education, etc. In this respect the mere location of the home may be instrumental in stimulating such social intercourse under more favorable conditions.

Since much of the housing in the near future will be directed to a market made up largely of veterans, it is distressing to note that even in this instance there has developed a racial differentiation making for segregation. While the San Francisco City Housing Authority has recently adopted a non-discriminatory housing policy[106] there is no indication that this will also be a policy of non-segregation. A recent newspaper article reflected a similar note, as follows:[107]

> "While veterans of all races and creeds are hard hit by the acute housing shortage, those of minority groups suffer an added disability. In Los Angeles, Nisei vets wishing to get G.I. Bill home loans were immediately discouraged by learning that, because of restrictive covenants and other discriminatory practices, they were limited to a choice of inferior homes in slum areas that would never be approved by the bank or V.A. appraisers. In many cities, North and South, Negro vets and their families not only find it impossible to get decent housing, but have little or no opportunity to share in emergency veterans housing projects."

106. A Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Rlations August - September 1946, p.31

107. P M April 8, 1946

Conditions of this nature make it imperative that wherever possible, the city planning agency so administer the disposition of veterans housing, or so influence that administration, that it be done in a fashion not detrimental to community integration.[108]

In such a instance there becomes more apparent not only the extent of the need of an anti-discrimination policy on a federal level, but the active support of such a measure on the local level. Here again the planning agency can be of assistance in interpreting to the community the effective application of such a policy.

Other techniques pertinent to the planning function are concerned with the coordinated relationship among industrial, commercial and residential areas. In this respect it might be possible to so locate residential sections as to eliminate the possibility of having a particular racial or national group residing in an area which is an appendage to the particular industrial or commercial activity. Such residential sections are usually relatively undesirable areas for that use, possibly due to improper planning (unwise use of the land) and efforts should be made to eliminate the practice of relegating such residential areas to "undesirable" minority groups. In its stead, local industry might be so located and developed as to be attractive to people living in several neighborhoods, catering to their general employment needs, rather than developing a tightly knit one-group labor force residing in any one area close to the industrial location.

108. Such a program of the diversification of all racial and Here again the factors of location and size are of extreme importance.

national groups throughout the community would involve the elimination of the restrictive covenant. In this respect, the planning agency might work with the private developer relative to subdivision plans to be applied and demonstrate the harm rendered to the community with the practicing of deed restrictions of a racial nature. [109]

An evaluation of the housing picture as reflected through the needs of the Negro as a minority group, and in terms of the indicated city planning techniques, results in the conclusion that the practical application of such techniques will not only make for an improvement in the housing facilities of this group (and other minorities), but will do so in a manner sympathetic to the elimination of discrimination and the removal of racial barriers as a basis for segregation.

At the Recreation Congress [110] under the auspices of the National Recreation Association of New York, some attention was directed to a consideration of recreation and minority groups. [111] There was a recognition of the problems involved in dealing with colored communities and general acknowledgement of their unique situation. Acknowledging the existence of problems involving limited facilities, inadequately trained leadership, insufficient funds and poorly administered programs

109. As based upon studies conducted by the planning agency, point out how the race restrictive covenant contributes to the creation and maintenance of slum areas with the accompanying economic and social loss to the community.

110. January 28 - February 1, 1946

111. Proceedings of Recreation Congress P. 102-103 National Recreation Association of New York, 1946

of recreation; it was felt that fundamental to racial tensions in Negro-white relationships were intolerance, misinformation and ignorance of the needs and abilities of one group of citizens with reference to another.

A consideration of virtually any city in the United States would indicate the fact of the inadequacy of recreation areas, both improved (playlot, playground, playfield) and unimproved (parks, general open space), for the Negro. [112] In addition, in many instances there would be reflected the poor location of recreation areas, the result being of the nature of prohibiting their use by the Negro since value would then also be defined in terms of reasonable accessability. The latter is in a sense a restrictive practice, but this may be even more obvious as is seen in those cases where segregation permits exclusion from arecreation area immediately adjoing the home, or discrimination prevents full participation on the part of this minority group. [113]

The importance of recreation in city-wide planning is such that it could afford and opportunity for all groups to make a full contribution to community living. The broad objectives of any recreation program should then be to provide everyone, regardless of age or economic or social condition, the opportunity to find the best and most satisfying use of leisure time. This would involve each person learning to share

112. In public recreation in Chicago, the density of the South Side area far exceeds the capacity of the public facilities to meet the recreation needs of the residents.

113. In so far as commercial recreation is concerned, in most instances its availability to the Negro is severely limited where such a facility is located outside the Negro residential area.

the responsibility for the community with people of different racial, religious, economic and family backgrounds. As a result there would be the development of the experience of"belonging". In this respect, it is wise to develop recreation resources in natural neighborhood areas close to people's homes. Thus individuals and families can be encouraged to work and play together as individuals, as units and with other families, thereby developing stronger community as well a family ties.

The implementation of such a program would necessarily involve a more adequate provision of recreation facilities for the entire community, a more equitable recognition of the needs of the minority groups, the making available of all facilities to all groups, and the inclusion of a recreation plan of this nature as an important part of the master planning for the community. If such a program would initially serve to eliminate discrimination in the availability and use of recreation facilities, that contribution alone would be worthy of acknowledgement. Its full application, however, would logically assist in the development of an integrated community.

It is believed that the planning agency could play both an affective and an effective role in the application of this program for better community living.

Basic to any action by this commission or board would be the need for the formulation of a clear and objective policy relative to all racial and other minority groups and their integration within the community.

Initial efforts would then be concerned with a recreation

survey of the municipality. That participation in community life must be encouraged by well-organized recreational activities has been indicated. Promotion of such participation must be assisted by an adequate program of services and the physical facilities necesssary for their application, such as recreation space in the nature of playgrounds, playfields, parks, general open space, community recreation buildings, etc. Such a survey would then include the compilation of data and pertinent information relative to recreation facilities in the community. A yardstick (standards) could then be applied in the effort to arrive at some conclusions as to the community needs of a recreation nature,

The results of the survey to this point should then be associated with such features of population composition as different ethnic units, age groups - the purpose being to establish the recreation needs of the community in terms of the population to be satisfied. [114] An investigation along the lines would define the extent of the needs of a minority group in so far as recreation facilities are concerned. It would also provide the basis for any proposals as to the provision of specific facilities in such a manner as to make a positive effort in the inclusion of the minority group within community activities.

114. The extensive migration of Negroes to industrial cities has been referred to in earlier sections of this thesis. The result of this migration has been the extensive need for services and facilities for a complex ethnic and economic group, which is either newly arrived or greatly increased in numbers in localities with deep-rooted traditions and mores. It would be of advantage to the community, before setting out on any extensive program for the provision of such services (if contemplated), to re-examine the potentialities of all existing facilities in order to integrate their maximum uses. A planning group should be of definite assistance in such a re-examination of community services and facilities which is to provide the basis of proposals for extension.

Especially pertinent to this last feature is the location of such areas as parks, playgrounds, playfields and the community center or neighborhood center. This can be done in such a way as to be of assistance in removing ghetto-like characteristics of residential areas. Ideally, these areas (facilities) should be so located as to be available to all groups, rather then so geographically or pysically situated as to stimulate the use by one group and make such use less attractive to other groups.

This technique, however, must work in conjunction with the application of an objective racial or minority group policy, otherwise these areas may come to resemble virtual fields of combat between the majority and minority groups.

In this instance the case of Orchard Park, Boston is interesting. This park, hardly larger than two square blocks, is located in the Orchard Park Federal Public Housing Project in Roxbury. It is the only piece of open space in the immediate neighborhood and is consequently subject to intensive use by persons living outside the project, as well as by the residents.

The Orchard Park Housing Project is bi-racial, but is Controlled.[115] Of the 774 appartments, 93 are occupied by Negro families and they are located in three buildings immediately adjoining Orchard Park.

For some time there has been talk of developing this park in order that it may furnish some of the recreational facilities desirable to the people who frequent the park.[116] The

115. See p. 76 of thesis.

116. Softball field, wading pool, children's area shade trees, benches.

project manager, however, has expressed some concern over such action since it would create the possibilities for a wider range of Negro-white relationships; this being contrary to the philosophy being applied in the directing of the project. There has been no policy developed relative to promoting inter-group relationships, [117] the manner in which the residents have been grouped has tended only to emphasize segregation, and in keeping with this negative approach to race relations, there has been only a superficial interest demonstrated in any possibilties for the development of Orchard Park.

Such a development is of importance to local planning groups interested in the provision of recreation facilities for the people of the community. In this instance the bi-racial use of facilities of a recreational nature might be helpful in stimulating contacts which would result in influencing the biases and prejudices supporting residential segregation. It is felt that it is the position of the planning agency to recommend such development of an area as Orchard Park, as part of the Master Plan of Recreation Land Use for the city. Certainly a coordination of the policies of the planning group and the housing agency should be effected in order to allow for the most constructive application of community planning as is possible.

The planning, as always, should be done within the framework of public opinion in order that the recommendations be accepted and applied rather than be laid away in the files. In

117. Negroes do not participate extensively in tenant activities of an inter-racial nature.

any section of New England, where segregation is not supported by law but rather through a system of social and economic distinctions subject to challenge, the possibilities of eliminating segregation are more favorable than in other sections of the nation. Constructive planning action in cases similar to that presented by Orchard Park, can be of assistance in the elimination of segregation of the Negro within the community.

