

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE HOUSING ATTITUDES  
OF BLACK AND WHITE FAMILIES LIVING  
IN PUBLIC HOUSING

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1970

Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate College  
of the Oklahoma State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the Degree of  
MASTER OF SCIENCE  
July, 1971

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE HOUSING ATTITUDES  
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## PREFACE

The need for racial harmony in the area of housing is recognized by all classes in American society. This need is especially critical in the lower socioeconomic levels, if adequate housing is to be provided for them. This study is primarily concerned with comparing the housing attitudes of black and white families living in public housing.

The writer wishes to express her deepest gratitude to Mrs. Christine Salmon, Associate Professor of Housing and Interior Design for her competent guidance, suggestions and constructive criticism in helping to bring this study to completion. Indebtedness is also due members of the advisory committee, Dr. Florence McKinny, Professor and Head, Department of Housing and Interior Design, Oklahoma State University, and Dr. Elaine Jorgenson, Associate Professor and Head, Department of Home Economics Education. The writer is grateful to Dr. Nick Stinnett for his contribution in development of the statistical technique to be used in the study.

Special thanks are due Iris McPherson and other staff of the Oklahoma State University Computer Center for processing the data, and to Mrs. Frank Roberts for her accurate typing of the manuscript.

To the Memphis Housing Authority, Mr. William J. Miles, Assistant Director; and to members of his staff, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Conway, and Mr. Nelson, the writer expresses gratitude for their cooperation.

And lastly, I owe a great deal to my daughter, Belinda, for her patience throughout this study, to my daughter, Sheila Williams, and my friend Jane Reagor for their assistance in interviewing the sample.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### Public Housing and Public Policy

In achieving the national goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family, there is no task more challenging and more important than the provision of low-rent housing for the underprivileged families living in the slums of our cities and of our countryside. It is unthinkable that this Nation, the richest and most powerful in the world, will longer permit so many of its citizens to live and to grow up under the degrading and unhealthy conditions of the slums. - From a Report of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, 1949.

From the dawn of history, men have grouped themselves into systems or societies and have distinguished themselves from those belonging to other systems or societies. Economic and political differences, ignorance and fear have contributed to the distrust and rivalry of one group to another, often with religious, racial and class conflicts. These are some of the intangible barriers in American society which keep blacks segregated from whites behind the visible and invisible walls of the ghetto.

The past fifty years have seen technological advances that have brought the world to our television screens as events are happening. Our domestic conflicts are watched by people all over the world. Our intergroup relations are being drastically affected by forces of change, and although segregation and discrimination have been reduced, in the

years ahead our relations with minority and racial groups will not only affect American society but world society as well.

Even if our national self-interest were not at stake, our moral fiber requires the elimination of the ghetto from our national scene. Concerted efforts have been made in recent years to reduce tensions existing between black and white groups. One of the solutions advocated is the elimination of segregated housing.

### Public Housing

Shelter is essential to all human beings. This fact has been recognized since the founding of our country, but only recently have Americans accepted as a public responsibility the provision of decent housing for those in need. This is reflected in legislation since 1933. In July of 1949, the 81<sup>st</sup> Congress passed a major housing act. This act declared as an objective of public housing, "the realization as soon as feasible of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family."<sup>1</sup> To achieve this purpose, several programs were included in the provisions of the act. One was a program of low-rent public housing -- government owned housing for the poor.<sup>2</sup>

This declaration of national housing policy provided cities the opportunity for clearing blighted and slum areas, breeding grounds for disease, fires, crime and delinquency. It also offered the opportunity

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<sup>1</sup>Section 2 of the Housing Act of 1949, Public Law 171, 81st Congress, chapter 338, p. 415.

<sup>2</sup>Title III, Section 301 of the Housing Act of 1949, The United States Housing Act of 1937 as amended, "Low Rent Public Housing," p. 417.

of reversing the segregation trend. However, in most American cities, neither of these occurred.

The United States Civil Rights Commission declared in its 1959 report that "housing . . . seems to be the one commodity in the American market that is not freely available on equal terms to everyone who can afford to pay."<sup>3</sup> A breakthrough against segregation in federal government policy came in 1962 with President Kennedy's Executive order #11063 on housing, which forbade discrimination in all federally owned or operated housing.<sup>4</sup> Also, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 stated that all funds disbursed by Public Housing Authorities must have non-discrimination features attached.<sup>5</sup>

Even after these acts were passed, there were many devices by which segregation could be preserved de facto in public housing in both the South and North. The forces producing ghettos fixed public housing in a vice of racial segregation; and no matter what devices were tried, housing officials could not shake their program free from that vice.<sup>6</sup>

#### Racial Mix in Public Housing

When discussing the race issue in public housing, there are two

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<sup>3</sup>U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Report (Washington, 1959), p. 534.

<sup>4</sup>Leonard Freedman, Public Housing, The Politics of Poverty, Quoting President Kennedy's Executive Order #11063 on Housing, 1962 (New York, 1969), p. 136.

<sup>5</sup>Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Washington, 1964).

<sup>6</sup>Freedman, Public Housing, The Politics of Poverty, 139 ff.

factors to consider; tenant selection and site selection.<sup>7</sup> At present, the federal housing agency approves a local housing authority's policies of tenant selection if based on "free choice." This policy permits tenants to go to any project they wish as long as there is a vacancy.<sup>8</sup> However, the hope of preserving a reasonably diverse composition in public housing could not long survive the sheer number of black applicants . . . the low income of most blacks gave them the dubious privilege of eligibility for public housing.<sup>9</sup>

More and more blacks applied for admission to the projects. In 1952, non-whites occupied 38% of all public housing units. By 1961, non-white occupancy was 46%.<sup>10</sup> It had reached 51% by 1965.<sup>11</sup>

The site selection issue is even more difficult than the tenant selection problem. Since one purpose of the program is to eliminate slums, most projects are built in or near blighted areas or the central part of the city, which are usually non-white areas. Obviously such projects will not have a balanced racial composition unless the local authority brings in persons from other neighborhoods under a compulsory placement plan.<sup>12</sup> Efforts to locate projects outside the poverty and racial ghettos have been repeatedly frustrated because of the factors

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<sup>7</sup>William Ledbetter, "Public Housing -- A Social Experiment Seeks Acceptance." In Robinson O. Everett and John D. Johnston, Jr. (Eds.) Housing: Library of Law and Contemporary Problems (Dobbs Ferry, N. Y., 1968), p. 319.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 320.

<sup>9</sup>Freedman, Public Housing -- The Politics of Poverty, 140 ff.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 140.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 140.

<sup>12</sup>Ledbetter, p. 320.

which produce the ghettos in the first place, including hostility to minority groups in the white suburbs.<sup>13</sup>

Many believe that an effort to intentionally integrate housing projects is a violation of freedom of association and that the job of the public housing program is to provide decent housing, not racial integration. It has been suggested that the drive for integration has produced neither integration nor enough good housing for the poor.

Many are suggesting that the goal of integration should be given second place to the improvement of housing conditions. This philosophy was stated by the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy:

It is important that Negroes who have achieved financial security should have complete freedom to choose where to live, but it is far more important that the vast majority of Negroes be enabled to achieve basic financial and social security where they live now. It will be the work of years, and of all Americans, white and black, to decide whether most people will live in substantially homogeneous neighborhoods. But there should be no question that black neighborhoods, as well as white, must be places of security and dignity and achievement and comfort.<sup>14</sup>

Piven and Cloward express the same view:

The ghetto poor have paid in this way for the struggle over whether Negro and white shall mingle, neighborhood by neighborhood . . . . They have paid because of the efforts to integrate housing projects, and because of the search for sites in the white suburbs.<sup>15</sup>

The hostility that this has provoked has been the principle cause of setbacks in the program. Although the trend seems not to give top

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<sup>13</sup>Freedman, Public Housing -- The Politics of Poverty, 145 ff.

<sup>14</sup>U. S. Congress, Senate, Government Operations Subcommittee, Federal Role in Urban Affairs, Hearings, 89th Congress, 2d session, Pt. 1, p. 34.

<sup>15</sup>Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, "Desegregated Housing: Who Pays for the Reformers Ideals," The New Republic, December 17, 1966, pp. 17-22.

priority to integration in public housing in the future, this does not mean that it will be eliminated from the list of goals.

The Kerner report makes several suggestions which would supplement present housing policy; included are scattered public housing sites, and leasing of existing housing.<sup>16</sup>

The problems of public housing cannot be solved swiftly and easily. Mr. Weaver states:

Because of the heterogeneity of the country, its governmental structure, our traditions relative to land and home ownership, and the paradoxes in race and housing, definitive formulations of policy are difficult . . . . There are no simple answers. Indeed, there are few single answers or pat solutions which will be effective.<sup>17</sup>

#### Statement of the Problem

The controversy over public housing in the years since its conception has caused its growth to be slow, thereby depriving hundreds of low-income families of decent housing which might have otherwise been theirs. These controversies came in the form of opposition by certain members of the legislative body of government, pressured by hostile interest groups, and from widely held misconceptions about the poor and the black Americans, and the role of government in public housing. These misconceptions were manifest in efforts to confine public housing to the center of the city where the poor and black would be segregated from a more affluent society. This pattern has been followed by many large American cities.

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<sup>16</sup> Otto Kerner, Chairman, Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, U. S. Commission on Civil Disorders (New York, 1968), p. 482.

<sup>17</sup> Robert Weaver, Dilemmas of Urban America (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), p. 116.

With the rivalry of the pro- and anti-segregation groups, the poor in public housing have been placed in a position of having no voice as to where or how they are to live, a right taken for granted by more fortunate segments of our population. The problem in this study is to determine the attitudes of low-rent public housing tenants toward the housing project and toward other tenants, in two housing projects in a Southern city.

#### Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to determine intergroup differences and similarities of attitudes of black and white tenants toward facilities and policies of low-rent public housing projects in Memphis, Tennessee.

#### Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were formulated as a basis for this study:

##### General Hypotheses

- I. The public housing resident experiences generally positive attitudes toward the physical environment of the housing project.
- II. The public housing resident experiences generally positive attitudes toward the management of the housing project.
- III. The public housing resident experiences generally positive attitudes toward integration in the housing project.



### Sub-Hypotheses

- I. The degree of satisfaction toward integration in the housing project is directly related to the degree of intergroup contact.
- II. Intergroup differences are anticipated in attitudes toward:
  - a. the physical environment of the housing project
  - b. management of the housing project
  - c. integration in the housing projectwith greater dissatisfaction being expressed by the white group.

### Need for the Study

Most of the interracial studies of attitudes have been focused on attitudes of white persons toward blacks. Also, most of these studies have been done in Northern cities, with very little research having been done in this area in Southern cities.

With emphasis being given, through federally sponsored programs, to providing housing for low-income families, there is need for additional information in regard to public housing (in particular, the equal measurement of attitudes of both black and whites, where data are especially needed from Southern cities). They will provide a better understanding of interracial attitudes, that can lead to more satisfactory housing for those who will occupy public housing projects.

### Limitations of the Study

The goal of this study was to contact a group of families living in public housing and assess the impact of public housing on their lives

now. Although the writer believes that their experience and present attitudes give valuable insight into the views of others living in other housing projects in the same city, and those living under similar Housing Authorities in other cities, there is need for further research before this belief can be validated.

The fluidity of these people should also be emphasized. Circumstances of life change quickly, and poor persons are vulnerable to changes in major social policy, public welfare regulations, housing policy, employment opportunities and the like, which in turn could alter their present attitudes.

This study is also limited in that it is based on interviews with only one family member per interview. In order to gain a more accurate picture of the attitudes of the families interviewed, other members of a family would need to be interviewed.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

For life to run smoothly, for the living organism to remain healthy in the highest degree, the environment complex must be made as perfect as possible. - J. W. Bews, *Human Ecology* 79 (1939)

A house is not a home. This aphorism is usually held to possess validity only in the demimonde. Brief consideration suggests, however, that the validity of this aphorism is not so confined. It fits other worlds as well.<sup>1</sup> In particular, the world of slum housing.

The person who lives in the slums, if he thinks of his housing condition as a problem, feels his situation as a personal trouble. It is a deficiency in his own standard of living, a source of discomfort, stigma, and pain. The outsider cannot see slum housing in this way for his own housing situation is in order. His perception of the slum housing problem, then, cannot be the same as that of the poor themselves.<sup>2</sup>

There are many factors which play a role in determining whether an individual will like the place where he lives. Among the most important

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<sup>1</sup>Joseph J. Spengler, "Population Pressure, Housing, and Habitat." In Robinson O. Everett and John D. Johnston, Jr. (Eds.) Housing: Library of Law and Contemporary Problems (Dobbs Ferry, N. Y., 1968), p. 5.

<sup>2</sup>Lawrence M. Friedman, "Government and Slum Housing: Some General Considerations." In Robinson O. Everett and John D. Johnston, Jr. (Eds.) Housing: Library of Law and Contemporary Problems (Dobbs Ferry, N. Y., 1968), p. 172.

are the nature of the neighborhood and his dwelling.

As noted in Chapter I, the social objective of the Housing Act of 1949 was "to provide a decent home in a suitable living environment for every American family." However, the term "suitable living environment" was not explicitly defined with respect to the social environment.

The neighborhoods, locations and houses in which people, with sufficient incomes to afford them a freedom of choice, choose to live, gives some clues as to what a "suitable living environment" should have. However, this does not mean that we should duplicate middle-class communities in low-income housing areas for the less affluent. Middle-class taste and middle-class values are not necessarily what poor people aspire to. If choice and freedom are to be watchwords for a comprehensive housing and planning program for low- and moderate-income families and individuals, their involvement in the planning process is in order, for there is little information available about what they want and need.<sup>3</sup>

It is important that persons want to live in a neighborhood if they are to take pride in their homes, and take responsibility for maintenance and improvement of their neighborhood.

Research Report No. 8 of The National Commission on Urban Problems, 1968, recommended three goals for consideration by the Federal

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<sup>3</sup>George Schermer Associates, More Than Shelter, Social Needs in Low- and Moderate-Income Housing, The National Commission on Urban Problems, Research Report No. 8 (Washington, 1968), p. 39.

Government to improve housing conditions for low- and moderate-income families.<sup>4</sup> They are:

1. SHELTER SUPPLY - To assure a shelter supply, adequate to the total need, suitable to the needs of, and available to, people of all income levels and racial and ethnic groups, appropriately distributed and located throughout each metropolitan area, at costs within the resources of households at every income level.
2. DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITIES - To promote, foster, encourage, and implement the physical and social development of communities of such nature and quality that persons and families of all income levels and social and ethnic backgrounds can find security, can realize their own identity, and can increase their own capabilities.
3. STRENGTHENING INDIVIDUAL AND FAMILY LIFE - To provide opportunities, incentives, help, and guidance required for enabling all persons and families to become self-reliant, to achieve independence, and to function as responsible citizens.

The concepts stated in these goals are not new ones. Aristotle looked upon a house as one of a triad of interrelated elements: house, household, and organic urban community.<sup>5</sup>

Although these goals are integral to each other and could constitute a single goal, it is important that each be interpreted in some detail as they relate to this research.

#### Shelter Supply

Opposition to public housing has been felt from legislative circles as well as from special-interest groups. The basic reason for this is essentially the fact that the program was designed exclusively for those of very low income.

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 40.

<sup>5</sup>Spengler, p. 6, Quoting Aristotle.

In the 1937 and 1949 housing acts, the term "families of low-income" means families who are in the lowest income group and who cannot afford to pay enough to cause private enterprise in their locality . . . to build an adequate supply of decent, safe and sanitary dwellings for their use.<sup>6</sup>

The Federal Government estimates the poor to be 20% of the population.<sup>7</sup> Why should offering public housing to the poor, who are the most inadequately housed in our society, invite opposition? For the Congressman, needing political support, they offer neither votes, campaign workers, nor money. Keith states,

A national goal should be established to expand production of housing for low income families . . . . This should include expanding the public housing program to a rate increasing the supply by 125,000 units a year.<sup>8</sup>

The primary purpose of such a goal should be clearly stated - "The purpose is simply the provision of housing."<sup>9</sup> Side issues should not cause us to deviate from the purpose of providing housing for low income families.

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<sup>6</sup>Section 2 of the Housing Act of 1949, Public Law 171, 81st Congress, chapter 338, p. 415.

<sup>7</sup>President Lyndon B. Johnson, The Problem of Poverty in America, Economic Report of the President, January, 1964 (Washington, 1964), p. 64.

<sup>8</sup>Nathaniel S. Keith, "An Assessment of National Housing Needs." In Robinson O. Everett and John D. Johnston, Jr. (Eds.) Housing: Library of Law and Contemporary Problems (Dobbs Ferry, N. Y., 1968), p. 32.

<sup>9</sup>William H. Ledbetter, "Housing: A Social Experiment Seeks Acceptance." In Robinson O. Everett and John D. Johnston, Jr. (Eds.) Housing: Library of Law and Contemporary Problems (Dobbs Ferry, N. Y., 1968), p. 337.

Major efforts have been made to accelerate the rate of production through new approaches.<sup>10</sup> These are:

1. 'Turnkey' public housing, under which private developers acquire sites and build new or rehabilitate existing housing under agreement with the local housing authority (backed by Federal commitments) to purchase the housing upon completion.
2. The purchase of existing housing for public housing use, with accompanying rehabilitation if necessary.
3. The leasing of standard private housing for public housing purposes, with management remaining with the private owner, subject to housing authority standards.

Low-rent housing projects are exempt from local real estate taxation, but are subject to a payment in lieu of taxes equivalent to ten percent of shelter rents.<sup>11</sup> This means rental income must be sufficient to cover operating expenses, overhead, and payments in lieu of taxes.

In 1966, the average gross monthly rent of federally subsidized low-rent dwellings was \$48.00, and the occupant's average annual income was \$2,709.00, compared with the top income of \$3,833.00 for the lowest one-fifth of the U. S. households.<sup>12</sup>

Income restrictions as stated by the 1959 amendments are:

Income limits for occupancy and rents shall be fixed by the Public Housing Authority after taking into consideration, (A) the family size, composition, age, physical handicaps, and other factors which might affect the rent-paying ability of the family, and (B) the economic factors which affect the financial stability and solvency of the project.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Nathaniel S. Keith, Housing America's Low- and Moderate-Income Families, The National Commission on Urban Problems Research Report No. 7 (Washington, 1968), p. 6.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>13</sup>U. S. Congress, House of Representatives, Conference Report on the Housing Act of 1959, House of Representatives Report 566, 86th Congress, 1st Session (1959), p. 29.

The general rule was that people whose income rose beyond a certain point had to leave the project. "An increase of income . . . has become a tragedy, for it invites eviction, loss of neighborhood associations, shifts in the schooling of the children and other inconveniences."<sup>14</sup>

This also has undesirable results for the project, the loss of the most needed, most stable element in the community -- families who were beginning to make it. There is evidence that many local housing authorities are now more flexible in their application of the income limit rule. Since those persons whose incomes will usually rise above the income limit are white, a rigid income limit could cause the project to become a subsidized ghetto for the lowest-income non-whites in the community.<sup>15</sup>

The concept of "a decent home . . . for every American family" would be one suited to personal needs, conveniently located in relation to transportation, job opportunities, shopping facilities, schools and social services. If a low-income family's only choice of housing is in the central city ghetto, and the principal job opportunities are in suburban industrial or service areas, the element of choice will not be satisfied.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Leonard Freedman, Public Housing: The Politics of Poverty, Quoting Charles Abrams (New York, 1969), p. 107.

<sup>15</sup> Charles Abrams, The City Is the Frontier (New York, 1965), p. 37.

