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DEVELOPMENT PROJECT EMPHASIZING WORK IN
MULTIPLE DWELLINGS.

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NEIGHBORHOOD STABILIZATION:
A COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECT
EMPHASIZING WORK IN MULTIPLE DWELLINGS

BY

JOHN D. MORRISON

A dissertation submitted to the graduate
Faculty in Social Work in partial ful-
fillment of the requirements for the de-
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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Social Work in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Social Welfare.

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Abstract

NEIGHBORHOOD STABILIZATION:
A COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECT
EMPHASIZING WORK IN MULTIPLE DWELLINGS

by

John D. Morrison

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Housing segregation continues to be a problem in American cities and creates negative effects for city residents both black and white. Housing segregation creates other problems such as school segregation. Often the integrated neighborhood is only a transition stage between a neighborhood's changing from all white to all black. There is a strong need for mechanisms that would encourage the stabilization of integrated neighborhoods. Policies both federal and local that would encourage stabilization are reviewed.

The literature related to neighborhood social change is reviewed. The traditional view of "tipping point" has relatively little precision or utility as a predictive device. What is proposed is a more complex model that sees choices to enter or leave a particular neighborhood as being much like other consumer choices. Choices are made based on

a wide variety of factors, racial composition of an area being only one element influencing the choice.

The limited literature on integrated neighborhoods is discussed.

The writer feels that the full potential of local neighborhood organizations to promote stabilization has not been utilized and such groups tend to be overlooked as appropriate social work auspices. Yet the literature and social work philosophy seem to give strong support to such local based efforts when aided by some social work staff. Such neighborhood groups by their nature are close to the problem and can respond with flexibility to changing conditions. Appropriate roles for such groups would emphasize community development rather than community social action or social planning to use Jack Rothman's typology. Negotiation rather than confrontation should be emphasized in dealing with problems.

In addition to dealing directly with problems local groups have other options open, such as promoting the positive aspects of the area. Some operating principles applicable to such local efforts are discussed.

An important assumption supported by empirical data from other neighborhoods, is that, is the process of local residents coming together to deal with common problems, their sense of neighborhood is enhanced. This in turn should contribute to stabilization of the neighborhood.

A transitional neighborhood and its local association in Brooklyn were selected to test these notions. One

aspect of the association's work, organization of tenants in apartment buildings, was chosen to demonstrate the hypotheses that tenants could be organized into an effective force to deal with a problem confronting them, physical decline in the buildings. It was further hypothesized and is solving this problem that tenants' sense of community would be enhanced, which in turn would aid in racially stabilizing, organized buildings.

In reviewing results of the program, it was found that most organized buildings (67% of the 64 buildings) had good improvement and an additional 11% had some improvement on the basis of scales developed for the project. Improvement was accompanied by substantial increase in landlords' expenditure for repair. Success seemed more related to expenditure of worker time in a particular building rather than worker's level of training. A crucial factor in success of the tenant organization effort was the ability of leadership from the building itself.

Small buildings (under 16 units) tended to have more and different problems, than larger buildings which suggest the need for a differential approach to these buildings.

Tenants did become more involved in activities in the wider neighborhood and attitudes about the neighborhood tended to be positive.

The success in solving physical problems did not have the intended effect in racially stabilizing buildings, however. Two reasons are suggested for this. Long term residents view current status of neighborhood, if it has had

some decline, much more negatively than new residents. More importantly substantial destabilizing pressures occurred from population shifts within the city (rather than shifts from outside the city); these were largely a result of large scale housing abandonment in adjacent neighborhoods. This suggests a need for overall city wide housing policy.

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The staff of the program: Barbara Epstein and Michael Leiman implemented the program and through their creativity, skill and hard work saw that a concept was transformed into a viable and useful program.

The Board of Directors had the vision to undertake the risks necessary to begin the program.

My committee, Irving Weisman, Eugene Shinn, Stephen Burghardt and the late Paul Schreiber gave encouragement and many practical suggestions.

Lastly thanks are due my wife, Maye, who supported my efforts, helped in many practical ways and most of all tolerated the many meetings, phone calls, and the hours needed for study and writing, needed to complete this work.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

Neighborhood Stabilization

An all too common urban phenomenon is the "changing neighborhood" where both racial and class change is occurring. While there is value in racial and class diversity, often the "integration" of a neighborhood is only a transition phase that the neighborhood goes through as it changes from all white to all minority. A change in class also frequently takes place as middle class minority group members move on to other areas. The resulting lower class minority population is often exploited by those who want to make a quick dollar on their investment without risking any further investment. The population also has great difficulty in overcoming the multitude of problems facing them because of a lack both of significant resources and of confidence to deal with these problems.

The unmet need to be addressed in this project is the development of effective mechanisms, within neighborhoods that have undergone racial change, to assure that: 1. these neighborhoods remain integrated; 2. that concrete problems that affect the neighborhood are dealt with; 3. that efforts which can build a sense of community within a neighborhood are encouraged.

A central assumption in this project is that dealing with concrete problems and building a sense of community are not only important in themselves but also contribute to the promotion of racial stability within a neighborhood by changing attitudes of those contemplating moving out of or into an area.

In this project physical deterioration of multiple dwellings, seen as a major problem by most community residents, has been chosen as an area of focus to test whether efforts to solve these problems are effective and whether such efforts have effect on the more general concerns of stabilization. What is proposed is basically a community organization approach. It is believed that community organization methods can be more effective when employed in what is essentially a preventive and early treatment situation.

Experience has shown that neighborhoods can become racially stabilized. Most examples, however, involve populations which both own their homes and are middle class. What is proposed here is an approach that is applicable to more economically integrated areas, typical of what is found in large cities. Both theory and the practical experience of other neighborhoods suggest that direct approaches to promotion of integration (e.g., neighborhood publicity and open housing efforts) are not enough to assure success in achieving and maintaining integration. In fact, these efforts alone may increase community tensions to the long run detriment of community stability and integration. There must be support of a neighborhood's goals by a substantial

number of residents if there is to be a true sense of neighborhood. By assuring that there is a potential benefit for most residents, that concrete problems will be dealt with, there can also be support for the association's goal of maintaining integration. The involvement of residents in dealing with problems and needs not only aids in achieving a direct goal but serves as a bridge between various segments of the community, which is helpful in promoting a realistic view of the area and in stabilization.

The Overall Need For Community Stabilization

An overall goal is community stabilization. This concept has been promoted by the New York City's Commission on Human Rights and Eleanor Holmes Norton, its Chairperson, in particular. The general realization, now, is that integration has occurred in many areas in the past. Integration frequently however has merely been a transitional period during which an area goes from a white segregated area to a black segregated area. The principal beneficiaries of this process are the real estate agents who benefit from the commissions involved in various real estate changes. The residents who move out often face a loss in money and/or the anxiety of making a move they have mixed feelings about. The new residents may improve their immediate housing situation but seldom have any assurance that this will be a permanent benefit. All too often everyone feels a need to keep moving to maintain comparatively decent housing accommodations. What most would like is a relatively stable situation

where they would not feel pressured to move.

Eleanor Holmes Norton has made a strong case for "stabilization" programs:

"We believe racial stabilization and neighborhood preservation to be as central to the problems of the cities in the 1970's as Model Cities and anti-poverty approaches were the critical urban strategies of the 1960's. To be sure, the strategies to reclaim the long neglected slums must continue and be redoubled, but it would be foolish to allow areas which can be saved from decline to deteriorate simply because we refused to look at them early enough. We must act before decay threatens to become unredeemable.

"Without encouraging stably integrated neighborhoods, resegregation of neighborhoods rapidly takes place and cities become black, brown and poor enclaves surrounded by white suburbs to which the tax base necessary for urban health has also fled."¹

Ms. Norton's use of "stabilization" implies more than simply arresting a racial mix at a certain level in a particular neighborhood. Implicit is creation of conditions, physical and social, that will aid the stabilization of populations. Implicit is also some latitude for racial change but at a limited rate and in such ways that an area remains a good place to live.

This unmet need must be seen within a large context of neighborhood racial change, housing discrimination, supply and demand of housing and the general status of minorities in our society.

OVERVIEW

The following are the major chapters into which the remainder of the work is divided. A brief summary of each chapter is presented.

POLICY

Inasmuch as this area is rather complex and is not often discussed in social work literature a need was felt to review in some depth both the problem and the policy that has, or should impinge on the problem. That the problem is fraught with value judgements also supported the need for a review of policy--it may be harder to deal with this problem subjectively than some others. Therefore a more conscious effort seemed needed to examine the policy and value dimensions of the problem so that direction can be as clear as possible.

Segregated housing patterns have been an important feature of American urban life essentially for the entire history of the country.

Most public policy until recent years had an effect of perpetuating segregated housing patterns. Even such policies as FHA mortgage insurance and urban renewal have tended to support segregated housing.

The writer presents reasons why public policy and private efforts should support stabilized integrated neighborhoods. A review of macro policy is made which reviews major options and reviews them from a standpoint of values and effectiveness.

TRANSITION AND STABILIZATION PROCESS

The literature available in the areas of how change takes place in neighborhoods and that available on stabilizes neighborhoods is reviewed. Part of the purpose, again,

is to add to the clarity in potential direction and to state the problem as clearly as possible. The writer reviews traditional views on racial succession and presents a more encompassing view of neighborhood change which sees racial stabilization as a possibility and views changes as being to a large extent dependent on a series of consumer choices made much like any other consumer choices. Factors that help to determine whether families choose to enter or stay in a neighborhood include value, convenience, sense of community in addition to a basic sense of "viability", such as safety.

The literature supports the view that the chances for continuation of stabilized integrated neighborhood has increased as immigration has diminished and as people have become more accepting of interracial situations.

INTERVENTION

Intervention is discussed from a strategic standpoint and on a basis of what would be appropriate intervention strategies for a program to be conducted in a local neighborhood.

A brief review of neighborhood as a concept is presented particularly from the aspect of neighborhood stabilization. The nature of voluntary associations is reviewed along with conditions which enhance their effectiveness. Specifically neighborhood associations in middle class areas seem to have greater potential for success than those in lower income areas.

The work of Rothman and others is reviewed for an understanding of which strategies and roles are most appropriate for a program that is focused on a local neighborhood.

PROGRAM DESIGN

In designing a specific program the organizational and locational context within which the program was designed are reviewed together with options open to local community groups. In addition some practice principles, which are useful to this and similar programs, are reviewed. The reasons for choosing a design that focusses on multiple dwellings are presented.

EVALUATION DESIGN

The initial design of the program was to review physical changes and racial change in multiple dwellings. Reviews of organizational success, implementation problems and cost factors are presented to serve as a basis for consideration of similar programs in other areas.

FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS

The program was found to not have the desired effect in terms of racial stabilization of multiple dwellings. On the other hand the program did seem to have a positive effect on physical condition in buildings. Such results were found to be cost effective. The organization also was able to maintain itself and become increasingly independent over the course of time.

Footnotes for Chapter I

1. New York City Commission on Human Rights, A Proposal For a Demonstration Project to Develop a Total Housing Strategy; Integration and Stabilization (New York: 1973), pp. 2 & 3.

CHAPTER II

POLICY CONSIDERATIONS

Overview

This review of policy considerations starts with a brief discussion of past public policy that until recent years has favored, and supported residential segregation rather than acting to eliminate it.

The negative effects of housing segregation are summarized as well as the extent to which it is voluntary. The reasons for favoring residential integration are also discussed.

Policies that favor integration and stabilization are discussed, and Downs' work is reviewed as an aid to analyzing policy options. The nature of levels of intervention are discussed and the need for comprehensive national policies in this area are presented together with a brief review of groups already in the field.

Past Policy That Has Promoted Segregation

Residential racial segregation has been a fact in American cities for most of their history.

Public policy for a long time openly favored segregation through zoning ordinances, restrictive covenants, and public housing policies. Income tax incentives are used as

an indirect subsidy to middle-income families (usually white) with much less direct subsidy being given to the poor (who are more often black). Credit has often been granted only in segregated situations or in ways that favored whites, suburbs or new construction.

The use of private developers and brokers as the principal actors in housing often perpetuates segregationist policies of the larger society. National transportation and suburban development policies have favored perpetuation of essentially segregated suburbs. Even urban renewal, while often promoted as a way of helping the poor and minorities, displaced more people than were re-housed, forced the poor to pay higher rents and perpetuated segregated housing practices.¹

Housing segregation has seemingly always been a part of the American scene. Not only has this been supported by custom, it has also been supported in many ways by official public policy. This situation has had negative effects in the lives of American blacks starting with the need to spend more for adequate housing or being denied adequate housing altogether. There have also been negative effects in numerous other ways that impinge on the psychological and social well being of blacks. There have also been other difficulties because stereotypes whites have of blacks are reinforced by lack of contact with blacks: This also stems in part from segregated housing.

This review proceeds from a point of view that sees housing segregation as wrong and something that must be

dealt with. It further seeks to establish that one important way to achieve an eventual stability is through integrated neighborhoods where residential patterns can be stabilized.

EFFECTS OF HOUSING SEGREGATION

Housing segregation necessarily involves discrimination, if not supplemented by large-scale intelligent planning in the housing field of which America has as yet seen practically nothing. Housing segregation represents a deviation from free competition in the market for apartments and houses and curtails the supply available for Negroes. It creates an artificial scarcity whenever Negroes need more residences, due to raised economic standards or increased numbers of the Negro population. It further permits any prejudice on the part of public officials to be freely vented on Negroes without hurting whites.²

Ghetto conditions in themselves may be sufficient to prompt thoughts of ways of eliminating them.

A complete analysis of ghetto problems would be a major work in itself. Some of the more obvious problems may be worth reviewing:

- A "captive" market is forced to pay exorbitant prices for goods and services that are often inferior.

- Discouragement and bitterness often create a pervasive atmosphere that makes constructive action harder.

- A suburban population often knows little about ghetto conditions and sees no reason to do anything about them.

- High rates of illness and social problems seem to prevail in the ghetto; e.g., educational deficiencies, unemployment, dependency; and these conditions seem to

reinforce each other.

.A diminished tax base caused by white migration to the suburbs and the diminishment of political support to remedy urban conditions perpetuate present conditions and generate new ones.

.By continuation of present policies the amount of segregation (if not the rate) is likely to increase, which will make the problem even harder to deal with in the future.

.Any attempts to deal with non residential segregation; e.g., school integration; can be undone by rapid re-segregation of areas.

.The rational planning and development of metropolitan areas is affected. To avoid integration, development plans are emphasized (through zoning) that use extraordinary amounts of land per housing unit. The resulting sprawl (and uneven development is often a problem in itself. Without stabilization relatively long term planning for neighborhoods is not practical because one cannot predict what kinds of changes may take place in an area.

.The black unemployed have less access to information about the suburban job market and are thus cut off from a significant array of jobs.³

.More basically, the continuation of segregated neighborhoods has come to symbolize the inferior position of Negroes in the American city.⁴

And the personal damage is not to Negroes alone. Many of the neighborhoods newly entered by Negroes since World War II have been occupied by middle-aged and retired white families who often look upon

their current homes as being their last--and whose emotional attachment to both house and neighborhood is based upon ties of familiarity and friendship built up over many years. These occupants feel deeply threatened by the entrance of a Negro family. The result often is mental stress, misery, and loneliness, as well as a sense of overwhelming personal loss at being "forced" to leave a home and neighborhood one had grown to love.⁵

It is not surprising then, that the Kerner Commission--while recommending policies to allow more minorities to move out of cities, at the same time recommended an increase in the supply of low income housing in the cities.⁶

Extent to Which Housing Segregation
is Voluntary

Residential segregation has many negative features including putting blacks and the poor at an unfair advantage in housing and job markets, negative psychological effects of ghettos, problems of orderly development and preservation of urban areas and the self perpetuating nature of segregation. That discrimination (rather than preference or poverty) is the central reason for racial segregation is supported by the literature.

A major question related to housing segregation is the extent to which it is voluntary. If it indeed is voluntary, appropriate public action might be limited. If, on the other hand, it is a matter of restraint on free choice, public action would seem not only appropriate but required. Measurement of segregation and its causes is essential not only to assess the incidence of segregation and its possible causes but also to measure trends and the effects of any

remedial action.

Myrdal⁷ felt that three main factors determined minority group housing concentration:

1. poverty, preventing individuals from playing higher cost for housing
2. ethnic attachment, and
3. segregation enforced by white people

A major contribution of the Taeburs has been development of a "segregation index." By comparing the actual distribution of blacks and whites against what would be expected if blacks and whites were distributed randomly throughout the city, an index can be developed. The Taeburs prefer to do this using block data. If there were complete randomness the index would be zero, if there were absolute segregation--if blacks and whites never lived in the same areas--the index would be 100. While the index does not tell much about the quality of the segregation it is advantageous because it is objective and easily calculable and is not directly dependent on the number of blacks living in a city. This index can be used to assess relative segregation between cities and for trends over time. Typical indices for cities across the country since 1940 have ranged from .60 to above .96.

The Taeburs, after analyzing data related to the above factors, come to the conclusion that "Discrimination is the principal cause of Negro residential segregation, and there is no basis for anticipating major changes in the segregated character of American cities until patterns of

housing discrimination can be altered.⁸

Policy Considerations For
Promotion of Stabilized Residential
Integration At a Neighborhood Level

Overview

Several key policy issues relevant to promotion of stabilized integration at a neighborhood level need to be addressed. Such as

1. Should integrated neighborhoods be favored?
For reasons given later, it is felt they should be, but clearly even this is controversial.
2. What policies would favor this development (Efficiency) at various levels including a local neighborhood with unique problems?
3. Which policies are acceptable from a moral standpoint? (Goodness)
4. At what level would policies be most appropriately (and feasibly) located, either national, state, local or neighborhood?
5. Given a particular neighborhood and its unique qualities, which policies can it or should it choose to pursue?

Reasons For Favoring Racially
Integrated Stabilized Neighborhoods

It is this writer's belief that stabilized integrated neighborhoods offer one of the most powerful tools available to improve housing opportunities for blacks and reduce many of the serious disadvantages they have faced. While I believe that the times and present conditions favor major actions to encourage stabilized neighborhoods, it must be acknowledged that a significant number of blacks and their supporters have reservations about the desirability of this, as do many whites. It must also be acknowledged that two other major programs are required if this is to have impact beyond a relatively few participants. First, meaningful results must be achieved in opening up all areas to black residence by such means as enforcement of open occupancy laws. Secondly, more significant efforts at developing sound housing for all low income citizens at prices they can afford must be made.

Some of the reasons the promotion of integrated stabilized neighborhoods seems sound are these:

It is felt that these various needs can be best met in a neighborhood that is integrated both by race and income. The environment one lives in is very important both as to how one feels about oneself and how one acts. A neighborhood that accepts everyone for who he is and does not attempt to judge by class or race can provide a beneficial environment to all.

Such areas have values for middle income residents, both black and white. If such neighborhoods work, they eliminate the need to continually run. They allow a putting down of roots and enable a greater sense of personal stability to be enjoyed.

Such areas would seem to represent the best way to deal with the problems associated with segregation of schools and the problems that result from integration.

There is ability to take advantage of opportunities inherent in the neighborhoods which are close to the center of the city. These includes good public transportation, a wide variety of cultural programs, closeness to work, and a wide range of shopping areas. A variety of interesting and stimulating neighbors is present from various walks of life and with somewhat different life styles. Not only is this stimulating, it also gives a much more real perspective of what our society and its people are really like. Increasingly one hears complaints from suburban parents that their children are only exposed to children very much like themselves and consequently they are less able to deal with new situations or people different from themselves. Ultimately, such isolation must produce distortions in values which affect attitudes and action toward the poor, minorities, etc.

The opportunities for minority entrepreneurs is enhanced inasmuch as there is a ready market--both minority and white and middle and lower income. Business traditionally has trouble operating in an area where few people have

money. Opportunities to raise capital are also greater the more stable the area is.

Integrated stabilized areas offer the potential for stabilizing housing stock. At this point when housing funds are limited and construction costs are high retention of existing sound housing is crucial.

Lower income people, even more than others, need opportunities, a decent place to live and services that are attuned to their needs and that treat them with respect. In most poverty communities, both the housing and services are of poor quality. In addition, the poor, like all other people, need to have self respect and a feeling of competency coming from the ability to manage their affairs in a satisfying way.

Opportunities and services are greater for everyone in an area that has substantial numbers of middle class residents. A mixed area should be able to increase the access of the poor to power and resources.

Lower income people too often are powerless. Among the many reasons for this is the fact that there are few advocates among the middle class (which is the largest political force) for the interests of the lower income people. An integrated neighborhood enhances the opportunities for communication between the poor and middle class. Also the needs of the lower income people are not just their problems: because they affect everyone in an integrated neighborhood, there is a community wide interest in dealing with them.

There is research data in support of the feeling that integrated neighborhoods reduce prejudiced attitudes.

Deutsch and Collins in an early study⁹ compared two interracial low income housing projects, one in Newark, New Jersey, and the other in New York City. The first project housed Negroes and whites in separate sections of the project whereas the New York project dispersed Negroes and whites on an essentially random basis. The integrated project offered a number of positive values as compared with the segregated bi-racial project viz:

- "many more instances of friendly, neighborly contacts between members of different races
- a social atmosphere more favorable to friendly interracial associations
- more friendly attitudes toward Negro people in the project and in general
- a more closely knit project community
- more favorable attitudes toward living in an interracial project."

These differences, the authors felt, resulted from these differences in the integrated project:

- greater physical and functional proximity of Negro and white families
- the social norms implicit in official policy are more favorable to friendly interracial relations
- the greater discrepancy between social norms of the project and those of the broader community has drawn tenants closer together."¹⁰

Feeling that the data contradicts William S. Sumner's dictum that "stateways cannot change folkways" the authors feel that unequivocal public policy "can result in large changes in beliefs and feelings despite initial resistance to the policy."¹¹

On the other hand, there are those who feel that "integration" is not a desirable goal. Piven and Cloward for example feel:

Liberals are inclined to take a melting pot view of American Communities and to stress the enriching qualities of heterogeneous living; however, the history of ethnic groups in America belies this view. There have always been ethnic institutions and these, as has been widely observed, have served important functions in the advancement of different groups.

Principal beneficiaries of integration are middle class blacks not the poor.¹²

To these concerns, have been added others which argue that the only way for blacks to achieve political power is through their concentration geographically to enable them to vote as a block.

In response, several things can be pointed out: First, acquiescent responses to discrimination are not new. Secondly, such separatist views correspond to those of the white bigot who doesn't want blacks living in his area. Thirdly, the matter of law comes in. "It may well be that neither the white majority nor the black majority favors open housing. It also may well be that the best interest of individual blacks would be served by a willingness on their part to live in and develop the ghettos of America.

Nonetheless there are laws and a constitution designed to afford an individual the right to choose where he will live.¹³ Fourthly, for many middle class blacks, the ghetto offers too few inducements to make them want to stay.

A number of economists have discussed this. Unfortunately, the issue is usually posed as a choice between two extremes, 1. ghetto development (ghetto investment or "gilding the ghetto") or, 2. ghetto dispersal (or suburbanization of ghetto residents).

Either choice may be repugnant on free choice grounds. In these two extremes, feasibility of either is not dealt with sufficiently. The somewhat more "middle of the road" areas of encouraging increase of housing opportunities throughout the metropolitan area, stabilization of neighborhoods, etc., are also commonly not dwelt on by economists. Nonetheless, most economists seem to feel that given the two extreme choices dispersal would offer more eventual benefits to blacks than "gilding the ghetto."

Kain proposed these hypotheses in his economic studies of housing segregation: that "racial segregation in the housing market , 1. offsets the distribution of Negro employment and, 2. reduces Negro job opportunities and that 3. postwar suburbanization of employment has seriously aggravated the problem."¹⁴

Empirical data supports the hypotheses particularly related to distribution of jobs.

Even the more optimistic economists, e.g., Edel¹⁵, seem to feel that economic development would require

massive initial costs and major policy shifts.

Policies Favoring
Integration and Stabilization

Toward a clearer comprehensive policy

In addition to clearer federal policies with respect to integration and housing for the poor, Downs cogently argues for an "integrated core" strategy that favors enrichment in ghetto areas and "managed integration" efforts in transition areas. Such managed integration efforts include trying to keep and attract whites to the neighborhood and fostering harmony and a positive image of the area.

In addition, enforcement of open housing laws in essentially white areas and promotion of policies that ease the entry of blacks into housing would appear useful. While not acceptable to some blacks and whites, policies that promote integration seem to offer the most potential benefit from an economic, social and employment basis.

While much of the effort to promote integrated housing must be done by federal and local governments, local voluntary groups seem to have an important role in taking concrete actions that favor integration and in changing attitudes of local residents. It is in aiding these voluntary groups that it is felt social work and specifically community organization can be helpful.

Levels of Appropriateness of Various Policies/Programs

Primarily Federal Efforts:

- Comprehensive federal agency
- Total strategy for desegregation
- Broadened federal incentives
- New forms of subsidy for low-income families
- Comprehensive measures to increase minority income
- National educational campaign

Primarily State and Local Efforts With Possible Federal Assistance

- Efforts to improve attractiveness of central cities
- Enforcement of antidiscrimination laws
- Expanded opportunities for "grass roots" citizen support

General Considerations

Downs develops policy options open in the area of residential racial patterns. He sees three major factors that need to be looked at and reduces the choices to only two under each factor.

Factor 1- Degree of concentration - non-white growth
in central areas

choices: concentration - dispersal

2- Degree of Segregation

choices: segregation - integration

3- Degree of enrichment

choices: enrichment, non-enrichment (no

increase over present enrichment).

Feeling that some choices seem internally inconsistent, he proposes five strategies:

1. Present policies: concentration, segregation and non-enrichment
2. Enrichment only: concentration, segregation, enrichment
3. Integrated-core: concentration, integration (in center only), enrichment
4. Segregated dispersal: dispersal, segregation, enrichment
5. Dispersal, integration, enrichment.

While admittedly many more variations could be developed, these are useful in portraying some of the major possibilities.

He rejects the present policy strategy (a conservative policy) as not meeting any of the obvious problems and, in fact, perpetuating them. The enrichment only strategy (also a conservative policy) is also rejected because it does not deal with non-class, education and income problems and relies on technology that has not proven effective to meet the present scale of need. While it would aid some people, the process would be slow and many basic problems would remain.

The 'integrated-core' would rely on enrichment plus "managed integration" strategies in transition areas. The problem not explicitly mentioned by Downs is that short of legally enforceable quotas (which would have their own moral problems) integration techniques relying on voluntary action

have not proven to be too effective either over the long-run or in many communities (particularly the ones most likely to be encountered, those that involve some economic integration).

The integrated-core strategy essentially represents a compromise between an ideal condition and two harsh realities. The ideal condition is development of a fully integrated society in which whites and Negroes live together harmoniously and the race of each individual is not recognized by anyone as a significant factor in any public or private decisions.

The first harsh reality is that the present desire of most whites to dominate their own environment means that integration can only be achieved through deliberate management and through the willingness of some Negroes to share schools and residences as a minority. The second harsh reality is the assumption that it will be impossible to disperse the massive Negro ghetto of major central cities fast enough to prevent many of those cities from eventually becoming predominantly, or even almost exclusively, Negro in population.

This strategy seeks to avoid any such polarization by building an integrated core of whites and non-whites in central cities, including many leaders of both races in politics, business, and civic affairs.¹⁶

The two dispersal strategies which can be described as radical "are both based upon a single key assumption: that the problems of ghettos cannot be solved so long as millions of Negroes, particularly those with low incomes and other significant disadvantages, are required to or persuaded to live together in segregated ghetto areas within our central cities. These strategies contend that large numbers of Negroes should be given strong incentives to move voluntarily from central cities into suburban areas, including those in which no Negroes presently reside."¹⁷

Such incentives would have to be designed to benefit not only the ghetto resident moving to a suburb but would also benefit present suburban residents.

Acceptability of Policies

Downs presents five major principles related to any future programs related to the ghetto:

1. "No proposed 'solution' to ghetto problems that is not eventually supported by the majority of the white middle class can possibly succeed.
2. "The actions designed to bring about any desired outcome must be linked to outcomes that will appeal both to the self-interest of all groups concerned and to their consciences . . .
3. "Any program designed to achieve a given outcome should involve significant action by the private sector . . .
4. "No program involving ghettos can be effective unless it involves a high degree of meaningful participation by ghetto residents, and significant exercise of power and authority by them
5. "The more benefits that most ghetto residents receive through programs aimed at helping them, the more dissatisfied and vocally discontent certain small parts of the ghetto community are likely to become."¹⁸

It is my feeling that policy must be developed within a framework where no one is forced to move and, secondly, that an open housing market must be preserved. This means that quotas are not acceptable and that any practice that interferes with an open market must be dealt with at an appropriate level. While these constraints may limit effectiveness of actions, they are in keeping with the law, and community feelings and can be generally supported by almost all segments of the community. A policy that treats one

class or group differently ultimately will be opposed.

The Griers feel that the resources are available to solve the problem of segregated housing.

This aim, it must be stressed, need not be sought through methods which run counter to the basic tenets of American democracy. For example, it need not be attempted through forced redistribution of population. Force is not only intolerable, but unnecessary. The normal mobility of the American people is so great (about half of all households moved during the latter half of the 1950's alone) that redistribution can be achieved through the operation of free choice if sufficient resources are applied to make socially desirable patterns of residence as attractive to the public as socially undesirable ones have been in the past.

Nor is it necessary to attempt a rigidly planned dispersal of Negro households. The aim, rather, should be to achieve complete freedom of choice in place of residence without respect to racial barriers. Within the framework of unconstrained choice, some substantial concentrations of Negro families would doubtless persist, just as Jews have remained in certain neighborhoods even after obstacles to their residing elsewhere have largely been eliminated. But the present monolithic character of the Negro ghettos, their inexorable growth, and the social evils they encourage would be broken.¹⁹

Law of Dominance and Quest For Variety

A central issue is what constitutes a desirable, or optimum level of integration. The level of integration in a given community will obviously effect both the quality of integration and the ability to promote stabilization of that community.

Anthony Downs refers to a "law of dominance" that operates in American cities

A vast majority of whites of all income groups would be willing to send their children to integrated schools or live in integrated neighborhoods, as long as they were sure that the white group

concerned would remain in the majority in these facilities or areas. What is desired is a form of culture dominance. The middle class are looking for essentially "value reinforcing experience for both adults and children, rather than primarily a value-altering one. Race is still seen as a relevant factor by most whites in maintaining the homogeneity required to reinforce their own culture. Such stable integration will occur in most areas only if there is some way to guarantee the white majority it will remain the 'dominant' majority. The only way to destroy racial prejudice at the root of the 'Law of Cultural Dominance' is to shape current public policy in recognizing that 'Law' so as to encourage wide spread experience that will undermine it.²⁰

No empirical evidence is supplied by Downs, however, to support this notion.

Bradburn's findings suggest that residents of areas that are open or moderately integrated areas (less than 10% black) "prefer, or at least do not fear, diversity among their neighbors . In substantially integrated areas, there does not seem to be a preference for variety and residents are more likely to live there because they can't afford to live elsewhere or have always lived there."²¹

These findings seem to support the interest in a variety as occurring only where the majority group is clearly in control.

In a similar vein, Wolf and Lebaux feel that interest in variety has been overestimated and is likely to represent a bias of both middle class professionals in general and planners in particular.²²

Bradburn's findings suggest a conflict with those of Downs. Apparently there is little demand among blacks to live in essentially white areas, whereas 85% either would

like to live in a 50-50 mix or have no preference for racial mix. Such findings suggest that blacks, like others, do want to have others similar to themselves in a neighborhood. Such high levels of integration may not be in keeping with white's interest in keeping a substantial white majority in a neighborhood.²³

Obviously reasonably high levels of integration (e.g., above 10%) have the greatest impact on segregation. Situations where only one or two blacks live in an area change the overall situation very little. Therefore, from an impact level, fairly high levels of integration are to be favored.

Hawley's review leads to a more moderate feeling that mixing is most easily achieved at the same socio-economic level, and that stable and substantial mixing is not likely in the middle price range.

He also feels as do other writers that "good quality and value for the money are means of overcoming resistance to racially mixed housing" and "location and neighborhood facilities are a major factor in housing choices and will influence the success of racial mixing."²⁴

Gans discusses the issue of homogeneity and heterogeneity as community values. Four reasons for heterogeneity have been generally advanced.

1. "It adds 'variety' as well as demographic 'balance' to an area and thus enriches the inhabitants' lives . . .

2. "It promoted tolerance of social and culture differences, this reducing political conflict and encouraging democratic processes.
3. "It provides a broadening educational influence on children by teaching them about the existence of diverse types of people and by creating the opportunity for them to get along with these people.
4. "It encourages exposure to alternative ways of life."²⁴

Gans feels that the values are sound but questions whether they can (or should) be achieved with the tools of planning or zoning available. He also questions how much these values are really favored by those making housing decisions. The strongest proponents are those already living in diverse urban situations.

He also identifies the tensions inherent in heterogeneous situations and the phenomenon of people living in close proximity who may not necessarily interact.

At the block level, the arguments suggests that the degree of heterogeneity advocated in the balanced-community concept--which comes close to total heterogeneity--is unlikely to produce social relationships of sufficient intensity to achieve either a positive social life or the cultural, political, and educational values sought through the balanced community. The ideal solution is sufficient homogeneity with respect to those characteristics that will assure:

1. Enough consensus between neighbors to prevent conflict;
2. Positive although not necessarily intensive relationships between neighbors with respect

to common needs and obligations;

3. The possibility for some mutual visiting and friendship formation for those who want it in the immediate vicinity.

This should provide sufficient heterogeneity to create some diversity as well.

Gans continues that the ideal amount and type of heterogeneity can only be guessed at, since so little is known about the impact of population characteristics within various sectors of community life. Two general statements can be made, however:

First, enough homogeneity must be present to allow institutions to function and interest groups to reach workable compromises. In areas with a wide range of population types, the balanced community--that is, a local cross-section of the entire area--would probably experience intense political and cultural conflict. Since local institutions, including government, have little power to affect and to ameliorate the basic causes of such conflict, they would be unable to handle it constructively. Conflict itself is not unhealthy, but irreconcilable conflict is socially destructive, and nothing would be gained by instituting population heterogeneity with political units which cannot deal with the negative consequences of conflict.

Second, enough heterogeneity must be provided in the community so that important facilities and services can be financed and enabled to find sufficient clients to allow them to function. Economic or social ghettos, either of the very rich or of the very poor, are thus not desirable. (Cultural ghettos, such as those of ethnic groups, are not a problem, as long as they are voluntary ones and are able to provide nonethnic facilities for those who want to get out of the group.)²⁶

Further, Gans warns that "significant population heterogeneity cannot be achieved until the basic metropolitan area social problem is solved--economic and social inequalities."²⁷

Toward A Comprehensive National Policy

The Griers list suggestions for a comprehensive National policy:

1. A central federal agency possessing the competence to plan comprehensively for all phases of urban development and an authority to translate plans into effective action.
2. A total strategy for desegregation.
3. Broadened federal incentives for effective action by local government and private entrepreneurs.
4. Imaginative new forms of subsidy for low-income families.
5. Comprehensive measures to increase minority incomes.
6. Intensive efforts to improve the attractiveness of central cities.
7. Vigorous enforcement of antidiscrimination laws and affirmative measures to promote equal opportunity.
8. Expanded opportunities for "grass roots" citizen support.
9. A national education campaign.

They identify four efforts of voluntary groups that were and have been helpful in promoting residential integration:

1. Groups that promote open occupancy laws both locally and internationally.
2. Groups that develop interracial housing.
3. "Grass roots" groups that attempt to stabilize their neighborhoods.
4. Suburban groups that promote opening of their areas.²⁸

To this, should be added local voluntary efforts to maintain in-city areas.

Which of the areas listed above a group decides to work in must be chosen by itself based on circumstances and interest. There is (or should be) opportunity for all voluntary groups in the above areas to support the work of each other by such means as general meetings, support in legislative bodies, etc.

Other Groups Active in the Field

Several important groupings have been active in this field.

1. The federal government is gradually changing its policies which had in many ways favored integration in the past: e.g., through enforcement of non-discrimination in federal lending policy.
2. Likewise, state and local agencies concerned with physical planning, housing and enforcement of equal rights provisions have an important role to play.
3. National organizations concerned with fair housing. Among these the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing serves as a clearing-house of information. National Neighbors is a group of interracial communities across the country.
4. Efforts of local groups include voluntary associations located in integrated neighborhoods and

open housing groups which endeavor to open essentially white areas to minorities.

Locally, probably the most articulate spokesperson for integrated areas is Eleanor Holmes Norton of New York City's Human Rights Commission.