The physical planning of open space relationships is also a factor to be considered interms of community integration. The inter-connection of the open space pattern of the community presents the opportunity for a wider use of these areas by the different population groups making up the community. It is recognized that this feature has functional limitations in the sense that it is the use of the open space by the different groups which will assist in the integrative process, rather than the mere creation of such an inter-connected greenbelt. [118]

The planning agency may also be of assistance in stimulating and supporting community wide recreation activities, directing the attention of all groups to a program of this nature in such a manner as to attract their participation. This may be done, for example, in the matter of a war memorial in the nature of a community park or community recreation building. The planning body may study the matter from the point of view as to which

118. However, the availability of such facilities will remove the physical barrier to any opportunities as may present themselves. Such planning may also be effective in opening up heretofore segregated areas.

would serve the community best, determine the best location and the facilities to be developed. During the course of such a study it would be possible to enlist the assistance of representatives of a cross-section of the community; ensuring by this fact, that all groups will have a stake in the final decision, will abide by it, and will support it as part of the organized community.

From this brief consideration of planning techniques as related to minority problems and community integration, it is seen that the role of the planning agency may be that of initiating action, or that of supporting action by another group. In either event the planning body can contribute to the solution of minorities problems, involving recreation areas and recreational facilities in such a manner as to assist in the elimination of discrimination and segregation, with a resulting community integration.

A good deal of emphasis has been put on the hope that education will contribute heavily to the solution of race problems within the next generation.

An examination of the situation as it currently exists, however, indicates the need for much improvement before anything of this nature may be realized within the near future.

In Chicago, for example, the mounting gross inadequacy of facilities and provisions for education in the elementary schools has long been a chronic cause of racial tensions in the Negro community. According to the Board of Education of the City of Chicago, 14 of the 31 elementary schools attended by a substantial number of Negro students had 184 rooms on double sessions in February 1944. None of the 31 schools had less than 36.2 pupils per teacher in September, 1943; only 12 had less than 40

pupils per teacher; one had 47 pupils per teacher, and one had 49.[119] The inadequacies in public school facilities for Negroes and the growing segregation of Negro students are still wanting for a solution in this city.

In New York City, the situation is somewhat the same. A further complication may be noted here pertinent to the location of schools. Due to the residential segregation and ensuing concentration of Negroes in areas such as Harlem, schools in this neighborhood or immediately bordering it have become largely devoted to the Negro pupil. Thus the creation of residential islands results not only in the segregation of homes but in a similar segregation of the people using such facilities as those provided in the schools. In this manner the possibilities for inter-group contacts are further decreased, with an ensuing lack of interest in trying to do something about a condition which has a marked effect on community stability; - enforced segregation.

Conditions in the South have been briefly touched upon, sufficient to give an indication of the similarity of cited conditions, only to a more extreme degree, in this area.[120]

> "It is important in a democracy that all children should have some common experience.... It will be the prescriptive task of the school to develop citizens; it must inform children with that purpose and knowledge necessary to become men and women who sustain the society in which they live.

119. Mayor's Committee on Race Relations, Race Relations in Chicago, p. 15, December 1944, Chicago, Ill.

120. See previous sections of thesis pertinent to education and the schools.

> This is to be done, not by precept, but by participation in a way of life which is related to the community and which provides in cooperation with the home ... for the full development of all who share the community life." [121]

In terms of conditions as they are now in education, in what manner and to what extent can a planning agency contribute to the preparation and development of the individual so that he may become a more effective member of the community?

Fundamental to the achievement of such a role by each person, must be the acknowledgment and acceptance of other members of the community. It would seem then, that the planning group would do well by directing its efforts to problems ~~of the~~ of the nature of inadequate facilities as related to discrimination and segregation in order to make such acknowledgment and acceptance feasible.

In this particular phase of planning activity, as in housing and recreation, attention should be given to the development of a racial policy or minority group policy which emphasizes integration rather than segregation.

A school survey by the local agency would be of value as providing a basis for future proposals. Such a survey has, in the past, been conducted by school boards as well as by city planning commissions. The data that would be pertinent to such a survey would concern the type of school (elementary, secondary), the type of construction, the date of construction, capacity and enrollment; a school population spot map; a map showing the location of schools of different levels and categories. This might then be associated with an analysis of the population composition of the community in an effort to determine current

121. From the architectural program, "An Elementary School," by Dean Joseph Hudnut of Harvard University, 1944.

and future educational needs. Such an analysis would similarly reflect the needs of any minority group in terms of the general community deficiencies. If, in the latter instance, there would be reflected a distortion or inadequacy relative to school facilities as made available and used by Negro and white children, the survey would indicate the desirability for further investigations of local conditions in order to examine the causes for this differentiation. [122]

Of particular significance to an evolving community integration is the role of the city planning agency relative to the location and site selection of schools. Through the use of this technique in conjunction with a progressive policy on racial (or minority group) matters, much can be done to de-emphasize segregated neighborhoods and bring about a more complete relationship among all groups.

The existence of residential concentration makes it difficult to practice an objective policy as to location of schools. However, an inroad against segregation might be possible in cases similar to the following.

A negro neighborhood and a white neighborhood adjoin each other. Each has their own respective school, although they are inadequate as to the demands of the enrollment. Consequently, it is programmed that new schools be built. In line with such programming and planning for the community, the possibilities of locating one new school between the two neighborhoods, adequate for the needs involved, rather than the construction

122. See previous sections of thesis pertinent to education and the schools for a discussion of "separated but equal" facilities.

of two new schools each in its respective segregated area, should be considered as a definite possibility. A decision on such a planning problem involves not only the school board but the city planning body as well. The latter should tie this expenditure item in with the capital budget program, with the planning of areas for future development, with a redevelopment program and other planning features peculiar to the local situation. A decision an a problem of this nature could make a positive contribution to the eventual elimination of segregation.

In other instances involving school locations, the reforming of the school districts might be necessary in order that the fullest possible use of existing facilities be made, thus eliminating the necessity for new facilities in cases where inadequate services are due to the gerrymandering of districts.

The position of the planning agency in recommending such action is valid if taken from the point of view that the city may not be in the financial position to initiate a school construction program; or that there may be other projects of importance to the community which would be affected by a redistribution of funds to allow for the construction of additional school facilities. Further, the analysis of the community development might be such as to indicate the need for a financial retrenching since the indications for continued community expansion might not be encouraging.

In addition to the above, the planning technique of a coordination of schools and open space pattern is desirable not only from the point of view of making schools pleasantly ac-

cessible to all groups within the community, but to make school-home circulation as convenient as possible and further eliminate the feasibility of maintaining isolated and segregated areas occupied by minority groups. This development of green-belt and location would assist in tieing together all sections of the community, and bring all groups into contact with each other. Through the ensuing acknowledgement of their respective existence and place in the community structure there would be removed what is the tacit enforcement of involuntary segregation. In its stead there undoubtedly would be concentrations of ethnic groups, but of the nature as to assist rather then resist full participation in the community life.

An evaluation of the planning function as concerned with education and schools in the community is of the nature that an active school board could do much in dealing with the minority problem as exemplified in Negro-white relationships. It should be kept in mind, however, that a coordination between the planning activities of the school board and the local planning agency is desirable. In terms of such a coordination it would be within the function of local city planning unit to assist in, and initiate the development of, proposals and recommendations pertinent to eduaction in the community, in such a way as to positively affect the removal of existing segregative practices and enhance the progress of the community integration. [123]

123. For comments on facilities for minority group education on a higher level, and possible relation to regional planning, see the following: A Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations, March 1946 p.247

The extent of the discrimination and the inadequacy experienced by the Negro in the provision of health and welfare services is similar in scope to that enjoyed in housing, recreation and schools.

Living in areas subject to extreme physical deterioration, the Negro has as an environment for his home, one in which conditions making such an area a health hazard are rampant. Such an environment constitutes a threat not only to the well-being of the specific racial group, but to the community at large.

The participation of the Negro in accepting welfare services [124] is stimulated by the fact that their earning capacity is limited by conditions not subject to their control, and that their income status is immediately responsive to the economic "downs" in the community but sluggish when a reverse of such a trend is apparent. As a result, this group finds itself frequently dependent upon municipal assistance.

The problems involved in city planning are then concerned with the elimination from residential development areas which are health hazards, or to improve them to the extent that this condition is removed. In addition, efforts should be made to study the possibilities of improving the economic position of the Negro. The city of the future must accept as a primary responsibility the organization and administration of health and welfare services for all groups in terms of the best social and economic and scientific information available.

The extent to which a city planning body can contribute to the non-discriminatory functioning of these services is limited.

124. In many instances the Negro receives a lower rate of welfare assistance.

Constructive action in these phases of community activity is rather the function of the respective municipal department.

In so far as a broad analysis of health is concerned, however, the planning agency can act in terms of combatting unhealthy environmental conditions. The extent of "health hazard" areas in the community can be ascertained; and a program of action developed to eliminate these areas.[125] In this instance, provision may be made in the zoning by-law, under sub-division regulations, that any developer desiring to build in an area which in its natural state is a health menace (low, swampy, mosquito-breeder) must so improve the land and provide the necessary facilities as to remove the possibility of its remaining as a menace to its residents or to the community.

In addition, the substandard environment of residential areas intermingled with industrial and commercial zones should be investigated.[126] The advisability of barring any residential use of such land is apparent, and the local zoning oridance should be reviewed with this thought in mind.

The contribution of any action by a city planning agency to the allocation of welfare services to a minority group is virtually nil. The agency should support proposals incorporating the Negro into the equitable participation in such facilities, as well as making available data pertinent to any community agencies studying the possibilities of improving the economic condition of this minority group.[127]

125. This involves sub-division control, which is further discussed in the section under zoning.

126. In many towns and cities, Negroes are confined to residential developments in such areas, with no regard as to income status and economic ability to live elsewhere.