<sup>16</sup> Schermer Associates, p. 41.



### Development of Communities

The best security for civilization is the dwelling, and upon proper and becoming dwellings depends more than anything else the improvement of mankind. Such dwellings are the nursery of all domestic virtues, and without a becoming home the exercise of those virtues is impossible.<sup>17</sup>

The role of housing is affected by the growth and concentration of population. In order to ease the housing problem there must be some control of populations.

Doxiadis suggests that we once again create human communities in our cities, "operating neighborhoods, downtown shopping centers where people can walk freely, can come into natural contact, can enjoy quiet surroundings and create and admire art."<sup>18</sup> While Doxiadis is referring mainly to communities with large cities he recognized the relationship of housing and community. The public housing project community could conceivably, with proper planning, become such a community.

Many proposals for design reforms have been offered by designers and planners of public housing. Albert Mayer suggests that more open space be provided in the projects to provide sunlight and simple beauty; that more lighting facilities be made available so that the projects can be safer and more suitable for nighttime recreational opportunities; that there be a mingling of high-rise towers with lower structures in the same project to provide diversity and more sunlight but at the same time utilizing the land space.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Robert M. Fisher, Twenty Years of Public Housing, Quoting Benjamin Disraeli (New York, 1959), p. 62.

<sup>18</sup> C. A. Doxiadis, "Topics of Inhuman and Human Cities," New York Times, March 11, 1967, p. 28, Col. 5.

<sup>19</sup> Albert Mayer, "Public Housing Design," Journal of Housing, 3 (1963), pp. 134-145.

Bauer criticized the interior design as deficient in space and in privacy; she stated that the projects were too large, with high densities and few amenities, thus fostering the "island concept" which reinforced a "charity stigma." "While most Americans prefer one-story dwellings," she observed, "much public housing continues to be high-rise."<sup>20</sup> In contrast, the high-rise has been found to be an effective way to house the aged.

What constitutes a satisfactory social environment is not easy to define. It is evident, however, that occupants of a neighborhood are not likely to agree upon what makes a social environment satisfactory unless they agree on many things.<sup>21</sup> Even within a household, common standards of values must be present to permit passage from the preference patterns of its individual members to a preference pattern representative of the household as such.<sup>22</sup> At a neighborhood level where the tastes of individuals must be sufficiently similar to permit the construction of "suitable social welfare functions," a minimal though not excessive degree of similarity of tastes is essential to insure agreement on what constitutes a satisfactory social environment.<sup>23</sup> When this degree is not fully attained, whether because of class or other differences, the neighborhood becomes instable.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>Catherine Bauer, "The Dreary Deadlock of Public Housing," Architectural Forum, May, 1957, p. 140.

<sup>21</sup>Spengler, p. 9.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 9, Quoting K. J. Arrow.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 9, Quoting K. J. Arrow.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 9, Quoting K. J. Arrow.

The foregoing does not infer that cultural differences should be reduced. There are many local communities which include diverse, cultural elements that have evolved into a united neighborhood. The neighborhood can become instable also if the inhabitants become too standardized.

As stated earlier, common standards of values are present within a household, thus the home and community environment is an important transmitter of social attitudes. It is probable, that the creation of the publicly supported interracial housing community is likely to influence strongly the social attitudes of the residents in such a community.

Two studies have been carried out that examined the impact of interracial public housing upon racial attitudes and behavior. The first study, by Deutsch and Collins<sup>25</sup> in 1950, investigated public housing projects in New York City. They compared two integrated interracial projects with two similar segregated bi-racial projects to determine the socio-psychological effects of the two occupancy patterns upon racial relations and racial attitudes. The integrated interracial projects were characterized by:<sup>26</sup>

1. Many more instances of friendly, neighborly contacts between members of the different races.
2. A social atmosphere more favorable to friendly interracial associations.
3. More closely knit project communities.

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<sup>25</sup>Morton Deutsch and Mary Evans Collins, Interracial Housing (Minneapolis, 1950), generally.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., pp. 122-123.

4. More favorable attitudes toward living in an interracial project.

A second study of the contact hypotheses by Wilner, Walkley, and Cook<sup>27</sup> in 1955 produced the same general conclusions as Deutsch and Collins:

The attitudes of the members of one racial group toward the members of another will tend to become more favorable if there is sufficient contact between the two groups, providing that (a) the contacts occur between the individuals who do not differ markedly in their social status in the contact situation, and (b) the contacts do not occur under circumstances in which there is competition for limited goods or facilities.

#### Strengthening Individual and Family Life

As stated earlier, the first two goals, Shelter Supply and Development of Communities, are prerequisites to this last goal, Strengthening Individual and Family Life. All three goals are interdependent.

There are many families whose only major housing problem is insufficient income. Securing decent housing at a price they can afford to pay would go a long way in making the family feel secure and comfortable. However, among tenants in public housing in 1966, 52% were wholly or partially dependent upon public assistance or benefits.<sup>28</sup> An over concentration of problem families in public housing often results in a social environment little better than the slums they moved from.

As the proportion of these problem families increases, the need for comprehensive community services also increases. Neither a housing

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<sup>27</sup> Daniel M. Wilner, Rosabelle Price Walkley, and Stuart W. Cook, Human Relations in Interracial Housing (Minneapolis, 1955), p. 147.

<sup>28</sup> Schermer Associates, p. 75.

nor concentrated services program can, by itself, contribute significantly to the strengthening of family life. A comprehensive program is essential and must embrace such broad considerations as:

1. Training and job opportunities for every employable person.
2. Imaginative and creative approaches to the revitalization, renewal, and reconstruction of inner city neighborhoods, working with and through the people who reside in the neighborhoods.
3. The total housing must be expanded and improved at an accelerated pace.
4. Social, economic, and racial-ethnic barriers to mobility must be eliminated.
5. Intensive health, counseling, psychiatric, and community organization services must be provided as needed to assist both families and neighborhood groups in coping with individual and community problems.<sup>29</sup>

As a first step, however, the problem must be stripped of cant, hypocrisy, and obstructive indignation. It has to be seen in all its political, economic, and social complexity. The futility of cheap minimal solutions must become apparent. Only then is there hope of clearing the slums and housing all the people in decent comfort.<sup>30</sup>

#### Role of Management in Public Housing

The chief weaknesses of public housing have been "lack of flexibility and versatility, and inability to generate momentum. The principal cause of these weaknesses has been an absence of national and local commitment," so declares chairman of The National Commission on

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 82.

<sup>30</sup>Friedman, p. 184.

Urban Problems, Paul H. Douglas.<sup>31</sup>

A public housing project cannot be managed like a private middle-class apartment house. The administrator of the local housing authority is not at liberty to select unqualified tenants nor may he terminate tenancy for reasons other than the "fixed rent" rule. In considering commitment at the local level, the central problem seems to be: How can a project be effectively managed with the regulations, policy techniques, and necessary disciplinary demands, but yet produce an atmosphere of responsibility and self improvement, with minimum interference.<sup>32</sup>

The high number of problem families in public housing projects creates numerous difficulties for management in rent collection, prevention of destruction of property, and complaints from neighbors. These problem families also increase the responsibility of providing social services, a fact which could support the position that decent housing alone is not adequate to help problem families.

David Filker noted that management had the duty to give "shelter plus." It was the responsibility of housing officials to . . . raise the social living standards of the low-income family.<sup>33</sup>

In the August-September, 1955 issue of the Journal of Housing, NAHRO's Management Committee issued a statement on the concept of

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<sup>31</sup>Schermer Associates, p. iii.

<sup>32</sup>Ledbetter, p. 321.

<sup>33</sup>David Filker, "Public Housing Management Must Accept Family Rehabilitation Responsibility," Journal of Housing, 13 (1956), p. 168.

public housing management.<sup>34</sup> It noted that:

. . . public housing management, as a prime responsibility, must recognize the need to so organize its operations - by policy - by staff - that it can bring genuine understanding to the problems of the families it serves (and to the individuals who comprise these families) and can arrange to have those problems receive the full assistance of the public and private community agencies staffed by people skilled in casework and rehabilitation work.

In addition, it noted, "management has the responsibility of conducting a sound business operation, and must always maintain a careful balance between business administration and family rehabilitation."

Deutsch and Collins<sup>35</sup> in interviews with forty-two housing officials found that management agreed on the following points concerning their influence on intergroup attitudes:

1. Management sets standards of behavior in the project and that the impact which management can have on the intergroup relations is very great.
2. Employees of the authority whose jobs put them in contact with the tenants, represent the authority for the individual tenant and are important to the intergroup relations. Such employees need guidance at the beginning on how to act.
3. The number and variety of tenant activities in any given project depends to a very great extent on the attitude of management toward such activities. Observations of the management

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<sup>34</sup>National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Official's Management Committee, "Concept of Public Housing Management," Journal of Housing (1955), p. 270.

<sup>35</sup>Deutsch and Collins, pp. 22-26.

group interviewed are:

- (a) Management staffs are in a position to make contacts and arrangements with other city departments for personnel and facilities for community activities.
- (b) Management is in the position to request from or recommend to the housing authority provision of space, facilities of personnel to fill community activity needs.
- (c) Tenant activity should be tenant initiated and tenant managed but management approved and management aided.
- (d) Any activity which is management approved, aided, or sponsored, should be interracial in an interracial project.
- (e) Hours of Management personnel should be staggered and that persons responsible for community activities be on the project site during the hours when the tenants have the most leisure time, particularly evenings and weekends.
- (f) Management, in an effort to promote group activity, should spot and select tenant leaders.
- (g) In projects where no tenant council exists, management has failed in one of its tasks, and this is an indication of management's fear of the tenants and their general patronizing attitude toward the project.