As noted earlier, she favors community stabilization which while concerned with racial stabilization also is concerned with physical stabilization and assumes development of a capacity to deal with concrete problems the community faces.

Footnotes for Chapter II

1. See for example Karl E. and Alma F. Taebur, Negroes in Cities (New York: Athenum, 1969), pp. 2-4; Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York: Harper, 1964), pp. 346, 376, 618-619; Eunice and George Grier, "Equality and Beyond; Housing Segregation in the Great Society" Bernard J. Frieden and Robert Moore ed. in Urban Planning and Social Policy (New York, Basic Books, 1968), pp. 127-138; Alvin J. Schorr, "National Community and Housing Policy in Bernard J. Frieden ed. Urban Planning and Social Policy (New York: Basic Books, 1968), pp. 109-110; Rose Helper, Racial Policies and Practices of Real Estate Brokers (Minneapolis: University of Minn. Press, 1969).
2. Myrdal, p. 19.
3. Eunice and George Grier, Equality and Beyond: Housing Segregation in the Great Society (Chicago, Quadrangle, 1966).
4. Bernard J. Frieden and Robert Morris (ed), Urban Planning and Social Policy (New York: Basic Books, 1968), p. 121.
5. Grier, p. 136.
6. Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (New York: New York Times Co., 1968), pp. 203, 204, 474, 482.
7. Myrdal, p. 619.
8. Taebur, p. 274.
9. Martin Deutsch and Mary Evan Collins, "Interracial Housing" in William L.C. Wheston et al. (ed) Urban Housing (New York: Free Press), p. 294.
10. Ibid., p. 294.
11. Ibid., p. 297.
12. Francis Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, "Case Against Urban Desegregation", Social Work 12:12, January 1967.
13. Daniel Jay Baum, Toward A Free Housing Market (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1971), p. 10.
14. John F. Kain, "Housing Segregation, Negro Employment and Metropolitan Decentralization" in Matthew Edel and Jerome Rothenberg (eds), Readings in Urban Economics (New York: MacMillan, 1972).

15. Matthew Edel, "Development vs. Dispersal; Approaches to Ghetto Poverty in Matthew Edel and Jerome Rothenberg (eds), Readings in Urban Economics (New York: MacMillan, 1972).
16. Anthony Dows, Urban Problems and Prospects (Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1970), p. 34.
17. Ibid., p. 45-46.
18. Ibid., p. 70-71.
19. Grier.
20. Anthony Dows, Urban Problems and Prospects (Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1970), pp. 34-37. See also William Gorham and Nathan Glazer (eds), The Urban Predicament (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1976), pp. 152-153 and Nathan Glazer, Affirmative Discrimination: Ethnic Inequality and Policy (New York: Basic Books, 1975), p. 156.
21. Norman Bradburn et al., Side by Side: Integrated Neighborhood in America (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971),
22. Elenor Paperno Wolf and Charlen N. Lebeaux, Change and Renewal in an Urban Community: Five Case Studies of Detroit (New York: Praeger, 1969).
23. Bradburn, p. 134.
24. Amos H. Hawley (ed), Segregation in Residential Areas, Papers in Racial and Socio Economic Factors in Choice of Housing (Washington: National Academy of Sciences, 1972), pp. 155.
25. Herbert J. Gans, People and Plans: Essays on Urban Problems and Solutions (New York: Basic Books, 1968), p. 167.
26. Ibid., p. 174.
27. Ibid., p. 175.
28. Ibid., p. 177.
29. Grier, pp. 141-44.
30. Ibid., p. 140.

CHAPTER III

TRANSITION AND STABILIZATION PROCESSES

Introduction and Overview

Two major areas are discussed in this section: the process of neighborhood racial transition and the nature of stabilized integrated neighborhoods.

A knowledge of the process of neighborhood racial transition seems important to the design of an approach that has a reasonable chance of success.

Specifically two popular concerns are addressed from the outset. Both relate to decline of property values and "tipping points".

The myth that integration is accompanied by decline in property values is false. The only situation where decline occurs is where change is very rapid and the market is not able to easily absorb the change.

The pseudo-scientific concept of "tipping point" has little utility because of its vagueness. No absolute point exists where whites either stop entering a neighborhood or all whites suddenly leave. While there is a typical pattern of areas becoming increasingly black, even this is not inevitable as witness Georgetown in Washington or Park Slope in Brooklyn

The now classical description of racial succession

is reviewed. A more comprehensive (and more complex) review of the process is presented which deals with housing choices (whether to move into or out of a neighborhood) as being similar to other consumer decisions and therefore related to a wide variety of factors including supply and demand, and factors both tangible and intangible that relate to a neighborhood and a specific house. In essence a neighborhood can be seen as a unique "package" with differential appeal to people. Among the factors that comprise the neighborhood package some are physical but there are also such others as race, sense of community and perceptions of the future of the neighborhood.

Options open to present consumer residents are exit, voice or loyalty. Options open to potential consumers are "buying" the community by moving in or selection of different living situation.

Literature related to stabilized integrated neighborhoods is reviewed with a view to determining what actions would be useful to promote integration. A basic view supported by the literature is that many problems of neighborhood stability can be best addressed by locality development efforts.

Process of Neighborhood Racial Transition

Effect on Cost Factors

In terms of the feeling that weakening of housing prices occurs with Black entry, studies now show that the

opposite is generally true.

"The entry of non-whites into previously all-white neighborhoods was much more often associated with price improvement or stability than with price weakening. A corollary and possibly more significant finding is that no single or uniform pattern of non-white influence on property prices could be detected. Rather what happens to prices when non-whites enter a neighborhood seems to depend on a variety of circumstances which, on balance, may influence prices upward or downward or leave them unaffected."¹

Considering all of the evidence, the odds are about four to one that house prices in a neighborhood entered by non-whites will keep up with or exceed prices in a comparable white area.²

Laurenti identified ten factors that seemed to influence the prices of properties when non-whites move in:

1. strength of white's desire to move out,
2. strength of non-white's desire to move in,
3. willingness of whites to purchase property in racially mixed neighborhoods,
4. housing choices open to whites,
5. housing choices open to non-whites,
6. absolute and relative purchasing power of non-whites,
7. absolute and relative levels of house prices,
8. state of general business conditions,
9. long-run trend of values in areas involved,
10. time.³

"The major threat to prices seem to be a too sudden and large addition to the neighborhood supply of housing available to non-whites. Time, therefore, has a major influence on how racial change will affect values."⁴ In the one extreme of a glutted market caused by panic, prices might well be lowered but this trend would not necessarily

continue over the long-run.

Such overall trends are supported by data from a variety of studies reviewed by Laurenti.

Similarly in terms of rentals, black in-migration tends to increase rents rather than decrease them. Blacks pay more for equivalent housing. The principal reason for this is that fewer units of housing are available to them on a relative basis than to whites and, therefore, the cost of housing is bid up. Discrimination results in a smaller housing stock per capita of black population. The principal force open to blacks to moderate these higher costs for rent is higher occupancy rates--blacks occupy much less space per capita than whites--which is a way of reducing a family's out-lay for housing. This may be seen in terms of black families renting a smaller apartment than a similarly situated white family or it might mean taking in roomers, a traditional way of offsetting high rents. In either case, occupancy rates are higher.

"If all communities were racially open, rents for blacks would fall to the same levels as rents to whites even in what was formerly the ghetto."⁵

"Tipping Points" and Patterns of Change

This section deals with both the issue of whether a "tipping point" actually exists and whether whites will move into a racially mixed area.

Eleanor Wolf examines the usage of the term "tipping point" and finds at least three uses.

"1. "Preference point" a verbal expression (of) willingness to participate in a social situation with . . . out group members." 2. "Leaving point" (the most common usage) refers to the point at which overt action is taken to leave. This is more than interest in leaving which may be influenced by many factors. 3. "Willingness to enter point" a level at which whites are still willing to enter an area."⁶

In reviewing the usefulness of this concept, Wolf finds little evidence to suggest a predictable tipping point. Change may be rapid or slow, and no specific level seems to precipitate increased flight in all cases. "It would appear that the basic difficulty in the use of the tipping point concept as it refers to white exodus from (or entrance into) a racially changing neighborhood is that individual decisions to leave or enter tend to be based on one's estimation of what the situation will be in the future."⁷

The Taeburs point out that most accounts of racial succession have focused on Northern cities at periods when there has been a rapid rise in the number of Negroes in the city. At the same time these cities have a substantial proportion of deteriorated, unattractive housing. These cities also had a history of segregation so that increases in Negro population naturally increased pressures for expansion of traditional residential areas.

In Northern areas Blacks and whites living in the

same neighborhood have similar socioeconomic status and high status neighborhoods tend to remain high status and low status neighborhoods tend to remain low status.

In Southern cities neighborhoods tend to be much more varied in socioeconomic levels with many poorer blacks more likely to be living near higher income whites than live in the north. This is probably because of a higher proportion of black population and a tradition of black service workers living near white employers.

As the socioeconomic status of blacks has improved the character of the black migration has changed. Many of those who move to a city are coming from other cities and are looking for housing comparable to that of those of the same socioeconomic status already living in the city. Currently expansion of black residential areas is led by blacks of high socioeconomic status. Invaded areas are occupied by whites of moderately high socioeconomic status and housing in good condition.

The rate of urban renewal and rehabilitation, urban freeway programs have declined, legal barriers have decreased and there is a much wider experience with successful integrated neighborhoods.⁸

Individuals may have feelings about what proportions of minority group members are desirable in various kinds of interracial settings including housing. But individual decisions concerning when it is desirable to buy or sell in racially changing neighborhoods appear to be

influenced by a number of factors of which the preferred level for certain proportion of black neighbors is but one. Some of these factors are identified later.

"Patterns of residential segregation, however, have yet to show signs of significant weakening. Continuing conflict over residential segregation thus seems inevitable, not only because of black dissatisfactions over housing, but because residential segregation is a particularly tenacious barrier to the full participation of Negroes in the general society."⁹

Traditional Views of Racial Succession

Typically, an unidirectional process of change has been offered by students of the subject to describe the pattern of transition; e.g., penetration, invasion, consolidation, piling up. While this offers some value in studying a number of situations, it is limited because it precludes either an increasing white population or stability. It adds an aura of "scientific" law to the process, which is not as simple as that described. To the extent that it is believed, it takes on aspects of a self-fulfilling prophecy and thereby discourages intervention efforts. The process described is most likely to occur when demand is high because of housing shortage or immigration, both of which are conditions that have changed considerably since the late fifties and early sixties when much of the material was written.

Keeping in mind that no model can be offered that will serve satisfactorily to predict place or rate of integration, the model offered by some writers (who at times

also support a notion of inevitable racial change) may be useful.

Duncan and Duncan¹⁰ proposed a unidirectional four-step process of housing succession:

1. Penetration - when a few blacks enter an area
2. Invasion - substantial influx of blacks
3. Consolidation - continuation of the increase in proportion of black population
4. Piling Up - population increases after proportion of blacks has stabilized (usually at a very high level)

The Taebers¹¹ in a more comprehensive formulation outline four classifications of areas:

1. Established Negro Areas
2. Stable Interracial Areas
3. Consolidation - where non-white population increased
4. Displacement - where non-white population decreased.

Johnston proposes what is probably a more encompassing view involving two models regarding residential patterns of minority groups.

I. Ghetto Model

"A. Ghetto expansion. As the ghetto population expands, its original community area cannot absorb all of the increase and so extends, via the invasion and succession process. Since the original clusters are almost always in the lowest socioeconomic status areas of a city's inner zone, this expansion will most likely be sectorial.

"B. The stable ghetto population. Where, after its initial development, a minority community ceases to grow by in-migration, a real expansion of the ghetto is unlikely. Instead, it may a. remain in the same place for long periods or b. move en masse, along sectorial lines, to better residential areas, either as a result of general economic advancement, or because of pressure from the expansion of other communities (residential or non-residential) close to the city centre.

"C. In large ghetto communities, there will be residential differentiation of component groups, which should be zonally distributed.

II. Assimilation Models

"A. As minority groups become assimilated their residential distribution becomes dispersed and shows few differences from that of the total population. At early stages of their residence they will be concentrated in communities in the city's inner zones, but these will disappear over time and the group will spread through the whole city.

"B. With a minority group that continues to grow via in-migration, the ghetto community might remain, and, as expansion should be sectorial, there will be a grid pattern within the minority group reflecting the related characteristics of degree of socio-economic assimilation and length of residence . . .

"C. A ghetto community might continue to exist throughout the period of assimilation, for part of the minority group. If other ghettos are developing in the same zone, this earlier group may be forced to move out, but while it exists, it will probably form the first residential area for other members of the group migrating to the city."¹²

Prospects for the Future

The prospects for increasing numbers of stable interracial neighborhoods seem good. There is a more positive view of blacks by whites, national policy no longer officially favors segregation, income and occupational differences between blacks and whites have

diminished and the large scale southern segregation has ended.

In looking to the future, Rapkin and Grigsby feel that there is likelihood of much larger numbers of stable interracial neighborhoods and that they could become a typical pattern. Several reasons are given for this; the increasing ease with which blacks can enter an area, the support they receive from open housing laws and policies mean that dispersion likelihood will increase. Whites will find increasingly fewer all-whites neighborhoods which will mean that they will be less likely to move. Likewise, many whites will not be able to afford the cost of new housing and will, therefore, be more constrained to stay where they are despite desire to do otherwise. In fact, there is likely to be increased competition for moderately priced housing between blacks and whites which is a factor likely to favor stabilization. At the same time, Rapkin and Grigsby feel that there is not much likelihood that traditional ghettos will break up any time soon, largely because those who remain lack the resources to get out and conditions have not yet been achieved that would favor large scale white immigration to these ghettos. Some continuation of expansion of borders of areas of concentration of blacks may occur because it seems that white move outs increase and decline in white interest occur at levels below which blacks actually occur in the general population and this concentration is likely to occur in

areas already adjacent to areas of concentration." ¹³

Alternate Theories - The Consumer Model

Alternate theories that perhaps better explain neighborhood change than the now traditional one of racial succession would be those that see residential choice as being like other consumer choices. Relative demand for various options relates to supply and demand and perceived quality with a variety of factors going into how each person perceives quality.

While an urban community may not be the preferred choice for many, for others it is. Besides the advantages of transportation, nearness to cultural facilities, etc., others want to be "where the action is"--where they can feel part of a developing community. For these people the development of feeling of community is an end in itself. ¹⁴

Even for those who want urban life and don't mind (or even prefer) living with people of different social groups their choices may be influenced by whether a community is perceived as basically viable.

Downs considers the following to be among the factors associated with viability:

1. Crime rates are low enough so that most people consider it safe to walk on the streets at any time during the day and some of the time at night.

2. Housing and other structures are maintained in good physical condition.

3. Neighborhood schools are considered adequate

or more than adequate by most local residents.

4. Streets are reasonably free from trash, abandoned automobiles, and other debris, and local public services are considered adequate by most residents.

5. The area is reasonably convenient to normal urban facilities (such as shopping, employment centers, and churches) and is served by public transportation to a degree enabling its residents to accomplish their major movement goals. (In many suburban areas, this does not require any public transportation.)

6. Most people who live in the area or are considering living there believe that the above conditions are likely to persist for an indefinite period, at least for five years.

Downs feels that areas of concentrated poverty is not viable in terms of most of such criteria.¹⁵

For current residents similar choices are available. Hirshman has presented an interesting theoretical formulation for these choices entitled Exit, Voice and Loyalty encompassing the three major choices open for almost any consumer group. In the case of a neighborhood resident or prospective residents are the consumers and the total neighborhood is the "product" consumed.

Exit

Regarding exit, Hirschman feels that "exit will often be taken in the light of the prospects for the effective use of voice."¹⁶

Exit may be a reaction of last resort after voice has failed. Insensitivity may be common to public agencies and is therefore something that promotes exit. Those who care most may be the ones most likely to exit when quality declines.¹⁷

"When general conditions in a neighborhood deteriorate those who value most highly neighborhood qualities such as safety, cleanliness, good schools and facilities will be the first to move out. They will search for housing in somewhat more expensive neighborhoods or in suburbs and will be lost to the citizens' groups and community action programs that would attempt to reverse the tide of deterioration."¹⁸ (These general conditions are essentially those incorporated in Downs' neighborhood viability.)

"Exit is likely to be unsuccessful even for those who practice it"¹⁹ in terms of changing conditions in a way most desired by those who exit. Exit may be precluded for many. For example, in a typical neighborhood many would have difficulty in moving because rents are higher elsewhere, or they would have difficulty in getting an apartment because of discrimination due to race or family size.

The presence of the exit option reduces the probability of exercise of the voice option. Voice is likely to play an important role where the exit option is precluded.²⁰

Voice

Edward Banfield (quoted in Hirshman) feels "the

effort an interested party makes to put its case before the decision makers will be in proportion to the advantage to be gained from a favorable outcome multiplied by the probability of influencing the decision."²¹

Two principal determinants of the readiness to resort to voice when exit is possible are "the extent to which customer-members are willing to trade off the certainty of exit against the uncertainties of an improvement in the deteriorated products and the estimate customer members have of their ability to influence the organization."²²

Loyalty

"The importance of loyalty . . . is that it can neutralize within certain limits the tendency of the most quality conscious customers or members to be the first to exit . . . as a result of loyalty, these potentially most influential customers and members will stay on longer than they would ordinarily, in the hope or, rather, reasoned expectation that improvement or reform can be achieved 'from within'. Thus loyalty, far from being irrational, can serve the socially useful purpose of preventing deterioration from becoming cumulative, as it so often does where there is no barrier to exit."

"As a rule then, loyalty holds exit at bay and activates voice."²³ One of the goals of the neighborhood association described in this project is to increase loyalty to a neighborhood by involvement, thereby limiting the degree to which the exit option is exercised.

Other Factors Influencing Housing Decisions

Studies seem to show that two major factors influence home purchase decisions. These can be summarized into:

- a. the need for a dwelling which will meet household requirements, particularly in terms of space
- b. desire for a pleasant environment, particularly physical but also social.

The three factors most predictive of environmental preference were physical quality of area (reflected by age), followed by harmony with nature (greenness, privacy, open space, closeness to nature) and a noise factor.²⁴

As was alluded to earlier, white attitudes toward integration except in extreme cases may not be of great consequence in terms of predicting racial trends in an area. Also Wolf and Lebaux find that white residents own statements about their move out plans are not as predictive as their view of where the area is headed. They also found predictive of move outs whether a white family would recommend the area to friends.²⁵

Individual supply and demand decisions are made on the basis of perception of where the area is going.²⁶ If it is felt that an area will be substantially black in say five years, the supply of homes may be increased by whites wanting to sell and demand for homes by whites in the area may be reduced. The result can easily be that blacks

become increasingly the only buyers for homes in such an area. None of this is an automatic process and is conditioned on a wide variety of other market forces.

Among these other factors are: 1. The amount or kind of real estate activity. 2. Special advantages (or disadvantages) of the area and its dwellings. 3. Proximity to existing Negro neighborhoods. 4. Community organization and action. 5. Amount of rental property--rental property seems to contribute to racial stability because whites are more willing to rent than buy when a future situation seems uncertain. Areas where there is substantial commercial use, high price homes or parochial schools are also more stable. 6. Supply and demand including that in the transitional area, in outside, essentially white areas and in areas of black concentration. Factors such as black immigration to a metropolitan area and other population changes play an important role here. 7. Socioeconomic status of incoming groups. 8. Distribution in the area; e.g., it seems that clustering of blacks in an area is more favorable to continued integration of an overall area possibly because few whites will live next to blacks. 9. Mortgage terms. 10. Availability of homes in other areas and suburbs for whites.²⁷

Rapkin and Grigsby support this market view of change and discuss it in more detail:

"The variations in the rate of transition are not, as commonly thought, simply a measure of differences in the intensity and extent of prejudice and discrimination. Rather differences in rates are due

to variations in all the factors which affect the level of white demand, the level of Negro demand, the number and race of families who wish to sell their homes, and the interaction which control these variables. Indeed, the factors which control these variables not only fix the rate of transition, but also determine whether it will occur at all."

They say rapid transition was associated with "liberal mortgage terms, sustained Negro demand, a substantial supply of old houses of fair quality and moderate value, rising prices, considerable activity by professional real estate operators, and ready availability of high-quality housing for whites in other sections of the city and in the suburbs."²⁸

Slower transition was associated with a high proportion of rental units or greater amount of built in commercial use, higher priced houses and parochial schools where the percentage of non-white students was relatively low, and a moderately large percentage of low-quality housing for which financing was difficult to obtain.

"There is a number of other factors which appeared to be vital in determining rate of transition, even though data were lacking to demonstrate their importance. Foremost among these were expectations. The predictions of white families concerning the eventual racial mix of a neighborhood and their apprehensions regarding the possibility of inundation may be more significant than any other factor in determining the level of white demand that determines the eventual racial mix. Also of consequence are the demographic characteristics of the resident and in-migration population, the racial composition of the schools, activities of community organizations, the policies and practices of market intermediaries, and the spotted distribution of Negro residences in the mixed area."²⁹

"We have found that the values of neighborhood change is by no means one directional. The widely held view that no white will ever purchase in an area once it is entered by a Negro is in need of serious reconsideration."³⁰

Situations Where Decline Accompanies Racial Change

While by no means an inevitable concomitant of residential integration declines in services or physical quality often accompany racial change.

Several factors may be at operation in these situations: 1. Racial change may be accompanied by a change in class, bringing a population that may have more problems and fewer resources to solve them than previous residents. 2. Disinvestment - a conscious process by landlords, businessmen, and banks to minimize their investments in an area.

Disinvestment

Disinvestment by banking institutions--redlining. where essentially loans are not given in certain areas--is often accompanied by or is followed by individual disinvestment as landlords or businessmen minimize their investments in an area where their access to financing ends. This can be done by such means as reducing services or by putting in no new money to meet changing conditions.

The lack of financing also locks the inept or incompetent landlord (or businessman) into a situation because the option of selling out is precluded.

While competent operators may be able to make a profit on slum buildings, the slumlord who makes untold amounts from his property probably doesn't exist. Increasingly, the slumlord role is a despised one and few are willing to take it. The ultimate disinvestment is abandonment.

Much of this process proceeds on the basis of

predictions of future decline and as decisions are made on this basis the prophecies are of course self-fulfilling.

This may be one of the key features of many declining situations and one that receives little attention in the literature is that of disinvestment. The Rev. Roger Coughlin of Chicago Catholic Charities writes about this and the attempts by local community groups to counter disinvestment in their communities.

He outlines what he sees as six steps in the process:

"1. A healthy neighborhood - There is strong demand for housing in the area and availability of conventional mortgages from a multiplicity of lending institutions.

"2. Beginning of redlining by the local financial institution, based on very vague criteria.

"3. Residents of the neighborhood now have to do without home improvement loans, and needed repairs go undone. Qualified potential buyers are told that loans are unavailable and are steered to other areas.

"4. As soon as large downtown institutions and city-wide lenders join the local institutions in redlining and define conventional loans as "too risky" in a certain neighborhood, FHA-insured mortgages become the route open to potential buyers. The (refinanced) rate of interest is higher and risk free (to the bank).

"5. The neighborhood is turned over in a few years. Institutions have no incentives to get the homeowner to keep up the property, owners of large apartment buildings attempt to get a last-minute return on their investment by overcrowding the units, decreasing and eventually completely eliminating maintenance.

"6. Urban renewal."³¹

Coughlin also reviews attempts made by local groups in Chicago to counteract loan policies of banks.

While probably overly simplified and using little

empirical data to support this sequence as a process, nonetheless, disinvestment probably does occur when the perception of a neighborhood changes and banks do loan in neighborhoods based on the way they see a neighborhood. This seems to occur despite high local deposits. In fact, loans in some neighborhoods may represent a very small percentage of funds deposited locally. Such a process also seems to affect not only housing loans but also commercial loans in a given area.

Recently, there has been increased review of such practices by banks' supervising agencies; e.g., the state attorney general and Federal Home Loan Bank Board.

Abandonment

Steinlieb and Burchell review what are the final stages of decline in their Residential Abandonment--The Tenement Landlord Revisited. "Residential abandonment is the end product of all the urban ills of our society."³² While abandonment would not be a problem if it only represented a natural filtering down process it presently is found despite substantial housing shortages. Steinlieb's major thesis is that rents in many buildings do not allow adequate income to meet costs and enough profit to compensate for the risks.

Factors correlated with abandonment are found to be prior property tax arrearage, heavy numbers of black tenants in buildings owned by whites with professional managers or rent collectors, the building's location near already abandoned properties, and lack of mortgage or significant monetary

interest in the building.³³

They also feel strongly that these distressed properties are located in areas where demand has fallen off sharply because the area is seen as being substandard both economically and socially.

They go on to express the feeling that many operators have no alternatives open to them, because no one wants to buy such properties. Even minority group members who in past years would be interested can now often find more attractive situations. Most abandonment has been in cities with declining opportunities. Apparently enough options are now open to substantial numbers of blacks that such properties are no longer desirable. Fewer people can be found who want to take on the socially despised role of "slumlord." Despite common belief, owners of slum properties do not seem either very old or without experience.

"If there was a tenement landlord, in the classic sense, he is fast disappearing."³⁴ If a series of landlords milked a building in the past, it no longer seems to be the case. Most recent public policy with regard to these buildings seems to be based on the premise that operators were making large profits on their properties and really wanted to keep them. Tax abatements, loans and code enforcement, etc., were seen as ways to increase their incentive to maintain their buildings. This fails to recognize that many owners would like to dispose of their buildings at almost any price.

Tax arrearage, to the owner wanting to get out of a property, may offer the "best price" he can get for a building. By not paying taxes his cash flow for a few years is increased and this can be seen by him as a final payment for the building.

Sternlieb suggests that where demand can be maintained or costs for repairs are on a sweat equity or cooperative basis, the chance of abandonment is reduced.

Quasi public and cooperative ownership arrangements should be developed and may be used to overcome the problem.

Process Within "Integrated" Neighborhoods

There is a small but growing literature related to "integrated" neighborhoods. Unfortunately it is often anecdotal and lacks precise data. "The absence of such information inhibits the development of sound theory of cross-racial interaction and at a more practical level, precludes rigorous comparative analysis or evaluation of various forms of intervention which have integration as their goal."³⁵

Quality of Integration

Several recent attempts (including Molotch's) have improved on the quality of available material. Molotch develops the notion that the relative stability of integration depends on its quality. Three levels of integration are presented: "1. Demographic, where a community contains both blacks and whites in some specified proportions, 2. Biracial interaction, whereby non-antagonistic social interaction is

occurring between blacks and whites to some specifiable extent, 3. Transracial solidarity, defined as conditions in which whites and blacks interact freely and without constraint and in a manner such that race ceases to function as an important source of social cleavage or as a criteria for friendship and primary group selection."³⁶

In his review of the transitional area of South Shore in Chicago, he discusses the fact that more important relationships require aspects of similarity, reliability and trust, which are difficult to achieve when backgrounds and identities are different, when blacks are seen as invaders. While he found relatively few examples of transracial solidarity, he did find examples where: participants shared a unusual ideology, an equality in occupational status and organizational usefulness and a lack of previous local organizational ties to groups which would hinder affiliation with other groups with integration as a goal.

In everyday life, he found that a fairly substantial amount of activity (shopping, outdoor recreation, etc.) was participated in on an integrated basis but as the social aspects increased (e.g., Saturday night activities) the tendency was for increased segregation.

In the most important established civic groups both membership and leadership was predominately white and the role blacks had was often as a "workhorse" but their role as a respected leader was not seen.³⁷

Little "neighboring" across race lines seems to occur

in most integrated neighborhoods.³⁸

There appears to be a high degree of stability in neighborhoods despite racial change. The Taebur's³⁹ findings for a twenty-year period show that one area's relative standing with other areas in the city tends to remain stable.

Definition and Measurement of "Integrated" Neighborhoods

The National Opinion Research Center's study of integrated neighborhoods used as a basic definition that of a neighborhood which had both whites and blacks moving into housing of comparable quality.⁴⁰ This eliminates as an integrated area a situation where whites still live in a community but no new whites are moving in. This definition recognizes that move-in patterns are the most important factor in determining the long range future of an area--for if no whites move into an area normal turnover will result in an all black area over time. This definition does however accept as integrated neighborhoods those with only one or two blacks, a not very extensive level.

Within this very broad definition at least three dimensions can be identified, 1. Current level of integration, 2. Quality of integration and 3. Change of trends.

Current level of integration refers to the relative mix between blacks and whites, expressed in terms of percentage. It would be useful to examine areas within a neighborhood to see if a general pattern exists or whether some subareas are more or less segregated. It would also be useful to compare the neighborhood to the city as a whole

using some form of Taebur's segregation index.

Quality of integration refers to how groups operate between themselves in a neighborhood. For this we refer to Molotch's definition. (See earlier references.)

Bradburn predicts a gradual increase of integrated neighborhoods in the country. Even in 1967, 19% of the total households lived in "integrated" neighborhoods in which there were at least token black residents.⁴¹

In New York City one could question whether any neighborhood is segregated if this means that some blacks and whites live in the same area. In fact, certain areas such as Park Slope are becoming increasingly white through voluntary efforts not involving any significant city intervention.

Community Facilities

Data indicate that community residents of open and moderately integrated (less than 10% black) neighborhoods do not rate their schools lower in quality than other schools. In substantially integrated neighborhoods ratings decline but this also may reflect a lowering of economic status of residents of substantially integrated areas.⁴² Both Bradburn and Wolf and Lebeaux devote considerable attention to schools in their studies.

Schools may represent a more important factor to those moving into an area than it represents for those who will stay. In general schools tend to be more integrated than neighborhoods. No firm conclusion can be drawn from the discussion except to say that perception of the quality

of schools may be one factor that influences move out or move in patterns.

There seems to be no difference among whites in segregated, open, moderately, or substantially integrated neighborhoods in terms of satisfaction with neighborhoods. However, concern about crime does increase as the area becomes more integrated.⁴³

Several questions remain however. To what extent do differences in neighborhood make for differences in residents' perception of long term neighborhood trends? To what extent do neighborhood factors influence outsiders' decisions to buy in a neighborhood? What if anything can a local neighborhood do that wishes to encourage stabilized integrated neighborhoods?

Several of the most important policy issues remain clearly outside the province of local neighborhoods. For example, supply, demand and credit factors are largely a result of outside forces.

Footnotes for Chapter III

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36. Ibid., p. 204.
37. Ibid.
38. Norman M. Bradburn.
39. Karl E. Taebur & Alma F. Taebur, p. 180.
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43. Ibid., p. 174.

CHAPTER IV

INTERVENTION STRATEGIES

Overview

The literature related to intervention efforts is reviewed. This focuses on the local neighborhood as a site for action. Central points are these:

Many problems associated with preservation of neighborhood stability can be best addressed by local efforts.

Involvement in a community can foster a deeper sense of community. This sense of community aids the process of stabilization. Decisions made about moving into or away from an area are often made on how individuals perceive a neighborhood.

Voluntary and community based efforts should be effective and are strongly supported by social work philosophy.

Definition of Level of Intervention and Implications

This project will attempt to make systematic use of Rothman's three models of community organization and relevant information about communities. This should enhance the success of the community organization effort. While community organization is often seen as a unitary method, the most useful approach emphasizes the different definitions of

"community" that community organization may be involved with. It is essential for effective professional work, in this writer's view, that a clear definition of the community that one is to focus on is made explicit.

There is a need to present a clear definition of the target community to be involved in community stabilization. It is assumed that this definition process is often not done in community organization work and is a source of later difficulty. In the case which is the subject of this project, a local neighborhood rather than a functional community is the focus.

Based on this definition there is an attempt to develop appropriate roles that are in harmony with the definition of community formulates.. It is assumed that certain strategies are more or less compatible with the particular definition of community chosen. The locality development strategy is central to this project.

Certain roles seem most suited to each of the three strategies and the project will make use of this thinking. Once the most appropriate stragegy is formulated, certain roles and assumptions flow from this decision.

- Where appropriate a negotiating role rather than a confrontation role or coordination role is likely to enable an organization engaged in locality development to reach specific goals.
- Efforts that deal with concrete problems that are felt to be of concern to a wide cross section of

local residents are likely to be of importance to preservation of integration

Use of Knowledge of Voluntary Organizations

An increased knowledge of types of voluntary organizations and their attributes will aid the development of programs where such associations are used as a vehicle. A major aspect of this project is the use of a voluntary association, with a limited staff of its own employ, to deal with problems in a neighborhood that is still substantially middle-class. This contrasts with a more traditional pattern of a formal agency not controlled locally providing its own staff to local efforts in low-income areas. It is felt that there is considerable evidence that these differences should enhance effectiveness of the efforts.

1. A voluntary association that combines some features of both a primary group and a bureaucracy should have the most potential for success.
2. While most community organization locality development efforts which involve social workers are concerned with predominately low-income communities, there is evidence that efforts among middle class communities would be more effective.
3. It is assumed that a small staff can aid the development of a voluntary association and help it achieve its goals.
4. Staff professionally trained in social work, and community organization in particular, would seem to offer the most potential ability for working in this area of aiding

local voluntary associations to take action to improve stability. While there has been frequent use of community organization methods to deal with rather specific problems such as deteriorating multiple dwellings, ineffective education, inadequate health or general municipal services, there is seldom either an in depth study of the problem or a clear specification of intended effects of the program; therefore, efficacy is hard to determine. Further, there has seldom been an attempt to relate results from efforts to solve such specific problems with results in other areas of community life such as racial and economic stability.

This project will attempt to deal with one problem--deteriorating multiple dwellings--with the assumption the process will help stabilize the area.

Support For Voluntary Community

Based Efforts

Voluntary and community based efforts should be effective and are strongly supported by social work philosophy.

There is strong evidence from a variety of sources that suggest that organizational effectiveness increases as those who are involved participate in decision making.

Such involvement in decision making reaches a very high level in small voluntary associations.

Locally based efforts by those who are affected by a problem are strongly supported by social work philosophy (e.g., see Dunham.)⁶⁸

Further, Hunter in his study of an integrated community in Rochester deals with "a local community organization whose structure and activities are mechanisms which heighten both the social and symbolic 'sense of community' for local residents."²

Nature and Function of Neighborhoods

Three contributions of neighborhood groups delineated by Warren contrast with the view that neighborhoods are not important in social change.

1. Neighborhoods can provide a program unit for governmental and private efforts at planned social intervention.
2. Given the high rate of built-in social change in a mass, industrial bureaucratic society, local neighborhood primary groups may be able to respond to conditions of urban life more flexibly, and effectively than formal organizations and welfare bureaucracies. Neighborhood groups¹ can be more innovative than larger institutions,² can be effective instruments of social contrast because neighborhood visibility provides for enforced acceptance of values or creations of new norms,³ they can react more quickly to unanticipated problems than larger institutions can.
3. Neighborhood organizations can play a major role in clarifying and defining the solutions to urban problems by clearly differentiating among problems with local focus that are amenable to solution via local self help and self-determination and those problems that clearly require wider bases of mobilization and collective action.³

Arnold M. Rose feels that voluntary associations: "have three important functions in supporting political democracy in the United States."

1. Through the voluntary association the ordinary citizen can acquire as much power in the community or the nation as his free time, ability and inclinations permit him to do without actually going into the government services, provided he accepts the competition for power or like minded individuals. . . .
2. Those who participate thus become aware of how processes function in their society; they learn how things are done or at least the limited sphere in which they operate.
3. The voluntary associations offer a powerful mechanism of social change.⁴

Neighborhoods do serve important special functions despite the increasing importance of functional or vertical communities.

Neighborhoods often deal with three processes:

1. Selective recruitment of particular types of families or individuals into a neighborhood.
2. Socialization of persons with regard to specific values or behavior once they become residents of neighborhoods.
3. Selective expulsion of individuals whose life patterns or values are at odds with that of the neighborhood.⁵

These processes seem particularly relevant to the project under consideration and its sponsoring agency particularly with respect to the first two goals. The association aims to recruit people into the area by presenting it as a attractive place and to keep people in the area by developing a feeling that one should accept the neighborhood as great place to live, stay in the neighborhood and become involved in neighborhood programs.

Litwak and Szelenyi suggest that there are three other values of urban neighborhoods: 1. the speed with which neighbors can deal with special or common problems,

2. the fact that special services based on common territorial needs can be most easily provided, 3. the face to face contact "creates a highly visible affect on social behavior, child rearing and children's educational performances (the social control functions)." ⁶

They go on to suggest that five functional roles can be ascribed to neighborhoods: "1. a center for interpersonal influence, 2. a source of mutual aid, 3. an organizational base for formal and informal organizations, 4. a reference group and social context as a status arena." ⁷

What seems clear is that the nature of neighborhood is quite variable depending on who looks at it and for what purpose.