127. An investigation of this nature might serve to indicate

An evaluation of planning techniques applicable in the health and welfare functioning of the municipal agencies confirms the fact that these are largely a function of the specific departments involved. The extent to which the planning agency can contribute has been pointed out. The functions of the latter body in these phases of community life, as shown, will serve more to improve the condition of the minority as such, without making any clear cut contribution as to the integration of that group within the community. This may be an indirect result, however, in that the standards of Negroes would be subject to an upward adjustment, thus eradicating some of the inter-group distinctions, therefore lowering the barrier of segregation.

The consideration of the residential segregated areas of minority groups has revealed that such sections suffer from the lack of the extension and/or maintenance of such utilities as sidewalks, streets, water, sewer and electric lines. In some instances this has been justified on the basis of these neighborhoods not contributing sufficiently in taxes to support such utilities. In other cases, however, this condition has resulted in conjunction with an area being given over to a minority group and because of the precarious position of the latter in the community structure, little is done to maintain minimum standards as to the functional availability of these facilities.

It would seem that basic to any community action on this matter, is the fact that the conditions created by these needs

127. (contd) whether discrimination and segregation in the locality is due to low income status or social differentiation or both.

are of the nature effective in perpetuating slum areas, in stimulating blight, in threatening the good and welfare of the community. It would follow then, that regardless of race, creed or color, in any area developed for residential purposes such facilities be provided to a degree sufficient to maintain at least a minimum standard for services of this nature.

In rectifying the conditions as described, a utility plan showing areas of residential development as related to areas where utilities are provided would be desirable. In this manner, those sections reflecting intensive residential use and insufficient utilities would be immediately spotted. A study of such neighborhoods would reveal the population composition as to the people living in the area - the matter of discrimination or neglect could be verified. The needs of the areas in terms of that of the community could be established, in addition to checking the existing and proposed land use of the area and how this would affect an extension of specific utilities with definite capacities.[128]

In many cases the provision and maintenance of these utilities is the prerogative of the specific municipal department (Water Dept., etc.). Here again, however, there should be a coordination of their activities of a planning nature, with the similar function of the planning board.

128. Since the land use of areas of this kind are usually transitional in nature, it is possible that utilities made available for residential purposes would be insufficient for contemplated industrial or commercial uses, or unnecessary in so extensive a manner if conversion to open space is the proposed land use.

It is the function of the planning unit to recommend new areas for residential development, and to see to it that the proper community services would be available to residents of this area. This is an important consideration since much of work to be done fundamental to the incorporation of the Negro and other minority groups within the community, includes not only the redevelopment of existing residential areas but the opening up of new areas. It is imperative that no discrimination of this nature be permitted to function in such an instance.

It should be pointed out that in those cases where new developments are contemplated, either the community or the sub-divider must provide necessary and adequate utilities. In those instances where a marginal area is being developed, it should be made clear that the sub-divider must provide utilities adequate for normal residential purposes.

It is through the control over the development of new sub-divisions that the city planning agency can play its most effective role pertinent to the provision of utilities. This is especially important in those cases where new residential areas are being made available in order to relieve minority pressures elsewhere in the community.

The function of the planning agency relative to the availability of utilities to all groups in the community is of a secondary nature, except in cases involving subdivision regulation. In such an instance this body can take effective action to see that no group is made the victim of a development with insufficient facilities.

The provision of utilities in the residential areas of

minority groups will not directly serve to eliminate segregation. Its immediate effect will be/removal of inadequacies due to the discrimination in the availability of such services. Over a period of time, however, the provision of these facilities will affect the standards of the minority group to the extent of making them more similar to other people who heretofore have rejected such groups as the Negro as being of an unacceptable strata. In this sense it might make for an easier social intercourse with an ensuing compatability increasing the possibilities for the elimination of segregation.

The existing difficulties in transit and transportation have been described as the immediate causes of racial explosions.[129] This is so because such inadequacies have been of the nature as to make favorable the possibilities for an uncontrolled outburst of racial friction and racial tension. This is so in such areas as the North, where the inadequacies in transit facilities are experienced by all; and in such areas as the South, where the practice of Jim Crowism has resulted in a more extreme case of insufficient facilities for the Negro.

In terms of the specific area involved, the problem is one of providing adequate facilities. A planning technique applicable here is that of the survey method; in this instance a survey of existing transit and transportation facilities. The purpose of such a study would be to allocate the extent of available facilities, the extent of community

129. See p.55 of thesis.

demands (by area or transit line), the points at which disruptions are most severe, the possible adjustment of existing facilities in view of the community needs (through relocation of buses, trolleys). In so far as discrimination against any particular group is concerned, efforts should be made to evaluate such a possibility in terms of the needs of any one group as against the needs of the community.

On the basis of information disclosed through such a survey, efforts could be made to revamp, expand, relocate any part of the transit system in order that it may function more efficiently in the service of the entire community.

The above action concerning inadequate transit facilities may fall more properly under the auspices of a transit commission rather than be considered a normal function of the local planning commission.

The latter, however, can contribute more relative to the possibilities of removing or relocating physical barriers which tend to highlight and support segregation. In this respect one might consider the question of the location of a highway or major traffic route as a dividing factor or a physical impediment, the effect of which is to isolate a residential area from the rest of the community. In such cases where this is the area where are located the homes of the members of a minority group, the result is the very definite artificial assistance to any segregative practice.

It may be maintained by some that highways or major traffic routes form natural boundaries for a community. This may

be so, but it works to the disadvantage of the municipality if any extensive population is located "on the wrong side of the tracks."[130]

It is within the function of the planning agency to study a situation of this nature, the purpose being to so effect a change in the location of this barrier as to eliminate it as an impediment to community integration. Where a city has developed in a haphazard manner and its physical pattern is firmly established the possibilities of doing much is not likely.[131] In the planning of new areas, however, it should be a basic principle in design that no features be accepted which could reasonably result in assisting any segregative practice or be a divisive factor in the integration of the community.

It is concluded then, that in the planning of such facilities as major highways, the planning unit can function in a manner which can assist the elimination of segregation at least to the extent of not planning (and incorporating in the community development) physical features which will be impediments to the integration of the various groups making up the population within the town or city.

Zoning and Urban Redevelopment as Planning Techniques Applicable to Minorities Problems of a Planning Nature:

The discussion up to this point relative to minority groups, specifically the Negro, and their incorporation within the plans for community growth and development, has been concerned with certain problems of these groups. Problems, the solution of which is subject to enumerated planning techniques. In addition, however, there are two practices of the city planning

130. Such a cleavage in the past has served to mark off the boundaries of slum areas or blighted districts; neighborhods

agency which have a very definite affect on minorities problems, on the whole question of segregation vs integration. These practices are relative to the planning function in zoning and in urban redevelopment. An examination of these techniques, and their application in communities where minorities problems are experienced, is of particular value to a thesis of this nature.

Zoning, as a planning technique, can be so applied as to implement segregation within the community; or, on the other hand, assist effectively in its integration.

In the past zoning has been applied to residential areas in such a way as to lend legal sanction to the segregation of racial groups. Such action has been declared unconstitutional and as has been pointed out by Edward Bassett:[132]

> "Segregating races by districts is not within the field of zoning and would be contrary to the fourteenth amendment to the federal constitution. Efforts have been made however, to employ zoning to separate the white and colored races. The usual method has been to exclude colored people from residing in white districts and white people from residing in colored districts. The reciprocal exclusions were expected to give an appearance of reasonableness to this form of zoning. Sometimes state courts have upheld these efforts, but the United States Supreme Court have uniformly declared such zoning to be contrary to the federal constitution."

There is an ever widening application of the rulings of the United States Supreme Court; and zoning ordinances involving racial segregation are being made subject to close scrutiny in

130. (contd) in general which are undesirable in character and a detriment to the community social, economic and financial stability.

131. As has been pointed out, the pattern of geographical and physical development of some cities has been such as to stimulate segregation.

132. Edward M. Bassett - Zoning, p. 49-50 Russell Sage Foundation , N.Y. 1940

in the effort to establish their legality.[133] However, this is still being practiced widely in the South; and until such ordinances are successfully contested and declared invalid, there will be this tacit legal support of segregation.

It has been indicated that zoning may also function in terms of such minority problems as health and the provision of utilities. In this respect, the zoning by law should include such provisions as will make it necessary for new residential areas or projects to be developed in such a way as to eliminate any possibility for that area becoming a health menace; in addition to the specification for the provision of the necessary utilities adequate for normal residential purposes.[134] The application of such provisions to the residential areas of the community will serve to eliminate the discrimination against any minority group in the enjoyment of these services; as well as preventing the sale of areas undesirable for residential purposes to members of a minority group simply as a means of getting rid of a poor investment.

A further ramification of the zoning function of the

133. "Florida High Court Bars Miami Negro Segregation : - The State Supreme Court ruled unanimously today that Dade county had no authority to enact zoning laws, excluding Negroes from living in any particular area of Miami. It upheld a circuit court decision releasing two Negro families, arrested for violation of the county regulations.
"It was contended by the county that it derived authority from a 1937 legislative act to exclude Negroes from any area it chose.
"Without passing on whether a law having such an effect would be valid, the Supreme Court said that the 1937 act gave the Dade Board of County Commissioners specifically only the power to regulate and restrict the height and number of buildings, lot sizes, population density and the number of junk yards and trailer camps in zoned areas."
NEW YORK TIMES APRIL 30, 1940

134. Included in proper subdivision regulation.

planning board is the possibility of re-zoning a community or an area within it, with the purpose being to assist in the integrative process.