The existence of some group activity in projects provides the opportunity for the beginning of neighborliness which characterizes the



project where there are harmonious intergroup relations.<sup>36</sup>

### Attitudes

Attitudes and beliefs are often regarded as synonymous with values, but Rath<sup>37</sup> makes a distinction among them. An attitude is a disposition toward something, and is unique to an individual. An attitude is not prized, it may change frequently, it is not the equivalent of a value. A belief is a statement in proposition form based on evidence largely of a kind that is publicly available and is manifested by the form, "I believe that . . .," rather than "I believe in . . . ." Obviously, beliefs are more changeable than values and are consequently less influential.

Wilner, Walkley, and Cook<sup>38</sup> noted that the attitudes of prejudice frequently involve three dimensions: beliefs (indicating the common conceptions held by one ethnic group about the social and personal characteristics of another ethnic group); feelings (indicating the regard and esteem of one group for another group); and policy orientation (indicating the nature and extent of personal and institutional relationships to which one group is willing to admit another group). The evidence suggests that beliefs may undergo change sooner than do feelings and policy orientation.

Attitudes of public housing tenants appear to be closely associated with their socio-economic orientations, ethnic-identity, and local

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<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>37</sup>Henrietta Fleck, Toward Better Teaching of Home Economics (New York, 1968), p. 260, quoting Rath.

<sup>38</sup>Wilner, Walkley, and Cook, p. 12.

community norms, which in turn reflect the values of the social, ethnic groups, and social sub-structure of the community,<sup>39</sup>

Because of relative economy of public housing we can expect the tenants to share a common socio-economic orientation, that sector of the population known as the low-income social class. We can also expect that, since a majority of public housing tenants come from this group, being accepted into a public housing project connotes satisfaction in a situation this social class values.

Ethnic group attitudes are expected to be different for this social class. While all tenants of public housing identify with the same low-income social group, the white group comes from neighborhoods which, though deteriorated, provide support for white supremacy. Thrust into a situation of being expected to share rights and privileges on an equal basis represents a lowering of values in terms of ethnic group norms. The frustrations caused by the lowering of these values will be reflected in a more negative attitude toward the public housing environment.<sup>40</sup>

Bellin and Kriesberg<sup>41</sup> in studying attitudes relative to interest in applying for public housing, found the values and beliefs of relevance concerned: monetary economy, privacy, mobility orientation, and status homogeneity.

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<sup>39</sup>Jacob Volkman, "The Informal Social Environment in a Public Housing Development" (unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1966), p. 5.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., pp. 5-6.

<sup>41</sup>Seymour I. Bellin and Louis Kriesberg, "Relationships Among Attitudes, Circumstances, and Behavior: The Case for Applying for Public Housing," Sociological and Social Research, 51 (1967), pp. 453-469.

Concerning monetary economy they found that those who hold the belief in the relative economy of public housing and value economy are much more likely to express interest in public housing residency than those who hold this belief but not the value. Concerning privacy there was found to be a clear joint interaction of this value and belief. Of those who ranked other considerations above the privacy value and believed that public housing was at least equal to other housing in privacy, 77% were interested in applying for public housing. Independently associated with interest, the privacy value, 68%, the privacy belief, 40%. Only 20% of the respondents ranked privacy above "enough room for the family" and "close to stores."<sup>42</sup>

Of the other attitudes examined, mobility-oriented persons tended to express interest in public housing. However, since these persons constitute a minority, a slight majority of those applying for public housing are less ambitious persons. No association between beliefs about class-similarity of public housing residents and interest in applying for public housing was found.

#### Summary

Providing a decent home in a suitable living environment for low income families entails solving many physical and abstract factors. The first is to determine what a "suitable living environment" means to the low-income family.

The National Commission on Urban Affairs recommends three goals

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid., pp. 453-469.

for consideration:

First: provision of an adequate shelter supply. This has been met by opposition from both legislative and special-interest groups. New approaches are being tried to accelerate the production of public housing to meet the needs of the poor, estimated to be 20% of the population.

Second: development of communities where people of racial and ethnic differences can live together in a satisfactory social environment. A community where neighbors share common standards of values, but where cultural differences add an atmosphere of human contact and freedom. Two studies of the contact hypotheses (by Deutsch and Collins in 1950; and Wilner, Walkley, and Cook in 1955) produced the conclusions that the greater the degree of interracial contact, the more satisfactory was the social atmosphere.

Third: strengthening individual and family life has a direct relationship to the first two goals. As the proportion of problem families in public housing increases, it becomes evident that to improve the social environment a concerted program of both community services and housing programs that embrace broad considerations is essential.

Management has a duty to give more than shelter to its tenants. It must have an understanding of the problems of the families it serves and be able to help solve these problems. In addition, it must conduct a sound business operation. Management sets standards of behavior in the project, and their employees must be trained in meeting the needs of the tenant in providing activities and leadership.

Attitudes of public housing tenants appear to be closely associated with socio-economic orientation. The white tenants from the

low-income social groups, being thrust into a situation of racial integration, will reflect their frustrations in a more negative attitude toward the public housing environment.

## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY

Within the context of scientific research, the survey (opinion polling) constitutes a method of data collection that utilizes interview or questionnaire techniques for recording behavior verbalized by respondents. It is an instrument for attitude measurement.

After carefully examining previous research concerning attitudes of public housing residents, the survey was selected as the means of obtaining data for this study. An interview schedule to be used as the guide in obtaining the data was developed. The schedule was designed to gather data on the attitudes of public housing residents toward: (1) the physical environment of the public housing project, (2) the management of the public housing project, and (3) integration in the public housing project. The schedule consisted of thirty-six items, five being open-ended questions and the balance fixed-alternative questions (see Appendix A).

#### The Selection of the Housing Projects

##### to Be Studied

Two public housing projects of the Memphis, Tennessee Housing Authority were chosen for this study. These fulfill the requirements set forth earlier in the study and are located in a Southern city which has a long history of public housing.

Memphis, Tennessee Housing Authority<sup>1</sup> was selected for this study. Memphis has a history of public housing dating back to 1938, at which time 1,118 apartments were opened for occupancy. This has grown to 5,863 units in December, 1970, with an occupancy of 20,946 tenants. Racial composition is 78% black and 22% white. Tenant selection policy is based on "free choice." This policy permits tenants to go to any project they wish so long as there is a vacancy. Public housing projects are located in both the center city and suburban areas.

The waiting list for public housing units, averaging approximately 4,000 families, remains fairly constant, indicating that the existence of the waiting list is known by many low-income families. Consequently, many people who would qualify for public housing do not apply because of the discouragingly long waiting list. Recently two new Social Goals Programs were introduced, designed to upgrade the economic and social living standards of the residents. The first, a two-year modernization program to maintain the serviceability of the housing units in need of modernizing. Better than 75 major work items, chosen by the tenants as part of the tenant involvement effort, to improve the appearance of units inside and out, will make living more convenient and comfortable for the residents and provide desirable recreational facilities for occupants.

The second program was designed to encourage the initiative of the residents to raise their own economic standard, and meet an over-all citizenship responsibility. Examples of this program include: Establishment of fixed rent; exemption of the earnings of minors from a

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<sup>1</sup>Memphis, Tennessee Housing Authority, "Annual Reports" (Memphis, 1966-1970).

family's income in computing the family's rent; exemption of sporadic employment income by a secondary family member in computing family rent; observance of residents' right to privacy by restricting interior inspection of apartments.

The Social Goals Program is geared to provide more and better personal service to public housing residents. As a result, better resident participation in the Resident Association has resulted. This association is operated by the residents. They have their own bank accounts, derived from interest on the security deposit residents pay on moving into an apartment. A Resident Council, made up of the officers of the Resident Associations, provides the communication between residents and management.

Nearly all developments now have space provided for recreation rooms, day-care centers, and libraries. Other services available to tenants are: well-baby clinics, eye-examination clinic, health-care centers, dental centers, classes and instructions in homemaking education and sewing, neighborhood recreational centers, day camps and scouting. Employment security offices and job training classes are also available. Job openings with the Local Housing Authority are filled by tenants whenever possible.

Factors considered in selecting the two projects for this study included: age of project, racial ratio, project size, and type of neighborhood. Both projects selected were similar in these respects but differ in a number of others. Each project has both black and white employees on the management staff. Lamar Terrace, first occupied in 1940 with 478 units and a total occupancy of 1,181 persons, is located several miles from the center city in an old but well-cared-for



neighborhood. In recent years, an interstate expressway was constructed adjacent to the project. H. P. Hurt Village was first occupied in 1953. It is near the center city and is located on the site of a demolished slum, adjacent to deteriorating neighborhoods. It has an occupancy of 1,742 persons.

#### Selection of the Sample

It was decided to collect the data from housewives. This choice was made mainly on the assumption that the home is largely the domain of the woman and she is the key person in the activities of the home and the neighborhood. It was also believed housewives would be easier to find at home.

Interviews were conducted with forty-one black families and forty-one white families. The Memphis Housing Authority was very helpful in providing information and addresses of families whose housewife was not employed outside the home. A random selection of these addresses was made. Each interviewee was assured that her answers would be confidential and that the study was in no way connected with the Housing Authority. In the total sample of 82 families, only one refusal occurred. The interviews were conducted during the latter part of March, 1971.

#### Treatment of the Data

The race of the families, i.e. black or white, is the major independent variable by which the data were analyzed. A second independent variable by which the data were analyzed is tenure.

All responses collected by the interview on the interview questionnaire were recorded on IBM Data Cards. Computations were made on an

electronic high speed computer. The data were tabulated to obtain frequency counts and percentages for each of the variables. The Chi-square test was used to determine relationships between the independent and dependent variables. For further information concerning computations, see Appendix B.

### Summary

A review of previous research concerning housing was used as a guide in selecting the method and technique for measuring attitudes toward housing.

Following the identification of the major independent variable, race, by which the data were analyzed, and a second independent variable, tenure, an interview schedule was designed as a means of obtaining data necessary for meeting the purposes of the study.