It also seems that neighborhood functions over the course of time have become less all encompassing as the ability to travel longer distances for shopping, services, leisure and work has increased. Despite this tendency to need a neighborhood less in a tangible way for "things," for many there is still strong interest in neighborhood as a symbolic entity.

"Both partisans and critics of the neighborhood as a concept find the main utility as a service area. It provides a link between territorially bound activities related to work, residence, schooling or recreation and activities encompassing the whole, complex and far-flung urban network." ⁸

Note however that in Hunter's study he found use of local facilities lessening but sense of community increasing

in his study area.

The Local Neighborhood:

As a Site For

Intervention

Importance of Locality Development Efforts

Many problems associated with preservation of neighborhood stability can be best addressed by locality development efforts.

Involvement Can Foster a Sense of Community

Involvement in a community organization can foster the sense of community. This sense of community aids the process of stabilization.

The very nature of traditional processes or residential succession assume that it will take place essentially on a neighborhood by neighborhood basis. Because change occurs largely through individual choices to move or not to move in or out of a neighborhood, locality based efforts would seem to be quite relevant.

A central issue is how people perceive their community. Such perceptions affect how people work within their neighborhood and ultimately major decisions are made on the basis of neighborhood perceptions. For example, whether one remains in a community or not is often dependent on one's perception of his community. Landlords and tenants treat their property differently depending on

whether they see that theirs is a good or bad community. Community participation is frequently based on perception of the community. (One is struck with the frequency with which long term public housing tenants say that they will move soon and, therefore, invest little of themselves in their neighborhood.)

If people perceive that theirs is a relatively stable situation, they will continue to maintain their property or apartments. If the perception of stability is present, probably "tipping points" can get relatively high, particularly if the non-white population is proportionately fairly middle class. Indeed, there is a growing feeling that class may be emerging as a more important factor in stability than race. Indeed for the neighborhood, which is the subject of this project, this seems already the case in owner-occupied homes. In fact, on some blocks where essentially all homes are owned and occupied by middle class blacks, there has been a keen interest among whites to purchase homes that come on the market.

While reality factors play a role in people's perception, many times non-reality factors are equally or more important. This is particularly so in racially and economically mixed neighborhoods. Even if one is not biased towards minorities or the poor oneself, friends, relatives, etc., who do not live in mixed areas, may ascribe a somewhat lower status to the person who lives in a mixed

situation. The wider community values, though changing, still favor white segregated areas. For this reason, promotion of an image of a sound neighborhood, able to deal with its problems is essential. It is also essential that this image be close to reality.

Opportunities must be found for members of the various neighborhood elements to come together either around common problems or around community wide events that everyone can enjoy. Communication and community participation are useful in working towards goals, and are useful in and of themselves. One's perception of a neighborhood changes if he is involved in it or knows that "something useful is happening" or "ours, is a strong, stable, well organized neighborhood that can take care of its problems." Whether one moves into or out of a neighborhood is to a large extent determined by perceptions of a community.

Hunter has presented a most interesting analysis of sense of community in a interracial community not unlike the one chosen for this project. The area had been used for an earlier study of community feelings and so a contrast over time can be made.

In developing an analysis of three measures of neighborhood--1. local facility use, 2. informal neighboring and 3. sense of community were compared to a number of potential antecedent variables: education, years in area, age, home-ownership, race, having children, and the three other

measures as above (local facility use, etc). The only significant correlation with sense of community were with informal neighboring (.36), and education (.17). Factors correlated with informal neighboring were age (.22), homeownership (.30) race-white (.21) and local facility use (.20).

It seems clear that use or non use of local facilities has come to have little relationship with sense of community. Use of local facilities may increase informal neighboring which increases sense of community but it is not directly related. It seems probable that provision of local facilities may be more convenient for residents but this does not necessarily increase the sense of community.

Because informal neighboring increases sense of community it seems important that "residents who are younger, white and homeowners are significantly more likely to engage in informal neighboring than older residents, blacks and centers." ⁹

"Why has the social and cultural symbolic sense of community not declined but increased. The answer is that "1. community was consciously sought after and 2. consciously created by its local residents. . . ." A number of factors were given by residents for moving to the area some of them clearly seeking a sense of community. Among the reasons given were good housing value and convenience but, in addition, people sought out the area because it was a stable integrated area. There was a rejection of the image of suburbia and a sense that one was "where the action was; the

urban frontier", and that they were "ideologically and personally countering the general decay of urban America. . . . Finally, the move to this area was for some precisely the fact that it was seen to be a meaningful social and symbolic 'community.' The search for community, in short, has become a conscious search and the prior proselytizing done by existing residents is apparently sufficient to convert them into fellow residents."¹⁰

The Creation of Community

Not only have many of the residents of the area consciously selected the area because of its ecological and "community" characteristics--but they have also been involved in creating and maintaining a more formal structural embodiment of community--a local community organization.

Those residents who are somewhat older, homeowners, more highly educated and have lived in the area for a shorter period of time are more likely to belong to the organization. We also see that such membership does not affect "local facility use," but it does increase informal neighboring significantly. Finally, belonging to the organization significantly increases the sense of community for members, through informal neighboring remains the most significant in its effect. Structures and activities heighten both the social and symbolic 'sense of community' for local residents.¹¹

This suggests that local structures can serve an important role in aiding the development of a sense of community which in turn, aids the stabilization process.

There are similarities between the area described by Hunter and the neighborhood where the demonstration took place. Both are of course interracial and largely middle class more significantly both have created a sense of neighborhood and a community identity. Indeed the name Prospect Lefferts Gardens was devised by local residents and through

promotion has now been adapted by the city for official purposes.

Gockel, Bradburn and Sudman cite Fisk on the benefits of a community organization in a racially changing situation even if racial change continues: "A democratically structured forum is provided in which diverse groups could discuss community issues (it) has been able to control or eliminate many of the destructive elements that frequently accompany racial change. By mobilizing the resources of the community both public and private and by using the coercive powers of the city government (it) has eliminated much of the panic violence, exploitation and deterioration which has accompanied racial change in other communities."¹²

Similarly a community organization can make the transfer of occupancy and leadership, orderly if it does nothing else.

While community organizations may be largely unable to affect the 'quantity' of the desegregation process (except to accelerate racial change), it is possible to have an impact on its 'quality.' Our data and more informal case studies suggest that the felt concerns of both white and Negro residents can be productively channelled into organized attempts to improve existing community institutions and services such as schools, streets, parks, zoning policies, police protection, and the like. Apart from the manifest improvements in the physical environment which can ensue, Negroes and integration are not defined as the 'problem.' On the contrary members of both races can meet in a common effort to resolve external tangible common problems. Such interracial cooperation may minimize panic, modify stereotypes, impart optimism, promote citizen involvement, and generate, even if on a limited basis a feeling of control over future events. It is in this sense that we speak of the 'quality' of the desegregation process and the ability of community groups to effect it. The end product may be genuine if not long-term integration.

The quality of desegregation may, of course, have some impact on the rate of racial change in neighborhoods where Negro demand is high. Thus, while it is unlikely that this type of activity can stabilize a neighborhood in the face of normal market pressures, it may attenuate the rate of racial change and thus extend the length of time in which the area exists as a bi-racial community.¹³

Most community organizations have as a goal maintenance of the area as a bi-racial area in neighborhoods where there is high demand for housing on the part of blacks. Motivation may vary greatly.

To oppose entry of blacks is self defeating inasmuch as when it does occur it lends to hasten flight say whites because it has been promoted as something very negative for the community and tends to leave a residue of ill will among members.¹⁴

Voluntary Associations

An increased knowledge of types of voluntary associations and their characteristics and potential will aid the development of programs using this vehicle.

Warren has said "the considerable body of research findings available on voluntary associations is virtually neglected" in community organization writing and thinking.¹⁵

Organizational Auspices

Warren¹⁶ defines five auspices for performance of a function: (1) individuals or families, (2) ad hoc informal organization, (3) formally organized associations, (4) an individual group for financial gain or (5) an official or government body. He argues that there is an increasing

tendency to use more structured forms as vertical elements are emphasized. Dunham's statement of values, in contrast, emphasizes the value in placing functions as close to the people and community as possible. On the other hand, one of the higher order units listed above would tend to have greater access to continuing support.

Dunham further relates some major implications for the type of auspices chosen. He concludes with these generalizations:

1. Various types of function can be performed by different types of community auspices.
2. According to which auspices performs them, source of funds, formal locus of decision-making ultimate authority, and community controls over the performance of the function will differ.
3. In the absence of other clearly defined and measurable criteria, the ability to make a profit or the ability to perform a function at low financial cost tends to become the sole criterion for evaluating the efficiency of the operation, regardless of which auspices performs the function.
4. Thus, community controls over the performance of locality relevant functions are made difficult by the absence of adequate standards of evaluation or by the application of profits or cost criteria to functions where they are not relevant.
5. The rational delegation of functions to various alternative community auspices depends on the further development of methods of analyzing implications of such delegation.¹⁷

The auspice chosen for this project is a local neighborhood association rather than a higher level of organization.

Neighborhood Associations

Neighborhood associations have been classified into five types:

- 1) Self Help and mutual aid groups.
- 2) Junior-partner associations organized by outsiders.
- 3) Petitioner associations responsible to governmental or service agencies.
- 4) Militant associations aimed at dramatic or crisis responses.
- 5) Services-providing associations that are often linked to community-wide or national organizations having little special focus on local area.¹⁸

The association under whose auspices the demonstration was conducted can be best described as a self help or mutual aid group. This type has not usually been serviced by social work staff of its own employ. Where staff is present it usually is from an outside source. Where this occurs the association begins to take on aspects of the other than self associations.

Litwak develops a series of types of linkages through which organizations relate to a community. These are:

1. Urban extension worker
2. Decentralized services
3. Opinion leader-use of local leaders
4. Local voluntary associations
5. Common messenger
6. Mass media
7. Formal authority
8. Delegated function¹⁹

While Litwak's discussion assumes the need of a service organization to communicate or link with a local community the analysis seems useful in dealing with the community's need to deal with formal services and other organizations.

The sponsor group in this demonstration is the "voluntary association" of course. Litwak states:

It is thought that the key to the initiation of communication from the grass roots to a formal organization is the local voluntary association.

The voluntary association is so close in structure to the primary group that setting up such an association and getting it running does not necessarily require specialized knowledge but can frequently be learned by group members on the spot. Once formed it may provide a sufficiently large base to hire professionals or create physical resources. Thus a voluntary association of 200 people might pool enough funds to hire a staff person or to free the time of individual members to devote to the group's business.²⁰

Issues Related to Operation of Local Organizations

Turner has done an interesting study of what he calls Citizen Self Help Organizations. These were basically locally based and controlled groups usually with some staff, often funded through such mechanisms as OEO. While these groups were usually in low income areas with a somewhat different history than the type of group which is the subject of this project, the questions raised and conclusions arrived at, bear review.

One central issue is how do such organizations latch onto and hold sources of power without being coopted or organizationally assassinated by other political or social forces?²¹

At times need gratification goals, such as recognition, interfered with goal achievement by creating competition for leadership roles within or between organizations.

Other factors that limited effectiveness were members' lack of organizational experience, apathy, fear of retaliating reaction from the power structure, preoccupation with more basic survival needs and high population turnover.

While there was a strong need seen for group power and or access to power the design of the program generally showed little connection to these goals.

These groups often sees results that are concrete and immediate and that satisfy to some extent both organizational maintenance and program needs. "Often activities are not related to goals. Even when focusing on basic issues they seemed unable to develop approaches essentially different from the more traditional areas."²²

While strong vertical relationships with other forces and horizontal relationship with similar groups would seem to enhance power these were relatively rare.

Groups that were service-oriented tended to attract members who were less alienated.²³

While these groups might be considered to be part of a social movement they had a very pragmatic and non utopic view of their needs. (See also Hunter for similar relationships.) The more affective groups were more structured with the organization serving as a secondary group for members with members having more outside organizational ties, more means of achieving gratification and fewer unmet needs.

It would appear that in more middle class organizations some of the limiting factors would be less severe as

members would have less needs for gratification through a single organization would have more organizational experience, and would move less frequently.

C. Wayne Gordon and Nicholas Bobschuck in a review of factors aiding organizational effectiveness present the following hypothesis which seem relevant to the project:

"If membership is highly accessible and the organization espouses and implements widely held and esteemed values, it will be highly ranked. . . .

If the means by which an organization implements its goals are controversial, it will rank lower than one in which this is not the case.

If an organization, through its activities, is capable of implementing its stated goals, it will tend to rank higher than one which is not capable of implementing its goals.²⁴

Similarly, Zald²⁵ feels that when an organization is directly dependent on its constituency for achieving organizational goals (which is the case in most voluntary associations), more attention will be given to constituency wishes and participation.

A voluntary association that combines some features of both a primary group and a bureaucracy would seem to have the most chance for success.

Litwak talks about a range of organizational types. "Thus we would posit an organizational continuum moving from the bureaucracy that Weber talks about through the collegial

bureaucracy to forms of voluntary-professional organizations to voluntary organization to informal local clubs to primary groups.²⁶

Cox citing Litwak states "some formal organizations and parts of many are much closer to primary groups in their characteristics than they are to bureaucracies. These primary group-like organizations called "human relation" organization are more capable of dealing with highly complex and ideosyncratic situations than traditional bureaucracies."²⁷

Litwak feels that "when knowledge is equal between the primary groups and the bureaucratic organizations, the primary group is structurally the more efficient form of organization because it permits faster and more flexible decision making at a lower cost."²⁸

The chief advantage of a bureaucracy is its ability to produce trained experts.²⁹

Where there is a substantial mix of uniform and non-uniform tasks Litwak feels that some combination of primary group and bureaucratic organization would seem advantageous. He feels that "therapeutic milieu", "goal oriented," human relations, democratic or collegial organizations are essentially styles which emphasize a combination of primary and bureaucratic styles.³⁰

It is felt that this is the situation that pertains in integrated communities, where some activities conducted by a neighborhood association are unique and others are repetitious. Cox, in reviewing Thompson and Suden's work,

feels that a

1. bureaucratic structure is most effective in dealing with problems where there is agreement on both objective and causation.
2. a collegial body--a group of peers with similar training in whom authority resides--is best for handling problems where there is agreement on objectives but knowledge of causes is unknown or disputed.
3. a representative body, bringing about various interests, is best in reaching a compromise on preferred outcome or in setting differences on the order of priorities when knowledge is available for achieving any of the outcomes under consideration.
4. An anomic collectivity operating without rules and encouraging inspiration, creating and experimentation is indicated when there is neither agreement on goals nor the means for their attainment.³¹

Neighborhood Associations in Middle Class Areas

While most community organization locality development efforts which involve professional social workers are concerned with Predominantly low income communities there is evidence that efforts among more middle class communities would be more effective.

Middle class areas have fewer problems, higher organizational participation and greater resources.

Efforts in such situation take on more of an early treatment aspect and therefore are more likely to be effective in dealing with problems and more efficient because fewer resources will have to be brought to bear on a problem.

Wright & Hyman review participation patterns in voluntary associations. Somewhat more than half of all citizens belong to no voluntary association. Of those that do

belong, Jews are more active than protestants and protestants are more active than Catholics.

Whites are more active than blacks, although with civic associations participation of both races are similar. When class is controlled, black participation is similar to whites for all types of groups. (Gockel feels that black participation may actually be higher).

There is increasing associational activity with increasing income, education, level of living, occupational status and home ownership.

There is also increasing participation for urban counties as opposed to rural counties although participation is higher in suburban as opposed to urban situations.

Families with children are more active, which in part probably accounts for the fact that participation is highest for those 25-36 and tapers off with age. It also may in part be an effort to use civic participation to put down roots or develop careers. There is a correlation between involment in voluntary associations and involvement in public affairs, participation in elections and support of local charities.³²

The participation of whites in community organization does not vary much with the level of integration in the neighborhood. There is some decline as integration increases and then an upturn as a neighborhood organization comes controlled by blacks.

Homogeneous neighborhoods usually have higher rates of participation by both races. The rates of black participation go up markedly once the neighborhood is clearly black--more than 80%. "Negroes are neither encouraged to join neighborhood organization nor interested in doing so . . . before this."³³

The much higher participation of home owners as opposed to renters is in part a result of income differences, particularly at lower income levels.

Participation is much higher among those with children. This may be because so many associations deal with children, e.g., the PTA.

Interestingly territorial groups concerned with a specific block or neighborhood and often concerned with physical aspects of the area are about double in black as opposed to white areas, which seems to indicate a greater concern with physical aspects, e.g., neighborhood.³⁴

The picture that emerges in white controlled neighborhoods is one of the organizations that are relatively uninvolved in neighborhood affairs, but that provide opportunities for sociability and the pursuit of individual interest by residents of the neighborhood. As the proportion of Negroes in the neighborhood increases fewer of the community organization serve the socio-emotional function, and more are task oriented, involving themselves in community affairs and concerning themselves with the physical environment within a neighborhood of specific geographical boundaries.³⁵

There is an interesting contrast between participation in voluntary associations and the more traditional neighboring activities, e.g., help in crisis, borrowing, visiting, etc. "The more self reliant an individual or a

group the smaller the reliance on neighbors and the weaker the traditions (of neighboring).³⁶

Perhaps this should not be so surprising. Neighborhood participation for the middle class becomes more a matter of choice--a segmentalized function rather than participation in a primary group.

Lee Rainwater discusses the problems of organizing in low income areas and identifies four "strategies for survival": (1) the expressive life style, (2) the violent strategy, (3) the depressive strategy, and (4) the strategy of mobility (both for economic and social reasons). These may be utilized by the poor for survival but mitigate against organizational activity.

The poor tend to be less socialized to the value of combining with others and in fact those values may not be as effective because of other barriers.

Lower class people may not be interested for quite valid reasons, e.g., the organizers' view of the problem is different than their own. Lower class persons may not view organization as a potential solution to their problem. They also may have too many other more pressing problems to take the group's problems seriously.

Low income groups tend to be less structural and act more as primary groups.³⁷

Zald offers this proposition based on various studies: "the lower the socioeconomic status of the constituency the more difficult it is likely to be to maintain their

interest and participation."

Further "when a community organization agency aimed at changing some aspect of the community has a middle and upper class constituency it will be more likely to attempt to gain its ends through persuasion, informal negotiation and long range harmonizing of interests. On the other hand the more an organization has an essentially lower class basis the more it will resort to direct action, open propaganda, and agitation (when it takes action at all.)"³⁸

Staff: Its Ability to Increase Effectiveness

Staff can aid the development of a voluntary association and help it achieve its goals.

Development of a group and helping it achieve its goals are a typical assignment for a professional social worker in locality development community organization.

In this regard who employs staff is an important issue. The most prevalent policy in efforts identified with social work is a staff person in the employ of a traditional agency but assigned full or part time to a voluntary association. So prevalent is this pattern that some of the writing assumes that this is the pattern and makes no attempt to identify any alternative. A second pattern, usually more typical of large associations, is where funding comes from essentially one source, often in the form of a contract. In both these instances a fair degree of dependency exists. The possibility of a group's decisions being influenced by concerns about loss of staff or funding is obvious. On the

other hand the ability of an association to generate its own funding is not high, particularly if staff costs are involved. Short of independence the association that generates funds from several sources can afford to be more independent than the association that is dependent on a single outcome source.

Staff professionally trained in social work and community organization in particular would seem to offer the most potential skill in their area.

Skills such as direct organizing, problem analysis, dealing with complex issues and feelings would seem to require a fairly high level of skill and professional social work training would seem to be particularly well geared to meet these needs.

Social Work Intervention

Overview

We have reviewed the benefits of local voluntary organizations, discussed their appropriateness to middle class areas and have advanced the view that staff is useful to improving the chance of organizational success.

It seems appropriate to now review the literature related to use of social work methodology as it relates to intervention strategies.

Specifically community organization and locality development as a specific community organization strategy is reviewed

Locality Development

It is assumed that a clear definition of the particular segment of the community that is to be the target of intervention will aid the community organization process.

It must be recognized that community organization is probably the least developed of the social work methods. Specific techniques to deal with specific problems have not yet been developed. What has been fairly well developed is a means of defining goals and techniques. As Pearlman and Gurin state: "The field . . . is ill defined. The body of knowledge . . . is spotty and unsystematic and there are few reliable guides or proven methods than can be transmitted."³⁹

What are increasingly available, however, are a series of descriptive statements about community organization practice that allows clear definitions of what type of practice, setting, goals, or stages in a process, etc., one is describing. These statements are useful in setting parameters for the particular endeavor that one wants to undertake and gives some clues as to what roles and activities might be most appropriate in a given situation.

Gurin⁴⁰ deals with four areas: 1. nature of community, 2. purpose of intervention, 3. roles of practitioner and 4. methodology of community organization and social planning.

The first of these concepts is that of community or, more specifically, the alternate views of communities. Which of the available alternate views of community must be

stated if one is to know where to begin in the intervention process. In other words it is necessary to know which community one is dealing with.

Warren defines a community as "that combination of social units and systems that perform the major social functions having locality relevance. This is another way of saying that by 'community' we mean the organization of social activities to afford people daily local access to those broad areas of activity which are necessary in day to day living."⁴¹

The two most important ways of defining community are horizontal (the local) and vertical (specialized functional). Warren makes this his central theme. "It is a thesis of this book that the 'great change' in community living includes the increasing orientation of local community units toward extra community systems of which they are a part, with a corresponding decline in community cohesion and autonomy . . . changes on the community level are taking place at such a rapid rate and in such drastic fashion that the entire structure and function of community living are being transformed."⁴²

In this regard Gurin's discussion of relevant communities is appropriate. He feels that part of the resurgence of interest in local communities through the poverty program of the 1960s was really an attempt to deal with a relevant or functional community, i.e., the disadvantaged rather than the locality per se. He questions whether this approach could yield solutions to what are really national problems.

Most community organization projects have not been oriented to the community at large but deal with some segment of its relevant community. Within local neighborhoods the efforts typically have been addressed to 'the poor,' which often means the minority groups clustered in the slums. These populations have a common interest in changing existing institutions to their advantage in order to achieve redistribution of opportunities, resources and benefits. The holistic organic community concepts are thus being applied to the building of conflict-oriented social action organization and programs."⁴³

Thus most of the efforts of the antipoverty program would be more appropriately classified as social action rather than locality development--to use Rothman's typology.

A conflict rather than negotiation strategy was most often used resulting in other problems, e.g., loss of feeling of community, which Moynihan deals with.⁴⁴

Traditionally we have thought of community in local terms often in terms of neighborhoods. As society has become more complex we also consider other communities, e.g., "the educational community" or "the Puerto Rican community," which have attributes other than physical proximity. While there is an increasing tendency to look at these functional communities, the focus of this project is on a horizontal community--one particular neighborhood in Brooklyn.

Focus on a Local Neighborhood

This demonstration is to be conducted in one contained

community and therefore, while the review of community below concentrates on the local level, it also contrasts this area with other levels of intervention for the purpose of clarification.

Roles

Certain roles are more appropriate to a particular setting than are others; e.g., in the case of this project, which focuses on a local neighborhood, the locality development role is most appropriate.

Jack Rothman has provided what is probably the most useful classification scheme for community organization practice. He outlines three models of community organization practice, viz., a "locality development, social planning, and community social action."

The type of project outlined here clearly places paramount emphasis on locality development instead of social planning or action.

A brief review of the major features of Rothman's locality relevant model may be helpful.⁴⁵

Themes emphasized in locality development . . . "include democratic procedures, voluntary cooperation, self-help development of indigenous leadership, and education." Small task-oriented groups are the primary medium of change, and work involving the total geographic community. Client populations are seen as citizens rather than victims or consumers. It is assumed that common interests transcend individual interests.⁴⁶

The term "community development," that has been used most often to describe international rural development efforts, is closely related to this model of community development.

Locality or community development "stressed broad participation of people at a local level to create conditions of economic and social progress for the whole community."⁴⁷

Warren defines community development as a "deliberate and sustained attempt to strengthen the horizontal patterns of a community.

He points out the conflicts inherent in goal and process orientation and sees them as really two completely different goals, one a tangible goal and one a participation goal.⁴⁸

Gurin reviews the three major roles of the community organization practice: (1) the enabler, (2) the intergroup, and (3) the advocate.⁴⁹

The enabler helps people clarify their problems, identify their needs and develop the capacity to deal with their own problems more effectively. The emphasis is a skill in developing relationships. Their role was envisioned by both Murray Ross and Lippitt. The latter's change agent role, e.g., did not have a fixed program, but modified programs as needed.

Newsletter emphasized the intergroup role which

envisioned the worker's role with the intergroup as being concerned with the members as representatives of organized entities (groups) rather than as individuals.

The advocate role developed as it was recognized that there were situations where the above roles were not appropriate. As greater emphasis was placed on task, as opposed to process, goals and the possibility of conflict as well as cooperation was recognized. This picked up the earlier reform stream, as opposed to social control stream, of social work that has always been present in the field but was probably more vigorous in the early part of this century. The worker was to take a more active role by interpreting needs and indicating the potentially most important courses of action.

It is interesting to note the similarities with Rothman's typology of community development (enabler), social planning (intergroup), and social action (advocate).

Turner reviews the experience of Citizen Self Help Organizations. In terms of strategies three are identified: (1) consensus, (2) conflict, and (3) negotiation, which combines elements conflict and consensus, in that it assumes that change can be made by working cooperatively without or within the systems. It includes the use of mild pressure tactics and considers extreme confrontation unnecessary to accomplish the desired response.⁵⁰

The negotiation strategies seem most applicable to locality development efforts.

In terms of staff members' roles within Citizen Self Help Organization, "staff were seen as central in (1) recruiting members, (2) doing the leg work, (3) carrying administration responsibilities, (4) occasionally bringing ideas to the organization, (5) teaching workers to play a more responsible role in developing goals and strategies." The last item seems to be primarily an enabler function.⁵¹

St. Clair Drake, in reviewing the literature, cites Thelen's principles of "resolving intergroup conflict which essentially involves bringing about communication and acceptance between groups, and use of building groups, with their own culture to influence constituencies represented by the building group. Community problem solving and development of a strong organization to do problem solving are central."⁵²

Similarly Drake's review of principles proposed by Julia Abrahamson stresses a non-ideological approach emphasizing enlightened self-interest.⁵³

See Chapter IV for greater detail on these principles.

CHART I

Relationship of Community Organization Models
to Strategies, Goals, Auspices

<u>Models</u>	<u>Most typical worker role</u>	<u>Intervention strategies</u>	<u>Goals</u>	<u>Typical Auspices</u>
Locality Development	Enabler	Coordination and Negotiation (confrontation only where all else fails)	Participation and Self-help as goals in themselves	Voluntary Groups with or without support of established welfare agencies Geographically based
Social Action	Advocate	Confrontation	Participation as means of achieving specific goals	Voluntary Groups not necessarily locally based
Social Planning	Intergroup	Coordination (Negotiation)	Achievement of agency goals	Larger Functional Bureaucracies

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CHAPTER V

PROGRAM DESIGN

Overview

Through the review of literature and prior experience in community organization settings, I have come to the following conclusions.

If a local group could have more direct control of the program through local fund raising, or a number of small outside grants, it would be able to exercise substantial control of the program. I felt this would enhance effectiveness. Likewise, I felt that bureaucracy, e.g., as experienced in a large scale community action program, was a problem in itself, and provided service that was not very cost effective. My own feeling was and is that local community organization efforts reach a point of diminishing return rather quickly and additions to staff, etc., for organizational work are not very effective and may in some cases be actually counter-productive.

The use of voluntary associations that would hire and control a small staff is not something that is dealt with to any extent in the social work literature. Where voluntary associations are dealt with, the assumption is that any staff available will be supplied by an outside

(bureaucratic) agency.

Community organization work with a primarily middle-class population is also not discussed in the literature, the assumption being (at least in locality development work) that most of those involved will be poor. My personal observation of those who became most active in the poverty program, even in an area of heavy incidence of poverty, were disproportionately middle class in income and/or aspirations. Organizational work in a non-poverty area should be more successful because there are more of the type of people who get involved living there and they have talents useful in developing and sustaining an organization.

In dealing with specific strategies to cope with apartment house decline, a problem for the area. I felt, both from experience and reading, that a view that saw the only way to proceed as a confrontation with the landlord, was overly simplified. This notion failed to take into consideration some of the realities of property ownership and assumed that large profits were flowing from all buildings so that all that had to be done was to force the landlord to be less greedy. Large scale abandonment and the writings of those who have looked at the economics seemed to lead to the belief that a broader range of views and strategies had the most potential. Realistically I also had a belief that a confrontation-only policy could not achieve broad-based support in this community. The increased sense of community as well as the solving of specific problems seemed important.

If effective in solving some of the identified problems and/or stabilizing the community racially and socially even for only a few years, such approaches would seem worth their modest cost. While certainly not a total approach, such programs would have strong community support and seem rather feasible given the costs of alternate approaches. If more neighborhood groups could reach the point where they could hire modest staff, social workers might find themselves in demand as consultants or organizers to such local communities.

Finally the use of a social worker on a voluntary basis (in this case the writer) to stimulate the development of a voluntary group to the point where it could confront problems faced by a community is not a typical one. Quite possibly, more of this goes on than we are aware of, because most social workers are known through their paid employment. In any case, this is something to be encouraged and could enhance the quality of life in communities, as well as the relevance of the field.

Options Available to Local Groups

The range of options open to neighborhood groups in promoting stabilized integration are limited.

Basically they might be seen to fall in three areas:

1. Efforts to "manage" the integration of the area, primarily through promotion of the area both within and without and assuring that an open and orderly housing market is present.

2. Through efforts to solve concrete problems or maintain the viability of the neighborhood.
3. Development of a sense of neighborhood which may relate to both of the above. Hunter's work in the previous chapter discussed this.

Managed Integration

In the first instance, a number of possibilities are present. For example, the Prospect Lefferts Gardens Neighborhood Association publishes a newspaper, "The Good News," circulated among 7,000 families in the area. It sponsors an annual housetour to interest new families in moving into the area. It has sought and received favorable publicity in newspapers and television. It is part of the annual Brownstone Conference to also interest newcomers in the area. More recently it has increased its interest in formalizing a mechanism whereby those selling a house or apartment could be put in touch with those looking for housing in order to avoid the potential of "steering" by landlords or brokers.

Other groups have eased the arrival of minorities by involving area institutions in support for integration and exposing the myths common in this situation. Watchdogging against blockbusting or racial steering on the part of real estate interests is often important and necessary.

An obvious limitation is that both the law and our values put sharp constraints on what actions are acceptable. There is general support for an open housing market, i.e., one that allows equal access to all available housing by

both blacks and white, with the first decisions being made on the basis of acceptability to the home seeker and ability to pay.

Generally not acceptable are efforts that close the market to one group or efforts to promote quotas. Such efforts constitute steering and are usually illegal. In addition, they are repugnant to many people living in an area and can have long range effects that destabilize and create deep rifts in a community-effects not intended.

As mentioned in Chapter III, direct efforts to oppose or restrict black entry often have negative effects. The entry of blacks after opposition efforts, acknowledges that something more negative will follow (otherwise why oppose it). This encourages further fears and flight. Further it poisons the atmosphere for black newcomers, who feel rightly that they are not welcome and, therefore, do not involve themselves in community activities.

Dealing with Concrete Problems

The second area--that of efforts to solve concrete problems and maintain the viability of the neighborhood--also is important and is the focus of this project.

What is implicit in this set of options is that a direct approach to maintaining an integrated neighborhood might be desirable; but is usually not practical as a single strategy both because of constraints from the outside and also from the fact that housing decisions involve more than just racial considerations, other considerations such as

perceptions of a community are also important.

This has been recognized by groups active in the field. For example, the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing suggests, in pamphlets designed for neighborhood groups, that a stabilization program be considered. Examples of the type of programs suggested are these:

1. Broad community organization, not merely in the areas immediately affected by change.
2. Focus on community standards with special emphasis on high quality neighborhood schools, code enforcement, and maintenance of city services.
3. Neighborhood improvement-efforts such as garden clubs, little theaters, and recreation programs.
4. Approaches that provide realistic information and provide opportunities for various groups in the community to get together either socially or in problem-solving actions seem useful.¹

Such efforts are rather troublesome to the program planner who is more comfortable with programs directly tied to particular problems.

Appropriateness of Approaches at Various Stages of Transition

At early stages of transition a "race relations" approach to managing the integration might be useful. This would give accurate information about the myths related to

neighborhood change and emphasize the rightness of integration by involvement of local leaders in positive statements and emphasizing requirements of law. It should be remembered that research has found that move-outs are determined by a variety of factors, race being only one. In fact, a bigot may have no choice but to remain.

In an area which already has substantial integration, a race relations approach would not be appropriate except if used with other approaches. Hopefully, most everyone would have, by this time, have realized that their fears were not founded.

What programs might be appropriate?

To deal with concerns of present residents, ways must be found to deal with what are real and perceived problems of their neighborhood, quite apart from any racial concerns. These efforts must be well publicized and felt to be effective by residents.

To promote social integration, community committees must strive to be widely representative. A variety of community activities, problem solving or social, should be promoted so as to give opportunities for different racial and economic groups to have meaningful positive interaction.

For those living outside the neighborhood who would be potential renters or home buyers, a more public relations approach would seem sound. Continuation of house tours, advertisements in the real estate section for the area, house and apartment referral services and use of mass media would

all seem appropriate.

Means of relating to outside groups with similar concerns should be found. Already the organization is a member of several of these. Such work should not be so substantial as to dissipate neighborhood work.

General Goals

Overall purposes of this project are as follows:

1. Promotion of community stabilization. It is a primary hypothesis that improving the ability of a community to solve problems will contribute to the stability, racial and otherwise, of that community by changing perceptions of residents and potential residents.
2. Locality development (rather than community planning or social action, see Rothman).²
 - a) To develop locally controlled capacity to cope with community problems.
 - b) To develop local voluntary efforts directed toward community stabilization to the maximum extent possible.
 - c) To strengthen the community through participation in community work and decision-making (this is in contrast to an emphasis on changing the distribution of resources as found in some other forms of c.o.).
 - d) To develop democratic and effective local mechanisms to deal with problems. A common dilemma is that traditional agencies are often not democratic and non-traditional agencies are often not effective.
3. To test several notions about community organization

practice.

- a) To validate the effectiveness of community organization efforts in largely middle class transitional areas.
- b) To test the effectiveness of local volunteers as organizers in relatively well-defined problem areas such as tenant work.
- c) To test the validity of use of community organization service on an as needs rather than continuous basis. An assumption is that the appropriate level of consistent organization work is at the neighborhood-wide level rather than on a block or building basis. It is assumed that in the latter case organizational activity will vary with the urgency of perceived problems.

General Community Organization Principles

It may be useful to list some general principles that should guide community organization practice, and to focus on some of the principles that seem most relevant.

Dunham lists thirty-one guidelines for community organization practice. Some general themes can be stated as follows:

- Democratic operation should be stressed, including participation of those affected by decision-making.
- Cooperation is a higher value than conflict but the latter may be required in certain situations.
- Broad support of programs is important; existing programs should be used where possible.

- Programs should be based on needs.
 - Felt needs of a group may have to be balanced against needs of the larger community.
 - Programs should be developed on the basis of planning and maximum use of objective data and other knowledge available.
 - Services should be adequate to the need and efficiently run.
- Local offering of service is to be preferred to centralized services where both are equally effective.
- Prevention should be increasingly emphasized over cure or continuing care.²

Similarly Batten summarizes in his book twenty-seven guidelines for community development. Some of the themes are as follows:

- Acceptance of people as they are starting where they are and proceeding at their pace.
- Work should be based on sound plans and analysis.
- Democratic methods of operation and self-determination should be emphasized.
- The needs of the group take precedence over the needs of the worker.
- A goal is to foster greater capacity on the part of the group.

Some Specific Practice Principles

1. Those affected by a problem should be involved in the planning and implementation of solutions to these problems.

The tenets of client self-determination are expressed in community organization practice as helping the group or community to determine their goals (usually problems that need to be solved) and strategies to be used in solving these problems. Not only is this ethnically sound practice, it is also assumed that people will support work on a particular goal the more they are involved in defining the goal and ways of achieving the goal.

In the case of the effort which is the subject of this study, both the community, through a representative board of directors elected by members at an open community meeting, and individual committees have defined what are central problems and ways of working on them. Similarly, tenant organizations are encouraged to develop their own leadership, define their own problems and maximize independence.

2. The issues chosen for work should be those perceived by a large number of residents as problems. It is assumed that the closer an issue is to home the more involvement there will be.
3. Community organization is most effective when employed in a preventive or early treatment approach rather than where large scale remedial goals are attempted.
4. Other community resources and supports should be used wherever possible to strengthen the effectiveness of the neighborhood work. This includes good use of our neighborhood newspaper or maximization of effectiveness of city services.