An examination of the rezoning recommendations of the Citizens' Housing Council of New York, pertinent to the East Harlem area, is indicative of what might be done through the zoning function to, in this instance, improve the environment of the residential area made available to the minority group - in this case the Negro.

> "The first requirement is that of the rezoning of East Harlem. The unsuitability of the present zoning of this area for meeting the existing needs of the population may be sensed by comparing the density map of East Harlem ... and the composite zoning map ... It is unreasonable to suppose that this heavy population would or should be moved away for business.
>
> "Generally the rezoning of East Harlem should have as its primary objective the establishment of restrictions would make East Harlem predominantly residential. Such rezoning would aim at the prevention of the construction of new dwellings which immediately form undesirable neighborhood conditions due to overcrowding and high lot occupancy. It should be the aim of rezoning to assist in the reclamation of the area from a slum and blighted district to a residential neighborhood in which adequate provisions for sunlight, air and recreation space as well as safety and convenience for all its inhabitants would be provided. It is axiomatic that such amenities belong to every residential unit and that they can be provided for in the new zoning after East Harlem has been subjected to a careful study by city planners not only internally but in relation to the city as a whole.
>
> "The present zoning of East Harlem is economically unsound and is inconsistent with the changed conditions of the area, the size of the residential population and its requirements."[135]

In this instance, an application of the measures recommended would result in the prompt improvement of conditions for the minority group. It also should be kept in mind that internal progress of this nature, has a direct affect on the possibilities for integration, since a group previously labeled as

135. Harlem Housing, p. 7, Citizens' Housing Council of New York, August 1939.

"unacceptable" has had removed some of the features supporting this designation.

In a practical application of the zoning technique, it is imperative that the planning unit use this planning instrument in such a way as to provide no artificial support to any discrimination or segregation. In this light, the elimination ofthe misuse of zoning, in addition to a consideration of this technique as in the instances cited, can be termed as a positive contribution supporting an evolving community integration.

Urban redevelopment, as a planning technique, has been held up by some groups as the measure through which segregation can be destroyed and the integration of the community fully accomplished.

It is a significant and important technique since it places in the hands of the community the opportunity and means through which many sore spots may be eliminated in a constructive fashion. In the case of race relations and supplementary minority group problems, if the community is sincerely interested in the development of sound inter-group relationships, if it is concerned with the growing limitations upon such a policy (as in the case of Negro-white relationships), then it can view programs of urban redevelopment as a definite opportunity to do something constructive in this regard.

There are several reasons, why this planning technique can be so effectively applied in dealing with racial problems.

Primarily, it involves planning large areas, area sufficient in size to create an environment of its own. Under such circumstances, there is available the possibility of planning

balanced neighborhoods rather than those which are of predominantly one class, or one income group, or one racial group.[136] An environment supporting a decent standard of personal living, in addition to one stimulating multi-group contacts, is essential to a bi-racial development. This is so, since it is necessary to conduct such experiments in inter-racial community living under the best possible circumstances in order to give further credence to the philosophy of non-discrimination and segregation of a voluntary rather than an enforceable nature.

Through the elimination of the one-class neighborhood, of segregated areas as the ghetto, redevelopment comes to involve the planning of such facilities as homes, schools, recreation areas, shopping areas - all functionally related and to the advantage or disadvantage of no one group, except incidentally. In this respect the neighborhood unit theory in current favor with the planners of large cities, may be of particular pertinence.[137]

There are instances where redevelopment planning will be concerned with areas insufficient in size to allow for the type of broad development as described above. The contribution to the elimination of segregation through planning on this level

136. As Catherine Bauer has pointed out:
"One-class neighborhoods are bad, but this does not mean that the ideal is a diagrammatic cross-section of incomes, races, and family types within a single building or development. This opposite extreme would be as impractical and visionary as the other is unhealthy. Most people do quite naturally tend to associate with their own kind in their more intimate relationships. What must be assured is simply a degree of variety, a lack of exclusiveness - in short a balance - within the neighborhood as a whole."
Catherine Bauer - Good Neighborhoods, p. 111

137. This theory of "the neighborhood unit - a scheme of arrangeme for the family-life community" is based largely on six principles: size, boundaries, open spaces, institution sites, local shops and internal street system. Further information as to this theory is available

will be largely concerned with the manner in which segregated areas may be opened up, or where new areas may be made available to segregated groups, in addition to the rehabilitation of residential sections already occupied by such minorities.

Prrogress in the elimination of enforced segregation relative to the redevelopment of a limited area may be achieved through the development of open space or a recreation facility of a community nature, in or near the segregated area. This possibility has the functional limitation as to the extent to which such facilities can be made attractive, and come to be used, by a cross-section of the population.

It may be similarly feasible to develop a central shopping area of the size and nature that it will attract all groups rather than cater to the needs of a selected few. The possibilities for inter-group relationships in such a case are great. In addition, a possible inadequacy suffered by the minority group, insufficient available shopping facilities conveniently located, may be erased.

Urban redevelopment on this level may also be concerned with the development of housing, limited in extent. Such a development (public or private) should consider the needs of the minority group interms of the over all housing needs of the community. Through the proper location of such a project some measure of progress will be made in the elimitation of discrimination and segregation. In some cases the availability of new housing may merely result in the shifting over of one entire group from old quarters to new quarters. To the extent that this occurs, there is experienced an improvement in the living conditions of this group. If, however, this develop-

137. (contd.) in the following reference:
Clarence A. Perry - Housing for the Machine Age, Ch. III
Russell Sage Foundation, N.Y., 1939

ment can be so publicized as to attract as tenants a relative cross-section of population groups in the community, to that extent it has contributed not only to the elimination of discrimination but also segregation.

Finally, urban redevelopment may function in such a manner as to remove from the housing market such areas of a slum or blighted nature which usually form the major portion of the residential habitat for a minority group as the Negro. In such a case, this area might be put to a much wiser use, and the rehousing provisions for its dwellers could be effected in such a manner as to make more feasible their assimilation into the community. This is possible through the rehousing ofthis group in such a manner as to avoid the creation of an inflexible ghetto; spot them in housing according to their economic level and in such a fashion as to make possible contacts with groups other than their own. This does not involve a destruction of the ethnic group, but rather a broadening of its base.

It has been pointed out that the urban redevelopment plan presents certain dangers to low-income groups and racial minorities.[138] First is the displacement of families from the site of the development without provision for rehousing them either in the new project or in dwellings on other sites. The second is the exclusion of eligible applicants solely on the basis of race.

Consequently, recommendations have been made to insure equity to minorities in the operation of the urban redevelopment program through the incorporation of certain safeguards into the sponsoring legislation; these safeguards being:[139]

138. Lester B. Granger, Inter-Racial Issues in Housing
139. Ibid

"1. Public control of housing granted tax preference or built on land acquired under eminent domain.
"2. Abrogation of restrictions against occupancy by any particular racial group in such housing.
"3. Preferential eligibility for site residents economically qualified for admission to the redevelopment project.
"4. Equitable provision of housing for site residents unable to qualify economically for occupancy in the redevelopment project."

Some objection has been raised with reference to item #3, particularly pertinent to planning. The point has been made that site residents may have been successfully relocated; and that consideration of them as possible tenants in the new project may upset a scheme based upon the redevelopment of an area, the residents of which have been successfully rehoused elsewhere, followed by the redevelopment of another area, the residents of which are to be rehoused in the newly completed project, and so on. The only criticism of this objection is to the extent that the rehousing in the initial instance must be successful in terms of economic compatability, social and physical environment. If this is verified as reasonably so, then the objection is a valid one. If, however, such is not the case and the redeveloped area has maintained as its characteristics certain old neighborhood ties and conveniences, attractive to residents with similar rent paying capacity, then the safeguard as cited under #3 should prevail.

Before evaluating the future of the minority group and the features of discrimination and segregation as related to planning in urban redevelopment, it is of importance to examine what has been done and what is being contemplated.

In the field of housing and urban redevelopment, Stuyvesant Town, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company's $50,000,00 plan

to rebuild one of New York City's slum areas, has done much to effectively aggravate racial tensions; the result of which has been some effort to assuage these tensions, ease discrimination ever so little, and emphasize segregation. [140]

It has already been pointed out that with the announcement of the construction of this development, there was established the policy that no Negroes would be accepted as tenants. [141] The ensuing furor pointed out that such discrimination seemed indefensible in a publicly endowed undertaking (tax exemption subsidy conferred on Metropolitan amounts to some $25,000,000). The result of these objections was the amendment of the New York urban redevelopment legislation [142] to the extent that no future projects in which discrimination was practiced would be eligible for tax exemption. But since the contract for Stuyvesant Town was signed before this amendment was passed, the amendment is effective only in terms of future projects.

In a tax-payer's action brought against the company a decision was rendered holding that Metropolitans discrimination policy might be challenged when the project was completed and tenants were to be selected. To meet the issue, and to appease its Negro policy-holders, Metropolitan announced a new project, "Riverton," to accomodate 1,200 families in Harlem itself.

Thus there has been established in New York City a type of segregated housing similar to the Southern pattern - one project for whites and one for Negroes. This is regrettable

140. Charles Abrams - The Walls of Stuyvesant Town, Nation Magazine, p. 328-329, March 24, 1945. Task Magazine: Issue #4, p. 36
141. See page 86 of thesis.
142. The Board of Estimate of New York City passed a local law to the effect that hereafter no such project could enjoy tax exemption if it refused tenancy to any applicant because of that applicant's race, color or creed.

since it is in such areas as New York City, where segregation is in a somewhat tenuous position, that we should look for examples of urban redevelopment demonstrating the application of plans devised to eliminate segregation rather than to emphasize it.[143]

During the past year (1945) urban redevelopment has been practiced in New Jersey in manner which is pertinent to the elimination of discrimination and segregation in this state. Reference to activities in East Orange, N.J.[144] reveals the development of a program for the redevelopment of that city's blighted districts, also the Negro residential areas. It is proposed that these areas be rebuilt as exclusive garden apartments, not available for bi-racial residence. The rehousing of the Negro population is proposed through the construction of two Federal Housing Projects. However, the contemplated projects are not sufficient in size to absorb the displaced Negro families. Furthermore, East Orange has no local housing authority, an agency necessary to the development of any federal housing.