Two housing projects were chosen for the study, both integrated interracially. Lamar Terrace, first occupied in 1940, with 478 units and a total occupancy of 1,181, is located several miles from the center city in an old but well-cared-for neighborhood. In recent years, an interstate expressway was constructed adjacent to the project. H. P. Hurt Village was first occupied in 1953. It is near the center city and is located on the site of a demolished slum area, adjacent to deteriorating neighborhoods. It has 450 units with an occupancy of 1,742. Both projects have both black and white employees on the management staff.

It was decided to collect the data from housewives. This choice was made mainly on the assumption that the home is largely the domain

of the woman and she is the key person in the activities of the home and the neighborhood.

The data were collected by informal interviews held with the respondents in their home and their responses were recorded by the investigator on the schedule during the interview. Information was then recorded on IBM cards, computations made on electronic computer, and tabulated to obtain frequency counts and percentages for each variable. The Chi-square test was used to determine relationships between the independent and dependent variables.

## CHAPTER IV

### FINDINGS

The major purpose of the study is to compare housing attitudes of black and white families living in public housing and to determine if there is any significant differences in their attitudes toward the project. Another major goal of the study is to determine if public housing residents as a group experience a generally positive attitude toward the project.

The public housing residents share the identity of being members of the low socio-economic group. It is assumed that members of this group who apply for public housing hold certain housing values in common, one of these values being the amenities and conveniences public housing has to offer. Having experienced the realization of these values, the public housing resident is likely to express satisfaction with the object of these values, the public housing project. Although identified with the low socio-economic group, the white resident may come from neighborhoods which provide support for racial segregation. Being thrust into a situation of desegregation to which they are unfamiliar, they will perceive this as a social demotion. The frustration this brings will be vented against the institution they feel brought about the situation, the Housing Authority.<sup>1</sup> It is thus hypothesized

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<sup>1</sup>Jacob Volkman, "The Informal Social Environment in a Public Housing Development" (unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1966), pp. 5-6.

that when intergroup comparisons are made, the white group will be slightly less positive in their degree of satisfaction than the black group.

#### Attitudes Toward the Physical Environment

General Hypothesis I: The public housing resident experiences generally positive attitudes toward the physical environment of the housing project.

Sub-Hypothesis IIa: Intergroup differences are anticipated in attitudes toward the physical environment of the housing project, with greater dissatisfaction being expressed by the white group.

For these hypotheses, the following sections of the instrument were used:

Questions 5-10, 16, measure attitudes of over-all satisfaction toward the project environment.

Questions 2-4, 11, 12, measure attitudes of satisfaction toward the project compared to former residence.

Questions 13-15 measure attitudes toward project environment on family relationships. (See Appendix A.)

Question 4 is one of the most significant of the group. The respondent is asked whether he likes his home in the project more, less or the same as his former home. In the black group, 78 percent of the sample stated they liked this home more. By comparison only a slight majority of 39 percent of the white group liked this home more. The Chi-square values obtained showed a significant difference at the .01 level when comparing intergroup differences (Table I).

TABLE I

CHI-SQUARE VALUES REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN LIKING HOME IN HOUSING PROJECT COMPARED TO FORMER HOME, ACCORDING TO RACE

Like This Home Compared to Former Home	BLACK		WHITE		X <sup>2</sup>	Level of Sig.
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%		
More	32	78.0	16	39.0		
Less	4	9.8	12	29.3	12.89	.01
Same	5	12.2	13	31.7		

Questions 5 through 10 were designed to test attitudes toward the physical features of the project and required a response of agreement or disagreement to the statements. The greatest negative response was to question 5, "It is safe for people to be alone after dark in this project." Almost 93 percent (92.7) of the white group and 73.2 percent of the black group stated that the project was not safe after dark. This response, however, would probably be typical of responses from residents of all sections of the city today and not confined to public housing projects. For questions 6, 7, and 10, the pattern of responses shows a significant difference between the two groups, the more positive responses from the black group. Since the questions are closely related, a pattern of agreement is expected. The high negative response of the white group could reflect the concern of certain white groups from other socio-economic groups about bringing up children in an inter-racial environment (Table II).

TABLE II

CHI-SQUARE VALUES REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN PERCEPTION OF THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT  
OF THE HOUSING PROJECT, ACCORDING TO RACE

Description of Physical Environment	AGREE				DISAGREE				X <sup>2</sup>	Level of Sig.
	BLACK		WHITE		BLACK		WHITE			
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%		
Safe place to be alone after dark	11	26.8	3	7.3	30	73.2	38	92.7	5.51	.02
Good place to raise children	25	61.0	7	17.1	16	39.0	34	82.9	16.61	.001
Good recreation facilities for children	31	75.6	16	39.0	10	24.4	25	61.0	11.22	.001
Convenient to schools, etc.	41	100.0	41	100.0					0.00	N.S.
Adequate police protection (uncertain)	29 5	70.7 12.2	19 10	46.3 24.4	7	17.1	12	29.3	5.07	N.S.
Good neighborhood feeling	33	80.5	22	53.7	8	19.5	19	46.3	6.68	.01

Responses to questions 12 through 15 measure the effect of public housing on family relationships. An indication of satisfaction with the environment is the degree the mother feels the environment has improved relationships within the family and the way in which the family reacts toward the environment. When asked what effects the housing project had on these relationships (Table III) responses indicate a slight majority felt the project had no effect on these relationships. There was, however, a significant difference at the .05 level when making intergroup comparisons with the white group responding more negatively.

TABLE III

CHI-SQUARE VALUES REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN FEELINGS OF THE EFFECT LIVING IN PUBLIC HOUSING HAS HAD ON FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS, ACCORDING TO RACE

Effect on Family Relationships	BLACK		WHITE		X <sup>2</sup>	Level of Sig.
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%		
Improved relationships	15	36.6	5	12.2		
Had no effect	21	51.2	28	68.3	6.69	.05
Hurt relationships	5	12.2	8	19.5		

Table IV shows similar responses when a majority of those questioned considered the project had no effect on the family making friends. There was no significant difference in black and white comparisons. The



majority choosing the neutral alternative on these questions could be considered positive in the sense that they did not feel the project had been a negative force in the family relationships.

TABLE IV

CHI-SQUARE VALUES REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN FEELINGS OF THE EFFECT LIVING IN PUBLIC HOUSING HAS HAD ON FAMILY MAKING FRIENDS, ACCORDING TO RACE

Effect on Making Friends	BLACK		WHITE		X <sup>2</sup>	Level of Sig.
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%		
Helped make friends	18	43.9	10	24.4	3.47	N.S.
Made no difference	23	56.1	31	75.6		

There was no significant difference in the money worries of black and white group (Table V). However, it is interesting to note that the black group reported having more or the same money worries while the white group gave a more positive response, with 53.7 percent indicating fewer money worries. This could probably be due to the fact that blacks in our society desire the amenities once not available to them and with this desire for upward mobility creates more financial obligations than the white group.

Another test of satisfaction with the project was open-ended question 16. In response to the question, "How long do you think you will live in this project?", 37 answered, "I don't know." Responses

considered positive such as, "as long as I can," or "until they make me move," were given by 16 whites and 18 blacks.

TABLE V  
CHI-SQUARE VALUES REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN MONEY WORRIES SINCE  
LIVING IN PUBLIC HOUSING, ACCORDING TO RACE

Amount of Money Worries	BLACK		WHITE		$\chi^2$	Level of Sig.
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%		
More	8	19.5	4	9.8		
Same	21	51.2	15	36.5	5.27	N.S.
Fewer	12	29.3	22	53.7		

In measuring the attitudes toward the physical environment, the project emerges with a rather favorable image as General Hypothesis I and its related Sub-Hypothesis IIa are confirmed by the findings.

When examining all items, in this portion of the study, it was found that the number of positive responses in favor of the project constitute a majority sufficient to sustain General Hypotheses I. When comparing intergroup differences six items were found significant. Of the remaining items negative responses for the white group were sufficient to sustain Sub-Hypothesis IIa.

## Attitudes Toward Management

General Hypothesis II: The public housing resident experiences generally positive attitudes toward management of the housing project.

Sub-Hypothesis IIb: Intergroup differences are anticipated in attitudes toward management of the project with greater dissatisfaction being expressed by the white group.

For these hypotheses, the following sections of the instrument were used:

Questions 29-31 measure attitudes toward management in regard to project organizations, and tenant involvement in these organizations.

Questions 32-35 measure attitudes toward management in regard to the modernization program.

Question 36 is an evaluation of project management. (See Appendix A.)

The role of management in the housing project is one of maintenance and repair, making major improvements, collecting rents, and the like. Much literature describes public housing rules as oppressive, and the tenants as resentful of management interference, and deprivation of their right to privacy. The projects are described as run-down, unfairly administered and badly maintained.

As stated earlier in this research, management sets standards of behavior in the project and their responsibility is very great. For these reasons, it is important to evaluate the tenants' feelings about management. A favorable evaluation would take issue with these criticisms and would indicate a positive attitude toward the public housing community.

As stated earlier in the study, the existence of some group activity in the project, provide the opportunity for the beginning of neighborliness. The Resident Association is an attempt to create, through group participation, a feeling of "community" in the project. Membership in the Resident Association is open to the entire project population and the policy of the Housing Authority is to encourage membership in the organization.

Table VI indicates that a majority of the residents are familiar with the Resident Association, with a slightly smaller percent of whites not aware of its existence.

TABLE VI

CHI-SQUARE VALUES REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN FAMILIARITY WITH THE EXISTENCE OF THE RESIDENT ASSOCIATION IN THE HOUSING PROJECT, ACCORDING TO RACE

Familiar With Resident Association	BLACK		WHITE		X <sup>2</sup>	Level of Sig.
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%		
Yes	34	82.9	32	78.0	.31	N.S.
No	7	17.1	9	22.0		

Attendance at the meetings of the Association is reflected in Table VII and again a much greater percent of blacks than whites attend. Sixty percent for blacks compared to 36.7 for the white group (Table VII).