5. Participation is important in this setting not only from a goal achievement standpoint but also from the standpoint of drawing people together. It is assumed that people participating together draw closer together, i.e. racially.

- a) Therefore the board of directors, who are area residents should be kept well informed of the work going on and have an opportunity to modify the program where needed.
- b) Tenant leaders should have an opportunity to make an assessment of the project's work and add to the development of the project.
- c) Maximum use should be made of neighborhood volunteers both for the sake of efficiency and also because such volunteers have something to add as a result of their closeness to the problem.
- d) Volunteers from organized buildings should be particularly useful and are to be sought after.

Thelen has helped by formalizing some of the experiences of the Hyde Park-Kenwood area of Chicago, one of the more successful integrated neighborhoods.

He sees the overall neighborhood association and individual block association as bridging groups where diverse segments of the community can come together around "task oriented" issues. Hopefully, this forces some reappraisals of former attitudes and members take back more positive attitudes to groups to which they belong.

A number of operating principles are developed by Thelen which are useful to the present situation. To summarize, he sees a community group as serving a bridge between various community and other groups. Such a group would emphasize problem solving around mutual concerns and in the process, foster improved attitudes and increased ability to solve problems and more readily perceive reality.

Overall principles developed are these:

1. Bring about communication between members of the opposing groups under conditions such that neither has to "defend" his group.
2. Develop the bridging group itself into a strong one with its own culture and appeal to members.
3. Operate the bridging group as a training situation in which the members can learn the experimental method of group problem-solving.
4. Facilitate acceptance by members of each other and of the groups they represent.
5. Influence the members of the home groups toward gradual change of their ways of operating, toward a more problem-reality-oriented approach.

Methods of operation suggested are these:

1. Community problem-solving is put ahead of organizational power as the objective.
2. Anyone who can help with the problem-solving is welcome, regardless of professed belief or the

group's theories about his personality.

3. Efforts are made to seek out and reach working agreement with other groups working for the same objectives.
4. The group serves as a bridging group to reduce conflict among the other groups to which the members are loyal.
5. The group adopts an experimental methodology, determining action at each step on the basis of evaluation of results of preceding steps.
6. The group pays attention to self-training and to its own development so that leadership is strengthened, goals are kept realistic, individuals make satisfying contributions, and workable solutions to problems can be formulated explicitly and passed on to other groups and communities.
7. The group collects adequate data about the problem
8. The group realistically appraises its own resources and skills and gets professional help when needed.
9. Throughout all action, the group defines its "enemy" as objectively defined conditions in need of change rather than in terms of individuals or groups to be demolished.⁴

In addition, Abrahamson, using the same experience, listed some other principles:

1. Do not appeal to people in neighborhoods on the

- basis of any kind of ideological principles.
2. Always appeal in terms of enlightened self-interest.
 3. Action should be task-oriented.
 4. Make alliances with groups that have power and influence.⁵

Negotiation rather than confrontation or cooperation would seem to be the tactic of greatest potential in dealing with problems within the neighborhood, particularly where the source of the problem is seen to stem from sources outside the neighborhood. For example, confrontation with landlords will be used only when reasonable attempts at negotiating building improvements have failed.

These groups would seem to fall within Turner's definition of citizen self-help organizations. While Turner's treatment deals with what are essentially poverty groups, the discussion still is useful in what is a predominately middle class situation. Turner categorizes the range of strategies available to such groups as 1) Consensus, which aims at getting better information to decision-makers. 2) Conflict, which implies a conflict with an outside group that must be worked out. 3) Negotiation, which has some of both of the above and assumes that progress can be made by working within the system and using mild pressure if needed.⁶ It is essentially strategies one and three that the association has chosen to concentrate on.

The general lack of effectiveness of conflict

strategies seems to be supported by the empirical evidence adduced by Vanecko,⁷ and the feeling of Moynihan⁸ that the poverty program by use of conflict strategies undermined a sense of community that was a source of comfort for community residents.

What we proposed was a liberal, neighborhood approach in contrast to a more conservative consensus-only public-relations approach or a more radical militant-conflict approach.

Limiting Scope

Mencher talks about "determining the limits of effective intervention." To a large extent this is required for effectiveness, otherwise the pursuit of large scale goals with limited resources (knowledge, money, etc.) ends in relatively little being accomplished. Mencher goes on to discuss the attempts at priority setting and lists examples from two community funds.

Several levels of concern can be identified that agencies can work in, such as:

- I. Provision of minimum needs
- II. Physical and mental health
- III. Social relations and responsibility, such as enrichment of life and enjoyment of leisure through recreation or culture
Development of citizen participation
Support of cultural diversity
- IV. Service improvement.⁹

It is primarily in the third area that the association sees its area of intervention. One of the advantages the association has had has been the ability to limit the association's concern. Fox, in his discussion of social policy related to neighborhoods, identifies six groups that have different views of a neighborhood: planners, therapists, city administrators, social scientists, politicians and citizens.¹⁰

Principally, the association has been able to concentrate on the "citizen neighborhood," how to make the neighborhood work better and be more satisfying as the place where we choose to live. To a lesser extent, we have been looking at the area from the social scientists' point of view--"an area in which to solve the problems of urban life." It has not had to deal as a primary focus with the other views of neighborhood. It sees no need for major redevelopment, only preservation and restoration. The area has troubled people who need service but the association does not see its role as providing these services but rather advocating that someone else do so. The association sees the need for administrators to look closely at neighborhoods but again it is not the provider of service but only a watchdog to alert administrators about perceived breakdowns in services. The organization is non-partisan and in a position to ask of politicians but in a poor position to give anything in return.

An obvious problem identified by Fox is the extent to which that which happens in the neighborhood is affected by that which happens in the wider society. Total solutions do

not happen at a neighborhood level but only when basic structural changes are made in society. I believe there is a perception of this in the neighborhood which helps avoid overly ambitious unrealistic programs.

Mencher talks about "determining the limits of effective intervention."¹¹ To a large extent this is required for effectiveness. Otherwise, the pursuit of large scale goals with limited resources of knowledge, money, etc., ends in relatively little being accomplished.

Down's criteria for a viable community as found in an earlier chapter are relevant in terms in setting specific goals. Hopefully, what can be achieved is what Molotch¹² calls "transracial solidarity," where there is free interaction between racial groups rather than a mere demographic integration with people of different races living in the same community but not interacting together.

SOME THOUGHTS ON METHODOLOGY AND PROGRAM
WITH REFERENCE TO A PARTICULAR SITUATION-
PROSPECT LEFFERTS GARDENS

The organization context within which the program had to be developed is Prospect Lefferts Gardens in Brooklyn, New York, a community with a substantial black population (60-70%) but one which still attracts whites (estimated to be about one-half of the move-ins). The neighborhood association which this program is part of has existed since 1968 and has primarily been involved in interesting prospective home buyers (particularly whites) in the area through such

things as an annual house tour and promoting the good points of the neighborhood to residents through a neighborhood newspaper. In 1974, the association recognized that there was large scale change taking place in apartment buildings and that, at the same time, services in these buildings were being substantially reduced. Several foundation grants allowed the association to hire a full-time trained community organizer to work primarily in these apartment buildings. Tenant organization work has been successful in solving a number of problems. Other community problems such as poor education, and youth problems, have been identified and committees have been formed to deal with them. While racial stabilization is a primary interest of the association, it is not by any means the only one. This may be least be partly due to an awareness that racial stabilization is not entirely within any one community's control and that, nonetheless, the neighborhood may be able to solve other problems regardless of racial mix.

Efforts to promote integrated neighborhoods fall within the category of "integrated-core" policies as in Down's formulation (see Chapter on policy). They are liberal in nature. While more radical policies might be favored by some who want to deal with integration, those above are the only ones open to a local neighborhood.

Specific Community Problems and

Plans for Dealing with Them

Education - A major community concern is the quality of public education. Decisions about moving in or out of an area

are often related to perceptions of the local schools.

An Education Committee has been formed to:

- Attempt to give as accurate a picture as possible of local education.
- Suggest feasible short range solutions to some of the problems parents find most annoying.
- Generate wider support for local parents associations.
- State the community's feelings about zoning changes that will promote or retard integration.
- Support local school officials in efforts to improve quality education.
- Develop closer community-school relationships.

Local Business - A changing and to some extent declining business area exists on Nostrand and Flatbush Avenues. Problems include changing shopping habits, commercial redlining, lack of parking, high rents, businesses inappropriate for the current population, and businessmen reaching retirement age with no one interested in taking over the business.

A Merchants Association has been formed and has circulated a petition for parking changes and has met with banks around improving the loan picture.

General Community Conditions - A variety of problems related to zoning and city services occur from time-to-time.

A Block Presidents Council, representing all of the block and area associations, meets regularly. Discussions have been held with police and sanitation officials to deal with specific concerns. The group has also fought zoning variances that would permit "topless" entertainment at local bars.

Rogers Avenue - A very marginal commercial street with a

substantial number of storefronts vacant or used as warehouses. A plan has been developed in conjunction with Pratt Institute and the Association of Neighborhood Housing Developers for the conversion of a number of storefronts on a pilot basis to attractive ground floor apartments for use by the handicapped or aged. This plan has been presented to local politicians and the Housing and Development Administration. There is hope of receiving a grant to implement the plan.

Recreation and Culture - There is a need to assure that residents have recreation and culture programs in the area and know about others close by.

A number of area-wide events have been held, e.g., a square dance, a disco, ice skating parties, Christmas caroling, free films for children, an art show and a series of theater parties at the Brooklyn Academy of Music. These activities not only bring people together but project the neighborhood as an exciting place to live.

Publicity - In order to publicize and promote the neighborhood to those residents who might be contemplating moving out and to those outside the area who might be interested in moving in.

- a) A neighborhood newspaper The Good News presently reaches 7,500 families in the area with circulation increasing.
- b) A Publicity Committee is responsible for press releases, etc., to outside sources, as well as flyers and mailings to people in the neighborhood

interested in the area. Plans for advertising the values in apartments and houses in the area are planned.

- c) An annual housetour is designed to attract those interested in the area with the hopes of their eventually buying or renting there. In addition, the association is represented at the Brooklyn Brownstone Conference annually.

Multiple Dwellings - It is the feeling that major problems in the area are associated with multiple dwellings. Specifically, maintenance of buildings has decreased in many cases. While most of the deterioration has not been extensive, a definite negative trend has been noted. The feeling is that corrective action can take place at this time without heavy investment of capital.

A second and related problem is the rapid change in the population of the tenants in the buildings. Some buildings that were only a few years ago all white, have now become largely black and Puerto Rican. While it is felt that landlords deliberately moved in non-white families with obvious problems, in order to create an unstable situation. In doing this, older tenants moved out of rent-controlled apartments, could be replaced with tenants no longer under rent control, often at double the rent. This sort of change was made worse by the fact that the landlords had for years not rented to non-whites. Thus the tenants were shocked by the rapid change brought about by this reversal of policy.

Accompanying racial change has been a decrease in services in the buildings. Landlords tend to cut level of services or supervise staff less carefully as a building increases in minority occupancy, perhaps feeling that minorities have fewer housing options open to them and, therefore, will "put up" with more. Of great concern to tenants of all ethnic backgrounds is that landlords tend to be much more casual in tenant screening as a building integrates. In fact, in some cases, it is believed that some landlords have moved in disruptive tenants whose presence causes other tenants to move out allowing the landlord to take advantage of "vacancy de-control" provisions of the law, which allow higher rents to be charged to new tenants once older tenants vacate an apartment. Thus conditions that prompt tenants to move are profitable.

Likewise, it recognized that problems real or imagined may face the landlord:

- Lack of confidence or knowledge about the area of city among landlords.
- Difficulty in securing mortgages, which prompts landlords to maximize short-term profits by lowering maintenance expenses.
- Ineptness or disinterest in managing, particularly on the part of owners at some distance from the building.
- Difficulty in selling buildings.
- Feelings that tenants "don't care," or are destructive

- Lack of sound management companies for older buildings.
- Size of individual buildings often makes them marginal operations.
- Some tenants who "don't care," sometimes because the owner doesn't seem to care.
- Some tenants with social problems and few resources to cope with them.
- Increasing costs.

A major need is to provide stability to these buildings. It is for this reason that a "balanced approach to multiple dwellings" is proposed.

In terms of multiple dwellings both Sternlieb and Stegman¹³ warn against the over simplification of blaming the slumlord for the problems of the deteriorating or abandoned apartment building.

The greatest problem cited by both is the lack of marketability of these buildings and the difficulty in obtaining any type of financing for them.

Stegman points out that most strategies for adequately housing the poor depend on building new housing to accommodate them. This is increasingly not politically or economically feasible and he suggests that more attention be paid to maintaining and upgrading older housing stock to a level that is adequate even though it can never match new housing standards.

If such a course is followed, the continuing role of the competent private landlord is assured. Empirical studies

show a relatively high rate of landlords performing satisfactorily. The economics are such that to "bleed" a building is unsound. While margins are small, reasonable cash flow can be derived from a building that is maintained at a reasonable standard. In essence, this is the best way a landlord can be assured of earning an income from his building, as the resale market is virtually nonexistent. A greater problem than the slumlord out for a fast profit is the incompetent landlord or the one who can only devote a small amount of time to buildings that require fairly close supervision.

In the case of these incompetents, the lack of a market does not allow them to sell the building to an operator who can do a more competent job. Management is crucial. If a market for buildings and money were available, increases in rent would justify bringing property up to standard. Non-profit groups' performance has generally been poor in the view of Stegman with promise far exceeding actual performance.

Multiple Dwellings - An Area of Focus

While it is not practical to review and evaluate all aspects of even one rather small neighborhood association, it is possible to look at one aspect in some depth. The literature suggests that dealing with concrete problems is an aid to promoting a sense of community and enhances stabilization. We considered several possibilities and work with multiple dwellings was chosen for a number of reasons:

1. This is a major focus of staff time--approximately 60% of staff time is devoted to this, in

- accordance with the proposal of the association.
2. Multiple dwelling problems are regarded as a major area of concern both by homeowners and tenants.
 3. It is important to provide and maintain housing which is an essential need of people.
 4. Preservation seems more feasible at present than redevelopment, because of cost and fiscal constraints.
 5. Tenant organization can promote other participation, e.g., in community affairs.
 6. It is a relatively new aspect of the work of the organization, and therefore, amenable to study.
 7. It represents an area that is important to the city as a whole since it offers a hope of stabilizing building conditions.
 8. It is an area where staff seems essential. Initially Volunteers are just not available in the amount needed.
 9. The work is fairly tangible and easily measured in ways that others will understand.
 10. While not directly analogous, should the work with tenants have affect on racial stabilization, we can also be hopeful that similar techniques will have impact on homeowners.

Proposed Solutions to Multiple
Dwelling Problem

Overall Strategies

1. Tenant organization, securing of code compliance through formation of and work with tenant associations.
2. Work with landlords on their problems: e.g., how to secure compliance, promote the desirability of maintenance of investment and the area's advantages to landlords, work with banks on mortgages, develop housing maintenance/management capability.
3. Promote image of area among prospective tenants - serve as clearinghouse for prospective tenants and landlords with vacancies so as to enable landlords to maintain a stable tenantry.
4. Explain possibilities of alternatives to traditional landlord ownership, e.g., tenant cooperatives. The reduction in price of apartment houses may make this strategy more feasible than it has been in the past.

It was anticipated that at least 50 buildings would be organized or continue to receive service on an ongoing basis by staff. These buildings would have at least 2,000 families or approximately 8,000 individual residents. Buildings selected would be identified as being in need of help by both the building residents and the neighborhood. Buildings would be selected so as to represent a variety of locations in the area, a variety of conditions and a variety of sizes so as to both equitably provide service and also to test

efficacy of approaches under various conditions and to serve as a demonstration to surrounding buildings of the approaches. Buildings would be added or dropped as conditions warrant. If additional funding becomes available, additional buildings can be served. We estimate that there are approximately 450 buildings in the area.

A goal is to develop leadership in a building that will eventually reduce the need for close work by the organizer will be available on a consultation basis to all buildings in the area, however, and will draw tenant group leaders together for mutual information exchange if it's felt useful.

Operating Principles

The following operating principles were developed at the outset and incorporated into the work of the proposal.

A full-time community organizer with an MSW is used together with community volunteers and graduate students to develop tenant groups in buildings. Buildings served normally come from those where at least one tenant had approached the association for assistance.

As is traditional, attempts are made to ascertain in advance of a general meeting those tenants who might be interested and those who are seen as natural leaders in their buildings. At an initial meeting, the most important problems of the building are identified and a workable plan developed to deal first with problems that are both important and amenable to rather prompt solutions.

Meetings and/or communications with the landlord are encouraged and the general approach is one of negotiating change (rather than confrontation or acquiescence) keeping in mind that the landlord may have realistic problems that might impede immediate and complete solution to all problems. The potential of the building and the neighborhood are pointed out to the landlord so as to encourage continued interest and investment in the building from the standpoint of self interest.

As part of the negotiations, wherever possible, a schedule of repairs is developed outlining what will be done and when it will be completed.

Additional support to these buildings and their tenants are provided by means of a tenants' council composed of representatives of organized buildings. This council shares information, successes, techniques, etc. It also develops positions on strategies related to issues affecting more than one building. It serves as a source of potential volunteer organizers to deal with other buildings which are not organized. Representatives of unorganized buildings can get help and advice as to how to start to deal with their problems.

As an additional aid to the stabilization efforts, tenants are encouraged to join other association committees, (e.g., education) and attend area-wide events, (e.g., meetings and socials).

The initial contact of the organizer is through a contact tenant in the building. From the outset, problems

and strategies are developed with the tenants. As the tenants meet and discuss their problems, the worker also meets with the landlord or arranges for tenants to do this.

It is recognized, as stated above, that landlords may have problems that make maintaining their buildings difficult. Where possible the organizer works with landlords around these problems which may be mortgages, tenant relations or anything else. In all cases, the landlords will be told about the area and its long-term investment potential. Landlords are added to the "Good News" mailing list.

As problems become resolved or tenant groups become strong enough to no longer need assistance, the organizer moves on to other buildings.

A housing clinic has been started and as buildings develop leadership people, they are utilized in work with other buildings. In addition, the tenants' council continues to meet to address common problems: for example, it has begun to look at racial steering among apartment buildings and hopes to define the nature and solution of this problem.

As a founding organization of the Crown Heights Housing Management Corporation (a community-based non-profit housing corporation that has already begun actual property management), PLGNA works to support and develop this corporation as a mechanism to meet the recognized needs for sound management capability in the area.

Specific Steps in the Organizing Process

Steps below are sequential--if the landlord responds satisfactorily then the next step is not taken. Satisfactory response is concrete action by the landlord to substantially deal with problems in the building. This might be preceded by a meeting between the landlord and tenants.

A cooperative attitude while desirable is not an end in itself. In one building a landlord stormed out of a meeting refusing to cooperate or meet with tenants again. He began repairs two days later which was the intended result of the meeting.

1. Non-formal notification to landlord of complaints.
 - includes individual tenants or tenant groups asking their landlord to repair or improve something, with a reasonable expectation that it will be done. This obviously is the ideal situation.
2. Formal complaints to the Housing and Development Administration (H.D.A.) and landlord notification.
 - A. Formal complaints are requested from each tenant on a form supplied by the association and sent to both H.D.A. and the landlord. Most responsible landlords will take steps to resolve problems at this point.
 - B. Housing and Development Administration inspection is requested for verification. Tenants are notified of date so they can be home or have someone present.

At this and subsequent stages a meeting is usually requested with the landlord. Tenants, landlord and a PLGNA representative meet and an attempt is made to develop a schedule of repairs, preferably in writing signed by the landlord.

3. Other more aggressive actions:

H.D.A. conference. H.D.A. can call a meeting with the landlord. Our area is within a community Preservation District where this method is often employed. H.D.A. asks the landlord to sign an agreement which schedules when repairs are to be made. More than one landlord has felt threatened enough by this action to willingly sign and actually carry out repairs. H.D.A. can use courts where necessary.

Use of Friendly Lawyer. A call or letter from a lawyer friendly to the tenants may have the needed effect of bringing about willingness to proceed or repairs.

Petitions. or Publicity. These can have the effect of a threat and/or embarrassment when officials or media are involved.

Discouragement of new tenants. Tenants can discourage move-ins by trying to spot prospective tenants and by publicizing bad conditions.

Repair and deduct - is not really legal but a

landlord's position in court eviction proceeding is weakened if tenants can prove that non-payment of rent was caused by tenants using funds to do minimum repairs.

4. Court Action - tenants can go to housing court and ask the court to order the landlord to make repairs. This can be effective, depending on the judge.
5. Rent Strike - is a withholding of rent. This is the most powerful tool a tenant association has, as a large cut in cash flow is difficult for a landlord to cope with. A landlord will issue disposses notices which mandate court appearances. A landlord will often negotiate terms favorable to tenants to avoid a potential of losing the case.

Typical Building Organizational Cycle

- Month 1:
- .Initial contact from a tenant
 - .Small group meeting held with those identified by contact
 - .Large group meeting for all tenants in building held
 - .Inspection requested
 - .Complaint forms distributed
- Month 2:
- .Complaint forms filled out and returned
 - .Inspection performed

- Month 3: .Conference with landlord with or without Housing Development Administration
 .Repair schedule developed
- Month 4-5: .Repairs made or other action taken,
 e.g., more negotiation or rent strike

Timetable

Planning for this project began in earnest in early 1974 when a prospect of being able to obtain some funding for a community organization on a continuing basis arose.

The staff member was actually hired October 1974 and work on a building organization commenced immediately. At about the same time a graduate social work student became available as well as some volunteer assistance. In essence each year of the project beginning in October can be seen as a separate cycle in terms of buildings, as a most most buildings were not worked on previously. Thus October 1974, 1975, and 1976 can be seen as separate cycle years.

Timeliness and Appropriateness

A growing number of private foundations are examining this general area of stabilization and seem to be seriously considering grants for this type of program. The Ford Foundation, for example, has already given a series of modest grants and is reviewing more applications currently.

The City Commission on Human Rights has received federal funding for a staffing grant for "community stabilization." The PLGNA neighborhood is included in the Brooklyn

demonstration area which includes Flatbush, East Flatbush and Canarsie. One of the major thrusts of the Commission's program is to develop neighborhood umbrella groups such as PLGNA and PLGNA has been working with the Commission which sees the association as a sort of prototype group.

It is felt that the PLGNA approach is relevant and applicable to many other areas for the following reasons:

- .Changes in social values makes the concept of inter-racial and inter-class living increasingly acceptable.
- .The large scale demand created by extensive population has abated, which enhances the prospects for stabilization.
- .The gradual improvement of the economic level of minorities also is improving.
- .The more general support for enforcement of open housing provisions and laws is also helpful.
- .Conservation of sound existing housing has become even more urgent as funds to develop new housing have dried up.
- .A general resurgence of interest in city living can be utilized to bring new vigor to the city if minimal conditions prevail in neighborhoods. This interest captures the realization that the city offers potential in terms of good shopping and transportation, access to shopping and services and a variety of interesting and stimulating neighbors.

- .The cost of such work is minimal when compared to results. Indeed, approaches such as this that mobilize voluntary efforts may be the only feasible ones, given the lack of resources available from the city.
- .The skill to do such work is available.

The comments on stabilization in Chapter I are also applicable here.

A rather casual reading of the daily press reinforces the feeling that this is a timely area of concern.

Recently the issue of "ethnic purity" of neighborhoods was injected into the national presidential primary. The Supreme Court ruled that suburban communities would have to make provisions for zoning that allows access to minorities and those with limited incomes. The media feels that this is an issue of interest and gives relatively good coverage to work of our and other communities. The New York Times has recently done a multi-part series on neighborhood stability.

It is felt that implications of the program have significance much greater than for just one neighborhood. The general area of intergroup relations has been a major area of concern for those interested in providing ways of fulfilling the promise of true democracy in our society. Too often these promises of opportunity, democracy and sound relationship regardless of background received no support at a local level, particularly in individual neighborhoods. While many neighborhoods go through integration, few are or have been able

to achieve stabilization. Where racial stabilization has been achieved in a few situations, it is seldom achieved in combination with economic integration. Yet, if a constant game of musical chairs is not to be always a part of urban life in America, integration must become an accepted way of life. Ways of helping neighborhoods deal with integration, accept it and become stronger in the process must be developed.

Even in New York City, large areas are now going through an integration process but whether they will be stabilized remains to be seen. PLG is in a pivotal place, located between Crown Heights and East Flatbush (transition areas) and Flatbush (still essentially segregated). Lessons learned here can have immediate applicability to neighboring areas.

The prospects look brighter, however, as racial hostilities in America seem to be diminishing and the lure of the suburbs as a way of escaping the city's problems seems less attractive. Other groups have come to PLGNA for advice about how they might develop their communities using techniques that have been effective in our community and these consultation efforts will be continued so that other communities can benefit from the experience. The association has already begun to test if there is interest among adjacent Brooklyn community groups in meeting on a regular basis to share information and to undertake joint efforts where these would appear beneficial.

Moreover, it is felt that much can be accomplished in this area because:

- .PLGNA has already had success with its approach both using voluntary assistance and through initial staffing.
- .The techniques and methods utilized have had demonstrated success in other areas.
- .The conditions and opportunities in the PLGNA area are such that, while help is needed, rather modest resources can have considerable impact.
- .Strong support can be provided by PLGNA and its board and in turn PLGNA has strong support from the community.
- .The board and other resources in the area can provide considerable help to a staff person needing support in specific areas of expertise.
- .The goals are focused on the problems perceived to be the central ones to the neighborhood.

The area has certain advantages that can be helpful to the success of this program:

- .A wide variety of easily accessible cultural resources.
- .A stable area integrated both socially and economically.
- .A strong neighborhood association with good working relations with a variety of block associations and other institutions.

- .Good value in terms of the quality, size and price of homes.
- .The neighborhood is located in a transitional area in Brooklyn between Crown Heights and Flatbush and is mixed racially.
- .Resources of the association are at a level that similar associations could be expected to raise internally.
- .The area has a history of community organization and has supported integration and racial stabilization.
- .The association has a desire to use social work talent and skills in the area.

The association is integrally involved with the project through the Board of Directors. The interest in concentrating on tenant work came from the board as did the hiring of the staff. Several board members are involved in tenant work themselves. The size and scope of the association makes the acceptance of a program such as this rather simple as its uncomplicated structure is flexible enough to accommodate change.

No other group in the area sees tenant work as part of their mission.

The association is seen by essentially all groups and institutions as serving as the umbrella neighborhood council and therefore no "turf" issues are perceived.

Obviously in terms of timeliness, the sooner even

preliminary impressions were reported, the better to impact on work that will go on, for example, in Flatbush, East Flatbush, etc.

The largest issue of continuation relates to a built-in hazard of this type of sponsorship: the uncertainty of funding. While a number of sources have contributed to support (two foundation, two metropolitan church groups, one bank, a housing group, members of local groups and fund raising activities) the aggregate funding has provided only the bare minimum for one staff person and modest office expenses. Should a major funding source be lost, the need to eliminate the staff position would have to be considered.

Alternatives might be:

- .to hire someone on a half-time basis.
- .Try to maintain the program to the extent possible using only voluntary help.
- .Attempt to use someone else's staff, e.g., the City Commission.

Any of these possibilities would seriously hamper effectiveness. The association and some work would continue nonetheless and the program would have to be evaluated based on these new circumstances.

Footnotes For Chapter V

1. National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, How to Break Up the Racial Ghetto (New York: 1956, p. 21); and American Friends Service, Fair Housing Handbook (New York: 1964), pp. 11-14.
2. Arthur Durham, The New Community Organization (New York: Crowell, 1970), pp. 227-238.
3. T.R. Batten, The Human Factor in Community Work (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 181-184.
4. Herbert A. Thelen, quoted in St. Clair Drake, "Neighborhood Level Race Relations" in Roger R. Miller, ed., Race Research and Reason: Social Work Perspectives (New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1968), pp. 131-132.
5. Julia Abrahamson, quoted by St. Clair Drake, Ibid.
6. John B. Turner, Neighborhood Organization For Community Action (New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1968), pp. 18-19.
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10. Daniel M. Fox, "Neighborhoods and Social Policy: Continuities and Discontinuities With the Past," Social Welfare Forum, 1960, p. 117ff.
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12. Harvey Molotch, "Racial Integration in a Transition Community," in Scott Greer and Ann Lennarian Greer, Neighborhood and Ghetto: The Local Area in a Large Scale Society (New York: Basic Books, 1974; George Sternlieb and Robert W. Burchell, Residential Abandonment: The Tenement Landlord Revisited (New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1973).
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CHAPTER VI.

EVALUATION DESIGN

Purpose

The purpose of the evaluation is primarily to test the effectiveness of the program in organizing tenants, securing needed physical changes and in stabilizing buildings socially.

The problems encountered in implementation and organization will also be reviewed with a view to anticipating problems other groups might encounter. While the report of findings would be useful to internal operation, a greater value would be to offer such findings to groups in similar neighborhoods, who might be considering such a program, and to funding sources which may be considering this type of program among other alternatives.

Problem Formulation

Major hypotheses to be tested are these:

1. Tenant organization efforts are effective in slowing physical decline in multiple dwellings as defined by criteria listed in the following pages.

2. The more staff effort put into a building, the greater likelihood of strong organizational success.
3. The more organizational success of tenants organizations, the more likelihood of overall success.
4. Volunteers can be trained as effective building organizers but additional levels of training increase likelihood of success.
5. It is hypothesized that the following factors may make organizing efforts less effective:
 - Small size of building, e.g., below 16 units
 - Tax arrearage
 - Frequent transfer of ownership, e.g., more than one transfer in last five years
 - Large number of recorded violations per apartment
 - High percentage of recent move ins
6. The use of community organization service on an "as needed" rather than continuous basis has validity. An assumption is that the appropriate level of consistent organization work is at the neighborhood-wide level rather than on a block or building basis. It is assumed that in the latter case organizational activity will vary with the urgency of perceived problems.
7. This type of service will be at least as cost effective as other alternate, housing programs.
8. That a local community organization can successfully

undertake sponsorship of such a program.

9. Rent control is not a major factor in deterioration of buildings.

Overview: Design

It was felt in designing an evaluation technique that the principal level of focus should be on a building level rather than say on an individual tenant level. The focus of change efforts was on a building as a whole and it was appropriate therefore to measure the efforts at this level.

In addition, a brief review of cost factors is presented to serve as a basis to contrast this type of program with other major options.

A brief review of available community data is presented as a means of contrasting the neighborhood with surrounding areas as a further means of testing the notion of stabilization.

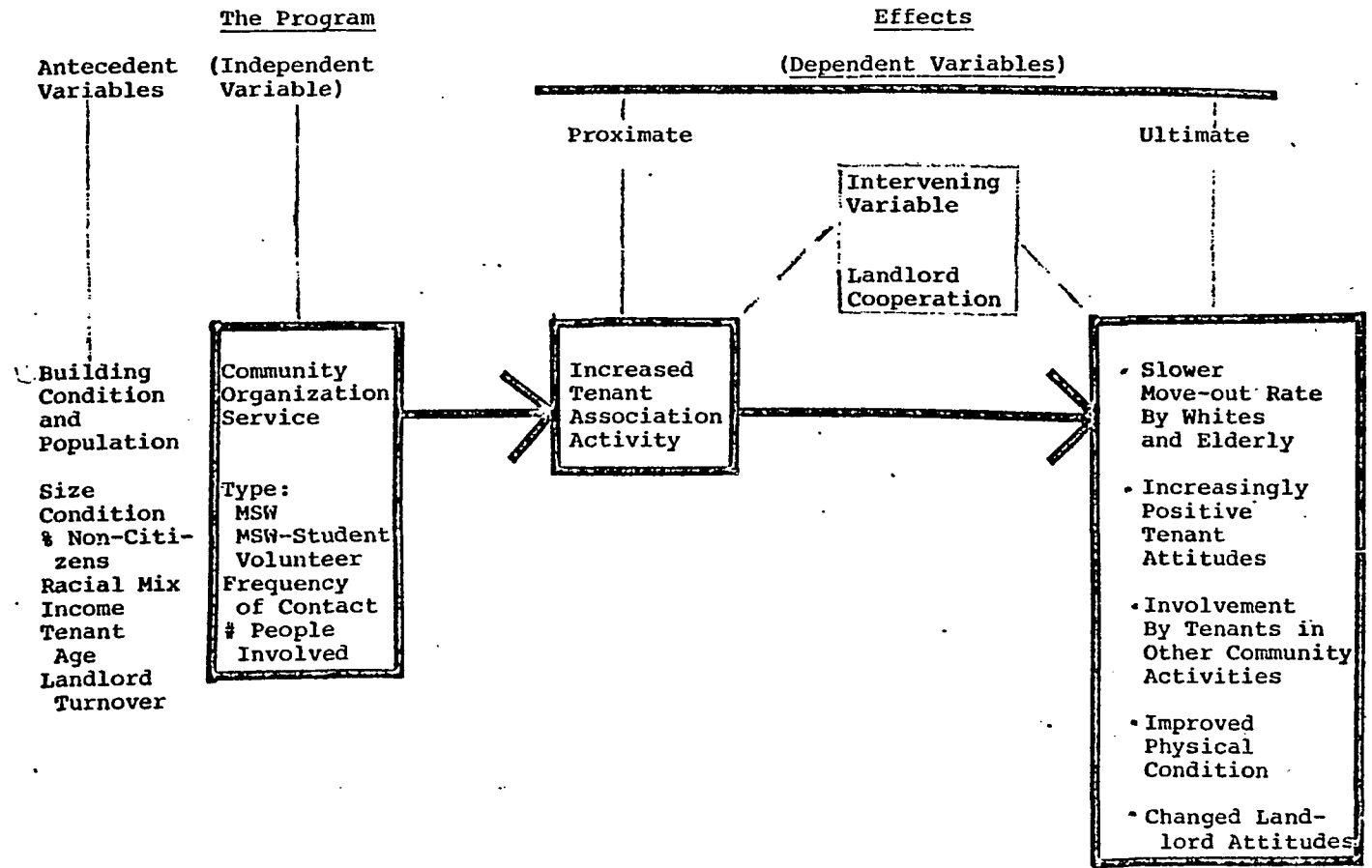
Finally, a review of organizational considerations is presented with the intent of outlining potential problems in replicating this type of program with the type of sponsorship that utilizes community groups rather than more formal established agency structures.

Method

The major method chosen for evaluation of the program is a time series design as described by Weiss. This is a quasi-experimental design involving "a series of measurements

CHART II
THE PROGRAM AND ITS INTENDED EFFECTS

Summary



at periodic intervals before the program begins and continuing measurements after the program ends."

In this case, several key indicators (for example, number of tenant complaints per apartment, tenant association attendance per year, percentage of whites in a building) were studied over time for each of the buildings involved in the program to ascertain change.

This method was chosen because of the difficulty of matching buildings. If an adequate match was found in the area the need to deny or delay services to a requesting building would be present. If control buildings outside the area were chosen, the potential of factors that affected only buildings within the neighborhood could make claims for the program questionable.

The principal source of data was the program files within the agency. Workers' records of each building were used. These files contain key data about activity, conditions, and workers' estimates of major factors involved in organizing and bringing about change in buildings. In addition to data from the program files, a questionnaire was to be administered to a sample of tenants and all landlords in currently organized buildings. Similar questionnaires were to be administered to comparable buildings in the initial organization stages.

In essence the new group of buildings was to serve as a contrast for the initial group (and vice versa, if necessary). Initial plans called for sending a questionnaire

to a sample of building tenants who filled out a complaint form in buildings organized by March 1976. In addition, they were to be contacted individually for an interview if they did not respond to the mail questionnaire.

A similar procedure was to have been followed in buildings organized after April 1, 1976, to form a contrast group.

It was planned that all landlords would be sent a different questionnaire to collect building data and attitudes.

Later this method proved infeasible because of the difficulty of getting an adequate response from tenants. As an alternate method interviews were conducted with a sample of tenant leaders and other tenants from a sample number of buildings categorized by size and stability in order to verify data collected by staff about each building. Some data was recorded as factual information about buildings. Other data was in the form of worker estimates about progress, etc.

A summary sheet was designed to collect and summarize all relevant data on the various buildings worked with.

A major source of information on building conditions, rents and basic sources of tenant data was the complaint forms that tenants were asked to fill out as part of the organizational process. The form is primarily concerned with tenants identifying problems both in their apartments and in the building as a whole. For purposes of analysis tenant reports of both apartment and building-wide problems were

combined. Not surprisingly tenants' reports of complaints varied even for building-wide problems. All complaints were averaged to provide a gross estimate of problems for the building as a whole.