Investigation of urban redevelopment programs in other parts of the state, pertinent to this racial group, reveals conditions of a similar nature On the basis of available information, it would seem that many of these communities are attempting to relocate their Negro population in other towns and cities, preferably Newark. It is hoped that the Newark Housing Authority will act to satisfy the needs of this group.

143. It should be noted that the New York City Planning Commission was active in the urban redevelopment plans resulting in Stuyvesant Town.

144. Housing and Redevelopment, Land Use and Zoning City Planning Board, 1945, E. Orange, N.J.

In this case, there is also noted the formulation of plans for urban redevelopment stimulating an active policy of discrimination and segregation.

These two illustrations present a picture of the current practicing of urban redevelopment which is not encouraging for minority groups. Reference to a statement made by a group contemplating further redevelopment in New York City is not of a different note:[145]

> "The practical effect of this local law (footnote #142 of thesis) remains to be seen but it is at present the opinion of many large institutional investors that the law will make it very difficult to create private capital redevelopment projects where tax exemption in whole or in part is a prerequisite, until people as a whole abandon their prejudices of race, color and creed. This is a purely practical consideration and is not to be taken as an argument either for or against the local law. Certainly from a theoretical point of view, and a point of view that would seem to be unassailable on moral, ethical and political grounds, it would be very difficult to attack the law. People, irrespective of race, color or creed pay the taxes and are a part of the sovereign body called the city. If that sovereign body grants privileges in the form of condemnation and real estate tax exemption to certain investors, then it would seem to be entirely consistent that the sovereign body prohibit any discrimination against the citizens making up that body. This is the theory and it is perfectly logical. Whether tenants paying the scale of rents (41.50 to 67.50 per month) called for in Stage I (of the proposed redevelopment program) are as yet conditioned to accept it is open to question and has yet to be proved. While doubt on this point exists, it is questionable whether investors will risk substantial funds in the provision of housing subject to the terms of the local law in question."

On the basis of the information presented, it is concluded that urban redevelopment as it is currently practiced, will not fulfill the hopes of those who have expected to see, with the application of this planning technique, definite progress against a continued discrimination and segregation of minority groups.

This decision is based on the premise that the private investor (the group which can support urban redevelopment most successfully, the group which such legislation should attract),

145. A Realistic Approach to Private Investment -

is not convinced as to the stability of any venture involving bi-racialism and the elimination of segregation. The best that apparently can be hoped for, is the development of such projects as Metropolitan's Riverton Housing Development which has served to relieve a degree of the housing needs of the Negro, but in such a way as to stimulate conditions making for increased needs in this facility.

Consequently, in terms of the current picture in redevelopment, it would seem wise for the planning agency to devote itself to a further consideration of the arguments advanced by the private investor (as indicated). Then, in terms of these arguments, and as based upon pertinent surveys and investigations relative tothe local situation, efforts should be made to demonstrate the fallacy of a continued discrimination and forced segregation.

If the municipality is to avoid becoming a real estate agency and developer, private interests mustbbe stimulated to function in the field of urban redevelopment in such a manner as to effect the desirable integration of the community.

Pertinent to the relationship between municipality - private redevelopment cooperation, it should be the policy of the former to retain control over the land, streets and utilities through the use of a measure as the long term lease. This is advisable in order to avoid the possibility of the creation of future slums, the result of "milking the property dry" long after

145. (contd) p. 48, Manhattan Development Committee Architectural Forum, N.Y.C., 1945

a project has paid for itself, outlived its usefulness, and the site restudied relative to a continued valid land use.[146]

It is felt that urban redevelopment as a planning technique can be applied effectively by the planning agency through the instrument of the private organization, the aim of which is to make a reasonable return on its investment.

The extensive possibilities of urban redevelopment in eliminating discrimination and furthering the possibilities for the integration of all groups within the community has been established. What is now needed is the organized data necessary to support the functioning of this technique not only as a measure for rehousing and allocating land to its best use - open space, commercial areas and the like; but doing this in such a manner as to demonstrate the feasability of cutting out segregation of an enforced nature from urban living.

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146. This is especially important, since at such a stage property usually reverts to use by a segregated minority group, and in this manner contributes to a continued discrimination and segregation.

CONCLUSION

This study has been concerned with an analysis of race relations and city planning. Attention has been directed to minority groups in general, to the Negro in particular. The Negro, as a group subject to minority problems more intense in degree, was examined with an eye to showing its relative position in the nation today. In the course of such an examination certain minority problems of a planning nature became apparent. Each of these was considered in terms of planning techniques applicable in the particular case. In turn, in each appropriate section, there was an evaluation of the resulting affect of the use of techniques relative to the questions of discrimination, segregation, and community integration; as well as a statement concerning the position of the planning agency in the municipal government and its effective jurisdiction over the matter in question. This was done in order to investigate the premise that it is the function of the planning agency, with no broad interpretation or redefinition of such activity implied, to act effectively in matters of race relations (minority relations) and the community. On the basis of the data presented, it is believed that this premise is valid.

In these concluding pages of the thesis, an effort will be made to summarize the evaluations presented under the individual sub-headings of housing, recreation, schools, health and welfare, utilities, transit and transportation, zoning and urban redevelopment in terms of the overall functioning of a planning body in dealing with racial problems in such a way as to assist in the integration of the community.

Any such summary statement should be prefaced with the remark that there is need for coordinated planning action in this matter of race relations and the community. A relationship among planning units on a local, metropolitan, county, state and national level would be of extreme importance in lending the emphasis of unified popular support to action taken in matters of this nature.

As was initially formulated, the functioning of the planning agency in terms of minority problems of a planning nature involved a two-fold approach: 1. that as a public agency and 2. that as an agency concerned with the practice of appropriate planning techniques.

As a public agency, it represents all of the people of the community; it functions for their good and welfare. As such this body should devote itself to demonstrating conclusively the social and economic losses to the community involved in a perpetuation of discrimination and segregation in the municipality. As an agency with a relatively strong influence over the guidance of community development, its policy concerning discrimination, segregation and their relation to minority groups can be affectively interpreted to the community as well as effectively applied in appropriate instances.

As an agency functioning in terms of certain planning techniques as applied to the community, this body again finds itself in the position of an advisory group so functioning as to guide community growth properly. In this respect, it can recommend on the basis of its investigations and plans, that a new school, playground, recreation building or housing development be so located as to influence any prevailing conditions relati-

discrimination and segregation as to their progressive removal from community life. But these suggestions need not be effectively applied by the appropriate municipal department or the private developer.

It is a case of the relative influence and position of the planning board within the community as to whether or not their proposals are used by the department or group in question.

Such suggestions, however, can assume a level of much greater importance if the philosophy favoring the elimination of discrimination and segregation has the support similar to that which many planning groups have stimulated in favor of, i.e., zoning.

In the functioning of the planning group as a coordinating agency for community activities pertinent to the development of the town or city, the agency finds itself in the position where a progressive policy as to race relations and community integration can be incorporated into such plans as may be developed in terms of this growth. This involves, in turn, not only the use of advisory citizens groups in the evolving such plans in order to assure popular approval; but the working with and through other public and private agencies concerned with the effective development of their community. [147]

Reference has been made to the development of a Master Plan which would indicate the extent of the minorities problems of a planning nature in the community, and the nature of any planning action in dealing objectively with such issues. Of fundamental importance to such a program developed for the purposes of achieving an integrated community are such features as the

147. Tracy B. Augur - Citizen Participation in City Planning, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, November 1945.

assembling of pertinent data and information relative to the condition of the community; assembling such similar data and information relative to the condition of the minority group; the consequent interpretation of the needs of the latter in terms of the needs of the former. Such an analysis effectively demonstrates the extent of any discrimination (as due to an enforced segregation) and planning action may be formulated by the planning agency in terms of the particular problems posed. Here would be reflected such features as the location of schools, recreation facilities, housing developments (public and private) shopping facilities - all interrelated in terms of the needs of the community, but in a manner as to favor the elimination of discrimination and positively influence the integrative processes within the community.

The effective application of such a Master Plan would involve working within the framework of public opinion in the community.[148]

There would be necessary the stimulation of those conditions favoring the evolution of a public opinion receptive to the elimination of discrimination and segregation in favor of the ensuing integration of all groups within the community. This would involve such factors as the re-education of the public and the re-orientation of public opinion on matters concerning racial relations and minority groups.

In addition, in order to avoid the possibility of the planning agency becoming either a public works agency or a housing bureau, it is urgent that any plans as may be developed

148. Until it is felt that people really want better race relations, possibilities of aggressive municipal action are slim.

be applied through the specific municipal department, public agency or private organization involved in terms of the point at issue. A close relationship should be developed between the planning agency and the respective group applying such plans in order to ascertain a full appreciation of the features involved with the complete application of these plans.

The detailed analysis of the development of the Master Plan, and a consideration of appropriate planning techniques as applied in specific instances has served to indicate the manner in which such a program for planning action may function, as well as the scope of such action.