TABLE VII  
CHI-SQUARE VALUES REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN ATTENDANCE OF  
RESIDENT ASSOCIATION MEETINGS, ACCORDING TO RACE

Attend Meeting	BLACK <sup>*</sup>		WHITE <sup>*</sup>		X <sup>2</sup>	Level of Sig.
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%		
Yes	20	60.0	12	36.7	3.52	N.S.
No	14	40.0	19	63.3		

\* Seven blacks and 9 whites did not know about the Resident Association and did not respond. One white did not wish to respond.

Feelings of the Resident Associations' influence with management also reflect the trend of greater black participation (Table VIII). Again the pattern of greater white dissatisfaction is evidenced; they, being in the minority probably feel the Association would be more concerned with problems of black tenants. A number of women stated that the meetings were always held at night and they were afraid to get out after dark. Some stated they had no one to keep the children if they attended the meetings at night.

The modernization program carried out by Housing Authority resulted in three desired effects. First, it improved the homes of the tenants. Responses to question 32 indicate that 100 percent of both black and white tenants interviewed responded positively, feeling that the modernization program had improved their homes. When asked in what particular way (question 33), such responses as "new kitchen cabinets," "sanded my floors upstairs," "put new tile in my kitchen," "put in street lights," were given (Table IX).

TABLE VIII

CHI-SQUARE VALUES REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN FEELINGS OF INFLUENCE  
OF RESIDENT ASSOCIATION ON MANAGEMENT OF THE PROJECT,  
ACCORDING TO RACE

Influence on Management	BLACK <sup>*</sup>		WHITE <sup>*</sup>		X <sup>2</sup>	Level of Sig.
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%		
Yes	22	64.7	16	57.1	0.37	N.S.
No	12	35.3	12	42.9		

\* Seven blacks and 9 whites did not know about the Resident Association and did not respond. Four whites did not wish to respond.

TABLE IX

CHI-SQUARE VALUES REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN FEELINGS OF IMPROVEMENT  
OF HOMES BY MODERNIZATION PROGRAM OF HOUSING AUTHORITY,  
ACCORDING TO RACE

Has Program Improved Home?	BLACK		WHITE		X <sup>2</sup>	Level of Sig.
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%		
Yes	41	100.0		100.0	0.00	N.S.

Secondly, it improved the image of management in the minds of a majority of the tenants. The tenants were given an opportunity to choose the improvements they needed and desired. Responses to question 34 indicate more than three-fourths of the total sample felt management did take the tenants' needs and desires into consideration when the improvements were planned. The negative responses were slightly higher

for the white group, although, as shown in Table X, the Chi-square value obtained showed no significant differences in the feelings of the black and white groups.

TABLE X

CHI-SQUARE VALUES REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN FEELINGS THAT TENANTS' NEEDS AND DESIRES WERE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION WHEN HOUSING AUTHORITY PLANNED THE MODERNIZATION PROGRAM, ACCORDING TO RACE

Needs and Desired Considered?	BLACK		WHITE		$\chi^2$	Level of Sig.
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%		
Yes	35	85.4	33	80.5	0.34	N.S.
No	6	14.6	8	19.5		

The evidence of group activity in the project, even though this activity may be limited to "gab fests" in yards, provides the opportunity for the beginning of neighborliness. Providing this opportunity by giving the tenants a common area of interest which they could discuss was a third desired result of the modernization program. As indicated by responses to question 35 (Table XI), almost three-fourths of the respondents felt this common interest had improved friendships between them and their neighbors. Again, the positive responses were slightly less for the white group, but the Chi-Square value obtained showed no significant difference between the black and white respondents.

TABLE XI

CHI-SQUARE VALUES REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN FEELINGS THAT THE MODERNIZATION PROGRAM HAS IMPROVED FRIENDSHIPS BETWEEN NEIGHBORS BY GIVING THEM SOMETHING IN COMMON TO TALK ABOUT, ACCORDING TO RACE

Improved Friendships	BLACK		WHITE		X <sup>2</sup>	Level of Sig.
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%		
Yes	30	73.2	29	70.7	0.06	N.S.
No	11	26.8	12	29.3		

The most direct responses measuring the tenant's attitude toward the management of the project was obtained from question 35. The tenant was shown a card on which was printed these five responses: Very Good, Good, Average, Bad, and Very Bad. The tenant was asked to rate the management of the project by choosing one of the responses for each of the following statements:

- a. Keeping the project clean and attractive
- b. Handling repairs
- c. Handling services
- d. Attention to complaints
- e. Respecting your right to privacy
- f. Fairness in enforcing rules and regulations
- g. Interested in making this project a good place for you to live.

The responses indicated a generally positive attitude toward management. More than three-fourths of the respondents rated management as "Good" and "Very Good" (Table XII).



TABLE XII

CHI-SQUARE VALUES REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN RATING OF MANAGEMENT OF THE PROJECT, ACCORDING TO RACE

Management Activity		VERY GOOD		GOOD		AVERAGE		BAD		X <sup>2</sup>	Level of Sig.
		Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%		
a. Keeping project clean	BLACK	6	14.6	25	61.0	7	17.1	3	7.3	5.99	N.S.
	WHITE	6	14.6	16	39.0	9	22.0	10	24.4		
b. Handling repairs	BLACK	11	26.8	21	51.2	9	22.0			1.62	N.S.
	WHITE	7	17.1	21	51.2	13	31.7				
c. Handling services	BLACK	9	22.0	27	65.8	5	12.2			4.67	N.S.
	WHITE	6	14.6	22	53.7	13	31.7				
d. Attention to complaints	BLACK	8	19.5	23	56.1	10	24.4			4.39	N.S.
	WHITE	5	12.2	17	41.5	19	46.3				
e. Respecting your right to privacy	BLACK	9	22.0	32	78.0					0.57	N.S.
	WHITE	12	29.3	29	70.7						
f. Fairness in enforcing rules	BLACK	10	24.4	25	61.0	6	14.6			5.22	N.S.
	WHITE	11	26.8	16	39.1	14	34.1				
g. Interested in making project good place to live	BLACK	15	36.6	20	48.8	6	14.6			0.39	N.S.
	WHITE	15	36.6	18	43.9	8	19.5				

The Chi-square values obtained reflected no significant differences existed between blacks and whites rating of management. However, a greater percentage of whites responded more negatively in two categories, these being "Respecting your right to privacy," and "Fairness in enforcing rules and regulations."

On the basis of positive responses from both groups, and of the consistency with which the responses of the white group tend to be less positive with respect to their perception of management, General Hypothesis II and Sub-Hypothesis IIb may now be accepted as valid.

#### Attitude Toward Integration in the Project

General Hypothesis III: The public housing resident experiences generally positive attitudes toward integration in the housing project.

Sub-Hypothesis IIc: Intergroup differences are anticipated in attitudes toward integration in the project with greater dissatisfaction being expressed by the white group.

For these hypotheses the following sections of the instrument were used;

Questions 17-19, 25-28, measure social interaction across ethnic lines.

Questions 20-24, measure positive or negative feelings of ethnic differences. (See Appendix A.)

Attitudes toward integration in the housing project are probably the most important consideration in determining satisfaction with the project. It is assumed that the blacks accept integration in the project. If the whites accept integration, it is felt they will also

have a favorable attitude toward other aspects of the project. If a positive attitude toward interracial neighboring is found it will be assumed that there is also a positive attitude toward integration.

In this study, "neighboring" can be defined as informal relationships within the project and can include visiting in neighbors' home or talking with neighbors in the yard.

From responses to question 17, it was found that of the total sample, thirty blacks and thirty-four whites neighbor with other people in the project. In Table XIII, responses show a majority of both races neighbor with those of the opposite race. Ninety percent of the black group report neighboring with whites. A similar majority, 85.3 percent of the white group neighbor with blacks. The Chi-square value of 3.88 was significant at the .05 level.

TABLE XIII

CHI-SQUARE VALUES REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN NEIGHBORING PATTERNS OF PEOPLE WHO NEIGHBOR, ACCORDING TO RACE

Neighbor With Whites	BLACK		WHITE		X <sup>2</sup>	Level of Sig.
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%		
Yes	27	90.0	34	100.0	3.57	N.S.
No	3	10.0	0	0.0		
Neighbor With Blacks						
Yes	30	100.0	29	85.3	3.88	.05
No	0	0.0	5	14.7		

For the group who reported neighboring with no one in the project, Table XIV reflects their desires to neighbor. A majority of blacks expressed desires to neighbor with both black and white. By contrast, a majority of whites expressed a desire not to neighbor with either black or white. Chi-square values reflected a significant difference in both cases. This white group would, in all probability, represent those most alienated and hostile toward integration and also the project.

TABLE XIV

CHI-SQUARE VALUES REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN DESIRES TO NEIGHBOR,  
FOR PEOPLE WHO DO NOT NEIGHBOR, ACCORDING TO RACE

Would Like to Neighbor With	BLACK*		WHITE*		X <sup>2</sup>	Level of Sig.
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%		
Whites						
Yes	9	81.8	2	33.3	3.40	.05
No	2	18.2	4	66.7		
Blacks						
Yes	7	87.5	0	0.0	11.48	.001
No	1	12.5	7	100.0		

\*One white did not wish to respond. Three blacks did not wish to respond.

The responses recorded in Table XV demonstrate that the relationships between black and white housewives are predominantly friendly. Slightly more than one-half of the black group and slightly less than one-half of the white group helped housewives of the other race in caring for children or helping when someone was sick. This accommodative relationship is also strengthened by the remark made by a majority of both races who responded negatively that, "they would be glad to help if asked or needed."

TABLE XV

CHI-SQUARE VALUES REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN HELPING  
THOSE OF OTHER RACE, ACCORDING TO RACE.