In addition move-in dates were noted along with rents. A note was made of the estimated number that were on rent control to ascertain whether the assumption that this was no longer a major factor was sound.

Universe - The universe is all dwellings in the Prospect Lefferts Garden Neighborhood. The specific sample chosen for study was that group of buildings which had tenants who came to the association to help in organizing. Buildings rather than tenants were the focus of the evaluation in as much as it was the effects within buildings and contrasts between groups of buildings which seemed crucial. Only if changes occurred in a way that changed the building as a whole, did it have significance for the work of the project.

Buildings were self selected, in essence by a leader or leaders approaching the association. While this did not yield a random sample of buildings in the area it seemed adequate for an exploratory study. A wide variety of building sizes and conditions were represented and buildings from all sectors of the area were included. One would not expect that a completely random sample would be that different from the study group.

Criteria for Categorizing Buildings

Size

The most important single criterion with respect to buildings is size.

Size is a crucial element for several reasons:

A small building is less likely to have full-time staff either doing management or custodial work.

A large building is more likely to generate a cash flow sufficient to permit hiring full-time custodial help and to make the services of a full-time manager (either the owner or an agent) worthwhile.

A number of the tasks or costs related to building management or ownership are fairly similar, regardless of size of building, and therefore become cheaper per unit as the building size increases.

For example, payment of taxes and filing of necessary forms related to building ownership are likely to be similar for a large or small building and therefore the cost per apartment unit is less for a large building.

Similarly most professional owners feel that a large building is more efficient to heat, to maintain, and to clean.

The very nature of increasing efficiency with size tends to discourage professional owners from handling small buildings. This also limits the potential market for such buildings. The owners who own the smaller buildings are likely to hold such properties as sideline investments. They are not able to put much time into building management, nor can they

economically hire someone to do these tasks for them. If they want to sell they find little market for these properties. The experience seems to indicate that they tend to be older and less capable than owners of large buildings and also have fewer opportunities to sell. Those who would buy such properties are also presumably less skilled because the professional owner sees no way of making a profit with these buildings.

The cost of such buildings in terms of purchase price and carrying costs is less than a larger building even on the basis of unit costs and therefore the amount of total investment or potential loss is limited--the stakes are smaller, which is a lesser incentive to maintain investment.

Certain provisions of law while technically available to all owners are in practice used only by the knowledgeable and skilled owner who is doing business full time. For example, hardship modifications of the rent control law are possible but are complex enough so that the small owner who is most likely to be in need of such relief is least likely to take advantage of it.

For our purposes we have categorized the buildings into three groups: a. Small--those with four to sixteen units (typically three-story buildings with apartments over stores); b. Medium--those with 17-35 units (typically four-floor walk-ups); and c. Large--those with 36 units and over (typically elevator buildings).

Average number of rooms per apartment unit was not considered of great significance. However, where a building had an unusually large number of large or small units this was noted.

Physical Condition of Building

The number of violations or complaints per apartment is one major indication of physical problems. Such a measure has certain difficulties however. If official figures are used, the estimate may be most inaccurate particularly if an inspection has not taken place. Tenant reports may be more up-to-date but still may over- or under-estimate actual conditions. Both figures were recorded where known. Tenant reports seemed more consistent. The existence of building-wide problems, e.g., lack of heat, hot water, or intercom, is often an indication of serious problems.

We have categorized the buildings as having: a) few problems: average, 0-1 violations per apartment; b) moderate problems: 2 or more violations average per apartment; c) serious: average of three or more violations per apartment or a serious problem in the building as a whole--buzzer, heat, hot water, etc.

Tenant Population

Tenant population characteristics include age, size of family, race, citizenship, place of birth and income. For our purposes race and non-citizen status seem most important. Race, because we are studying this as a factor, and non-citizenship, because it seems to represent a major barrier to the effective organization of a building. Non-citizens, many of whom in our neighborhood are from Haiti, are fearful of getting involved in anything that has potential conflict.

In terms of use of some of the insights raised by

"Exit, Voice, and Loyalty" certain tenants are in a better position to exercise the "exit" option. Those that have high incomes, are citizens, are white, and have few children would be in a better position to move if they wanted to. Those who don't possess these characteristics are more likely to have to stay and exercise the voice option or fall back on the loyalty option.

A convenient method of combining population characteristics consistent with the above would be an "ability to leave index" which assumes that income above the median for area population, citizenship, being white, and having no more than two children makes it easier to leave a building or neighborhood.

It is difficult to assign weight to these factors, so an equal value is attached to each, and a score can be derived (1-4) that is the total number of factors for a particular family.

Another factor, payment of higher than average rent, might be also added to this index, although this is not a population characteristic.

Age, per se, does not seem to be a factor of this index.

The turnover in apartments, a sign of deterioration, may be either a factor of physical problems or the ability of tenants to move elsewhere. A tenant who has limited opportunities to move elsewhere may be forced to move, but also may be more motivated to try to bring about change in a building. Welfare, limited income, race, are all factors.

Tenant population measures that were considered:

Actual Racial Mix

- % Black
 - U.S. Born
 - West Indian
 - Haitian
- % Hispanic
- % White

Ages

- % over 60
- % under 40

Economic Level

1. Average income
2. % on welfare

Occupation Level

The above factors were used in the ability-to-leave index

Attitudes and Social Interaction

- Tenants' knowledge of area
- Tenants' perception of area
- Knowledge of neighborhood groups
- Involvement in neighborhood groups
- Future plans of tenants
- Prediction of neighborhood future
- Perception of problems
- Change during program

These latter factors can be summarized as

1. Tenant attitude
2. Involvement in wider community

Leadership and motivation in building

This is obviously a very subjective item but nonetheless important. The only easy way of getting a sense of this is through the worker's own estimates.

Measures Related Directly to the Program

Independent Variables

Community Organization Efforts

1. Activity

number of tenant associations formed
 number of apartments involved
 number of meetings held
 total attendance at meetings
 average attendance per meeting
 number filling out complaint forms
 number of sessions organizer involved in
 number of contacts outside meeting
 number of communications with landlords
 number of HDA conferences

These can be summarized into number of meetings; attendance; actual number and percentage of buildings. Number and percentage filling out complaint forms.

2. Type of worker:

Full-time--trained
 Graduate students
 Community volunteers

3. Character of landlord response and involvement to

tenant demands, e.g., denial, hostility, avoidance,
 acceptance with excuses, acceptance with cooperation.

Measures of Actual Changes

The following are selected in terms of measures of actual change:

1. Physical change - change in number of violations
2. Racial change - actual change in ethnic or economic patterns - actual changes from beginning to end of time period. Where appropriate, this was contrasted with population estimates to test selective effect of program. Use of school enrollment figures by racial group was not used because of difficulty in obtaining such data.
3. Involvement in neighborhood activities
This was developed from actual observation after questionnaire use did not prove feasible.

Other factors that may play a role

Status of mortgage and financing
Tax arrearage
Insurance problems
Professional management
Frequent ownership changes

Factors not considered critical

Rent control

In terms of rent control, almost all buildings have some combination of rent-controlled and rent-stabilized tenants. In essence all buildings were previously rent

controlled and as tenants have moved out these units have moved from rent controlled to rent stabilized. A one-time benefit to the owner exists where a rent-controlled tenant moves out and a new tenant moves in. At that point an increase to market-value rent is possible, after which subsequent increases are regulated by law.

This is no longer a crucial factor in categorizing buildings, it was felt.

Cost Benefit Factors

A brief review of cost factors for this work was made to provide an examination of the cost per unit and violation involved. The results are found in the next chapter. These costs are compared to other housing programs.

Measures of Overall Organizational Success

Harold Finestone² discusses evaluation of one group of community organization projects intended to have an impact on juvenile delinquency. While this is not a delinquency project, the site is a local neighborhood and a neighborhood committee is conducting the program. Many of the comments are, therefore, relevant.

"Historically it has proved to be much more feasible to assess the community committees themselves or types of social organizations than it has been to measure their impact on the problem of delinquency."

Quoting Kobrin, he continues about the difficulties,

"at bottom this difficulty rests on the fact that such programs, as efforts to intervene in the life of a person, a group or community, cannot by their very nature constitute more than a subsidiary element in changing the fundamental and sweeping forces which

create the problems of groups and of persons or which shape human personality."

In a similar vein, Finestone quotes Witmer and Tufts' evaluation of the Chicago Area Project for the Children's Bureau:

- "1. Residents of low income areas have organized themselves into effective working units for promoting and conducting welfare programs.
2. These community organizations have been stable and enduring. They raise funds, administer them well, and adapt the programs to local needs.
3. Local talent, otherwise untapped, has been discovered and utilized. Local leadership has been mobilized in the interest of children's welfare."³

Following in this vein, Firestone formulated the following success criteria:

- "1. The relative capacity of the organization of local residents to raise funds.
2. The relative degree of autonomy of the community committee measured by such factors as: a) having an independent facility as a base of operation; b) degree of dependence on outside staff help and c) extent to which members assume initiative and responsibility for managing the program and determining policy.
3. The motivation of local residents for joining the organization . . . To the extent that community committees were comprised of members who joined primarily to seek assistance for their own problems, they would tend to have a less solid and competent membership base.
4. The relative degree of local members of the community committee moving into local structures."⁴

These factors will be reviewed, together with meeting and attendance figures to provide a description of factors related to the total organization.

Both agency notes and the personal notes and

experience of the writer were used to review the general organizational effectiveness and implementation problems.

To summarize several different things seemed important to examine in a review of the projects' results.

In terms of characteristics of the buildings, several factors were identified for special attention. Size of buildings appeared to be a major antecedent variable for buildings. A second factor was physical condition. For the third factor, tenant population, four subfactors were identified as important: race, family size, income and citizenship. These subfactors were combined for an "ability-to-leave index."

Assessment of tenant leadership was another factor deemed important as an antecedent variable. Measures of the program were the amount of tenant association activities, the relative amount of involvement by tenants in the tenants association, the type of worker fully trained, student or volunteers seemed to be an important factor for review.

Outcome factors chosen for review were social change, physical change, tenant involvement in the wider community and change of tenant attitudes.

In addition to the above factors dealing directly with work in buildings, it was felt important to review problems encountered in implementation, cost factors, and the status of the implementary organization itself.

This data is fairly basic information that is either collected in the regular course of implementing a tenant organization program, or which can be fairly easily built into

normal record keeping by workers. Despite this fact, it will be seen that this basic data was sufficient to draw many preliminary inferences and conclusions about the project.

Footnotes for Chapter VI

1. Carol Weis, Evaluation Research (New York: Prentice Hall, 1972), p. 68.
2. Harold Finestone, "Evaluation of Organizations" in Irving A. Spergel, ed., Community Organizations: Studies in Constraint (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1972).
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., pp. 182-183.

CHAPTER VII

FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS

Overview

Following the overall design proposed in the last chapter this chapter reviews the major results of the project.

The review begins with the issues concerning the implementation of the project. It is felt that many of the problems surrounding the start of this project will be met by other neighborhood groups undertaking similar projects.

Because one unusual feature of the project is the auspices under which it is conducted the success of the association as a whole is reviewed. This type of organization seems a viable one for programs of the type discussed.

The problems encountered in implementing an evaluation scheme based on use of questionnaires are discussed, as are the means used to deal with the problems.

The overall working the project and the impact on physical conditions are described as are the differences that size of buildings seem to make on conditions. Impact of type of worker on physical results are discussed.

Racial change in buildings is reviewed, as well as relationship of leadership between association and worker

activity.

The method of verification of worker's estimates is discussed together with tenant attitudes.

Finally, means of improving the project are discussed together with the reasons why the project did not reach a major goal of racial stabilization.

Issues and Problems in Implementation

Some of the major themes in implementation are reviewed below. This is done primarily to serve as a suggestion to others who might implement similar projects for avoiding or handling better some of the problems.

Was the Association Ready for the Program?

The association up to the time of the initiation of the program was small and its activities fairly limited. A house tour was run each year and a newspaper published but others were fairly limited and sporadic based on interests of volunteers.

Only a year or two earlier the association had really no program to deal with area problems. Board meetings consisted of each member telling what was happening in the area and what involvements, if any, he had in other area activities. The association itself did not see as its function to take leadership in dealing with neighborhood problems. This had changed, but still a basic concern was whether we were moving too fast in taking on this program.

Is a Program for Tenants Really Wanted?

There had been an acknowledgement that apartment dwellers had problems that should be dealt with. There was also a feeling that tenant groups should be formed to work on common problems in each building. Mention of this was made in the area newspaper from time to time. There was also some concrete volunteer help provided to a few tenant groups by board members.

It was, however, clear that this was not a high priority for the association, e.g., the area newspaper was seldom distributed in multiple dwellings, most of the leadership was composed of homeowners as well as most of the activities such as the annual house tours were oriented toward homeowners--middle class and white at that. Many of the residents saw themselves and the association as functioning primarily as a Brownstone Revival group--to "upgrade" the area. An area of unclarity was whether this upgrading assumed that the high percentage of black owners would somehow be changed.

The overt policy was a sound statement of value but the covert policy as expressed in the policy active was to largely ignore the problems associated with multiple dwellings.

The actual activities engaged in by the association made clear where the actual policy lay.

A house tour was sponsored each year by the association. The intent was to establish the area as a brownstone

neighborhood (even though a lot of the houses are of frame construction) and to attract new people to the area. While seldom stated clearly, the assumption was that the people attracted to the area would be white, upper middle class and professional--the type that most of the founders would be happy with.

The newspaper, as mentioned earlier, was widely distributed but almost exclusively to homeowners.

A coordination and communication role was seen by the neighborhood association for itself. Because there was no other neighborhood group, this role was accepted by churches, block associations, etc., in the area.

For some members the program was seen as crucial, for others it wasn't. The program would certainly require some modification in the priorities and perceptions of the association. As the opportunity presented itself to deal in a significant way, there was no real disagreement with moving ahead. What was present, however, was a lack of strong support for the program.

Who Should Be Hired?

A number of questions were raised about the qualifications. To understand the questions it is useful to understand the background of the tenant work in the neighborhood. Three efforts at tenant work preceded the hiring of a full-time organizer. In the first a resident lawyer, a former tenant in the area himself, worked with several buildings. These organizing efforts seemed to be fairly

successful and made heavy use of legal threats against the landlords.

A second effort came from an MSW student being assigned to work in several buildings during 1972-73. This student was placed with the local Office of Neighborhood Government.

For the summer of 1973 a small grant from the United Church of Christ Metropolitan Housing Task Force allowed the hiring of two part-time "organizers."

One organizer was a woman who had apparently successfully developed a tenants group in her own area apartment building. The other was a man, an assistant to a city official, who had organized several buildings over the course of the summer. The woman could well be described as "grass roots" since she was directly acquainted with the problem and had an ability to relate to others in like circumstances. She did not, however, have the skills required for negotiation with landlords or detailed follow-up. The assistant to the city official saw things from a political viewpoint. All solutions were "I know an official who can solve that problem and I'll take care of it." This approach lacked any understanding of the need to involve tenants in identifying and working on problems that they faced.

This background went into the discussion of qualifications for the community organizer position.

The understanding was that the job could not really be done by volunteers and have the desired impact. Professional background was seen as important, if not for the

tenant work per se, then for the many other tasks that would have to be done. The question came up as to which profession would be the most appropriate. The search committee agreed that while a social work background would not be required it would have some benefits. Of the individuals who had worked on a paid basis in the area, the social worker had certainly seemed the most flexible and able to involve other people in the work.

In addition the possibility of student field placements which would require MSW supervision was an additional incentive to hire a social worker. Naturally this writer was an advocate of the hiring of an MSW, feeling that that would offer the greatest potential to get someone with the needed skills.

It is interesting that for most people what social workers do, or can do, is not well known. Probably this is particularly so for social workers with a specialization in community organization. This seems unfortunate both from the standpoint of the social work profession and of those who could use their services.

Other considerations entered into the selection process. A strong view was that, ideally, the candidate should be from the community. This is no doubt a view that comes from the poverty program and it is also seen as advantageous for the community that is looking for someone with an understanding of the local problems and sentiments. While this was a preference for the committee, this writer

had had experience in OEO funded programs that made him cautious. Often local staff were effectively beyond disciplinary action because they had developed a strong constituency in the community, which was stronger than the board or outside staff. When no local qualified candidates appeared, the committee seemed content to consider non-residents.

Were we hiring a project director or an executive director?

Early in the life of the project questions were raised about the role of the staff person in non-tenant work. The person hired for the position saw her role as having some relationship to all the work of the association. The original proposal called for the "community organizer to spend about 60% of his/her time on tenant-related work and 40% on other work requiring development, liaison or organization." The proposal was silent on a role for ongoing work. It would have been helpful if this had been spelled out. It was an area that was not clear. The combination of a rather outspoken worker, the feeling of "ownership" on the part of those who had been the most involved with the traditional activities and the basic fact that the hiring of staff changed both the nature of the association and the established relationships in the association. To better understand this, Greiner's analysis of five development phases is useful: As a small organization grows, it does so through "creativity." As it develops further, it passes through a "crisis

of leadership" in order to go on to further "growth through direction." In essence, the introduction of staff introduced a crisis of leadership to the organization.

The initial perceptions of most people seemed to be that we were hiring a project director to deal with new programs. A few others including the writer saw the hiring of a full-time staff member more as employing an executive director. While the writer perceived that there were bound to be "growing pains" with the hiring of staff, he did not have enough foresight to avoid at least some of the problems by making sure the board was clear about the implications of what they were doing by hiring staff.

Who Was to Pay for the Staff?

Arising out of the prior problem was a concern about who was responsible for paying for the new staff. If the staff person was seen as a special project initiated principally by outside funds then the obligation could remain there and the community did not have a special obligation to pay for continuing support. The loss of the worker would mean the loss of a useful but essentially adjunctive function.

If, on the other hand, the staff person was an executive director, then the community had a central role in funding continuation and his or her loss would be a reduction in the central capacity of the association.

This problem showed itself in several ways. There

was considerable reluctance to carry on aggressive fund raising. Even some of the board members when discussions of raising funds occurred expressed resistance to going much beyond the minimum dues required. Similar resistance was encountered with the notion of going to community residents with an appeal for substantial contributions. No doubt some of this resistance was due to some heavy handedness in presenting the idea and the fact it was strongly advanced by one of the least popular and most insensitive board members. The reasons seem to be considerably beyond this sort of explanation. As in the previous discussion of staff role, clearly the leadership was not completely prepared or ready to accept changes that came with hiring staff. Whether such a group is ever completely "ready" for such changes is open to question. All of the subtle organizational changes required to implement major changes in function can never be completely prepared for.

Two changes were central. The first was that staff posed a threat to established power and friendship relationships that people had considerable investment in. Second was the basic need to change the perception of many members to that of a broader view of the association as an instrument to bring about community change.

In addition, there was great resistance to attempts to earmark funds from various fundraising efforts for two accounts: traditional activities and "the organizer."

Overall Organization Success

Using Firestone's² criteria for organizational success, we can review the work of the neighborhood association.

Fund Raising

The association has been able to remain financially alive for three years. The major sources of funds are these: United Church of Christ Housing Task Force, foundations, banks, and local contributions.

The amount raised locally has increased over the course of time. In 1973 it was about 10%, currently it is about 20%. Note that no one source of funds accounts for more than 24%, a factor that aids autonomy.

Degree of Autonomy

While the association does not have an independent facility for its operation, its physical space needs are fairly modest. The church which has been used has presented no problems (except perhaps haphazard maintenance). The church is socially oriented with the minister feeling that the work of the association assumes some of the action he would otherwise be obligated to be involved with. No interference with use of the facility has ever arisen. The association seems moderately autonomous in this regard therefore.

A single full-time person is employed. He is supported by graduate students and a part-time secretary. While the tenant organizing work is heavily dependent on

staff, even here there is heavy volunteer involvement, both in direct organizing and in setting policy for tenant work. In other programs, there tends to be even higher involvement of non-staff and some activities, e.g., the newspaper, fair, house tour and publicity committee, function almost entirely on volunteer resources. While in any situation where staff is involved there is an interest in getting staff recommendations, there is strong independence among board members with the staff person losing on some recommendations and having others modified.

Motivation for joining--While most involvement in local neighborhood groups probably has an element of self-interest, one has very little sense of people getting involved primarily to solve their own individual problems. For some, the involvement is to solve the problems of their building. For an even greater number, the involvement seems to be work for a better "community." This still involves self-interest--a better community benefits everyone --but it is at a much different level than working for personal benefit alone.

Members in local structures--There is some representation of members in other local civic associations and block associations. The local planning board has had as many as four members of the association sitting on it at one time. All major churches and temples have some relationship with the association. The association has been involved in joint efforts with other groups outside the

immediate neighborhood in dealing with problems of redlining and the revitalization of Flatbush Avenue. A number of members have been involved with promotion of candidates for public office, e.g., the local assemblyman. Four members of the association have run for the local school board.

Problems in Implementing Original Evaluation Design--
Alternates Utilized

A questionnaire was sent to all tenants in three buildings on a pretest basis: results are presented below.

The response, even with a reminder, was disappointing and clearly precluded use of the questionnaire to validly measure the impact of the program in buildings. A different and less desirable method was employed to assess results in buildings.

As part of the organizing process, each tenant in a building being organized was asked to fill out a complaint form which included identifying information, rent and date of move-in. Space was provided for check-off of complaints by type and location.

This information and worker estimates served as basic information for each building. To help validate the workers' estimates, a stratified sample of tenants in buildings was contacted and interviewed to verify information.

Questionnaires were sent to 122 tenants in three buildings as a pretest. Even with a reminder only nine (7.4%) of the tenants responded. It was felt that this

response was far too small to permit drawing any valid conclusions.

Most of the respondents (6) were under forty-five, had an average of .45 children, and had an income of \$10-\$18,000. Two were nurses and three were clericals. Seven were blacks and two were not citizens. They had lived in the building an average of seven years.

All in the organized buildings knew there was a tenants association. Three identified PLGNA as a neighborhood-wide group. Other groups that tenants saw as useful were youth and senior citizen groups, citizens patrols and sanitation groups.

Convenience to transportation and shopping were liked by respondents. Management services, price of apartment, things to do in the community, and tenant groups were things tenants were not satisfied with.

Overall, tenants felt that the schools, their building, their block and neighborhood were all getting worse, with greatest negative feelings being expressed about the neighborhood.

Similarly, a questionnaire was sent to landlords and agents where the information was recorded by workers.

Of the fifty-three survey forms sent to landlords only two were returned completed, less than a 4% response. One owner sent an apologetic letter, saying that no data could be made available. A fourth sent a listing of apartments vacated but not the survey form. It was felt that

even a reminder would not yield a large enough response to form a valid sample.

One of the respondents felt fairly positive about the area, feeling that it was staying the same. The other felt that things were getting worse. Areas of agreement showed insurance, selling the property for a good return, turnover as problems both landlords found. Other responses were mixed.

Neither landlord was interested in selling his property but perhaps this was a realization that selling was not a realistic possibility. One respondent added to the question "management is now our prime business; buyers for this type of property are looking to 'steal property' and so will give little or any cash."

An alternate means of assessment had to be found to deal with the obvious limitations of tenant and landlord surveys. A major source of data, workers records and estimates were utilized to identify initial data about buildings, activity and results. To verify workers' assessments, it was decided to use a verification process by contacting selected tenants and tenant leaders from buildings. The verification process is described later. The results from this alternate data collection method are reviewed in the following section.

RESULTS OF ALTERNATE DATA COLLECTION METHOD

Most of the buildings organized came from recruiting efforts of the association. The service was made known in the association's newsletter. In addition, flyers were posted on corners, in storefronts and high traffic locations inviting

people to call the office or attend a meeting of the Tenants Clinic which was a series of meetings where problems of buildings could be discussed and potential solutions and strategies of solutions could be dealt with.

It is estimated that 40% called in through reading the newspaper and 60% came as a result of flyers.

Buildings Organized

As can be seen by the attached tables, a substantial number of buildings were dealt with by the project. A total of sixty-four buildings, with over 3,700 apartments, were involved in the project.

If one assumes a minimum of three persons in an apartment, over eleven thousand persons live in the affected apartments.

An additional three buildings were not used in compiling figures because they were either out of the area or had such a limited involvement as to be best described as contacts rather than actual work.

About 22% of the buildings and about 4% of the apartments served were those buildings that had 16 or fewer apartments and were classified as small for the purposes of the project.

About 14% of the buildings and 7% of the apartments were in medium buildings, those with 17-35 units.

The bulk of the buildings (64%) and apartments (89%) were in large buildings, those with 36 or more apartments.

Differences Between Groups of Buildings

In looking at initial physical conditions in buildings, it is clear that substantial differences existed in different sized buildings (see Table 1).

Almost all of the small buildings (93%) were assessed as being in poor condition. In fact only one was listed as fair.

For medium-sized buildings the picture improves somewhat with five (56%) being poor, three (33%) being fair and one (11%) being assessed as good.

In large buildings ten (24%) were rated poor, twenty-two (54%) were rated fair and nine (22%) were rated as good.

Physical Changes

In terms of improvement it is clear that most of the buildings improved physically (Table 2). Forty-four (nearly 69%) had good improvement. Seven (11%) had some improvement. Eleven (7%) remained the same and two (3%) declined. Both of the cases of decline were severe, resulting in abandonment, although one of these abandoned buildings is again being made ready for occupancy.

While differences in relative improvements occurred based on size of buildings, there were relatively small numbers of buildings in each category which makes results based on size somewhat inconclusive because small numbers in each category did not allow statistically significant tests. However, it is clear that substantial improvement occurred in each size building and from various initial building conditions.

TABLE 1
 NUMBER OF BUILDINGS AND NUMBER OF UNITS
 DEALT WITH BY SIZE AND INITIAL PHYSICAL CONDITION

<u>Building Size and Initial Condition</u>	<u># of Buildings</u>	<u># of Units</u>
Small		
Poor	13	135
Fair	1	16
Good	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
Total Small	14 (22%)	151 (4%)
Medium		
Poor	5	126
Fair	3	90
Good	<u>1</u>	<u>30</u>
Total Medium	9 (14%)	246 (7%)
Large		
Poor	10	694
Fair	22	1769
Good	<u>9</u>	<u>846</u>
Total Large	41 (64%)	3309 (89%)
<hr/>		
TOTAL	64 (100%)	3706 (100%)

TABLE 2.

INITIAL PHYSICAL CONDITIONS OF BUILDINGS
AND OUTCOMES AT END OF PROJECT

Building Size and Initial Condition	# of Buildings	Good Improvement	Some Improvement	Same Condition	Decline
Small					
Poor	13	10	0	2	1 (Abandoned)
Fair	1	1	-	-	-
Good	0	-	-	-	-
Sub-total	14	11 (79%)	0	2 (14%)	1 (7%)
Medium					
Poor	5	4	-	-	1 (Abandoned)
Fair	3	2	-	1	-
Good	1	-	-	1	-
Sub-total	9	6 (67%)	0	2 (22%)	1 (11%)
Large					
Poor	10	6	3	1	-
Fair	22	16	3	3	-
Good	9	5	1	3	-
Sub-total	41	27 (66%)	7 (17%)	7 (17%)	0
TOTALS	64	44 (69%)	7 (11%)	11 (17%)	2 (3%)

Investment by Landlords

The project seems to have resulted in a considerable increase of investment in maintenance of area buildings. The clearest example of this was a large building in particularly bad condition. Heat and hot water were sporadic, water pressure low, entrance doors were missing and in general, conditions constituted a hardship to tenants and a considerable nuisance to the rest of the community. Tenant demands were resisted but finally resulted in some frank admissions on the part of the owner that conditions had declined to the point that there was no way that he could make improvements with current rental income. The worker served as a contact between the landlord and sources of potential financing. Considerable negotiation resulted in agreement between the landlord and the Community Preservation Corporation for financing of \$425,000 for needed improvements. Tenants agreed to an increase in rent to help pay for improvements. Most of these improvements have now been completed for a considerable improvement in living conditions in the building.

Changes in other buildings were less dramatic. A number of new boilers were installed and others overhauled. A very conservative figure per building would be \$10,000 for those improved. In addition to the case described above, the \$500,000 spent on the other fifty buildings adds up to a total of nearly a million dollars in area buildings as a result of the program.

What is interesting to note is that there seems to have been an ability to finance most improvements out of

current rent rolls. This obviously would not have been true if buildings were badly deteriorated from the outset. This clearly makes the case for early intervention in a building before problems become too severe.

The negotiating style encouraged by the program, which emphasized meeting with landlords, a gradual escalation of tactics and a realization that landlords may have legitimate problems, keeps open the ability to aid in resolving landlord problems.

Activity During Course of Project

Over the three years covered by the project, the greatest activity was in the September 1975-August 1976 year (Table 3).

More than twice as many buildings were worked on in 1975-76 year as in the first year of the project. The 1975-76 year comprised 64% of the two years' total for 1975-77.

Several reasons can be suggested for this. The first year involved the developing of contacts and office capability and gaining of experience by the worker. For the second year of the project the bulk of the worker's time was spent on tenant work and, in addition, four graduate students who had at least one building assignment were assigned to the area. During the third year of the project the worker devoted substantial time to projects other than tenant work and only two students devoted time to tenant work.

Factors Related to Size of Buildings

Small buildings differ from medium and large buildings in at least two major respects.

TABLE 3
 NUMBER OF BUILDINGS
 INITIATED AND REORGANIZED EACH YEAR

	1974-75	1975-76	1976-77
Small			
Poor	2	7	4
Fair	1	0	0
Good	-	-	-
Sub-total	3	7	4
Medium			
Poor	0	3	3
Fair	3	1	0
Good	0	1	0
Sub-total	3	5	3
Large			
Poor	3	5	4
Fair	5	11	6
Good	2	6	2
Sub-total	10	22	12
TOTAL	16	34	19

First of all, the landlords in small buildings devote only part of their time to building management.

In medium size buildings 66% of owners are part-time managers and in large buildings less than 5% are part-time managers.

The other striking feature is the relatively low rents and the high proportion of rent-controlled tenants in smaller buildings (Table 4). About one-half of the tenants seem to be rent controlled compared to 41% for the medium buildings and 28% in larger buildings. In addition, unit-stabilized tenants in small buildings pay about \$7.00 per room a month less than typical rents in larger buildings.

There is also a trend that seems to show that the difference between rent-controlled and rent-stabilized rents in a particular building decrease as the building category gets larger. Typical differences between rent-controlled and rent-stabilized apartments are found \$15 per room for small and medium buildings and \$10 for large buildings.

These differences are not surprising. As discussed earlier, small buildings are seen by professional operators as uneconomical and are therefore avoided by them. The part-time landlord probably spends less time in a building than the professional does but is less dependent on rents for a living. Both repairs and maximizing rents are likely to be neglected by the part-time landlord.

Economic factors tend to be neglected by community

TABLE 4
 AVERAGE COST PER ROOM IN APARTMENT
 AND PERCENT OF APARTMENTS RENT CONTROLLED

	Rent-Controlled Rent \$/Per Room	% Rent Controlled	Stabilized Rent \$/Per Room	Difference
Small				
Poor	\$28	47%	\$43	\$15
Fair	-	50%	-	-
Good	-	-	-	-
Sub-total		48%		
Medium				
Poor	\$33	42%	\$50	\$17
Fair	\$35	50%	\$50	\$15
Good	\$50	20%	\$50	0
Sub-total		41%		
Large				
Poor	\$39	36%	\$50	\$11
Fair	\$40	28%	\$49	\$ 9
Good	\$48	22%	\$59	\$11
Sub-total		28%		

organizers in housing situations but nonetheless seem important in assessing a building, its economic viability and feasibility of improvements.

To illustrate the disparity in the rent situation let us look at a typical small building of 12 units assuming 50% rent-controlled tenantry. Assuming all apartments have four rooms and typical differences in rent between rent-controlled and stabilized apartments prevail, we have typical rents for small buildings of \$142 a month and large buildings of \$184 a month. This is a difference of \$42 a month per apartment, a considerable difference.

It must be kept in mind that small buildings are inherently more costly per unit to maintain and administer than large buildings. Typically these buildings are less well-maintained, probably at least partly to minimize costs. Unfortunately this means that such buildings because they are poorly kept command a lower market rent than larger buildings. In some ways these small buildings seem doomed to be second rate.

It is well worth noting that estimates by a housing expert interviewed by the writer³ indicated that at least fifteen units would be needed to make employment of a super economically viable. Even in this case, the super would have to be able to make routine repairs and be paid at a below-scale rent.

Smaller buildings do provide a more economical rent for those who require it. Typical stabilized rents which

are assumed to be close to market value rents would be about \$7.00 a room or \$28.00 per apartment per month less in smaller buildings than in larger buildings.

The other beneficial effect this situation has is a surprisingly stable tenantry in small buildings consisting typically of those with lower incomes and the elderly. Among the elderly are a fairly high proportion of whites who stay on, it is assumed, because their rents are lower than anything they could now move into.

This shows something of a dilemma. One way to enhance stability is to hold rents at considerably lower than market values. In doing this, however, the economic viability of the building diminishes and the ability to maintain physical standards declines.

One probably needs to look at the notion that rent control is the cause of housing decline in New York. The figures seem to show that the buildings that would be most affected by a complete elimination of all rent controls would be small buildings which could increase their rent rolls about 20%, or more than twice as much as such an elimination would increase rent rolls in large buildings, which would be about a 9% increase.

Clearly then, rent control's impact is much clearer in small buildings but as an overall effect is probably not nearly as profound as landlord groups would have the public believe.

Despite the relatively low rents and low rent rolls

in small buildings, apparently cash flow is sufficient to permit fairly substantial repairs to be made if tenants organize and present their demands to owners.

Analysis of Rents for Apartments and Rent Rolls in Typical Small and Large Buildings

SMALL BUILDINGS

\$35.50	Average rent per room
<u>x 4</u>	Average rooms in apartment
\$ 142	Average rent per apartment
<u>x 12</u>	Average units in building
\$1,704	Rent roll per month

LARGE BUILDINGS

\$46.00	Average rent per room
<u>x 4</u>	Average rooms in apartment
\$184.00	Average rent per apartment
<u>x 60</u>	Average units in buildings
\$11,040	Rent roll per month

Difference in rent in typical apartments: \$42 per month

Activity and Effectiveness of Types of Staff

The bulk of buildings (64%) were dealt with by the one professional person in the employ of the association, with students and volunteers handling 23% and 12% of the buildings respectively.

There is little difference, seemingly, in the physical results from different types of workers (see Table 5). Size and initial condition of buildings were roughly

TABLE 5

OUTCOMES AND EFFORT BY TYPE OF WORKER

	Percentage (Number) of Buildings Worked With	Average Effort (# of Meetings)	<u>Outcomes by % and (number) of Buildings</u>			
			Good	Some	Same	Decline
MSW	64% (41)	4.68	68%(28)	10%(4)	17%(7)	5%(2)
STUDENT	23% (15)	6	67%(10)	20%(3)	13%(2)	0 (0)
VOLUNTEER	12% (8)	3.75	75%(6)	0 (0)	25%(2)	0 (0)

comparable between students and the full-time staff person.

In comparing effort, clearly the students met more often with their buildings and the volunteers least often. It would appear that the MSW staff person was able to get similar results to those of the students with less effort, i.e., he was more efficient.

An interesting note in looking at the data was that with students and the MSW, in terms of large buildings, buildings in "fair" initial condition received more worker effort than buildings in either "poor" or "good" initial condition. A possible explanation of this might be that such "fair" buildings obviously need help and at the same time are likely to have conditions that improve chances of success (leadership, etc.) and thereby make it easy for workers to justify the effort.

The large buildings category for students and MSW was the only situation where there were enough cases to make any useful comparisons. This data is not incorporated in the tables.

A differential use of volunteers may be in order. They were able (not surprisingly) to devote the least time to buildings. Perhaps they could be used for relatively good buildings with fewer problems. Their role might be seen as a consultant to buildings with strong leadership.

Activity and Outcomes

It seems that there is a clear relationship between amount of worker activity and success in improving buildings

physically (Table 6).

It is also clear that medium sized buildings received greater attention than either small or large buildings.

TABLE 6
 WORKER ACTIVITY AND PHYSICAL OUTCOMES

	All Buildings	Worker Activity			
		Good	Some	Same	Decline
Small					
Poor	4.46	5.2	-	2	2
Fair	4	4	-	-	-
Good	-	-	-	-	-
Medium					
Poor	5.4	5	-	-	7
Fair	6	5.5	-	7	-
Good	4	-	-	4	-
Large					
Poor	4.3	4.67	4.3	2	-
Fair	4.95	5.19	6	2.67	-
Good	4	4.8	2	3.3	-

Worker activity is defined as average number of meetings with tenant leaders and groups.

Leadership Activities and Outcomes

There seems to be a close relationship between quality of leadership and worker activity and physical improvement in the building.