It should be established as a final conclusion, that in terms of the cases cited, it is seen that such a program is flexible enough to be applied successfully in different areas of the United States. This is necessary since sectional differences are relatively prominent in this nation and are reflected in the diverse character and degree of conditions making for discrimination and segregation in the South, the North and the West. [149]

The basic philosophy supporting such a program need not be changed in terms of regional differences. It is rather the time element which must be adjusted. Basic to the integration of all groups within a community is the elimination of segregation, this in turn being possible only with the eradication of discrimination. Consequently the effect of the functioning of such a program on the latter feature will influence the possibility for the other two. Progress, however, will be subject

149. It is to be noted as well that such differences in conditions also occur within the respective regions allowing for further variations in the functioning of these social and economic processes.

to the influence of conditions in the specific locale - and as in the South, although the elimination of discrimination alone against the Negro would be a marked achievement, a similar accomplishment in the North should be accompanied by an adjustment in the extent of the segregative process to be of similar significance. This evaluation is based on the social philosophies as expressed in both regions, and the ensuing affect on the possibilities for community integration.

If the objective of city planning is better living for the entire community in a democratic society, it must provide for the full and equal participation of minority and racial groups. This thesis has been concerned with a study of conditions for and against such a possibility in terms of the functioning of the planning agency. As based upon comprehensive investigation and in view of the evidence presented, the conclusion is that such a development is not only possible but desirable; that effective planning techniques are available to assist in this process, and that it is within the power of the city planning unit to contribute to the accomplishment of such an integration of the community.

APPENDIX A

ANALYSIS OF GARY, INDIANA

Purpose of Case Analysis:

This case study of Gary, Indiana is submitted in order to determine the extent to which any program developed by the city planning agency for dealing with racial relations and minority group problems may be so applied as to assist in the solution of these problems in such a manner as to further the progress of integrating these groups within the community life.

Fundamental to the application of such a program are several factors: the investigation and establishment of the extent of any minority groups within the community; the analysis of the needs of the community at large as well as those of the minority group, this feature involving the study as to the relative degree to which the minority group in question participates in and receives the use of community facilities; and the enumeration of the basic sore spots making for strained inter-group relations within the community. On the basis of such an investigation, decisions may be made as to whether or not a specific issue is pertinent to the functioning of the city planning agency, or whether it should be directed to an indicated municipal department or community agency. In those instances where the matter under consideration has certain planning aspects which may be acted upon constructively by the city planning commission, then recourse may be had to this Master Plan to serve as a guide for planning action in minority problems peculiar to the local situation.

Choice of Gary as City for Analysis:

There are several reasons why Gary, Indiana was selected as the city to study in the application of a Master Plan as postulated in this thesis.

The city itself is comparatively new, having been founded in 1906. Its population is heterogereous in nature, and, in keeping with the manner in which illustrations in the text have been presented, the city contains a fairly large Negro group in terms of its relative position to the total population of Gary. Furthermore, this city is in the position where no deep set of traditions has developed to support any perpetuation of discrimination and enforced segregation as it is now practiced in the community. It is felt, consequently, that in a community of this nature, the opportunities are great for the application of an objective race relations program as developed by the municipal administration and its supplementary agencies and departments. It is believed that the planning agency may function in such a manner as to contribute to the constructive application of such a program and through such action assist in the integration of Gary.

There are, however, certain limitations in studying Gary, Indiana with the aforementioned view in mind.

Unfortunately, the city boasts a local planning commission which is relatively inactive. [150] In addition, there is no one organized citizens group which has concerned itself with planning activities affecting the development of the community. As a matter of fact, most groups have demon-

150. Efforts made to contact this agency were to no avail. It has been indirectly established that the extent of any recent activity by this group has been confined solely to zoning.

strated a dislike for initiating the assumption of this responsibility by any local group. Whenever it has been necessary, consultants have been called in and asked to investigate a specific situation and make appropriate proposals. Following which, of course, it was the prerogative of the municipal administration to apply such proposals - eager to claim any credit, but equally vociferous in disclaiming responsibility if such application had negative results.

As a result the data relative to this analysis of Gary has been drawn from several sources, the most complete and reliable being United States census data for this area and several reports and surveys conducted by the National Urban League within the past three years.

The compilation, organization and making available of much of this data should have been a part of the normal functioning of the Gary Planning Commission. This would be necessary if such an agency were to comprehensively understand and appreciate the various features which make up the city of Gary.

On the basis of the available material, the analysis of the Negro as a minority group in this city, and the problems of this group of a planning nature are presented.

Minority Group Problems of a Planning Nature in Gary, Indiana:

Gary, located at the southern tip of Lake Michigan, is the third largest city in Indiana. A by-product of the U.S. Steel Corporation, the city was founded to take care of the steel and iron demands of the Middle West, which region represents one of its largest consumers.

According to the United States Census of 1940, the city had a total population of 111,719 of which 20,394 or 18.3 percent were Negroes. A further appreciation of the growth of this segment of the population as compared to that of the city may be had through reference to Table IA. The best estimates as of August 1944, gave the City of Gary a total population of 120,000 plus and the Negro population as approximately 24,000, or 20 percent of the total. No other city north of the Mason-Dixon line showed a larger percentage of Negroes. [151]

The proportion of whites in Gary's population accounted for 81.6 percent of the total - 66.2 percent were native whites and 15.4 percent foreign-born whites. Gary has one of the largest foreign-born populations on the basis of total population of any city in the United States. The largest groups listed at the time of the 1940 census were from Yugoslavia, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Russia, Italy, Greece, Canada and Mexico. Reference to Table IIIA illustrates the population composition of the city as compared with surrounding areas for the year 1940.

The major employment open to both Negroes and whites is furnished by the U S.Steel Corporation or its subsidiaries. It is the demands of the steel industries in and around Gary which have always constituted the chief incentive for the migration of Negroes to this city. Analysis of the Negro in the city's labor force indicates that he is concentrated largely in the heavy industries as an unskilled and semi-skilled

15 See Table IIA for an analysis of total population and Negro population of selected northern cities for 1940.

worker. A few are found scattered in professional and white collar jobs. In 1940, Negroes represented 14.4 percent of the employed workers of the city and a further breakdown as to their occupation status is indicated in Table IVA.

Relative to the problems of the Negro as a minority group, it was established that in housing, education and recreation this group suffered most severely due to discrimination and segregation. Consequently, each of these will be reviewed in terms of the characteristics of the respective problem, in order to establish a framework within which such planning as is feasible may be applied. Aspects of other problems of a planning nature will be reflected in terms of the following discussion of these three most important ones.

An examination of the housing facilities of this group reveals both a widespread discrimination and segregation. The Negro population of Gary is confined essentially to one large area known as the Central District. Its boundaries are the business section on the North, Broadway (the main thoroughfare of Gary) on the east, an open area which in inundated several months of the year on the south and the railroad lines and yards to the west. The means used to maintain this residential segregation of the Negro have been the restrictive covenant, tacit agreements (gentleman's agreements) among property owners not to sell to colored people, and a differentiation in credit rates as applied by banks and other organizations dealing with home financing for Negroes.

As has been pointed out earlier, the Negro comprised

18.2 percent of the total 1940 population of Gary. At that time, this group occupied 17.6 per cent of the housing units.

Gary is a community where two-thirds of all families are tenants. Four in every five non-white families are tenants; thus, the overwhelming majority of Negroes are tenants. The gravity of the condition among this group can be seen through reference to Table VA. It is there indicated that two-thirds (2,770) of their units needed major repairs or were without private indoor flush toilet or without private bath. These units are found largely in the Central District. This is to be compared with roughly one-third (4,897) of the dwelling units of the white population in such condition.

Table VIA shows the model rent per month for non-white tenants to be in the $20 - $24 range. Over half of this group paid this much or more for rent; and if all those who lived in substandard units paid low rents, there would still be a sizeable group paying over $25 a month for units which were substandard.

Among white tenants, the model group paid from $30 - $39 per month for dwelling units. The average rental paid by white tenants, however, was only slightly higher than that paid by non-white tenants, falling in the $25 - $29 range. Among the former group, housing conditions are similarly deplorable; one third of these families living in substandard dwellings. It can be concluded, from Table VIA, that if all white tenant families living in substandard housing paid low rents, the number of them living under such conditions

in 1940 was so large that many families paid more than $20 a month for substandard units.

The units needing major repairs, and without private bath, to which this study has referred to as substandard, were occupied by families of the size shown in Table VIIA. This reveals the comparative degree of overcrowding between white and non-white families.

The Dorey report [152], as made in 1942, found that 40 percent of the children in Gary lived in apartment houses. It was pointed out that in the Central District, the Black Belt of Gary, there are few apartments, but instead single, double, triple and converted units. This same area had the largest number of units without running water and flush toilets, and many dilapidated buildings in need of repair or demolition.[153]

Of the owner-occupied units, one-fourth among whites were substandard, and over half among non-whites were of this nature. (Table VA)

There has been relatively little construction of new homes in Gary for either whites or Negroes. It is of interest to note, however, that one real estate agency (Small Farms, Inc.) has been promoting among Negroes the sale of land southwest of the Central District bordering the Little Calumet River. Part of this area is in the city of Gary with the balance beyond the city limits. It has been disclosed that this

152. This report was based on a survey made by one F. Dorey.

153. During the course of investigations by the National Urban League in 1944, it was ascertained that a slum elimination coordinator had been appointed in Gary. A postwar slum elimination project which would spend over $6,000,000 was publicly announced. It was stated that almost 800 houses needed to be razed immediately. In the two councilmanic districts, where the great majority of the Negroes

land has been found unfit for use since it is too low, is subject to insufficient drainage, and is inundated for a period of several months each year.