Help Those of Other Race	BLACK		WHITE		X <sup>2</sup>	Level of Sig.
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%		
Yes	24	58.5	20	48.8	.78	N.S.
No	17	41.5	21	51.2		

Additional evidence that black and white people are "pretty much the same" in the project was obtained from responses to the question "Are (black, white) people who live here pretty much the same as (white, black) people who live here or are they different?" (Table XVI). Eighty-two percent blacks said, "whites are the same;" 63.4 percent of the whites said, "blacks are the same." Interracial comparison was significant at the .05 level. Several white respondents volunteered

such statements as, "Some of the black women are a lot nicer than some of the white women." One black respondent said, "White children are nicer than black children. They have nicer manners." Few of those feeling (black, white) different gave a definite reason for believing them different. Most said, "They're just different." One white said of blacks, "They're dirty and talk dirty."

TABLE XVI

CHI-SQUARE VALUES REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN PERCEPTIONS OF SIMILARITIES OR DIFFERENCES IN OPPOSITE RACE, ACCORDING TO RACE

Perception Toward Opposite Race	BLACK		WHITE		X <sup>2</sup>	Level of Sig.
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%		
Same	34	82.9	26	63.4	3.98	.05
Different	7	17.1	15	36.6		

Both black and white groups as a whole are found to express positive attitudes toward integration in the project. The white group expresses significantly more negative attitudes. Thus General Hypothesis III and Sub-Hypothesis IIc may be accepted as valid.

## Satisfaction and Intergroup Contact

Sub-Hypothesis I: The degree of satisfaction toward integration in the housing project is related to the degree of intergroup contact.

For this hypothesis the following sections of the instrument were used:

Questions 17-28 are defined as measures of attitudes toward social interaction across ethnic lines. (See Appendix A.)

It has been concluded that blacks favor integration and that whites also have a positive attitude toward integration in the project, but to a lesser degree than blacks. Thus, this portion of the study will have as its focus the attitudes of whites toward blacks. Several factors are significant to this portion of the study:

1. Blacks in the project accept integration because it represents upward mobility for them.
2. Very few white tenants would accept integration in the project if guided solely by their initial attitudes.
3. This initial attitude of whites may be changed through contact with blacks.
4. It should be noted that since the Housing Act of 1962, whites have had several years for developing attitude changes.
5. It thus seems evident that if there is favorable intergroup contact, it will be reflected to the same degree in satisfaction toward integration.

As seen in Table XIII, 85.3 percent of the white group report neighboring with blacks. Table XV shows that 48.8 percent of whites help blacks in neighborly acts with a majority of other whites reporting

they would help if they were needed. Table XVI reflects the attitude of 63.4 percent of the whites that blacks in the project are the same as whites. In Table XVII, 90.2 percent of the whites report liking blacks the same as before they lived in public housing. The nature of an attitude is that seldom does the holder of the attitude realize the gradual change in his attitude. This, together with the fact that many of these whites would not likely want to admit they were once prejudiced, would suggest that the response "like them the same as before" is a positive one.

TABLE XVII

CHI-SQUARE VALUES REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN IDEA CHANGES ABOUT PEOPLE OF OPPOSITE RACE SINCE LIVING IN PUBLIC HOUSING, ACCORDING TO RACE

How Ideas Have Changed	BLACK		WHITE		X <sup>2</sup>	Level of Sig.
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%		
Like them better than before	13	31.7	4	9.8	6.01	.02
Like them same as before	28	68.3	37	90.2		

Statements made by the respondents such as, "My next door neighbor is black and you couldn't ask for a nicer neighbor," or "My next door neighbor is black and she is the only person here I would trust to keep my kids," would indicate that the nearer the white resident lives to



the black resident the more likely they are to have intimate contact and will, therefore, perceive a more favorable black-white association and, therefore, a more favorable attitude toward integration in the project. Analysis of the data upholds the factors listed as significant to this portion of the study and, therefore, Sub-Hypothesis I can be accepted as valid.

#### Attitude and Tenure

To determine the relationship between tenure in public housing and the attitudes measured by General Hypotheses I and II, two questions from each of these sections were chosen to be analyzed in relationship to tenure (Question 1).

In studying the tenure data, there are certain factors to be considered. As can be seen in Table XVIII, only 4.9 percent of the black group have lived in public housing more than five years compared to 51.2 percent for the white group. It is interesting to note that in the 0-2 years group, this trend is completely reversed. This would indicate that whites are "deserting" public housing as blacks are accepted on a non-discriminatory basis. This would indicate also that the conscious effort which has been made to maintain a reasonable inter-racial balance has been overcome by sheer numbers of black applicants combined with white desertion of the projects.

It would appear that long tenure would be a measure of stability. This could not be considered relevant in the case of the black group due to white supremacy in the project only five years ago.

TABLE XVIII

CHI-SQUARE VALUES REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN LENGTH OF TIME  
LIVED IN PUBLIC HOUSING, ACCORDING TO RACE

Years Lived in Public Housing	BLACK		WHITE		X <sup>2</sup>	Level of Sig.
	Freq.	%	Fre.	%		
0-2 years	18	43.9	4	9.8		
2-5 years	21	51.2	16	39.0	25.28	.001
Over 5 years	2	4.9	21	51.2		

#### Tenure and the Physical Environment

The variable of Tenure was considered in the following tables.

The variable of Race was not considered.

In Tables XIX and XX, it can be seen that negative responses increase with increasing tenure and that positive responses decrease with increasing tenure. This would substantiate the idea put forth earlier that there is growing discontentment with the public housing environment among the white group. As noted earlier, of the group interviewed, only 2 black families were in the "over 5 year" group and only 4 white families were in the "0-2 year" group.

The data in Table XXI also reflects the trend of dissatisfaction with the policies of the project management, those of longer tenure feeling that probably nothing could be accomplished by the Resident Association, or that it had been "taken over" by blacks.

TABLE XIX

CHI-SQUARE VALUES REFLECTING RELATIONSHIP OF TENURE TO ATTITUDE OF HOUSING PROJECT AS A GOOD PLACE TO RAISE CHILDREN

Good Place to Raise Children	0-2 Years		2-5 Years		More Than 5 Years		X <sup>2</sup>	Level of Sig.
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%		
Agree	14	63.6	12	32.4	6	26.1	7.89	.02
Disagree	8	36.4	25	67.6	17	73.9		

TABLE XX

CHI-SQUARE VALUES REFLECTING RELATIONSHIP OF TENURE TO ATTITUDE THAT THERE IS A GOOD NEIGHBORHOOD FEELING IN THE HOUSING PROJECT

Good Neighborhood Feeling	0-2 Years		2-5 Years		More Than 5 Years		X <sup>2</sup>	Level of Sig.
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%		
Agree	14	63.6	28	75.7	13	56.5	2.52	N.S.
Disagree	8	36.4	9	24.3	10	43.5		

TABLE XXI

CHI-SQUARE VALUES REFLECTING RELATIONSHIP OF TENURE TO PEOPLE  
WHO ATTEND RESIDENT ASSOCIATION MEETINGS

Attend Meetings	0-2 Years		2-5 Years		More Than 5 Years		X <sup>2</sup>	Level of Sig.
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%		
Yes	15	68.2	22	59.5	12	52.2	1.20	N.S.
No	7	31.8	15	40.5	11	47.8		

There would seem to be a feeling that enforcing rules and regulations is the domain of specific individuals in the project management rather than abstract policies of management. Table XXII does not show the trend of white dissatisfaction. It can be assumed, then, that the dissatisfaction is not directed toward specific individuals in management, but rather to an unseen "they" in the Housing Authority.

TABLE XXII

CHI-SQUARE VALUES REFLECTING RELATIONSHIP OF TENURE TO FEELINGS  
THAT MANAGEMENT IS FAIR IN ENFORCING RULES AND REGULATIONS

Fair in Enforcement	0-2 Years		2-5 Years		More Than 5 Years		X <sup>2</sup>	Level of Sig.
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%		
Very good	6	27.3	11	29.7	4	17.4	2.43	N.S.
Good	9	40.9	19	51.4	13	56.5		
Average	7	31.8	7	18.9	6	26.1		

These data also add support to Sub-Hypothesis II which predicts greater dissatisfaction among the white group in the project.

#### Summary

The general conclusion that might be drawn from the analysis of this study is that the public housing resident's perception of his environment is one of satisfaction. Generally, he perceives his lot to be better than when he lived in private housing. While the whites feel less satisfaction with their environment than the blacks, the degree of the satisfaction is related to the degree of acceptance of the presence of blacks in the project. The degree of acceptance of the presence of blacks is directly related to the proximity and to the amount of contact with blacks.

Members of both groups have positive attitudes toward the management of the project with more positive attitudes toward individual members than toward management as a whole.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The general purpose of this study was to investigate the housing attitudes of families living in public housing and to relate such attitudes to selected black and white families.

The study is based on the assumption that the attitude of both black and white groups will be generally positive, with greater dissatisfaction being expressed by the white group.

The sample was composed of forty-one black families and forty-one white families living in two public housing projects in Memphis, Tennessee. The families were of low socio-economic status common to all public housing tenants. Racial composition of the project was 78 percent black and 22 percent white.

An interview schedule was devised. Questions pertained to attitudes toward: (1) the physical environment of the project, (2) management of the project, and (3) integration in the project. Data were collected from the housewife by interviews conducted in their homes. The data were processed by the staff of the computer center at Oklahoma State University. The Chi-Square test was used to determine significance of differences between the black and white groups.

### Conclusions

From the analysis of the data, the following conclusions relating to the hypotheses are drawn:

1. Both black and white families experience generally positive attitudes toward the physical environment, management and integration in the housing project.
2. The black and white families experience different degrees of satisfaction, with greater dissatisfaction being expressed by the white group.
3. As length of time lived in public housing increased for the white group, dissatisfactions with the project also increased.
4. The degree of satisfaction with integration in the project was found to be related to the degree of neighboring among the tenants.

### Recommendations

The following recommendations are submitted as being relevant to further study of attitudes of public housing tenants:

1. That a comparable study be made using a larger sample to include other housing projects in the same city to test the significance of location of project on attitudes.
2. That a comparable study be undertaken in another city to ascertain the validity of this study.
3. That another study be made of a similar sample testing other housing attitudes.
4. That further studies be made on tenure relative to black attitudes.