Leadership is a critical factor in success although not necessarily a guarantee of success.

There seems to be some relationship between both size and initial physical conditions with medium buildings having the highest ratings on leadership and most worker activity.

One could suggest that leadership is often an important factor in determining the amount of worker activity that will be devoted to a building. If a worker judges the situation in a building as not having much chance for success because of limitations in leadership, he is less likely to devote as much time to it.

Leadership among building tenants is a crucial factor in success. The strategy on which the program depends is based on development of a strong tenants' association in each building.

Leadership is essential to the success of the tenant organization and if it is weak or out of touch with the needs of the group may cause it to fail.

One factor seems important to successful development of good leadership in a building. This is that the worker should not push the organization to identify leadership early in the process. This in practice means that a permanent leadership group should be selected by tenants only after several meetings. Otherwise the group may have to live with

unrepresentative or inappropriate leadership. In one case a woman who contacted the association on behalf of her building represented a small divisive faction in the building. In another the leader proved incapable of follow-up in decisions made by the group and replacement was an upsetting process for all concerned.

It seems important for effectiveness that the worker seek to aid the identified leadership during and between meetings. Up to a point, the more a worker met with the group and leadership the more effective the group was. In this light it seems reasonable to point out that there can be too many meetings. Meetings should have a purpose and should be avoided if there is no clear agenda.

It is important to understand that any leader or group of leaders is going to have some limitations and that the role of the organizer will vary from group to group as he or she attempts to perform those duties that present leadership is not able to.

Tenant Activity and Involvement

There seems to be a close relationship between tenant activity and tenant involvement. (Table 8) To some extent the data may reflect utilization of worker estimates to complete data where building data was incomplete.

Nonetheless activity obviously must take place if involvement is to occur and up to a point involvement should increase if activity increases.

Again, either tenant activity or involvement are no

TABLE 7

TENANT LEADERSHIP COMPARED TO ACTIVITY AND OUTCOME

	Leadership				
	All	Good	Some	Same	Decline
Small					
Poor	1.8	2.0	-	1.5	1
Fair	2.0	2.0	-	-	-
Good	-	-	-	-	-
Medium					
Poor	2.4	2.25	-	-	3
Fair	2.6	2.5	-	2	-
Good	2.0	2.0	-	-	-
Large					
Poor	1.7	1.5	2.3	1.0	-
Fair	2.5	2.75	2.33	1.3	-
Good	2.56	3.0	3.0	1.0	-

Based on three-point scale of worker estimate of leadership:

1 = Poor 2 = Fair 3 = Good

TABLE 8

TENANT ACTIVITY AND INVOLVEMENT
 COMPARED TO PHYSICAL OUTCOMES

Size and Initial Condition of Building	Tenant Activity and (Involvement) By Physical Outcomes				
	All	Good	Some	Same	Decline
Small					
Poor	2.0(1.9)	2.2(2.2)	-	1.5(1.0)	1.0(1.0)
Fair	2.0(2.0)	2.0(2.0)	-	-	-
Good	-	-	-	-	-
Medium					
Poor	3.0(2.8)	3.0(3.0)	-	-	3.0(2.75)
Fair	3.0(2.0)	3.0(2.0)	-	3.0(2.0)	-
Good	2.0(2.0)	-	-	2.0(2.0)	-
Large					
Poor	1.9(1.9)	2.0(2.0)	3.0(3.0)	1.0(1.0)	-
Fair	2.5(2.36)	2.68(2.56)	2.67(2.67)	1.33(1.33)	-
Good	2.2(2.11)	2.8(2.8)	1.0(1.0)	1.33(1.67)	-

Based on worker estimates of activity and involvement using following scale:

Tenant Activity: 1 - Limited (1-2 Meetings); 2 - Moderate (3-4 Meetings); 3 - High (5+ Meetings)

Tenant Involvement: 1 - Limited (less than 40% of tenants involved); 2 - Fair (40-60% involved); 3 - High (60%+ involved).

guarantee of success, e.g., the decline situations in medium size buildings show that despite involvement and activity decline still occurred.

As in leadership and worker activity, medium size buildings seem to have the highest scores.

Ability to Leave and Racial and Physical Factors

There appears to be a relationship between initial physical condition of the building and ability to leave (Table 9).

Whether this is a cause or result of physical and other conditions in buildings is open to some question.

What is apparent, however, is that there is a clear racial and socio-economic relationship in buildings, with better buildings having fewer minorities and more families of higher income and fewer barriers to leaving, such as large families.

Summary of Factors Related to

Physical Improvement

As a group medium size buildings had the most success. One hypothesis that could be offered is that medium size buildings are, by their nature, easier to organize because there are sufficient people to make meetings seem well attended (unlike the small buildings) but not too large to make involvement unwieldy (as in the case in large meetings). Medium size buildings offer a certain degree of intimacy while at the same time offering a feeling of mutual support. Leadership, tenant involvement and activity and worker

TABLE 9
 AVERAGE ABILITY TO LEAVE INDICES*

	All Buildings	Physical Outcomes			
		Good	Some	Same	Decline
Small					
Poor	2.46	2.4	-	2.5	3
Fair	3.0	3.0	-	-	-
Good	-	-	-	-	-
Medium					
Poor	2.8	2.7	-	-	3
Fair	3.0	2.5	-	4	-
Good	4.0	-	-	4	-
Large					
Pocr	3.0	3.0	4.0	2.0	-
Fair	3.55	3.6	3.3	3.3	-
Good	3.88	3.8	4.0	4.0	-

Ability to Leave Index is based on a four-point scale of racial and socio-economic factors (see text) with 4 representing the highest ability to leave (or the fewest barriers to leave).

activity, all related to success, seem easier to achieve in medium size buildings.

Similarly, "fair" buildings seemed to be more successful than either poor or good buildings. This may be partly because leadership and consequent worker activity may be harder to develop in buildings where either the conditions have gotten too bad or where conditions have not gotten bad enough to mobilize tenants and leadership.

Racial Change

We have seen that the project seems to have had positive effect in improving physical condition of buildings and have discussed some of the aspects of this.

It will be recalled that a basic assumption in the approach chosen was that by dealing with concrete problems the chances of enhancement of racial stabilization would be improved.

We will now look at whether in fact there was a racial stabilizing effect from the stabilization and improvement of physical conditions in buildings.

There seems to be little difference in the pattern of change between buildings organized in the first and second years (Cycle I and II) (Table 10). Therefore, little claim can be made that the program has had the intended effect of stabilizing buildings. In fact the verification process described later indicated that whites were no longer moving into any of the buildings. In time this would indicate that the buildings will continue to be increasingly black. The reader

TABLE 10
RACIAL CHANGE IN BUILDINGS

	CYCLE I a			CYCLE II b			CYCLE III c
	Start	End	Ave. % Points	Start	End	Avg. % Points	Start
			of Change Yr.			of Change Yr.	
Percent							
Small							
Poor	65	82.5	8.75	81	86.5	5.5	93.3
Fair	-	-	-	80	95	5	-
Good	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Medium							
Poor	-	-	-	70	78.3	8.3	-
Fair	66.7	85.1	9.2	-	-	-	-
Good	-	-	-	65	75	10	-
Large							
Poor	73	91.7	9.4	74	87	13	80
Fair	69	83	7	70.4	81	10.6	83.5
Good	62.5	80	8.75	70.8	80.8	10	80

a. Cycle I: October 1974 - September 1975

b. Cycle II: October 1975 - September 1976

c. Cycle III: October 1976 - September 1977

Only the start figure is shown for contrast with Cycle I and II.

may recall that an operational definition of segregated housing chosen by some writers is housing which only one group is moving into (see Chapter 3).

It is possible that some effects not revealed by the data may have taken place. The data were based on workers' estimates of change, using increments of five percentage points to indicate change. Increments or differences would have to be fairly large to show an impact.

Because the original evaluation plan called for use of tenant responses to a questionnaire to verify racial level only estimates were made by workers.

There is also a possibility that the impact on class stabilization may have been greater than racial stabilization which would be an important fact of time. Present data cannot ascertain with any assurance these changes because only initial worker estimates were made.

Finally, while certainly the trend to increasingly black buildings is obvious, it is possible that the program did have an effect on rate of change on an overall basis within the area. Reports of problems to the south of the Prospect Lefferts area, an area with a more recent experience of racial change indicates that change was much swifter. Incidents of violence indicate that the change process was less orderly than in the Prospect Lefferts area. Whether the more positive change in the Prospect Lefferts area can be attributed to the project is a question that cannot be answered with available data.

Involvement in the Wider Community

A number of additional people have become involved in the activities of the neighborhood association. Typically, one or two tenants from each building became active in the association although not necessarily on a permanent basis. This has had an important effect on the association, which as noted earlier, had a strong homeowner orientation.

Conversely, the extent of involvement from any building was never extensive in activities outside the tenants' buildings. This would seem to indicate that in general tenant interest in community affairs may be limited to their immediate physical situation. Tenants have much more of an ability to move if they are dissatisfied than homeowners do. This makes for a situation where tenant association activity may vary to a large extent based on intensity of perceived problems. There may be few ties between tenants except for their concern with building problems. This may be particularly so when age and ethnic differences exist.

This may mean that a building has to be organized for another time if initial problems are solved for a while but later recur.

It would seem that a certain minimum level of physical problems have to be present if successful organization is to occur. On the other hand, if problems become too profound tenants may not see hope and be more concerned with "exiting" a bad situation.

For some, participation in an organization may represent a responsibility based on ideology. It is felt that in

this neighborhood, this is more likely to occur among the young, the middle class and whites.

Verification of Worker Estimate

To verify workers' estimates and obtain some impressions of tenant attitudes the following interview procedure was used. Interviews were conducted with tenants on the following basis.

Three buildings were selected from each of the following categories.

1. Small size, poor initial condition; because of the small number of buildings and because almost all were ranked "poor" in terms of initial condition no further breakdown was made.
2. Medium size - Poor initial condition
3. Medium size - Fair initial condition
4. Large size - Poor initial condition
5. Large size - Fair initial conditon

Good buildings were not dealt with.

One tenant leader and two additional tenants in each of the categories were contacted.

In all three persons from each of fifteen buildings were interviewed for a total of forty-five interviews.

Worker estimates seemed to be confirmed in each case by tenants' views, e.g., if a worker had estimated "good" improvement tenants confirmed that either conditions were "somewhat better" or "much better."

Similarly in a building rated as "the same condition,"

tenants stated that building had not changed substantially.

In at least two cases tenants initially noted that the building was worse but on greater discussion indicated that in one case the building was considerably better physically but that the quality of tenants was declining. In another the tenants indicated that while conditions had improved at the point of organizing the landlord was not completing all the work he had promised to do.

The first instance occurred in one of the first buildings in which tenants were interviewed and therefore questions specifically about tenants were asked in subsequent interviews. This subject seems extremely important. Tenants place a great deal of emphasis on quality of other tenants. Beyond provision of the basic services, quality of tenants probably takes on an importance in tenants' minds equal to physical improvements in a building.

Several comments help to illustrate this point. In the building mentioned above the tenant leader said "only welfare is moving in, I've got to leave soon." Others mentioned high turnover, "welfare move in has stopped," "I don't know the people moving in," and "I have a kind of fear about new tenants in the building." Another tenant suggested that the landlady "couldn't wait for good tenants," meaning that people weren't on a waiting list to move in. Still another stated a need to keep the wrong kind of people from "taking over."

Of a less frightening but still annoying nature to tenants is the behavior of new tenants, such as inappropriate

use of incinerators or loud stereos. In the latter case at least five tenants volunteered complaints about this. As much as anything this represents an age difference in new tenants, with race and class being only incidental aspects of the problem.

How one resolves these problems is not clear but at least a need for orientation of new tenants is in order.

What is suggested as an overall need is screening of prospective tenants by landlords. Probably tenants need to stress this with landlords as much as physical conditions in buildings for in the long run the problem of tenants seems to have as much of a destabilizing effect as poor physical conditions.

This sort of program carries with it some value problems which are not easily resolved. Where are tenants who do not fit the image of "good" tenants to move to? In this category are those who are poorer, have more children, are somewhat disruptive in behavior and of course those who are on welfare. How should the housing needs of these people who probably have less access to good housing than most be dealt with while at the same time preventing rapid change in buildings that ultimately benefit no one?

There are no clear answers but some suggestions seem reasonable. Among them are these: 1. Limiting but not excluding less desirable tenants in buildings to levels that are reasonably tolerated by other tenants. 2. Promotion of stronger demand in buildings by more middle-class prospective

tenants so landlords have an actual choice in tenants, and opening up a greater share of the housing market to such tenants so that relatively small transition areas are not required to be the only areas where such tenants can move, and

3. Improving social services delivery to that portion of the families that need and require help to improve their adjustment.

A brief review of Down's suggestions may be worthwhile (see Chapter II). Most of the buildings in the area must be considered segregated if we are to use the definition of the National Opinion Research Organization (see Chapter II). Clearly whites are moving into only a few buildings--those that are large, well-maintained, and with the highest rents.

How Tenants View their Neighborhood

As a by-product of the verification process tenants were also asked their attitudes about the neighborhood. Tenants in small buildings seem about evenly divided on whether conditions in the neighborhood are getting somewhat worse or staying the same. Tenants of medium and large size buildings expressed similar views, with those that felt that the neighborhood was getting better or staying the same equalling those who felt the neighborhood was getting worse.

Security was by far the biggest concern about the neighborhood expressed by tenants. About half as many tenants expressed concerns about the following: sanitation, Flatbush Avenue (the local shopping street), control of

children and youth or adequate play facilities and local schools.

Not all views were negative. The most cited positive feature was convenience, particularly to transportation, others liked the shopping available, one citing a "Model Block" project on Flatbush Avenue. Several cited the availability of the parks, and a number volunteered that it was a "good" or "nice" area or that the area was integrated.

Far more tenants in small buildings appear to be disproportionately dissatisfied with their building and the majority hope to move, a sign of high dissatisfaction.

In medium and large buildings most tenants want to stay, or want to work to make the area better. Only a minority want to move.

Tenant Attitudes and Decisions to Leave

It appears that attitudes about one's neighborhood and building and decision about whether to leave or stay are based on more than physical conditions in a building. In at least three cases white tenant leaders involved in buildings where there were considerable physical improvements moved out of the neighborhood. There may have been reality conditions involved that made a change necessary, e.g., a separation and a retirement, nonetheless two of these tenants represented some of the most active tenants in the area, being involved in association activities beyond their building.

In talking to one of these tenants she cited concerns about physical safety as reasons for moving.

All of this supports the notion discussed in Chapter III that housing conditions relate to a wide variety of factors. It appears that people tend to seek out the best kind of housing they can afford. What is "best" being determined by many factors. Whites may have higher standards for housing or at least more ability to achieve housing that meets their standards.

There may be a difference in life style between blacks and whites in a building, particularly if blacks and whites are of different classes. This is accentuated if age differences are also present between blacks and whites in a building. A likely happening in buildings is blacks with younger families, or several singles occupying the same apartment. These differences in life styles or life cycle may accentuate tendencies for whites to move out.

In reviewing the complaint forms several interesting trends seemed to appear:

1. While there seemed to be a high agreement between tenant complaints and workers' estimate of the building, relative number of tenant complaints as contrasted with workers' estimate of the building seems to overestimate problems in better buildings and understate them in those buildings that are physically in worse condition.
2. Similarly tenants who are older, e.g., those who have lived in a building twenty years or more and are rent controlled tend to list a greater number

of complaints, particularly about building-wide conditions than recently arrived tenants. This is particularly true in buildings with higher levels of socio-economic population. One explanation of these trends may be that as socio-economic status increases expectations increase.

To understand this we might look again at Hirshman's Exit, Voice and Loyalty. These three consumer options operate differentially for various population groups. Older tenants remember different conditions where the building was cleaner, better maintained, quieter and fairly prestigious to live in. They correctly perceive the conditions have changed. For many of the older tenants the exit option has only limited possibility for them. Many have limited assets and income.

Many of the older tenants who can exercise the exit option do so. This loyalty is diminished because they perceive their building to have changed greatly.

Newer tenants perceive things differently, however. For most a move to an area building represents a move up from what they had before. Conditions may well be better than their previous apartment in terms of quality, value, services, and neighborhood amenities. Most important their perception is a present oriented one, they do not perceive a building's decline because their knowledge of the building is only of current conditions. Exit options may also be limited for this group, but they are more motivated to exercise voice options because they have a greater sense

of loyalty to the building.

There is also a realization that relatively minor problems may have as much potential to lower a tenant's estimate of a building as a problem that is very costly to repair. For example, relative cleanliness of public areas is easy to deal with but may have as much impact on a tenant's perception as does a major repair, e.g., a roof.

As a building declines tenant complaints about conditions outside the apartment come close to or exceed those in the individual apartment.

Problem perception as it influences moves is obviously more important than the objective condition.

Similarly motivation to act only comes with a perception that a problem exists and that problem can be dealt with. A sudden reduction in services or change in condition on a building will probably enhance the ability to organize tenants in a building successfully for action (the voice option).

The question of the superintendent's role must be raised. Typically in discussion of housing concerns and housing policy superintendents are barely mentioned. Much more likely to be discussed is the negative role of the landlord.

It should be obvious that most of the day-to-day decisions about a building that most involve the tenants involve the superintendent. This includes maintenance of public areas, repairs in apartments, handling of problem

tenants, arranging for outside services when needed, and often tenant selection.

For example, inadequate heat, a not uncommon problem, may represent (a.) a serious problem with heating equipment, (b.) a conscious decision by the landlord to save money or (c.) a super's failure to operate and maintain the equipment properly. The result from the tenant's standpoint is the same. The remedy may, however, only involve the super's doing his job in an adequate way.

This suggests the need to select supers carefully, to compensate them adequately, to train and supervise them. Particularly in terms of training this might be an area appropriate to local groups to undertake. Some of the new local community management organizations might be utilized to assure quality services needed from supers.

The review of data on the small buildings suggest that they merit special attention and consideration.

These buildings typically have the lowest rents, worst conditions, and highest stability of the buildings in the program. This stability is in terms of length of time in the buildings. Tenants tend to be older and of lower income than typical area tenants. The buildings have typically been integrated and because of lower turnover still have a relatively high percentage of whites, often senior citizens. Because of length of time in the

building a high number of tenants are under rent control. While often there are relatively small differences in rents between rent-controlled and more recent tenants, the buildings with great differences between rent-controlled and more recent tenants were usually small.

Because these building have very low rent rolls it is difficult to secure and maintain adequate superintendent services.

The data on rent in these small buildings suggests that if rent in general was reduced to considerably below average figures, stabilization might be encouraged.

Cost Analysis

In formulating the initial plans for the project it was seen that roughly 60% of staff time would be used for tenant organization work. The non-personal costs can be roughly apportioned on the same basis. Using this breakdown against an average annual budget of \$18,000, about \$10,800 is spent for tenant work per year or \$32,000 for the three year period.

On this basis, with about 21 buildings being served on an annual basis the cost per building is about \$506.

On a per apartment basis this would be \$9.79. On the basis of number of tenants involved in some fashion the per capita costs would be about \$4.89, assuming that 50% of the tenants were involved and these involved tenants each had a family of four.

Unfortunately comparative costs of other programs are not readily available. Nonetheless these costs seem modest when compared to the high cost of new housing or extensively rehabilitated housing. Typical new construction costs are about \$60,000 per unit and rehabilitation cost \$30,000 per unit.⁴ Compared to the small cost per apartment unit of the PLG program, \$9.79, it seems clear that, where applicable, this approach is cost effective and should be employed as broadly as possible. Even compared to the annual interest costs (not principal) of new units, the comparisons are remarkable. Interest costs at 8 1/2% interest for 30 years on a \$60,000 unit would be over \$3,600 annually. Therefore even if the same level of involvement is needed annually it is still cheaper than interest alone for new construction.

General Trends in Racial and Economic Change

An attempt was made to review available statistical data from other sources for a comparison with results from work with apartment buildings.

Unfortunately, comparisons of racial change in the study area are complicated by the fact that some of

the data is collected by health area rather than by census tract levels.

The Prospect Lefferts area lies in three health areas and has no more than a third of any health area. Therefore, comparisons between PLG and surrounding areas are not precise.

The City Planning Commission has done population estimates by ethnic group using vital statistics and such factors as housing data, etc. They are estimates not census figures.

These figures are useful, however, for contrasts. In H.A. 54 note that from 1970-1975 there was a 15% decrease in white population to 40.5%. This is the area which the largest area of PLG lies within and is used as the PLG data in the accompanying chart.

In H.A. 48 there was about 9.9% decline to 31.6% white population. This area is also partly in PLG but also north and east.

In 72.10, an area completely outside the PLG, in Flatbush, a decline of 7.9% in white population occurred to 85.9%. This is an area within Flatbush.

These figures are not surprising. H.A. 53.20, the health area with the highest decline, also has the highest percentage of apartment house units and experienced racial change somewhat later than H.A. 54 and H.A. 48.

H.A. 72.10 has only recently experienced racial

change and both absolute decline and rate of the decline of white population was lower than in other areas.

Traditional racial succession patterns can be compared with these findings. Initial resistance of initial penetration may result in slow change, followed by relatively high change and then lower levels of change again as levels of black population became rather high. Family size has remained fairly stable, according to the data.

Trends in Economic Level

Income

In terms of economics we can get some comparative data by reviewing information supplied by the City Planning Commission.⁶ A tabulation of NYS Income Tax returns for households is done periodically by census tracts. Each tract in the city ranked 1 through 2, 185 with 1 being the lowest. Comparison of relative rankings of tracts (or groups of tracts) over the course of time can give some approximation of relative change in an area economically with respect to other areas in the city.

Using the seven tracts that lie entirely or at least one-half in the PLG area we find that for 1969-74 four census tracts declined in relative rank (in a range of 39-215 places) and that three census Tracts increased (in a range of 86-155) for a net loss of -66 for all seven areas, or less than an average of ten places, a modest decline. The average ranks 689.

We can estimate approximate trends in the areas

immediately surrounding PLG by looking at similar figures for census tracts immediately to the North, East and South of the PLG area. To the West is Prospect Park, therefore we do not have to look at population for this area.

Trends in areas immediately North and East are towards increases. Overall trends in East Flatbush and Flatbush proper are for decline. Even with these trends both East Flatbush and Flatbush had relatively higher actual position in ranking of census tracts in 1974, then those in PLG.

To the North the average census tract gained 184 in relative status. All census tracts increased (the range was 44-389). The average tract ranks 730.

Immediately East of PLG, two tracts increased and one declined for an average increase of 44 in relative rank. The average tract ranks 790.

Further into East Flatbush seven areas increased (range 31-169) and eight declined (29-414) for an overall decline of 34 in relative rank per census tract. The average tract ranks 954.

Immediately to the South of PLG all five tracts declined (range 123-462) for a decline of 268. The average tract ranks 720.

In Flatbush one tract increased (148) and nine tracts declined for an average decline of 180 per tract in relative rank. The average tract ranks 1228.

Dependency

Similarly we can get a sense of relative economic

status by looking at welfare reciprocity data. Such data excludes SSI and Social Security payments so is likely to reflect only changes in younger families.

Data is available by census tracts showing changes from January 1976 to June 1977, a period of a year and a half.

For the same census tracts listed above the results are as follows:

Prospect Lefferts:

Increase by 323 cases to 1,942 cases for a 119% increase

North of PLG:

Increase by 146 cases to 1,573 cases for a 110% increase

East of PLG:

Increase by 61 cases to 236 cases, a 135% increase

South of PLG:

Increase by 543 cases to 1,846 cases for an increase of 142%

East Flatbush:

Increase by 340 cases to 1,897 cases for a 122% increase

Flatbush:

Increase by 495 cases to 2,063 for a change of 132%⁷

The data show that there is a continuing decline in white population in both the PLG area and surrounding areas.

The rates were highest immediately to the East and South of PLG, areas of more recent racial transition than PLG.

The decline in economic indicators were rather more modest than racial change except in the areas south of PLG, the area of most recent racial succession. Very little change occurred in PLG. Interestingly, the area North of PLG showed signs of improvement in economic status. This is an area that experienced racial transition earlier than any other reviewed.

All areas had increases in welfare dependency with the rates to be north of PLG being somewhat less.

This suggests that racial change, particularly South of PLG is occurring and such families have lower incomes than families that are leaving.

The next chapter discusses these findings in terms of hypotheses originally suggested, unanticipated findings and some suggestions for continuation or replication efforts.

CHART 3

TRENDS IN PROSPECT LEFFERTS GARDENS AND ADJACENT AREAS

Factor	Data Source & Period	Data Selected	Socioeconomic and Racial Status of Population					
			PLG	North	East	East Flatbush	South	Flatbush
<u>Income Level</u>	1969 & 1974 NYS Income Tax Data	Average Relative Change in rank Per Area	-10	+184	+44	-34	-268	-180
		Rank at End	689	730	790	954	720	1228
<u>Welfare Reciprocity</u>	Jan. 1976 & June 1977 Public Assistance Data	% In-crease in Period	119%	110	135	122	142	132
		# Cases at End	1942	1573	236	1897	1846	2063
<u>Racial Change</u>	City Planning Commission Estimates 1970 & 1975	Rate of Change	-15%	-9.9		-20		-7.9
		White Level 1975	40.5%	31.6		61.9		85.9

Footnotes for Chapter VII

1. Larry Greiner, "Evolutional Revolution as Organizations Grow," Harvard Business Review, July-August, 1972, pp. 37-46.
2. Harold Finestone.
3. Interview with Reuben Dobbis, Housing Specialist, Community Development Agency, May 15, 1977.
4. Unpublished data supplied by the City Planning Commission, April, 1977.
5. Ibid.
6. NYC Department of Social Service, unpublished data, January, 1976 and June, 1977.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

Review of Goals and Hypotheses

A number of goals and hypotheses were proposed regarding the project (see pages 111-112 and 145-147). These are reviewed below.

1. Tenant organization is effective in slowing physical decline in multiple dwellings.

It seems clear that the project not only slowed physical decline, but improved physical conditions, often dramatically.

Of the 64 buildings dealt with 69% had good improvement and 11% had some improvement. Seventeen percent of the buildings stayed the same and 3% declined. There were over 3,700 apartments in buildings dealt with by the project. One would expect that if no intervention had occurred that a pattern of continuing physical decline would have taken place. Sizable financial commitments were made by landlords that probably otherwise would not have occurred. It is estimated that nearly a million dollars in improvements occurred in buildings dealt with by the project.

2. The more staff effort put into a building, the greater likelihood of strong organization success.

Buildings with "good" improvement showed generally higher worker activity than buildings which had only modest

improvement, no improvement or decline. On the other hand, the amount of effort expended on a building seems to have increasing effect only to a point. Students expended more effort per building than the trained M.S.W. and yet had seemingly similar results. There has to be a reason for a meeting if it is to increase effectiveness.

3. The more organizational success of a tenant's organization the greater the likelihood of overall success.

It is clear that buildings that had a high degree of leadership among tenants and strong involvement and activity of the tenant's association also had a high degree of success in improving physical conditions in their buildings. A key factor seems to be quality of tenant leadership. It appears that leadership may have considerable effect on determining not only the amount of tenant involvement and effort but also to a huge extent may determine how much time the worker expends on a building. Because the strategy of this project depends on tenant organization, a poor tenant leader may discourage substantial worker effort.

It was felt that the worker should not be overly anxious for a group to identify its leadership too early in the organizational process, in order to maximize the possibility of finding leadership that would have broad support and a willingness to stay with the organization's work.

4. Volunteers can be trained as effective building organizers but additional levels of training increases likelihood of success.

Volunteers provided effective service to buildings

which they organized. For the most part volunteers had successfully organized their own buildings and had expressed willingness to aid another building. This probably assured a fairly able group of volunteers who had some proven success.

Volunteer results were similar to M.S.W. and student results. A clear differentiation was that volunteers were able to devote less time to a building than were other types of staff. Assignments seemed to take this into account--the potentially most time consuming buildings being reserved for students or full time staff.

Volunteers carried only a small number of buildings (12%). It appears that volunteers can provide an effective service and are worth the training and supervising time needed to utilize them as building organizers. It would not be realistic, however, to believe that this group could be counted on to carry a major bulk of the buildings. No doubt more extensive efforts to recruit and train volunteers would yield increasingly less effective and experienced volunteers and a point would be reached, fairly quickly, where staff time for supervision and training would not be justified.

5. The appropriate level of consistent organization work is at the neighborhood-wide level rather than on a block or building level. Community organization service on an "as needed" basis rather than a continuous basis is appropriate for the building level.

The majority of buildings that were involved in the project did not have continuous activity during the life of the project. Most of the buildings organized during the

first years, for example, were not active during following years. Building organization seems to be highly related to problems in buildings. When problems are solved the motivation for continuing organization is reduced. In most area buildings there is probably not enough in common between tenants in buildings to provide motivation to meet around social or cultural interests. Similarly it is felt that minor problems are not of sufficient concern to generate interest in continuing organization to meet these problems.

It would be unwise however to see this too negatively. Tenants can be mobilized to deal with what they see as fairly substantial problems. Even in times of relative inactivity a tenants organization can be seen as a potential force for dealing with building problems, should they arise. The fact that a building has been organized and has identified leadership means that should the need arise a organization can be easily mobilized to quickly deal with new problems.

One caution is in order, however. The agency providing community organization staff needs to follow up periodically with tenant leadership to assess whether problems warrant reactivating the association. In this way discouragement on the part of leadership will not prevent work from being done if real problems do exist.

In contrast, the organization at the neighborhood level has been much more consistent. A number of committees of the neighborhood association existed before staff was hired, and these committees continue to be active. The

neighborhood association has been able to draw additional volunteers into its activities over the years and has been able to replace older leaders as they becomes less active. It would appear that a range of concerns exist at a neighborhood level that can attract a continuing group of concerned citizens who want to deal with them. Another reality factor is that a relatively small percentage of residents in a community ever get involved. By expanding the area from where participants are recruited a much broader base is tapped, even if the percentage is the same as one might get from buildings. With a neighborhood focus one tends to attract those that are interested in a specialized issue, e.g., schools or recreation. In this way, interests of those who become involved are more focused on than one would find in a building group, and there is, therefore, probably more similarities between members of these interest centered committees

6. A local community organization can successfully undertake the sponsorship of community development programs, such as this project.

It seems clear that local community groups can very usefully serve as the vehicle to undertake a variety of community development projects. Given the limited financial resources available to the program it has had very high success.

It has been able to reach a large number of buildings and has had considerable success in physical improvements within them. It has been able to involve additional residents in dealing with wider problems of the neighborhood.

The association has also had success in dealing with outside forces (city agencies, banks, etc.) and by serving as the spokesperson for the neighborhood has improved the way these outside forces deal with the neighborhood.

In terms of effectiveness one feels that in this case, a local community group has had more effectiveness than a large bureaucratic agency would have had with similar resources.

A number of reasons for this can be offered: Neighborhood volunteers have been effectively utilized to do many of the tasks that would otherwise have to be paid for. Volunteers have been recruited over the course of time to do reception work, typing, accounting, proposal writing, publicity, fund raising and direct work with problem related groups, to name just some volunteer functions.

Because ours is a large middle class neighborhood with a wide variety of talents among its residents it has been possible to find highly skilled volunteers to do many of the things normally done by staff. These volunteers can be attracted and retained by strong self interest in the results of their volunteer work. If their efforts help the neighborhood, they are directly benefited.

The association is not of such a scale to have to deal with a cumbersome bureaucratic administration. On the other hand, it is no longer a small group of friends. In

some ways the size enables the group to avoid the problems of either bureaucracy or a small primary group.

Overhead costs can be held to a minimum. In addition to the many administrative tasks that are handled by volunteers costs were kept[†] low in a number of other ways. Space costs were minimal because space was donated by a concerned local church. A relatively inexperienced professional was hired as the only paid staff person and his salary reflected the fact that he was just beginning his professional career.

The program is closely tied to the community and has relatively high visibility which aided implementation and helped assure program relevance. The board members, for example, all live or work in the area and are able to see both the neighborhood's problems and the effects of the program on a daily basis and can push for adjustments as needed. Data collection about program results is a fairly simple process and results can be verified in many cases by direct observation.

All this has contributed to the ease with which such a program can make adjustments to meet changing conditions. If a particular approach doesn't seem to yield results changes can be made without a need for elaborate consultations or approvals.

In addition an important factor in maintaining viability has been the fact that the agency has not been a single purpose agency. While housing has been a major focus, the association has been active in many other concerns. Even

within the housing area the association has had the ability to deal with a variety of buildings and has been able to try various approaches, where that seems sensible. Such flexibility (and ability to remain relevant) would not have been opened to an agency committed to a single purpose or narrow approach. Certainly this flexibility has been enhanced by presenting the association to funding sources as a program committed to a variety of area problems and that the soundest way of dealing with a neighborhood is to see the interrelationships between problems.

The notion that community organization in largely middle class neighborhoods was likely to be more successful than similar efforts in lower income areas was confirmed. It would be unlikely that a project in a low income area would be able to achieve similar results. There are several reasons for this no doubt including the fact that residents are likely to be able to devote more time to dealing with problems. They have greater skills and resources to bring to bear on problems and the problems they face are likely to be simpler to cope with.

7. This type of service will be at least as cost effective as other alternate housing programs.

As was noted earlier, average project costs per apartment unit were \$9.79 for apartments dealt with. This cost is based on apportioning costs between housing and non-housing activities on a yearly basis and averaging the costs for all buildings dealt with each year. This cost is far less than either rehabilitation costs or new construction.

Whatever its long term effects its annual costs are extremely low. There appears however, to be strong carry over effect into years where no activity occurs which makes the costs even lower in comparison to some other types of programs. A major reason for the low cost is that this approach is applied at an early stage, when problems have begun to occur, but before they have reached such serious proportions that to remedy them becomes very costly.

8. The following factors will make organizing efforts less effective.

- Small size of building-below 16 units
- Tax arrearage
- Frequent transfer of ownership
- Large number of violations
- High percentage of recent move-ins.

While the size of buildings was seen as a factor that might have effect on organizing ability, the magnitude of the effects were not anticipated.

Small buildings almost always have only a part time manager who is not a real estate professional and is therefore likely to be relatively unskilled in addition to having less time to devote to a building. Small buildings have more rent controlled tenants and both rent controlled and stabilized tenants pay less per room in smaller buildings than in large ones, this despite the fact that operating costs are likely to be more on a per room basis in small buildings.

Leadership is less likely to be rated good in small buildings than in large buildings by workers. Almost all of the small buildings were in poor physical condition initially. Despite this good improvement in physical conditions did take place.

Smaller buildings are likely to have changed socially much earlier than other buildings, have a higher percentage of minorities and tenants are likely to be locked in by low income, low rents and other factors. Therefore these buildings have a fairly stable tenantry.

The substantial differences suggests that different approaches may be called for for small buildings.

Several approaches might be worth exploring. One is to consolidate management, and where feasible, ownership, so that several buildings could be operated as a unit to realize some of the economies of scale found in larger units. This would enable a more professional management to operate the buildings. It would also enable these buildings to have more adequate superintendent services.

A second approach is already being developed by the association, i.e., to convert unused store fronts in these buildings to residential use. Certain tax benefits can accrue to owners for such conversions. This suggestion applies to only a portion of small buildings but such a proposal would have the benefit of both economic improvement to small landlords and would also deal with a community problem of underutilized storefronts. Already the association has had architectural drawings prepared, and has approached owners and banks to attempt to negotiate such a development. It is felt that such ground level apartments would be particularly appropriate for the elderly and handicapped because physical barriers such as status could be eliminated.

A third approach would be to encourage owner occupancy of small buildings either by single owners or cooperatively. Many of these buildings could be made into attractive housing units that could be of interest to owner occupants if financing and physical upgrading were arranged. Indeed many of these small buildings have detailed facades like the popular brownstones in the area. A owner, living on the premises, could handle typical super and management tasks which, would change the economic viability of such buildings. It would be helpful to have a prototype of this type of arrangement developed to test actual cost factors.

In terms of tax arrearage and turnover this data was hard to collect and its availability did not seem to be important from the organizing standpoint. One would have the feeling that such a relationship does occur and if data were easily available would be a useful predictive device. Other more direct means of assessing buildings are available to the organizer, however.

As was mentioned earlier a fair number of problems seem to be needed to mobilize effective tenant organizing. Beyond a certain point, however, violations would seem to discourage both the organizing process and its effectiveness.

There is some turnover in all buildings. Where it is quite high it seems to indicate severe physical problems and would therefore be a limiting factor on organizing ability.

9. Improving the ability of a community to solve problems will contribute to the stability, racial and otherwise, of that community by changing perceptions of residents and potential residents.