The cost of improving this land to make it available for residential purposes would virtually prohibit such a development.

Table VA discloses that thirty percent of the non-white tenant families were paying less than $20 per month in 1940. An equally large number of white families were in this category. Up to this date, private real estate has found it impossible to furnish decent, sanitary units to this group at that price.

Table VIIIA reveals a detailed consideration of public housing in Gary. The three low-cost housing projects operated by the Gary Housing Authority house 787 families. One project, Delaney, is located in the Negro area and has 305 dwelling units and is occupied entirely by Negro families. The other two projects are located in other parts of the community and are occupied completely by white families.

A consideration
A consideration of educational facilities as made available to Negroes reveals a similar pattern of discrimination and segregation although not quite so clear cut.

153. (contd) live, 50 percent of the rented units are substandard, in addition over a third of the units are without baths. Five hundred Negro families were found to be living doubled-up with other families.

154.

Over fifty nationality groups are represented among the 20,
20,032 students enrolled in the various schools of the Gary school system during the Fall of 1944. Of those enrollees, 5,501 were Negroes in attendance at Roosevelt, Froebel, East Pulaski, and Lincoln schools. The first two schools have all grades, one to twelve; the third has grades one to eight; and Lincoln has grades one to six.

Evaluation of the plants of these schools in a Purdue study of the Gary school system (in total 20 schools) rated Roosevelt as first; Froebel, sixth; East Pulaski, twelfth; and Lincoln, sixteenth. All of these plants are brick structures of recent construction, with the exception of Lincoln, which is a wooden structure built about fifteen years ago for temporary use. The Roosevelt School is located deep in the Negro residential area; the Froebel School is located outside this section, but very close to it; while the other two schools are located away from this part of the community.

Table IXA is concerned with the capacity and enrollment in schools attended by Negro children. The National Urban League has questioned the accuracy of these statistics.[154] Among its criticisms is the claim that the Roosevelt School can accommodate only 2800 children; thus it has an excess enrollment of 543 pupils and it is operating at 123 percent of capacity. It was further pointed out that due to the over-crowded condition of this school, many children who should have entered have not been admitted.

154. A Study of the Social and Economic Conditions of the Negro Population of Gary, Indiana p. 23-26 National Urban League, December 1944.

Relative to the establishment of school districts,

> "...the most amazing yet singularly interesting bit of engineering has been done in arranging boundaries and options for school districts as they converge on the area of Negro occupancy. Generally speaking, school children in Gary do not have to travel more than a half mile to the nearest elementary school. In the case of high schools, the distance is, of course, greater; but the schools have been located and the boundaries have been arranged so that each child will travel as short a distance as possible and cross as few trunk lines and thoroughfares as possible. This is the general plan. The deviations from it have been made where the colored child either has to attend a school especially provided for him or where his attendance in a school has made that school less desirable for non-Negro children, no matter how close they may live to it. ... Regardless of how close the Negro child lives to Jefferson or Emerson School, he must cross railroad and street lines and attend Froebel School. ... these deviations and the attitude that has been built around them, in addition to taxing an already inadequate transportation system, handicap white youth as well as Negro youth." [155]

It has been further stated by interested groups that sound planning of the school system in Gary would involve that a redistribution of the enrollment take into consideration the efficient use of all facilities, both in the school system and those in the community at large which will be required to be brought into use as a result of planning for the education of the population.

The general inadequacy of recreational opportunities for the Negro , as well as discrimination and segregation in the various aspects of this community activity, is reflected in the disproportionate crime and delinquency rates for that group relative to other groups in the community.

Recreation for Negroes has shown little improvement since

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155. Ibid p. 24

the Central District Recreation Survey was made in 1942.[156]

In that study it was shown that seventy percent of the Negro children (1100) did not have the opportunity to participate in any organized and supervised group life due to the lack of proper facilities; that camping facilities for Negroes in Gary were severly limited due to strict segregation;[157] that the community made no effort to meet the needs of Negro youths between the ages of 16 and 20 years;[158] that commerical recreation facilities patronized to any great extent by Negroes were located in or near the Central District; and that opportunities for adult recreation were limited and were largely directed to church functions which found no place in the over all community setting. Probably the most effective community agency serving the recreational and leisure-time needs of the Negro was the Public Library of Gary.

It has been in the use of recreation facilities that racial tension has resulted in conflict in Gary. The immediate cause of the Froebel School strike (Sept 18 - Nov 12, 1945) was over the use of swimming facilities by Negroes or whites - the strike finally being defined in terms of the protest of white pupils against attending school with Negro pupils.[159]

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156. Frank Dorey - Central District Recreation Survey, Gary, Indiana, 1942.

157. Camps were made available to Negroes only for the last week of the camping season.

158. The high arrest rate of Negro youth is sufficient testimony to their need for additional aid in securing recreational leadership and participation in wholesome leisure-time programs. At the present time, discrimination and general inadequacy of community facilities makes this difficult of achievement.

159. The strike was finally ended when it was pointed out that the children were violating school attendance laws by remaining out of school.

In addition, the continued denial of Negroes from using the only beach in Gary has stimulated a good deal of tension in inter-group relations.

Thus it is seen that restricted residential areas for Negroes, undesirable housing, inadequate and restricted use of recreational opportunities, and educational limitations are all contributing factors to strained interracial relations in the city. This general description of the three most pressing problems of the Negro as a minority group will serve to provide the framework within which any effective planning action must function in terms of the basic tenets of this thesis. [160]

Relative to each of these problems, there is certain pertinent action which may be taken by the Gary City Planning Board involving the application of particular planning techniques.

In treating the various aspects of the housing situation, the number one problem facing the Negro in Gary to a much more severe degree than the community at large, it is essential that there be a proper coordination between public housing and private housing. On the basis of available data, it would seem that currently, public housing can do more in satisfying the needs of this group. This fact is further established when one considers the high level of the present cost of construction without an equivalently high income status for the greater number of the members of this minority group.

In a relationship between the Gary City Planning Commission

160. It should be considered, in addition to the other features

and the Gary Housing Authority there should be a close coordination of planning activities with particular reference to housing. This would involve such features as the location of respective projects in such a way as to assist in the breaking up of the present one large concentrated Negro residential area into several smaller Negro areas scattered in different parts of the city. [161] The possibilities for a project with bi-racial occupancy should be investigated. In a city such as Gary, this undertaking would not be in conflict with F.P.H.A. policy [162] since segregation is not consistently applied in all phases of community activities.

160.(contd.)involved, that there is a definite division within the Negro group - a class distinction between professionals and the working class-- which merely serves to further complicate the scene and the possibilities for constructive action.

161. There have been no bi-racial or mixed housing developments in Gary, rather it is in housing that enforced segregation has been most strictly observed. For this reason, it is felt that in view of the prevailing public opinion in the community, the way to achieve the elimination of segregation, or its maintenance as only a voluntary feature, is to so break up any large concentrated ghetto into smaller parts less concentrated in one area. This will not only serve to stimulate conditions which will make possible a treatment of this problem to eliminate some of the inadequacies involved; but it will further serve the purpose of presenting this group more as human beings with similar interests and habits as other people, rather than as a concentrated mass to be regarded as "a menace threatening to engulf the community", and not as Westbrook Pegler puts it "segregated for what's in it for themselves."

162. That part of the F.P.H.A. policy in which reference is made to the fact that the agency will propose no interracial occupancy within any one project if this isaagainst the social practices of the community.

In working with private developers, the Gary City Planning Commission should indicate the desirability of making new developments open to all groups; endeavor to bring about the elimination of such features as the race restrictive covenant; and through the proper location of appropriate developments further attempt to open up the ghetto.

In addition, the planning commission should undertake a study of the residential land use of the city (present and proposed) in order to direct the relationship between new areas for development and a minority group as the Negro in such a way as to meet some of the housing needs of these people, decrease the congestion of the central city and further augment the possibilities for a constructive slum clearance program and urban redevelopment in Gary.

It is to be noted that an area demanding initial consideration in an urban redevelopment program is the Central District. It is possible that if the excess population could be relocated elsewhere in the city, there might be a re-adjustment of land values in this central area. [163] This would be of great assistance to the possibilities for the success of any program of this nature with the ensuing allocation of the land in this area to its wisest use. As has been developed in the previous section of this thesis, the objective application of an urban redevelopment program may be instrumental in effecting community integration.

A final consideration of the Gary City Planning Board should be the establishment of control over the development of residential areas within the city in order to eliminate

163. See footnote # 79 , page 70 of thesis

the possibility for improper subdivision development as exemplified by the transactions proposed by Small Farms Inc. of that city. Where it appears that residential use of the land has certain disadvantages, efforts should be made to either withhold land of this nature from such use, or else to keep any disadvantages to a minimum. In the case under consideration involving the provision of utilities and maintenance of minimum health standards, the requirements to be fulfilled by the developer and/or the community should be clear to both parties. It would be wise, in this instance, that the planning commission work with the Lake County Planning Board pertinent to the proper controls of such land as may adjoin the city boundaries

Evaluation of existing conditions in education and the availability of school facilities indicates that the extent of current facilities is sufficient for the number of students as are now enrolled in the schools. The problem is rather one of redefinition of the school districts with an ensuing redistribution of the school population. It is felt that this may be done with a complete discarding of segregation (and discrimination) since such a pattern is not consistently practiced in the schools at the present time. However, this is a matter more for the consideration of the Gary School Board, unless something occurs to change the present situation radically.

There is room, nevertheless, for a wide coordination of planning activities between the latter agency and the local planning commission. This is so since it is the concern of both groups, i.e., that the school districts be so defined

and bounded as to avoid their being traversed by a major street or heavily travelled thoroughfare, present or proposed; especially since such a development may function in favor of discrimination and segregation.