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## INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

\_\_\_\_\_ Interview Number

\_\_\_\_\_ Housing Project

\_\_\_\_\_ Race (White or Black)

1. How long have you lived in public housing?

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Less than 2 years  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 2. 2 to 5 years  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 3. More than 5 years

2. Going back to the day when you applied for a home in public housing, which of these statements comes closest to the way you felt about applying?

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Very pleased to apply  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Didn't matter one way or the other  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Strongly disliked applying  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Had no other choice

3. Knowing what you know now, if you had it to do over, would you feel the same way about applying for public housing as you did then?

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Yes  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 2. No

4. Do you like your home in this housing project more, less, or the same, as your former home?

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. More  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Less  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Same

IN THESE STATEMENTS, PLEASE TELL ME FOR EACH, WHETHER YOU AGREE WITH IT, DISAGREE WITH IT, OR ARE UNCERTAIN.

5. It is safe for people to be alone after dark in this neighborhood.

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Agree  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Disagree  
 \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Uncertain

6. This is a good place to raise children.

- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
1. Agree
  2. Disagree
  3. Uncertain

7. There are good recreation facilities for children here.

- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
1. Agree
  2. Disagree
  3. Uncertain

8. This area is a convenient one (to work, shopping, schools, etc.).

- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
1. Agree
  2. Disagree
  3. Uncertain

9. Police protection is adequate here.

- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
1. Agree
  2. Disagree
  3. Uncertain

10. There is a good neighborhood feeling here.

- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
1. Agree
  2. Disagree
  3. Uncertain

11. Do you feel you are free to do as you please around here as you were in the neighborhood you moved from?

- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
1. Yes
  2. No

12. If "no," why is that? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

13. Since you have been living in this house, do you feel it has:

- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
1. Improved relationships within your family
  2. Had no effect upon relationships within your family
  3. Hurt relationships within your family

14. Since you have been living in this house do you feel it has:

- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
1. Helped you and your children make friends
  2. Not made any difference in you and your children making friends
  3. Hindered you and your children making friends

15. Offhand, do you think you have had more, fewer, or about the same, money worries since you moved into this project?

- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
1. More
  2. Fewer
  3. Same

16. How long do you think you will live in this project?

(Years) \_\_\_\_\_

17. Do you "neighbor" with the other people in this project?

- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
1. Yes
  2. No

18. If "yes":

- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- (a) Do you neighbor with the white people?
  - (b) Do you neighbor with the black people?

19. If "no":

- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- (a) Would you like to neighbor with the white people?
  - (b) Would you like to neighbor with the black people?

20. Since you have been living in this project, how have your ideas about (white, black) people changed?

- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
1. Like them better than before
  2. Like them the same now as before
  3. Like them less than before

21. (ASK BLACK) Are white people who live here pretty much the same as black people who live here or are they different?

- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
1. Same
  2. Different
  3. Don't know

22. (If different) In what ways are they different?

---



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23. (ASK WHITE) Are black people who live here pretty much the same as white people who live here or are they different?

- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
1. Same
  2. Different
  3. Don't know

24. (If Different) In what ways are they different?

---

---

25. (ASK WHITE) Do you and the other white women help one another, like taking care of one another's children, or helping one another when someone is sick?

- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
1. Yes
  2. No

26. (ASK WHITE) Do you ever do any of these things for the black women?

- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
1. Yes
  2. No

27. (ASK BLACK) Do you and the other black women help one another, like taking care of one another's children, or helping one another when someone is sick?

- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
1. Yes
  2. No

28. (ASK BLACK) Do you ever do any of these things for the white women?

- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
1. Yes
  2. No

29. Are you familiar with the Resident Association in this project?

- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
1. Yes
  2. No

30. If "yes," do you attend the meetings of the Resident Association?

- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
1. Yes
  2. No

31. Do you feel the Resident Association has any influence with the management of the project in matters which concern you?

- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
1. Yes
  2. No

32. Concerning the Modernization Program now being carried out by the housing authority, do you feel this program has improved your home?

- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
1. Yes
  2. No

33. If "yes," in what particular way? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

34. Do you feel your kind of needs and desires were taken into consideration when the housing authority planned these programs?

- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
1. Yes
  2. No

35. Do you feel the modernization program has improved the friendship between you and your neighbors by giving you something in common to talk about?

- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_
1. Yes
  2. No

36. Here is a card with five different responses printed on it. Tell me how you would rate the management of this project by choosing one response for each of the following.

(Interviewer, read responses aloud to make sure they are understood)

	Very Good	Good	Average	Bad	Very Bad
(a) Keeping the project clean and attractive	_____				
(b) Handling repairs	_____				
(c) Handling services	_____				
(d) Attention to complaints	_____				
(e) Respecting your right to privacy	_____				
(f) Fairness in enforcing rules and regulations	_____				
(g) Interested in making this project a good place for you to live	_____				

**APPENDIX B**



Tables XXIII, XXIV, and XXV, show the original frequency and percentage rather than the Chi-square collapsed categories which were used in the findings. This was done to give the reader a more meaningful view of the specific responses.

TABLE XXIII

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE COUNT OF TOTAL RESPONSES REFLECTING ATTITUDE  
TOWARD PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE HOUSING PROJECT

Question No.	Response No.							
	1		2		3		4	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
1	22	26.83	37	45.12	23	28.05		
2	39	47.56	5	6.10	1	1.22	37	45.12
3	60	73.17	22	26.83				
4	48	58.54	16	19.51	18	21.95		
5	14	17.07	62	75.61	6	7.32		
6	32	39.50	42	50.62	8	9.88		
7	47	56.79	27	33.33	8	9.88		
8	76	92.59	4	4.94	2	2.47		
9	48	58.54	19	23.17	15	18.29		
10	55	67.07	20	24.39	7	8.54		
11	58	70.73	24	29.27				
13	20	24.39	49	59.76	13	15.85		
14	28	34.15	48	58.53	6	7.32		
15	12	14.64	36	43.90	34	41.46		

TABLE XXIV

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE COUNT OF TOTAL RESPONSES REFLECTING ATTITUDE  
TOWARD MANAGEMENT OF THE HOUSING PROJECT

Question No.	Response No.									
	1		2		3		4		5	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
29	66	80.49	16	19.51						
30	32	49.23	33	50.77						
31	38	46.34	24	29.27						
32	72	87.80	10	12.20						
34	68	82.93	14	17.07						
35	59	71.95	23	28.05						
36a	12	14.63	41	50.00	16	19.51	9	10.98	4	4.88
36b	18	21.95	42	51.22	17	20.73	4	4.88	1	1.22
36c	15	18.29	49	59.76	12	14.63	5	6.10	1	1.22
36d	13	15.85	40	48.78	25	30.49	1	1.22	3	3.66
36e	21	25.61	52	63.41	6	7.32	2	2.44	1	1.22
36f	21	25.61	41	50.00	14	17.07	6	7.32		
36g	30	36.59	38	46.34	8	9.76	5	6.10	1	1.22

TABLE XXV

FREQUENCY AND PERCENTAGE COUNT OF TOTAL RESPONSES REFLECTING ATTITUDE  
TOWARD INTEGRATION IN THE HOUSING PROJECT

Question No.	Response No.					
	1		2		3	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
17	64	78.05	18	21.95		
18a	61	95.31	3	4.69		
18b	59	92.19	5	7.81		
19a	11	52.38	6	28.57		
19b	7	31.82	8	36.36		
20	17	20.73	62	75.61	3	3.66
21	34	82.92	5	12.20	2	4.88
23	26	62.50	13	32.50	2	5.00
25	31	75.61	10	24.39		
26	20	48.78	21	51.22		
27	36	87.80	5	12.20		
28	24	58.54	17	41.46		

TABLE XXVI

CHI-SQUARE VALUES REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN TENANTS' FEELINGS ABOUT APPLYING FOR PUBLIC HOUSING, ACCORDING TO RACE

Tenants' Feelings	BLACK		WHITE		X <sup>2</sup>	Level of Sig.
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%		
Very pleased to apply	23	56.1	16	39.0	2.40	N.S.
Had no other choice	18	43.9	25	61.0		

TABLE XXVII

CHI-SQUARE VALUES REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN FEELINGS ABOUT APPLYING FOR PUBLIC HOUSING IF OFFERED THE CHOICE OF REPEATING THE EXPERIENCE, ACCORDING TO RACE

Would Tenant Feel Same Way About Applying?	BLACK		WHITE		X <sup>2</sup>	Level of Sig.
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%		
Yes	30	73.2	30	73.2	0.00	N.S.
No	11	26.8	11	26.8		

TABLE XXVIII

CHI-SQUARE VALUES REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN FEELINGS OF FREEDOM TO DO AS ONE PLEASURES IN HOUSING PROJECT COMPARED TO FORMER NEIGHBORHOOD, ACCORDING TO RACE

Feel As Free As in Former Neighborhood	BLACK		WHITE		X <sup>2</sup>	Level of Sig.
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%		
Yes	29	70.7	29	70.7	0.00	N.S.
No	12	29.3	12	29.3		

TABLE XXIX

CHI-SQUARE VALUES REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN PEOPLE WHO NEIGHBOR WITH OTHER PEOPLE IN THE PROJECT, ACCORDING TO RACE

Does Tenant Neighbor?	BLACK		WHITE		X <sup>2</sup>	Level of Sig.
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%		
Yes	30	73.2	34	82.9	1.14	N.S.
No	11	26.8	7	17.1		

TABLE XXX

CHI-SQUARE VALUES REFLECTING DIFFERENCES IN HELPING  
ONE ANOTHER, ACCORDING TO RACE

Help Members of Own Race	BLACK		WHITE		$\chi^2$	Level of Sig.
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%		
Yes	31	87.8	36	75.6	2.04	N.S.
No	10	12.2	5	24.4		

VITA

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