This hypothesis was tested using one specific problem, physical decline in multiple dwellings as the problem to be solved. As was seen earlier the program seemed to have clear effects on improving the problem of physical decline. Decline was stopped and improvement, sometimes dramatic, occurred in the majority of the buildings.

There is no evidence, however, that the project had the desired effect on stabilizing buildings socially. Buildings worked on in the first year of the program had a similar racial composition to those where work began in the second and third years of the project.

It may be possible that class change was less profound than racial change and that the social transition was more orderly because of work of the project. These effects were not adequately measured. Nonetheless, the overall goal of racial stabilization was not met.

Why didn't the strategy intended to foster racial stabilization work? A major factor may lie with the assumption that major national population shifts would not take place. Major immigration from the South has ended and even a reversal of earlier trends has been generally noted.

What was not anticipated was a continuing major shift of population within the city itself. Generally the oldest and poorest areas of the city have lost population and somewhat more affluent areas have gained. For example, in a study of designated poverty areas, the Human Resources Administration has estimated that in Brooklyn, Bedford Stuyvesant,

Brownsville, South Brooklyn and Williamsburg lost population (a total of 70,061 persons) but Bushwick, Crown Heights and East New York gained population between 1960 and 1970. Part of the area the project operates in is contained within the Crown Heights poverty area. The net increase for Crown Heights in the ten years is 10,072 but this figure does not reflect the total number moving or the change in incomes; it only indicates net increase.¹ There is no reason to believe that these trends have stopped. There is still a continuing shift of population from the poorer areas to the relatively more affluent with areas further from traditional poverty areas now receiving an immigration.

Probably most of this movement came from people trying to better themselves and their housing condition by moving from an area with more problems to one with fewer problems. Most people were probably those with the most ability to move, i.e., somewhat better incomes, more stable job situations and smaller families--in other words they were high on the ability-to-leave index.

A major reason for this shift has been the substantial building abandonment in the poorest areas. Much of this relates to the uneconomic aspects of many buildings. Probably a substantial part of the abandonment could have been prevented with appropriate policies that assured regular maintenance to prevent costly repairs, adequate financing, etc. The net result, whatever the reasons, has been substantial abandonment, large scale population shifts and a

generally unsettling effect on much of the city. One of the major factors in the early sixties that contributed to substantial in city population shifts was urban renewal. While it was assumed that this was no longer a major factor, its place has been taken by housing abandonment.

Much of this reflects a failure of both housing policy and programs of the city. Much sound housing stock has been lost and continues to be lost because the policy and programs have not been able to maintain a large proportion of housing stock in viable condition.

While the data shows the difficulty in implementing a stabilization policy, it clearly points out the importance of housing conservation and stabilization as key elements in a rational housing policy.

This stabilization needs to take place in low-income areas as well as in areas of higher income. No provision for new construction on a level that can be envisioned, is viable as a solution to housing need if large scale abandonment of relatively sound housing stock is taking place. Present costs per apartment for multiple dwelling construction in New York City typically run above \$60,000. This cost assumes a long life and financing costs in addition to the costs suggested above. A short useful life for housing completely changes the economics and makes an already very costly necessity nearly impossible to provide to large portions of the population.

Obviously a minimum need is for a city-wide housing

policy that emphasizes stabilization, conservation and prevention of abandonment.

Ultimately perhaps we must conclude that a housing policy is limited if it must cope with substantial poverty and the consequent economic pressure that such substantial poverty has on the housing market. It will be recalled that one of the suggested policies needed to deal with problems of housing was to increase income for minorities (see page 23).

In addition a housing market that allows minority group members to move only to ghetto areas in transitional areas as in the present case must naturally create difficulties in stabilizing areas particularly when abandonment forces large in-city migration of people.

To have an impact on the racial patterns that one would want would require considerably more resources than available to this sort of project given the substantial continuing shifts of population within the city.

Given other conditions, principally less shifting of population out of traditional ghettos and additional opportunities for blacks to move into areas now substantially white, this sort of program might be quite useful as a stabilization tool.

While the program did not have the intended effect on racial stabilization, it is clear that it had a significant effect on improving existing housing stock and increasing the involvement of residents in their community. These are

important enough to justify replication of the program in other areas, particularly in light of the modest costs involved.

Some Suggestions for Improving the Program

On the basis of experience to date a number of suggestions for improvement of the project for the future can be suggested.

1. An annual survey of buildings in the area should be conducted to ascertain condition. This should take place whether or not the building has received organizational help from the neighborhood association.
2. There should be development of resources necessary to give at least minimal service to each building. Presently buildings are worked with only if they ask for help.
3. Means should be developed to allow early and adequate identification of leadership in buildings. A crucial problem is how to work where adequate leadership in a building is not forthcoming. The present strategy requires good leadership in a building. A principal reason for failure is this lack of leadership.
4. There is a need to provide some continuing support for ongoing communication with the association and regular meetings once major problems have been solved.

The current program validly assumes constant staff support to organizations, particularly when those affected see no compelling need to meet, is not an efficient use of staff time. Nonetheless a means of identifying early deterioration or decline after improvement and taking steps to overcome it does make sense.

5. A criterion to judge where staff time should be used would be useful. One is faced with some dilemmas. The best buildings may not have a strong motivation for meeting. Buildings in somewhat worse physical shape may be relatively easy to organize and achieve results in. The worst buildings are most likely to be harder to organize and solve problems but solving such problems has the greatest impact on living conditions for tenants and conditions in the general community. An ability to deploy staff resources in either time or skill units needed would be useful.
6. Strategies to deal with buildings which have such serious problems that an organizational approach alone cannot be expected to achieve the needed results should be developed.
7. The emphasis from a stabilization standpoint has been on keeping white tenants in buildings. It would appear that equal emphasis on attraction of tenants should be given and probably some

screening of all tenants black and white should be done. A number of tenant groups in the area have undertaken this on at least an informal basis.

8. As part of this project a means of simpler and clearer recording has been developed that helps to identify most of the important information needed to identify major problems, potential problems and continue ongoing work with the tenant group. Economic data, for example, emerged as an area that should be known because it can give a sense of what a landlord's options might be. Clearly this recording should be used on an ongoing basis and modified as additional data becomes available (see No. 5 above).

General Practice Principles

The organizer should avoid the too simple analysis of the evil 'slumlord' being the simple cause of problem buildings. While it can be seen that greedy, inept or uncaring landlords certainly exist, other problems exist also. These include economic factors which the organizer should be aware of. Guidelines regarding income and expenses should be developed and made available to workers as an aid to judge soundest strategies for a particular building.

A second reality factor that needs to be kept in mind is the role of the superintendent in an apartment building. Whether superintendents perform their job well or not has great effect on the status of the building. The super

may have to be another factor to be included in negotiations with landlords.

It may be useful to think about ways a group like a neighborhood association might be able to deal with the problems of superintendent services. Training programs for supers might be one suggestion. Another might be to develop arrangements where tenants and/or landlords could be assured of dependable service through an organization whose purpose was to contract for provision of superintendent services.

The negotiating style employed by this project maximizes possibilities of landlord cooperation. Tenant demands are portrayed as reasonable and are presented in a way that minimizes confrontation with landlords. The fact that tenants are concerned and responsible probably aids landlords to see that their self interest lies in maintaining the building. Otherwise perhaps only tenants who don't care will be attracted.

The association also tries to make clear the assistance that it makes available to establish contacts with sources of help to landlords, e.g., mortgage help.

Tenants are also encouraged to take responsibility for encouragement of tenants to e.g., place trash in the proper place and similar such that both aid the landlord and aid viability of the building for all tenants.

The use of community organization or more precisely locality development seems quite relevant for urban neighborhoods facing transition.

While many problems a neighborhood faces may not be amenable to local neighborhood efforts, many problems or effects of problems can be dealt with by local neighborhood resources. As was seen, rapid racial change may be a problem that is not likely to have neighborhood solutions if rapid change is going on outside the neighborhood. Many of the effects may, however, be able to be dealt with on a neighborhood basis.

I believe that the project has demonstrated that the capacity of local neighborhoods to deal with problems can be enhanced through development of local democratic mechanisms designed to deal with problems. The effectiveness of these mechanisms can be improved through the addition of fairly limited staff capability. Such staff capability can enable more local residents to become involved and have a role in their neighborhood in ways that strengthen the neighborhood's capability and its residents to solve their own organization differs from other forms of work that put more emphasis on social action or social planning. Keeping in mind that the overall emphasis should be on community development would seem important for maximum success. Similarly, practitioners that keep in mind that coordination and negotiation are strategies to be emphasized and that confrontation is to be employed only as a means of last resort would be most likely to be effective in neighborhood development.

Some of the key principles that seem important in this type of work are:

- Assure broad consensus on goals within the neighborhood.
- Appeal to enlightened self interest and task orientation rather than ideology.
- Emphasize community problem solving ahead of organizational power.
- Be willing to make alliances with groups that have power, resources and influence.

(See Chapter V for further elaboration.)

It is true that involvement can create a sense of community, and that this sense of community can create loyalty which would aid stability. This does not happen automatically or without fail, however. This process is easiest where community is "consciously sought after" to use Hunter's phrase (see page 77). Within multiple dwellings of the type involved in this project it may be very hard to develop a sense of community among residents. For many new apartment dwellers a particular building may seem as another place to leave if conditions get too bad. For many of the older residents their loyalty has been undermined by deterioration of their building from what they remember as a prestige building to, at best, an ordinary building largely occupied by people of different backgrounds than their own--usually younger and with somewhat different values and outlook in life. It is difficult to develop loyalty in such situations.

The black and white residents often live only with demographic integration--physically. They are together but there is no real interaction. One would hope for at

least what Molotch calls "biracial interaction" around common issues (see page 58).

By emphasizing common problems the chance for exercise of the voice option rather than the exit option will be enhanced (see pages 48-50).

What is clear is that physical factors are only one factor determining tenant perception. A variety of tangible and intangible factors help to determine how a tenant will view his situation and ultimately whether he sees his situation as viable or one where he should leave.

One of the most important of these non-physical factors is other tenants. This was frequently raised as a concern by tenants in interviews. This should be kept in mind in negotiations with landlords. Tenants should insist on a voice in determining non discriminatory selection criteria. Who a landlord moves into a building may be as important as how he physically maintains a building. There is also a need for orientation of new tenants and this orientation should include what the building norms are.

While the project did not achieve all that it set out to do particularly in the area of racial stability it achieved a number of useful things. It had strong positive impact on physical conditions in buildings and people got more involved in solving community problems.

Equally important the project has shown that significant impact on a number of problems can be made at a neighborhood level. It has also shown, I believe, that local

neighborhood associations, while rather non traditional from a social work standpoint, can be effective instruments for program operation.

I hope that projects dealing with a variety of neighborhood problems will be attempted by other neighborhood groups and that their results can be shared in ways that advance knowledge and improve effectiveness.

Footnotes for Chapter VIII

1. Abraham C. Burstein, New York Community Corporation Areas (New York: Human Resources Administration, 1972).

APPENDICES

A. Forms:

1. Planner and Record of Activity
2. Monthly Summary of Activity
3. Summary of Building Data
4. Housing Complaint Check List

B. Maps of Area

- Brooklyn Community Districts
- Brooklyn Community District 9
- Health Areas
- Census Tracts

C. Facts About the Prospect Lefferts Gardens Area

D. Tenants Rights and How to Protect Them

E. Survey Instruments

- Tenant's Survey
- Landlord Survey
- Summary of Tenant Interview

F. Administrative Documents

- Time Table
- Initial Budget
- Job Descriptions

APPENDIX A

FORMS

PROSPECT LEFFERTS GARDENS
NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATION, INC.

Planner and Record of Activity

Staff Person _____

Date _____

#	To be done today (# each item)	Appointments, meetings Scheduled events--with whom, # of people	Services Performed & Comments, (In- clude correspondence, Telephone calls*, expenses.	\$
		9		
		10		
		11		
		12		
		1		
		2		
		3		
		4		
		5		
		6		
		7		
		8		
		9		

Other comments: other significant events, more details, re-
sults of others' work, follow-up needed.

* Include titles and purposes

SUMMARY OF BUILDING DATA	
1. Address: _____ Yr. _____ Times Org./Reorg. _____	
2. Size: #Units: Small(1-8) _____ Med(9-16) _____ Large 17+ _____	
3. Initial Problems -- Details:	Assessment: Complaints Physical Condition 1-4 _____ 5-10 _____ 11+ _____
	Landlords' Attitude: Plans: _____ Leadership Good <input type="checkbox"/> Fair <input type="checkbox"/> Poor <input type="checkbox"/>
4. Tenant characteristics %white _____ Above Ave. _____ Income _____ Rents _____ Above _____ Below _____ Ave. _____ %children: 2 or less _____ Citizen _____	Ability to Leave Average Index _____ % Black _____ % Other _____
	5. Type of Worker MSW _____ Student _____ Volunter _____ Name: _____
6. Work: Amount of Effort by Worker	Limited 1-3 contacts _____ moderate 4-6 _____ High 7+ _____
	7a. Amount Tenant Activity Limited 1-2 _____ Fair 3-4 _____ High 5+ _____
8. Involvement-Tenants	Limited Less than 40% _____ Moderate 40-60% _____ Good 60+ % _____
	Steps: Comp. Forms _____ (#) Lawyer letter _____ Landlord Mt _____ Court/HDA _____ LL Agreement _____ Rent Strike _____ Direct Action _____
9. Results: Needed follow-up	Physical Gd Improv. 3+ _____ Some " (1-2) _____ Same Cond. _____ Decline -1 _____
	Comm. Involve _____ More _____ _____ Less _____ _____ Same _____
	Continuing Organization Good <input type="checkbox"/> Fair <input type="checkbox"/> Poor <input type="checkbox"/>
	Racial Change % Black _____ % Other _____ Are. Whites moving in? _____

SUMMARY OF BUILDING DATA PG. 2

Address _____

	Owner	Agent
Name		
Address		
Phone		

Tenant Leaders							
Title							
Name							
Apt.							
Tel. #							

Other Key Tenants							
Name							
Apt.							
Tel. #							

Activity:

Date	Attendance	Action	Follow-up

PROSPECT LEFFERTS GARDENS NEIGHBORHOOD ASSN. INC.
1950 BEDFORD AVENUE
BROOKLYN, N.Y. 11225

(212) 282-8499

252
HOUSING COMPLAINT
CHECK - LIST

INSTRUCTIONS - Place an "X" on the line in front of the condition (and in the box if it applies) that exists in your apartment or building, and fill in the name of the room or area where the condition exists. Use blank lines for items not on the list.

Owner, Agent, or Lessee _____	(PRINT) TENANT _____
STREET _____	STREET _____ APT. _____
BORO _____ ZONE _____	BORO _____ ZONE _____
TEL. # _____	TEL. # (Home) _____ (Other) _____

Present Rent is \$ _____ per month
Number of rooms in apartment _____

Date Tenant moved into apt. _____

INSIDE TENANT'S APARTMENT

1. BACK-UP in _____
2. BELLS not working in apt.
3. CEILING fell falling in _____
4. CEILING leaking in _____ lights flooding
5. CEILINGS or WALLS cracked in _____
- 6E- COLD WATER: none in apt. bldg.
7. DOOR broken or defective in _____ off hinges
9. DOOR TO APT. ENTRANCE not self-closing.
9. DOOR FRAMES broken or sagging in _____
10. DOOR LOCK defective or missing in _____
11. DRAIN obstructed in _____
- 12* ELECTRIC FIXTURES, OUTLETS, or SWITCHES defective, not working, or missing in _____
- 13E- ELECTRIC WIRING exposed or defective in apt. bldg. room.
14. ELECTRICITY/LIGHTS: none in apt. bldg.
15. FAUCETS defective or missing in _____
15. FLOOR sagging, warped, or rotted in _____
- 17E- FLUSHVALVE defective.
18. FUMES/SMOKE entering apt. from _____ gas smell
19. GAS: none in apt. bldg.
20. HOLE in WALL, CEILING, or FLOOR in _____
21. HOT WATER: inadequate none in apt. bldg.
22. PAINTING needed in apt. or room.
23. PLASTER bulging uneven in _____
24. PLUMBING LEAK in _____ flooding
25. RADIATORS or STEAM PIPES defective or leaking in _____
26. RATS in apt. bldg.
27. REFRIGERATOR broken or defective. diabetic tenant
28. STOVE broken or defective. gas smell
29. TILES ON BATHROOM FLOOR broken or missing.
30. TILES ON WALL broken or missing in _____
- 31E- TOILET obstructed.
32. VERMIN (ROACHES or VICE) in apt. bldg.
- 33E- WATER: none in apt. bldg.
34. WATER PRESSURE inadequate in bathr. kitchen
35. WINDOW too loose or stuck in _____
36. WINDOW FRAME or SASH broken or defective in _____
37. WINDOW GLASS broken out cracked in _____

38. _____ missing in _____
39. GARBAGE not collected by superintendent.
40. HEAT: inadequate None
41. _____

OUTSIDE OF BUILDING

50. GARBAGE/RUBBISH ACCUMULATION in _____
51. HOLE in roof. leaking
52. LIGHTS out, inadequate, or defective in court, yard, or front of bldg.
53. REAR YARD dirty or littered.
54. VACANT BUILDING not boarded up at: _____
55. SIDEWALKS are broken or cracked.
56. _____

IN PUBLIC AREAS OF BUILDING

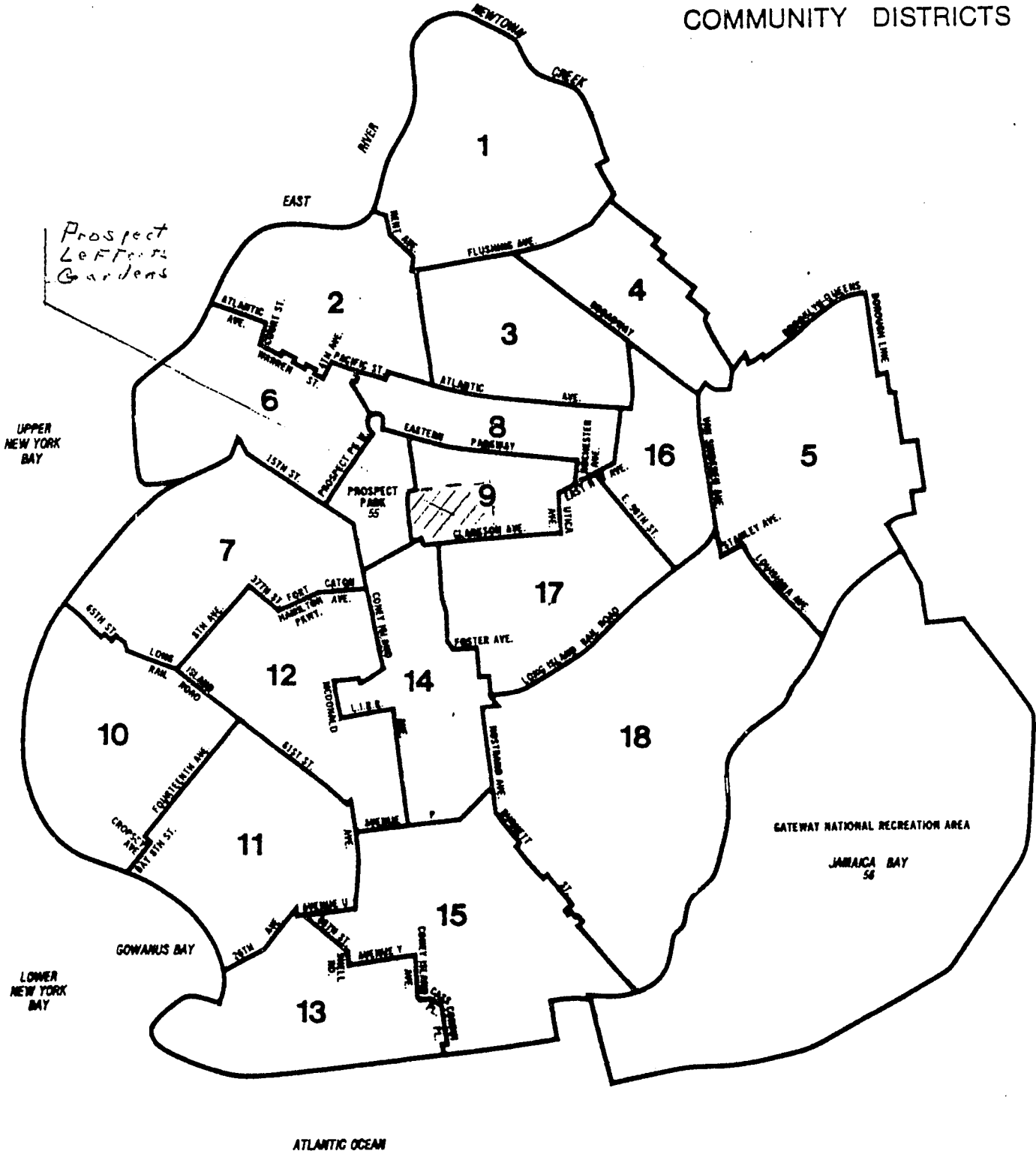
60. BELLS or RETURN BUZZER out of order.
- 61E- BOILER broken or defective. gas smell
62. DOOR to bldg. entrance or vestibule broken off hinges
63. DOOR LOCK to bldg. entrance missing or defective.
- 64** ELEVATOR defective.
- 65** ELEVATOR INSPECTION CARD missing.
- 66E- FIRE ESCAPE rusty, broken, defective, or missing.
67. GARBAGE/RUBBISH ACCUMULATION in _____
68. LEAK public halls base at from _____ flooding
69. LIGHTING inadequate or defective on _____ floor
- 70E- LIGHTS IN PUBLIC HALLS out.
71. LIGHTS IN BASEMENT out, inadequate, or defective.
72. MAILBOX broken or missing.
73. PUBLIC HALLS dirty or paint peeling.
74. RENT RECEIPT: none given no NYC address for LL.
75. STEPS broken or loose (where?) _____ floor
76. SUPERINTENDENT: none for bldg. collapsing
77. WINDOW GLASS broken out cracked on/between floor
78. _____
79. FLOOR NUMBER SIGNS are not posted.
80. BUILDING INSPECTION CARD is not posted in the building's hallway.

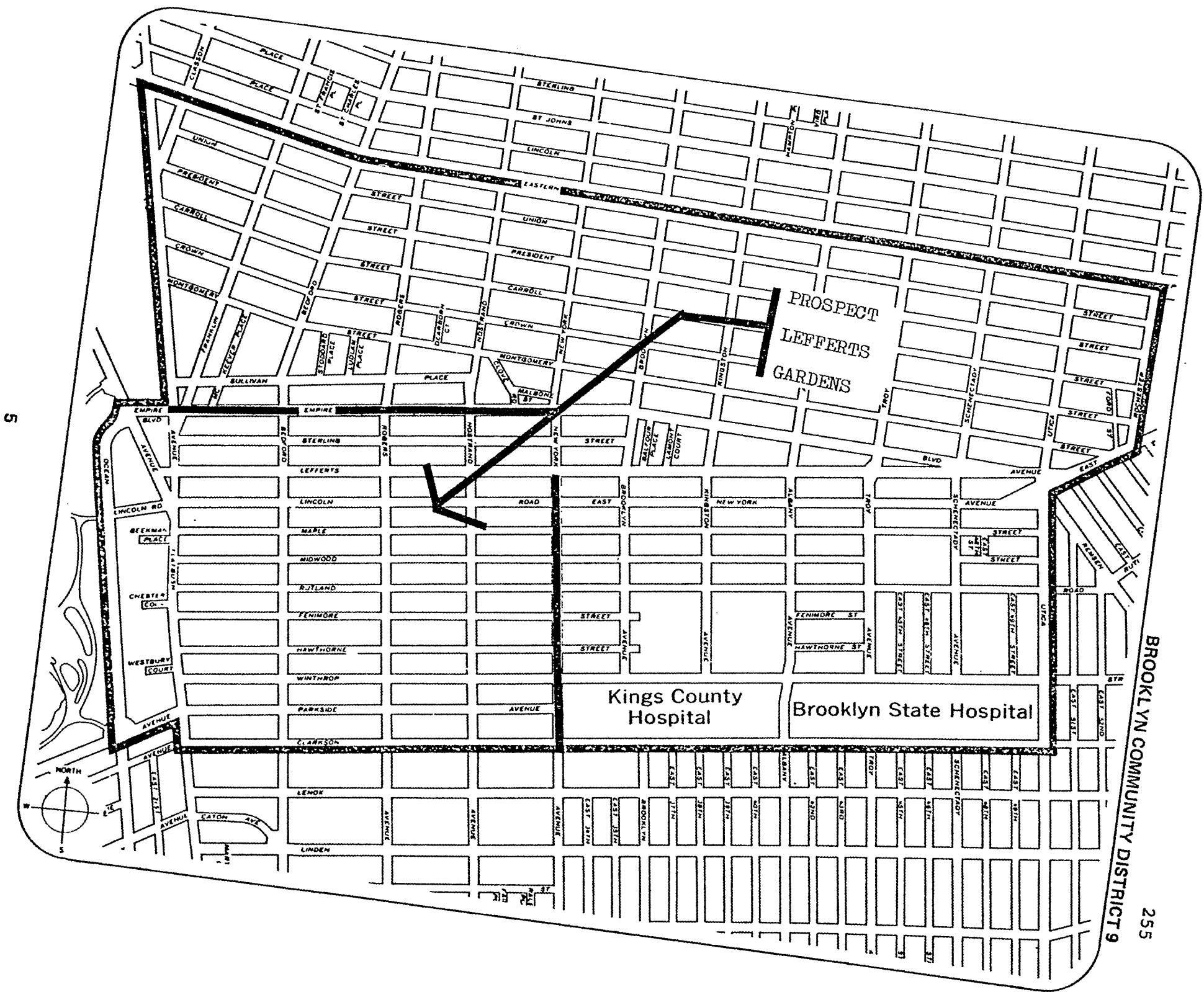
Tenant's Signature _____ APT# _____

APPENDIX B
MAPS OF AREA

Brooklyn

COMMUNITY DISTRICTS





BROOKLYN COMMUNITY DISTRICT 9
255

Health Areas
Used for Comparisons

Prospect Lefferts Gardens

54 - Most of this health area is in PLG

48 - Partly in PLG but also North and East

53.20 - About 1/3 in PLG; remainder to the South of PLG.

East Flatbush

55.20

Flatbush

72.10

These health areas are shown on the map that follows.



Census Tracts
Used for Comparisons

Prospect Lefferts Gardens

327, 329 (1/2), 796 (1/2), 798, 800, 802,
804, 820 (20%), 822 (20%)

North of Prospect Lefferts Gardens

213, 319, 321, 323, 325, 329 (1/2)

East of Prospect Lefferts Gardens

806, 810, 812

South of Prospect Lefferts Gardens

508, 796, 818, 820, 822

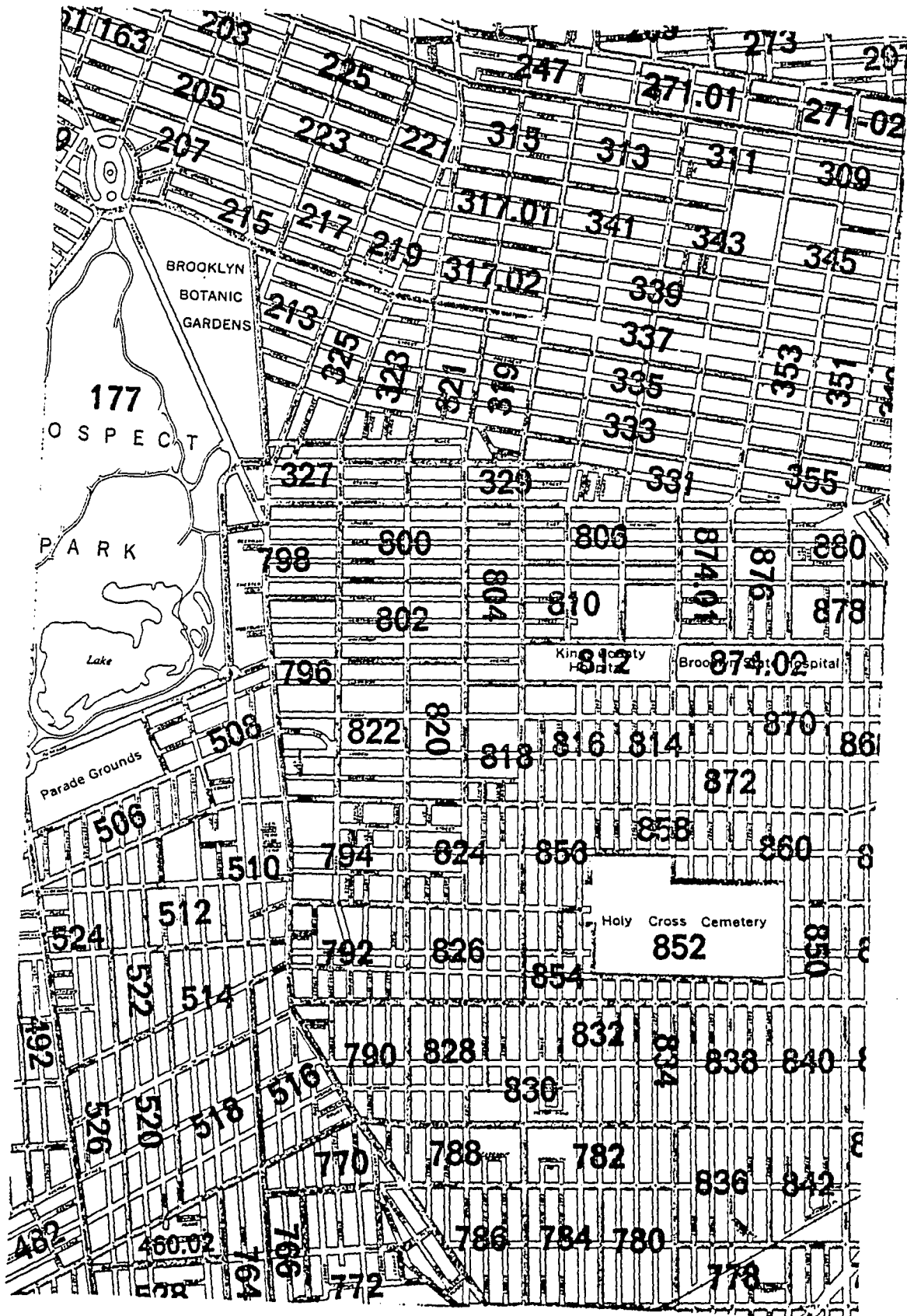
East Flatbush

792, 794, 814, 816, 824, 826, 850, 854,
856, 858, 860, 870, 872, 874.01, 876

Flatbush

506, 510, 512, 514, 516, 518, 520, 522,
524, 526

These tracts are shown on the map that follows.



APPENDIX C
FACTS ABOUT THE PROSPECT
LEFFERTS GARDENS AREA

FACTS ABOUT THE PROSPECT LEFFERTS GARDENS AREA

AREA: PLG encompasses that area of Brooklyn between Empire and Clarkson Avenues and between New York Avenue and Prospect Park. This area contains forty-six city blocks. The area lies between Crown Heights (north), Flatbush (south), East Flatbush (east) and Prospect Park (west). It is located in the geographic heart of Brooklyn.

POPULATION: Approximately 36,500 people live in the area. About 60% of the people are black and 40% are white and others based on current estimate.

In 1970 about 40% of the population was black. A significant portion of the black population is West Indian or Haitian.

About 25% of the community was under 19 and 15% over 65.

About 5% of the population receive public assistance, and about 10% of the population is below the poverty level.

Based on the 1970 census, of those employed, 41% were in clerical or sales positions, 38% in service, transportation, crafts or household work and 21% management, technical or professional positions. The median income \$10,800.

At the last census, 5% of the people were unemployed but this has no doubt increased considerably.

HOUSING: The area contains a wide variety of housing including masonry (brownstone), frame and apartment houses. About eight blocks are contained in Lefferts Manor, a residential area limited by covenant to single family use. This area was subdivided in 1897 by the Lefferts family. The Manor had added to the stability of the surrounding areas. Most families rent their apartments but a substantial proportion (1,800 families) own their own homes. Rents averaged \$95.50 per apartment in 1970 which would be higher today, particularly for new renters. Still rents and house prices are at a level where a wide range population can afford them. Overcrowding is essentially not a problem.

COMMERCE: Principal shopping streets are Flatbush and Nostrand, with Rogers Avenue being a rather marginal commercial street.

HISTORY: The area was farmland between Brooklyn and the Village of Flatbush until the turn of the century. Most of the small houses were developed between 1897 and 1920, and apartment development took place somewhat later. The area has had a long history of being a good residential neighborhood. Despite block busting efforts in the early 1960s and resulting social change, the area has remained sound, particularly in the

owner-occupied buildings. Blight has cropped up in a number of the multiple dwellings. This blight is particularly evident in small buildings that are less likely to have sound management.

The Prospect Lefferts Gardens Neighborhood Association was formed in 1968 and has non-profit, federal tax exempt status. The association was formed by local leaders from major churches and a broad cross section of residents.

The association has always promoted the area as an integrated one and was successful in stemming the effects of block busters. By sponsoring house tours and other programs for the area, many new residents have been attracted to the area. By publishing a newspaper and by sponsoring other events, the positive aspects of the community were promoted among residents.

In the fall of 1974, major fund raising and development efforts enabled the association to hire a full-time professionally trained community organizer whose central focus has been on developing tenant associations to combat deterioration in multiple dwellings.

TRANSPORTATION: The area is served by the BMT/IND and the IRT, both of which have two stations in the area. Bus lines serve the area along all north south areas and East and West along Empire and Parkside-Clarkson. Several other lines terminate near subway stations at the north west and south west of the area.

CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS: The area is contiguous to Prospect Park and the Botanical Gardens. It is within walking distance of Brooklyn Museum and Brooklyn Public Library. A branch library is within the area. The Kings County/Downstate medical complex is contiguous to the area. A group of the Health Insurance Plan is within the area as are other physicians and dentists. Two grade schools and one junior high are physically located in the area. Five major churches and one temple are located in the area. Three city funded day care centers are located in the area.

Prepared in 1974.

APPENDIX D
TENANTS' RIGHTS AND
HOW TO PROTECT THEM

TENANT RIGHTS ...
AND HOW TO PROTECT THEM

Written and Compiled

by

Mike Leiman

Paula Osterbrink

July 1976

PROSPECT LEFFERTS GARDENS
NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATION
1950 Bedford Avenue
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11225
282-8499

BROOKLYN NEIGHBORHOOD
STABILIZATION PROGRAM
NYC COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
2211 Church Avenue, Room 209
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11226
469-9495

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INTRODUCTION

This booklet is intended to give you an idea of your rights as a tenant. It is not a complete list of your rights, but it does cover most of the important ones.

Having rights is one thing, however, enforcing them is something else again. Although New York State and New York City laws guarantee a safe, well-maintained, well-heated apartment, the reality is often quite different. It is not our purpose to discuss why this is so. It is our purpose to explain what you can do to prevent or change unfair and unlawful living conditions.

We have all heard of the phrase "in unity there is strength". We all know how important united action in unions has been for the average working person. The same is true for tenants. The individual tenant is often powerless when the landlord fails to provide proper services. The traditional remedies - complaints to city agencies and the courts - are frequently not as helpful as expected, as most tenants find out soon enough. A landlord is simply too powerful for a single tenant.

But this situation can change when tenants work together. For example, a building PLGNA organized was on a rent strike when three tenants were served with dispossess notices. Thirty of their neighbors accompanied them to court. When the landlord saw all the tenants, he practically leaped out of his seat in court, ran outside and called a lawyer. He didn't expect tenants to stick together. He was intimidated.

This booklet will tell you how to organize a tenant association in your building in order to protect your rights. Better yet, call PLGNA or the Neighborhood Stabilization Office. We'll stay with you while you take action to improve your building and make it a better place to live.

PROSPECT LEFFERTS GARDENS
NEIGHBORHOOD ASSOCIATION
1950 BEDFORD AVENUE
BROOKLYN, N. Y. 11225

282-8499

NEIGHBORHOOD STABILIZATION
PROGRAM
2211 CHURCH AVENUE
BROOKLYN, N.Y. 11226

469-9495

When your building improves, the whole neighborhood benefits. And that's what we're here for. That's what this booklet is all about.

*Mike Leiman
Paula Osterbrink
New York City, July 1976*

PART I: TENANT RIGHTSSOME RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE LANDLORD

BUILDING NUMBER
IS TO BE POSTED
AND NAME OF OWNER
REGISTERED

Owners of multiple dwellings must file a registration statement with the Registration Division of the N.Y.C. Department of Rent and Housing Maintenance. This must identify the owner by name and address of a managing agent who resides or works regularly in the city and who is authorized to make emergency repairs; and list a phone number (not available to the public) within 50 miles of the city where the owner can be reached at all times.