The site selection and location of new schools (or relocation of old ones) is another function which is shared by these two agencies. The values involved in an objective policy relative to this aspect of planning action have already been presented. In addition, in this phase of planning, it is well to keep in mind the importance of the school as the nucleus of the neighborhood and the possibilities for interracial amity and living if this aspect of community life is characterized by such a feature.

Preliminary to any planning action relative to recreation is the need for a complete survey of the existing facilities in the city; the needs of the community at large; and then, in terms of this data, the relative position of the Negro within the community. On the basis of available information, it would seem that Gary suffered from a lack of sufficient open space (developed and undeveloped) as well as adequate recreational facilities, in terms of the over all community needs as well as that of its constituent parts of which the Negro is a prominent one.

Without the benefit of such a survey, it is still possible to point out the necessity for a more extensive program of organized public recreation of a community wide nature. It is possible that this activity would come under the auspices of the Park Department or a Central Recreation Commission. Coordination with the Gary Planning Commission would be essential to the full use of existing facilities and for the wise

provision for the location and development of others.

In this instance again, Gary presents an unclear segregative pattern. Consequently, the possibility of developing recreation areas and the use of appropriate facilities for all groups is great. Even in the event that segregation persisted, it would be of the nature as not to impede inter-group relations.

It is interesting to note that relative to the three problems discussed, consulting agencies from outside the city have been called in to make studies and suggestions To date, there has been nothing developed or proposed which is pertinent to the housing problem other than to emphasize its severity; the school districts are in the process of being redefined with efforts being made to eliminate segregation and discrimination, the Bureau for Inter-Cultural Education is developing a program to be applied by appropriate community agencies for adult education; and the only beach in Gary has been opened to both the Negro and white populations of the city.

Evaluation of the Master Plan Approach:

From this consideration of the application of several planning techniques to the minority problems of the Negro in Gary, Indiana, and along such lines of application as suggested by the Master Plan developed in the third section of this thesis; it is seen that a definite contribution may be made by the use of planning action in dealing with such problems. The purpose of such a Master Plan is to serve merely as a guide, subject to the ramifications of the local situation. No one formulistic approach will automatically solve all of the problems involved; but specific constructive steps can be taken to correct those conditions which are established

as being provocative of hostile race relations and injurious to the best interests of the whole community. In addition it is evident that there must be organization on a city-wide basis, and that a further program of action which is simple, practical and progressive must be devised in such a fashion that many agencies together may work on the whole problem and individual agencies may work separately on various phases of the problem of race relations, minority groups, and the integration of the community.

TABLE I A

NEGRO POPULATION AS COMPARED WITH THE TOTAL GARY POPULATION

1910 - 1940

YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	NEGRO POPULATION	PER CENT NEGRO OF TOTAL POPULATION
1910	16,802	383	2.3
1920	55,378	5,299	9.6
1930	100,426	17,922	17.8
1940	111,719	20,394	18.3

SOURCE: U.S Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census

TABLE II A

TOTAL POPULATION AND NEGRO POPULATION OF SELECTED NORTHERN CITIES: 1940

CITY	TOTAL POPULATION	NEGRO POPULATION	PER CENT NEGRO OF TOTAL
New York	7,454,995	458,444	6.1
Pittsburgh	671,659	62,216	9.3
Philadelphia	1,931,334	250,880	13.0
Chicago	3,396,808	277,731	8.2
Boston	770,816	23,679	3.1
Detroit	1,623,452	149,119	9.2
Milwaukee	587,472	8,821	1.5
Indianapolis	460,000	51,949	11.1
Gary	111,719	20,394	18.3

SOURCE: U.S.Department of Commerce, Sixteenth Census: 1940

TABLE III A

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION OF GARY WITH THOSE OF LAKE COUNTY AND THE STATE OF INDIANA: 1940

COLOR & NATIONALITY	GARY		LAKE COUNTY		STATE OF INDIANA	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Native white	73,976	66.2	221,939	75.7	3,194,692	93.2
Foreign-born white	17,270	15.4	43,862	15.0	110,631	3.2
Negro	20,394	18.3	27,253	9.3	121,916	3.6
Other	79	0.1	141		557	
	111,719	100.0	293.195	100.0	3,427,796	100.0

SOURCE: Sixteenth U.S.Census, 1940

TABLE IV A

RACE OF EMPLOYED PERSONS (EXCEPT ON PUBLIC EMERGENCY WORK)

GARY, INDIANA: 1940

EMPLOYMENT STATUS BY OCCUPATION	RACE		
	Total	Negro	White
Professional and semi-professional	2796	205	2591
Proprietors, managers, officials, except farm	2325	94	2225
Clerical, sales and kindred workers	6579	166	6413
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers	9083	439	8643
Operatives, kindred workers	8942	1062	7870
Service workers except domestic	2280	541	1737
Farm laborers and foremen	9		9
Laborers, except farm and mine	7005	2133	4865
Not reported	279	72	207
Domestic service workers	1308	428	880
Total Employed	40626	5140	35460

SOURCE: Sixteenth U.S.Census: 1940

TABLE V A

ALL DWELLING UNITS AND NUMBER NEEDING MAJOR REPAIRS OR WITHOUT PRIVATE INDOOR FLUSH TOILET OR PRIVATE BATH BY OCCUPANCY, TENURE AND COLOR: 1940

OCCUPANCY AND TENURE	TOTAL	NON WHITE	WHITE	Dwelling Units Needing Major Repairs or Without Private Indoor Flush Toilet or Without Private Bath TOTAL	WHITE	NON WHITE
Total	30,520			10,451		
Occupied	30,005	24,720	5,285	10,208	6,886	3,322
Tenant	19,390	15,132	4,258	7,667	4,897	2,770
Owners	10,615	9,588	1,027	2,541	1,989	552
Vacant	515			243		
For Sale or Rent	437.			173		
Not for Sale or Rent	78			70		

SOURCE: U.S.Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census Summary Data Sheet I, Census of Housing, Gary, Indiana 1940, Washington, D. C.

TABLE VIA

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION BY GROSS RENT OF TENANT OCCUPIED UNITS NEEDING MAJOR REPAIRS OR WITHOUT PRIVATE INDOOR FLUSH TOILET OR WITHOUT PRIVATE BATH, BY COLOR: 1940

GROSS RENT	WHITE	NON-WHITE
Reporting	100.0 (4896)	100.0 (2772)
Less than $3	-	-
$3 - $4	0.1 (5)	0.2 (6)
4 - 6	1.0 (49)	0.5 (14)
7 - 9	1.1 (54)	2.3 (64)
10 - 14	7.4 (362)	6.8 (188)
15 - 19	18.9 (926)	17.9 (496)
20 - 24	21.4 (1048)	27.5 (762)
25 - 29	18.0 (881)	22.6 (626)
30 - 39	22.0 (1077)	19.3 (535)
40 - 49	7.5 (367)	2.7 (75)
50 - 59	1.7 (83)	0.2 (6)
60 - 74	0.7 (34)	-
75 - 99	0.2 (10)	-
100 or more	-	-

SOURCE: U.S.Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Ibid

TABLE VII A

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION BY SIZE AND HOUSEHOLD OF TENANT OCCUPIED UNITSDNEEDING MAJOR REPAIRS OR WITHOUT INDOOR FLUSH TOILET OR WITHOUT PRIVATE BATH, BY COLOR: 1940

SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD	WHITE	NON-WHITE
Percent of Dwelling Units with Two persons or More	82.4	91.7
Two persons or more	100.0	100.0
2 persons	35.9	30.9
3 persons	26.0	21.5
4	17.3	17.2
5	9.5	11.7
6	5.1	7.0
7	3.0	5.1
8	1.3	2.7
9	0.9	2.0
10	0.4	0.9
11 or more	0.5	1.0

OURCE: U.S.Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Ibid

TABLE VIII A

DWELLING UNITS SHOWING DATA ON OCCUPIED FAMILIES, PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECTS: GARY, INDIANA, SEPTEMBER 1943

	Delaney Community	Ivanhoe Gardens	Dureland Village
Dwelling Units	305	317	165
Rooms	1284	1429	749
Buildings	137	103	61
Average Room per Dwelling	4.2	4.5	4.5
Families with School-Age Children	186	181	85
School-Age Children	379	373	166
Pre-School-Age Children	181	237	167
Low Income (under Grade F)	151	125	42
No. of families			
Average Income of Employed Families	$1421	$1327	$1292
Average Dwelling Rent	17.60	16.80	15.90
Average Net Family Income	1907	2346	2410
Average Dwelling Rent	30.10	32.40	34.20
Total Families Moved	52	125	41

SOURCE: Annual Report, The Housing Authority of the City of Gary, Indiana

TABLE IX A

POPULATION IN SCHOOLS ATTENDED BY NEGRO CHILDREN SHOWING CAPACITY OF SCHOOL, AND RATIO OF NEGRO TO TOTAL
GARY, INDIANA: FALL 1944

SCHOOL	CAPACITY	TOTAL ENROLLMENT	RATIO OF CAPACITY IN PERCENT	NEGRO ENROLL-MENT	RATIO OF NEGRO TO TOTAL IN PERCENT
Total	7700	6963		5501	
Lincoln	400	385	96.5	314	81.0
East Pulaski	1000	894	89.4	894	100.0
Froebel	3000	2341	78.0	950	41.0
Roosevelt	3300	3343	101.3	3343	100.0

SOURCE: A Social and Economic Survey of Gary, Indiana
National Urban League, p. 23, December 1944.

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