CLEANING

The landlord must keep every part of the building (except the tenants' apartments) and every part of the building's lot clean and free of vermin. This means no trash, rubbish or garbage in the halls, stairs, cellar, roof, stoop, etc. Sidewalks must be kept free of dirt, litter, ice and snow.

EXTERMINATING

The landlord must provide exterminating service as often as necessary to keep the building free from rats, mice and infestation of roaches or other insects.

GARBAGE AND TRASH
DISPOSAL

The landlord must arrange for daily garbage disposal by incinerator or by providing enough covered garbage cans in the building.

HEAT

Landlord must provide heat from October 1st to May 31st. The indoor temperature must be at least 55° between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. whenever the outside temperature is below 40°, and at least 68° between 6 a.m. and 10 p.m. whenever the outside temperature is below 55°.

JANITOR

In a multiple dwelling with 9 or more apartments, janitorial service must be provided by a janitor who lives in the building or within a one block radius, or by a 24 hour janitorial service. If the janitor doesn't live in the building, an easily readable sign must be posted where all tenants can see it which lists the janitor's name, address and phone number. Where

two or three buildings are connected, the same janitor can service them if the total number of dwelling units serviced is 65 or less.

MAINTENANCE AND
REPAIR

The owner must keep the entire building, both inside and outside, in good repair. This includes tenants' apartment walls, ceilings, floors, windows, etc. Plumbing, drainage and sewage systems must be kept in good working order with no leaks, stoppages in toilets, sinks, etc. Appliances installed by the landlord, such as stoves, refrigerators and doorbells, must be kept in good repair.

PAINTING

Re-painting walls and ceilings of public areas and rented rooms in one and two family dwellings must be done by the owner often enough to keep them sanitary. Apartments in buildings having 3 or more apartments must be painted at least every three years. If the tenant has "signed away" these rights, recourse through the Housing Court is still available.

RENT CONTROL AND RENT STABILIZATION

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WHICH TENANTS COME UNDER RENT CONTROL?

In order to come under rent control, a tenant must meet two conditions:

1. Tenant must be living in a building built before February, 1947.
2. Tenant must have moved into current apartment before June 30, 1971.

WHICH TENANTS COME UNDER RENT STABILIZATION?

Tenants living in buildings built between February 1, 1947 and January 1, 1974 come under rent stabilization regulations, as do tenants in tax abated buildings constructed after January 1, 1974. Tenants in buildings built before February 1, 1947 who moved in after June 30, 1971 are also covered by rent stabilization.

WHEN CAN THE RENT GO UP FOR A RENT CONTROLLED TENANT?

There are three times when the rent can be raised for a rent controlled tenant:

1. There can be up to a 7½% increase each year provided the building is maintained properly (more about this later).
2. There can be an increase when the landlord makes a building-wide improvement like putting

in a new intercom or boiler, or when a new appliance is installed in your apartment. NOTE: Such increases are only for new improvements, not for repairing old things that have broken.

3. There can be hardship increase granted if the landlord can prove that the building's profit is below the level established by rent control guidelines.

NOTE: Before you pay any rent increase, you must receive proper notice from the District Rent Office. Pay nothing extra until you do.

WHAT DOES THE LANDLORD HAVE TO DO TO QUALIFY FOR THE ANNUAL 7½% INCREASE?

The landlord must do three things:

1. Remove all rent-impairing violations from the building
2. Remove 80% of all other violations
3. Certify that all essential services (heat, front door security, etc.) are being maintained)

WHAT IF THE LANDLORD DOESN'T MEET THESE REQUIREMENTS?

It is up to the tenant to protest by filing form A-94 with the District Rent Office.

ARE THERE ANY OTHER LIMITATIONS ON HOW HIGH A
RENT CONTROLLED RENT CAN GO?

Yes. Each apartment contains a ceiling rent level that is called the Maximum Base Rent (MBR). Your rent can not go above this figure. In January 1976, the Maximum Base Rent for all rent-controlled units was raised 22% by order of the Commissioner of the Department of Rent and Housing Maintenance. However, tenants pay no more than a 7½% increase per year until the 22% increase in the MBR is reached.

WHEN CAN RENT BE INCREASED IN A STABILIZED APARTMENT?

Rent can go up at three times:

1. An increase is allowed when the tenant signs a renewal lease; the amount of the increase depends on the length of that lease. For example, the following rates are in effect for leases signed after June 30, 1976:

1 year renewal lease, a 6½% increase
 2 year renewal lease, a 8% increase
 3 year renewal lease, a 11% increase

NOTE: The length of the renewal lease is entirely up to the tenant. A landlord must offer a tenant the lease the tenant wants. For new tenants the length of the lease is entirely up to the landlord.

2. A rent increase is allowed when the landlord makes a building-wide improvement, but only if there is a clause in your lease which specifically says the landlord is entitled to such an increase. If not, the landlord must wait to increase your rent until your current lease expires and you are going to sign a renewal.
3. There can be a hardship increase granted if the landlord can prove that the building's profit is below the level established by rent stabilization guidelines.

IS THERE A LIMIT ON THE RENT A LANDLORD CAN CHARGE
A NEW TENANT?

Yes. The rent for a new tenant depends on whether the tenant who just moved out of the apartment was under rent stabilization or rent control.

1. If the last tenant was under rent stabilization, there is an allowable increase over what was paid by the last tenant that depends on the length of your lease.

1 year lease, a 11½% increase

2 year lease, a 13% increase

3 year lease, a 16% increase

To find out what the last tenant was paying, ask the landlord to show you the lease. The landlord is required by law to show it to you and you may appeal to the Conciliation and Appeals Board if this is not done.

2. If the last tenant was under rent control, the landlord may charge a "fair market rent". This may not be more than the rent in similar apartments in the neighborhood. If you think the rent is too high, you may appeal to the Conciliation and Appeals Board.

IS THERE A CEILING ON STABILIZED RENTS?

No.

MUST THE LANDLORD MAINTAIN ESSENTIAL SERVICES?

Yes. This is true for both stabilized and controlled apartments.

WHAT ARE ESSENTIAL SERVICES?

In controlled apartments, they are the services that were provided by the landlord on April 30, 1962. In stabilized apartments, they are the services that were provided on May 31, 1968. This means that any service provided on that date must be maintained by the landlord. For example, if your building had a doorman, or if your building had a

working intercom system on the above date, then these services must be maintained. If any service has been taken away, you should appeal IMMEDIATELY to the District Rent Office or the Conciliation and Appeals Board. Any delay might weaken your argument.

WHAT CAN A TENANT DO IF ESSENTIAL SERVICES ARE NOT BEING MAINTAINED OR THE LANDLORD IS SEEKING TO CHARGE AN ILLEGAL AMOUNT OF RENT?

Protest. Rent Controlled tenants can protest to the District Rent Office. In Brooklyn, it is located at 625 Fulton Street, 643-7570. Rent Stabilized tenants can protest to the Conciliation and Appeals Board which is located at 666 Fifth Avenue in Manhattan, 265-5105.

Organize. Form a tenants association. That is really the most effective thing to do if you want to protect any of your rights.

OTHER RIGHTS

1. You have the right to a safe, well-repaired, livable apartment - The Implied Warranty of Habitability.
2. You have the right to complain to your landlord and superintendent.

3. You have the right to organize and hold meetings in your lobby.
4. All stabilized tenants have the right to a lease.
5. A landlord may charge no more than one month's security deposit for tenants who moved in after May 31, 1968.
6. You are entitled to interest on your security deposit paid to you either annually or when you move out.
7. You are entitled to go on a rent strike (see page 22).
8. If any of your rights are violated you have the right to complain to the:

District Rent Office		Conciliations & Appeals Board
625 Fulton Street	OR	666 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.		New York, N.Y. tel. 265-5105

For those living north of Winthrop Street, the Crown Heights Neighborhood Preservation Program Office at 823 Eastern Parkway, tel. 756-9443 can also be contacted.

9. You have the right to complain to your elected officials.

Congresswoman Elizabeth Holtzman	Assemblyman Mel Miller
1452 Flatbush Avenue	1702 Church Avenue
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11210	Brooklyn, N.Y. 11226

State Senator Jeremiah Bloom	Councilman Leo Katz
110 East 42nd Street	City Hall
New York, N.Y. 10017	New York, N.Y. 10007

Assemblyman George Cincotta
96 Maple Street
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11225

Councilman Theodore Silverman
City Hall
New York, N.Y. 10007

If you are unsure about whom your elected officials are, contact the League of Women Voters at 677-5050.

COMMON BUILDING VIOLATIONS DANGEROUS
TO LIFE, HEALTH & SAFETY

The following building violations are examples of conditions which might prove dangerous to the life, health or safety of you or your family. These violations do not have to be "on record" to be used in court as a defense for non-payment of rent. It is important, however, to make official complaints for two basic reasons:

1. There is a possibility that something might be accomplished by registering a complaint. For example, a landlord response or an inspection by the City within 1-3 months.
2. It puts you on record as having taken some initial action. You have contacted the City and/or the landlord. Therefore, you will have a record of your complaint which can serve as justification for further action.

If any of the following violations are present in your apartment or building, you as an individual can make an official complaint by writing a letter which specifically describes each violation. For example, your complaint must indicate the location of the violation, such as "broken window frame in bedroom". Keep in mind that complaints will be much more effective if they come from a Tenant Association representing many people.

Write to: Chief Inspector
Code Enforcement Office
Central Complaint Bureau
215 West 125th Street
New York, NY 10027

COMMON BUILDING VIOLATIONS

BROKEN ROOF DOOR
RATS, ROACHES or other VERMIN INFESTATION *
DEFECTIVE PLUMBING *
FALLING OR PEELING PLASTER
LEAKS IN CEILING
BROKEN ROOF *
UNLOCKED FRONT DOOR
LACK OF HEAT AND/OR HOT AND COLD WATER *
DEFECTIVE OR EXPOSED ELECTRICAL OUTLETS
LEAK IN GAS APPLIANCES *
LACK OF JANITORIAL SERVICES *
ACCUMULATION OF GARBAGE IN CELLAR OR YARD AREA -
NOT ENOUGH GARBAGE CANS
DEFECTIVE FIRE ESCAPE *
INADEQUATE LIGHTING IN PUBLIC AREAS OF THE BUILDING *
STRUCTURAL DEFECTS *
ENCUMBRANCES (OBJECTS) IN PUBLIC AREAS *
BROKEN WINDOWS
LACK OF POSTED IDENTIFYING FLOOR SIGNS
LACK OF STREET NUMBER ON FRONT OF BUILDING
BROKEN MAILBOXES
BROKEN OR CRACKED SIDEWALK

* These are considered to be rent-impairing violations by the Office of Code Enforcement. If they are not corrected within 6 months the tenant can institute an action in Housing Court which may result in rent abatement.

PART II: . . . AND HOW TO PROTECT THEM

WHAT IS A TENANT ASSOCIATION

When there are problems in your building or apartment you may sometimes feel that you are the only tenant complaining to the landlord or super, and that your complaints are getting you nowhere fast. That may very well be the case.

You can be sure, however, that if you have complaints other tenants in your building are unhappy also. By getting tenants together to talk about problems in your building and to decide on a common strategy for solving them, you will have a better chance of getting some action from the landlord. In numbers there is strength - by joining together with other tenants in your building to work on a common problem, you will not be a lone voice in fighting for your rights as a tenant.

When tenants join together to make their building a better place to live, they are forming a Tenant Association. A Tenant Association can be as formal or informal as tenants may want it. The following are guidelines which may be helpful in starting your Tenant Association.

INVOLVE ALL TENANTS IN YOUR BUILDING

You may want to call a first meeting for all tenants in the building lobby. Pass out flyers to announce the meeting.

DECIDE ON GOALS

What exactly does the Association want to accomplish.

DECIDE ON STRATEGIES FOR ACCOMPLISHING GOALS

What are the steps involved in meeting your goals.
(see page 17)

CHOOSE A STEERING COMMITTEE

The Steering Committee can be three or four tenants who are responsible for keeping things moving in the Association.

Some specific responsibilities might be:

- putting out a Newsletter to keep tenants informed of what is happening within the building
- setting tenant demands
- negotiating these demands with the landlord
- planning to meet other needs of the building, such as a building party or a clean-up of the yard

A Tenant Association usually holds general meetings only when it is necessary. However, the Steering Committee should meet regularly to keep the work of the Association moving forward. Dues can be collected from each apartment so that the Tenant Association can pay for postage, stationery, or other activities the Association may want to sponsor.

A Tenant Association is only as strong as its members. That means working together and staying together, no matter what roadblocks the landlord may set up to try to divide you as tenants. Tenants in a building may not love one another - but the secret of a Tenant Association's strength is that tenants unite and FIGHT TOGETHER toward common goals. The fight for tenants rights takes energy and hard work, but the rewards can be great.

STRATEGIES TO ACCOMPLISH GOALS

There are several strategies that a Tenant Association can follow to try and force the landlord to make repairs. The strategy that is best depends on the seriousness of the problems in the building, the landlord's past performance, the interest of the tenants, and strategies that have been previously used in the building. In general, however, it is often wise to begin by negotiating with the landlord and arranging for an inspection of the building.

A commonly used strategy follows these steps:

- Step 1. Tenants fill out complaint forms and bring them to PLGNA or the Neighborhood Stabilization Office.
- Step 2. Three copies of the complaint forms are made - one is sent to the landlord along with a letter requesting a meeting; another is sent to HDA asking for an inspection; and the third should be kept by the Tenant Association.
- Step 3. Tenants and organizer from PLGNA or the Neighborhood Stabilization Program will meet with the landlord and try to work out a timetable for repairs. Another meeting is set to see if the landlord lives up to the agreements made.
- Step 4. Meanwhile, HDA will notify the organizer when an inspection is scheduled. This can take from 3 weeks to 2 months. The organizer then notifies the tenants so they will be at home for the inspection.

Step 5. After the inspection, HDA can call in the landlord for a meeting concerning any violations found. They can ask the landlord to sign a CONTRACT stating that all violations will be repaired. If the landlord doesn't cooperate, HDA can take the landlord to Housing Court.

There are a number of other strategies which may be useful when employed by themselves or in conjunction with other efforts.

1. Often correspondence from a lawyer is helpful in bringing a reluctant landlord to the bargaining table - both PLGNA and Neighborhood Stabilization can tell you about available lawyers.
2. Petitions from tenants can be useful in letting the landlord know about problems in the building. One instance when the landlord is legally obligated to act on a petition is when 51% of the tenants in the building sign a petition calling for the installation of an intercom system.
3. Publicity through picketing, demonstrating, etc., can be an effective means of embarrassing and pressuring the landlord.
4. Encouraging prospective tenants not to move in to the building by telling them about poor building conditions can hurt the landlord economically.

5. Tenants can make their own repairs and then deduct the cost from their rent. This technique must be used very cautiously because there is no law which specifically says a tenant can do this. It should only be used in the most serious of cases after proper notice has been sent to the landlord.
6. Tenants can take the landlord directly to Housing Court and ask the court to order repairs.
7. One third or more of the tenants residing in a multiple dwelling where there are hazardous conditions can take the landlord to court and ask that an administrator be appointed to run the building. This proceeding is called an Article 7A.
8. The Rent Strike - see following page.

NOTE: In numbers 6, 7 and 8 above, a lawyer should be involved since it is to the advantage of a Tenant Association to have legal representation in court.

HOW TO RUN A RENT STRIKE

The rent strike is the most powerful weapon that a Tenant Association can use. This is because in a rent strike the Tenant Association controls the rent money that the landlord wants, and, as we all know, money is power. That power can work in favor of the Tenant Association if the rent strike is handled correctly.

Individual tenants must not hold rents themselves. All rents must be paid to the Tenant Association which holds all of the rent money. Anyone who does not pay their rent to the Tenant Association is not on the rent strike.

There are three reasons to pay the rent to the Association:

1. It forces the landlord to deal with the entire Tenant Association rather than individuals in order to get the rent money.
2. If the Tenant Association decides to make the repairs itself, the money is available to pay a contractor.
3. Should the landlord issue dispossess notices and the court rules that a tenant must pay the back rent, the money is available. In that way, each tenant on the rent strike should be protected against eviction.

When you decide to go on rent strike, all the money must go to the Tenant Association, otherwise you lose your power and your chance to get things done.

FOLLOW THESE STEPS ON A RENT STRIKE:

The Tenant Association should rent a strong box in a local bank in which all rents are deposited. One tenant is chosen to receive the rent and deposit it; this tenant should also have a notebook to keep records of rent payments and a receipt book to give receipts.

To cover the cost of the strongbox, notebook and receipt books, dues must be collected. The cost will be about \$15, although a little more should be kept on hand for other needs. Tenants pay their rents with a bank money order, a bank check, or a certified check that is made out to themselves. This is done for two reasons:

1. Bank money orders, bank checks or certified checks guarantee that the money is there. (Personal checks can bounce.)
2. When you make them out to yourselves, you guarantee that no one else can take off with your money.

The landlord will, in all likelihood, eventually send out dispossess notices in order to get the money that the tenants now control. Whoever receives a dispossess notice should immediately bring it to the tenant who has been selected to coordinate the dispossess proceeding. This tenant waits 3 days from "the date of service" to see if anybody else gets one, and then brings all the dispossess notices to the Tenant Association lawyer. If you are not represented by counsel, then all those who have received dispossess notices should go down together to

the court clerk at 141 Livingston Street to get the same court date for everyone. Then the Tenant Association subpoenas all HDA records; this will cost \$5.00. Tenants who report to the court clerk by themselves should ask for the same court date that the other rent strikers received. There is strength in numbers. All tenants who can possibly go to court - GO - even those who don't get dispossess notices. Bring with you evidence of the building' condition:

1. previously recorded dates of no heat and hot water.
2. photographs indicating building violations.
3. records you have subpoenaed.

Negotiate with the landlord. If that doesn't work, go to trial. If you lose, don't worry. Only those people who received dispossess notices have to pay; they should have 5 days to do so. Those tenants simply go the the Tenant Association and get their rent checks back and turn them over to the landlord. The other tenants are still on Rent Strike. If you STAY TOGETHER you can ACHIEVE RESULTS.

NOTE: This approach has been successfully used by Tenant Associations even though it is not a statutory legal right. That is, it need not be automatically accepted by the courts if the landlord brings a dispossess proceeding for non-payment of rent. It has been used successfully without undesirable repercussions.

A dispossession notice is the first step in a legal process for a landlord to remove a tenant from an apartment. A tenant should receive a paper that is officially called Notice of Petition and Petition. This is commonly called a "Dispossession". A dispossession is usually served on a tenant for non-payment of rent. The following outlines the usual dispossession procedure, but of course, there is no absolute guarantee that each individual judge will follow it.

ACTION

TENANT

- | | |
|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. Landlord demands rent to be paid within 3 days. | - either pays rent or doesn't pay rent. |
| b. Landlord serves dispossession notice. | - goes to clerk of Housing Court at 141 Livingston Street within 5 days of "date of service" to get court date and answer the dispossession; for example, "There are violations in the apartment". |
| c. Court date arrives. | - Landlord and tenant both appear. |
| d. Judge hears case. | - Tenant defends on grounds that violations exist, rent asked is improper, etc. |
| e. Court dismisses case - | - Tenant wins. |
| or | |
| Judge orders rent paid within 5 days | - Tenant must pay rent; landlord must accept it or tenant may pay rent directly to court clerk. |

- f. If rent is unpaid . - sees lawyer immediately or pays
 after 5 days, land- rent.
 lord may get 72-hour - landlord no longer has to
 Notice of Eviction accept it.
 and serve it on
 tenant.
- g. Marshall comes Mon.-
 Fri., 9-3 p.m. to
 evict tenant.

NOTE: Sometimes unscrupulous landlords who have served a
 dispossession on a tenant will tell the tenant that the
 case will be dropped. The landlord then goes on with
 the case while the tenant is absent and unable to
 present a defense. To prevent this, go to court on
 the appointed date or contact the court clerk at
 643-3665 to make sure the case has been withdrawn.

Also, landlords will sometimes demand a "fee" from
 a tenant for court costs even though the tenant has
 paid the rent and neither the landlord nor the tenant
 has gone to court. This fee is ILLEGAL - it is better
 for the tenant to answer the dispossession and pay the rent
 to the court. Usually a judge will not charge court
 costs to a tenant if there are violations in the
 building or if the tenant did not have the money to
 pay the rent.

"SO YOU'RE THE ONLY ONE COMPLAINING"

A TENANT DIARY

A small group of tenants meet in one of their apartments on February 1. They are disgusted about conditions in the building they live in, 115 Winthrop Street, and the way the landlord has been treating them. "He never returns my calls," says one.

"When I called to complain about no heat during December," adds another, "I got through to him alright. He said he was surprised to hear from me, that I was the only one complaining."

"That's funny," a different tenant says "He told me that I was the only one."

The tenants form an acting steering committee, choose Ms. Dennison as acting chairwoman, and plan a building wide meeting for 8 p.m. in the lobby on the following Wednesday night. They make up flyers to announce the meeting and distribute them under every apartment door.

At the scheduled time and date, seven people are in the lobby. Since 80 families live in the building Ms. Dennison decides they'd better do something. She and several others knock on doors and encourage people to come. By 8:30, 35 tenants are present and the meeting begins.

Although some people are reluctant to get involved, the majority agree to form an Association with Ms. Dennison as president and Ms. Kolter as secretary. Six other people (including three not at the first meeting) are chosen as floor captains. These eight form the steering committee. One of the floor captains explains his feelings: "I figure that unless we're ready to move again, the only alternative is to fight, and this is the best way to do it."

The Association decides to hold off on a rent strike until they've met first with the landlord. Floor captains are given complaint forms provided by a local community group and asked to have each of the tenants on their floors fill one out.

The Steering Committee sets its next meeting for February 24 at 8 p.m. All complaint forms are to be back by then. Ms. Kolter, as secretary, is to send out reminders of the meeting.

Ms. Kolter forgets and only three tenants are present at 8 p.m. Some quick phone calls are made, and the meeting soon convenes with everyone present. 47 complaint forms have been filled out. A letter to the landlord, asking for a meeting, is drafted.

The secretary sends the letter and a copy of the complaint forms to Tessler Bay, the landlord. She also sends a copy to the Housing and Development Administration (HDA), seeking a city inspection.

Mr. Bay responds quickly, calling Ms. Dennison to set up a meeting. "I can only meet during the day," he says. She insists on an evening, then suggests a weekend when tenants would be home. They compromise on 6 p.m., Thursday, at her apartment. Mr. Bay adds that he is shocked by the complaints and wonders why no one brought them to his attention before.

Prior to the landlord meeting, the steering committee gets together to prioritize their demands. Their list includes a new boiler and intercom, a new front door, apartment repairs and improved building cleanliness.

Upon entering the meeting, Mr. Bay announces that he must leave by 7 since he hasn't had dinner yet. Ms. Dennison offers to fix him something, but he refuses, saying he'll wait to get home.

The tenants present their demands. The landlord replies that the boiler is working fine, he'll look into the cost of repairing the intercom, the cylinder on the door lock will be replaced, the apartment repairs will be done within three months, and he'll speak to the super about keeping the building cleaner. The committee accepts this and asks him to sign the agreement. He says it isn't necessary.

The cylinder is fixed the next day but broken soon after. Nothing happens to the intercom. A few apartment repairs are done by the super, but major problems requiring plumber, plasterer or electricians are ignored.

It is 24 degrees in New York City on March 20 when the boiler at 115 Winthrop Street breaks down. A tenant calls Mr. Bay who promises immediate repair after telling the tenant he is the first to complain.

It is 18 degrees on March 22 and nothing has happened to the boiler. Ms. Dennison calls the Emergency Repair Program 960-4800 to complain.

The boiler is repaired on March 30, ten days after it was broken. An inspector from ERP comes three weeks later, on April 18. New York is in the midst of some unseasonably warm weather, the temperature is 72 degrees. The landlord is not required to provide heat so the inspector cannot possibly record a heat violation even if the boiler isn't working.

The Tenant Association is in trouble. Little has been done and several floor captains have dropped out. One has moved. Ms. Dennison is thinking of dropping out herself since she has just started a new job.

In order to reorganize, a Steering Committee meeting is held. Mr. Dalton, a floor captain, indicates he would like to get more involved and is appointed vice president. Ms. Dennison says that she'll continue now that she has some support. A general meeting is held and new floor captains are chosen to replace the inactive ones. The tenants are so angry at building conditions that they vote for a rent strike in May, but decide to give the landlord one more chance to meet with them prior to the rent strike. "We don't want to be doing anything behind his back," explains an elderly tenant.

Ms. Dennison writes to the landlord on April 27, and he calls her on the following day. A meeting is scheduled for Sunday, April 30 at 10 a.m.

When Mr. Bay arrives, he asks why a rent strike is being considered. He is told about the boiler, the intercom, the front door, the major repairs, etc. He is not frightened by a rent strike, he says, since his brother is a lawyer.

"Then what are you doing here on a Sunday morning, the day before the rent strike?" asks Ms. Dennison. "Well, I knew I'd be in the neighborhood today, so I figured it was a good day for a meeting," Mr. Bay replied.

The landlord continues to refuse a new boiler or intercom, and insists the super can handle most of the apartment repairs. "And if I don't get your rent money," he adds, "I won't be able to make any repairs at all."

"You've been getting our money for years," says Ms. Kotler, "and you haven't done anything anyhow, except put your children through college." "Well, he also bought a pretty nice car," one of the tenants mentions.

No agreement is reached. The strike begins on May 1 with the distribution of flyers advising the tenants to make their rent checks out to the 115 Winthrop Street Tenant Association. Floor captains go around on May 4 and collect the rent. Receipts are given and accurate records kept. 28 checks are deposited in the Association bank account.

On May 19, the first dispossess notices are received. The Association retains a lawyer and goes to court. Four tenants have dispossess notices; 36 others accompany them to court.

The cases prove inconclusive, as do two more court appearances. By the end of June, the Association controls over \$20,000. The landlord asks for another meeting.

At the meeting he promises a new intercom and door, and apartment repairs. He offers to allow the Association to choose a boiler company that will examine the boiler and determine what is needed. He asks that the money be turned over to him as he produces receipts for the operation of the building, and that July's rent be sent to him as usual. The Association offers to pay only bills associated with the intercom, door, boiler and repairs, and refuses to end the rent strike in July.

The landlord gives in. This agreement he signs.

Work begins quickly. A new intercom and front door are installed at a cost of \$6,8000. A boiler upgrading costs \$2,500. Replacement of major portions of the plumbing totals \$5,100.

By the end of August, all work is completed. The Tenant Association turns over its remaining funds to the landlord. The rent strike is completed, and a new landlord-tenant relationship exists. It is based neither on admiration or respect. It is founded, instead, on a new and growing awareness of what the tenants are capable of doing.

APPENDIX E

SURVEYS

JOHN D. MORRISON

251 Fenimore Street
Brooklyn, New York 11225

February 17, 1977

Dear Resident:

I would like to ask your assistance in collecting some information about how people in the area feel about their situation and what's being done to deal with problems.

I am a doctoral student at the Hunter College School of Social Work-City University of New York City. Part of my work with the school is a review of tenants attitudes about their building and community and what is being done to deal with problems. This data will be summarized and together with other work shared with community agencies so they can know how their programs could be best improved. Specifically one neighborhood association in the area will be using the data to evaluate its work. While others are being asked to answer the attached questionnaire it is important that we get a good response if the information collected is to have much meaning.

Please be assured that all responses will be treated confidentially. No information about you will be given to landlords. Of course no names or addresses will be used in any reports-the purpose of the information is to get an overall picture of residents' views.

Your response is vital to get a comprehensive picture of of the neighborhood. I am enclosing a self addressed reply envelope that requires no postage to make it easier to respond.

Sincerely yours,

John D. Morrison

TENANT
SURVEY FORM

296

(ALL ANSWERS WILL BE CONFIDENTIAL AND NOTHING WILL BE SHARED WITH YOUR LANDLORD)

1. Age of head of household (place check mark in appropriate blank space)
 - a. under 45 _____
 - b. 45 through 65 _____
 - c. over 65 _____
2. Number of children under 18 _____
3. Education of head of household
 - a. less than high school _____
 - b. high school graduate _____
 - c. some college or a college degree _____
4. Household income
 - a. under \$5,000 _____
 - b. \$5,000 to \$10,000 _____
 - c. \$10,000 to 15,000 _____
 - d. over \$15,000 _____
5. Occupation of household head _____
6. Is household head a citizen? Yes _____ No _____
7. Which of the following best describes you?
 - a. Black _____
 - b. White _____
 - c. Spanish speaking _____
 - d. Other: _____
8. How many years have you lived in your present building? _____
9. How many times have you moved in the last five years? _____
10. What is the name of the neighborhood you live in? _____
11. Is there a neighborhood organization in the area?
 - a. yes _____ no _____
 - b. if so, what is its name? _____
 - c. what is its purpose? _____
 - d. are you a member? yes _____ no _____
 - e. are you active? yes _____ no _____
12. What other groups or agencies would be useful to residents? _____

13. Is there a tenant organization in your building?
 - a. yes _____ no _____
 - b. if there is, do you know any of its leaders? _____
 - c. what is its purpose? _____
 - d. are you a member? yes _____ no _____
 - e. are you active? yes _____ no _____

14. To what extent are you satisfied with each of the following?

(Check appropriate box)

	Very satisfied	Fairly well satisfied	Not satisfied
A. Closeness to places you want to get to			
B. Convenience to transportation			
C. Parking			
D. Closeness to friends and relatives			
E. Shopping facilities			
F. Things to do in the community			
G. Safety			
H. Schools your children attend			
I. Living here generally			
J. People who live here			
K. People similar to you			
L. Community groups			
M. Tenant groups			
N. Your apartment			
O. Price of apartments			
P. Management services			

15. How would you rate the following in your neighborhood?

(Check appropriate box)

	Getting better	Staying the same	Getting worse
A. Schools			
B. Your building			
C. Your block			
D. The neighborhood			

16. Which of the following best describes what you plan to do in the next 2 years?
- A. Plan to move _____
 - B. Hope to move _____
 - C. Plan to remain because I probably can't find a better situation _____
 - D. Plan to stay but want to work to make building or neighborhood better _____
 - E. Plan to stay. Am generally satisfied with neighborhood and building _____
17. Please check (✓) which items apply to your apartment or building currently. Be sure to check each of the three sections, Inside Apartment, Public Areas, and Outside Apartment, as appropriate.

INSIDE APARTMENT

- A. _____ Plumbing - drain(s) obstructed, low pressure, no water, leaks, toilet broken.
- B. _____ Ceiling, wall or floor plaster or tile or wood broken, cracked excessively, holes or leaks.
- C. _____ Painting needed.
- D. _____ Bell not working.
- E. _____ Apartment door, lock or frame broken or defective.
- F. _____ Electric wiring, defective or exposed.
- G. _____ Windows - broken or defective.
- H. _____ Heat - none or poor.
- I. _____ Refrigerator or stove broken or defective.
- J. _____ Rats, roaches, mice.

PUBLIC AREAS IN BUILDING

- K. _____ No heat or hot water in entire building.
- L. _____ Door to building broken or defective.
- M. _____ Bell or return buzzer broken or defective.
- N. _____ Elevator defective.
- O. _____ Fire escape rusty or defective
- P. _____ Lights in public areas defective or missing.
- Q. _____ Mailbox broken.
- R. _____ Public areas dirty, accumulated garbage, broken steps, leaks.
- S. _____ No Superintendent.

OUTSIDE APARTMENT

- T. _____ Garbage or rubbish accumulation.
- U. _____ Lights broken.

18. The following relates to the previous questions: (list the number of the questions in the space provided)

A. Which question(s) did you have trouble answering? _____

B. Which questions (if any) were not clear? _____

C. Which questions (if any) did you feel were offensive or did not want to answer? _____

19. The following are for those who could not answer the questionnaire in English.

A. Pour répondre à ce questionnaire il me faudrait l'avoir traduit en Français. Oui _____ Non _____

B. Para contestar a este cuestionario, es necesario tenerlo traducido en español. Si _____ No _____

OWNER SURVEY

300

(ALL ANSWERS WILL BE HELD CONFIDENTIAL)

Building address _____

1. Your name _____

Phone number _____

2. What neighborhood is your building located in?

3. Are you aware of any civic groups in the area?

Yes _____ No _____

If yes, what are their names?

4. Number of units in this building:

Total _____

Rent controlled _____

5. How long have you owned/ managed this building? _____ years

6. Are you the owner? Yes _____ No _____

" " " agent? Yes _____ No _____

7. Besides this building, how many units do you

own? _____

manage? _____

8. What are the plans of the owner for the next two years?

A. Not interested in selling to outside party. _____

B. Interested in selling to outside party. _____ Would see no problem _____

C. Interested in selling but no buyers available. _____

D. Interested in selling but no financing available. _____

9. To what extent are you satisfied with each of the following?

(Check appropriate box)

	Very satisfied - Very little problem		
	Fairly well satisfied - Some problem		Not satisfied - Substantial problem
A. Your building as an investment			
B. The prospect of selling your property for a good return in the future			
C. Financing			
D. Insurance			
E. Keeping taxes current			
F. The neighborhood your building is in			
G. Your tenants			
H. Ability to get good tenants			
I. Getting tenants from all ethnic groups			
J. Organized tenant association activity, if any			
K. Turnover			
L. Maintenance			
M. Cleaning			
N. Ability to get good staff			
O. Overall satisfaction			

10. What is happening to the following?

(Check appropriate box)

	Getting better		
	Staying the same		Getting worse
A. Your building			
B. Tenants in your building			
C. Neighborhood your building is in			

SUMMARY OF TENANT INTERVIEW

Building Address _____

Name of Interviewee _____

Date _____ Leader _____ Tenant _____

Interviewer _____

How would you rate each of the following:

	Much Better	Somewhat Better	Same	Getting Worse	Getting Much Worse
Your building					
Your apartment					
Tenants in your building					
Schools					
Your block					
Your neighborhood					

What do you like/dislike about the area ?

How long have you lived in the building?

What changes have there been since you moved in?:

% white when moved in 3 or 4 years ago

and now

are whites moving in?

who is moving in:

professional, clerical, blue collar, welfare

What are your plans for the future ?

What associations are in the area ?

APPENDIX F
ADMINISTRATIVE DOCUMENTS

PROJECT TIMETABLE

October 1974	Initial group of buildings organized (Cycle I) by community organizer and graduate student.
September 1975	
October 1975	Students and community organizer work on additional buildings (Cycle II) and do continuing work on Cycle I buildings.
February 1976	Tenants clinic/training program
March 1976	Tenant volunteers start work on additional buildings.
April 1976	Development of building data from PLG files. Community data from City Planning Commission, City Commission, on Human Rights, etc.
June 1976	Tenant & Landlord survey and questionnaire (both old and potential new buildings).
October 1976	Students, volunteers and community begin work on new group of buildings (Cycle III) and continue work on previous buildings as needed.
June 1977	
January 1978	Data analysis for final write-up.

JOB DESCRIPTIONS

TITLE: Director/Community Developer
RESPONSIBLE TO: PLGNA Board
SALARY: \$12,000

JOB RESPONSIBILITIES:

1. Maintains liaison with city agencies to maintain and improve existing services and encourage development of needed services.
2. Maintains liaison with and serves as staff support to area meetings which include churches, institutions, business groups and other resources.
3. In conjunction with other resources develops treatment plans for problem areas.
4. In conjunction with other resources develops plans for housing maintenance and managerial programs.
5. Provides staff support for occasional neighborhood wide events.
6. Attends appropriate community meetings, including PLGNA board meetings.
7. Develops social service plans for the area, primarily using public and voluntary aid.
8. Writes regular reports for the board and funding sources.
9. Supervises staff and students.
10. Manages office and does related support functions.

QUALIFICATIONS

1. A Master's Degree in social work with a specialization in community organization.
2. Knowledge of New York City and its government.
3. At least one year's experience in community organization settings.
4. Ability to read, write and speak effectively to people of various backgrounds.

5. Maturity of judgement, flexibility, and ability to work and function without daily supervision.
6. Ability to relate to people from different background and all levels of income.
7. Ability to maintain records and do routine office work related to assignments. Typing ability preferred but not required.
8. Willingness to work 3 to 4 evenings per week.
9. Previous administrative and/or supervisory experience.
10. Qualifications required by graduate social work schools to supervise students.

TITLE: Tenant Organizer
RESPONSIBLE TO: Director
SALARY: \$10,000 to \$12,000

JOB RESPONSIBILITIES:

1. Identifies key contacts in problem buildings as a step in initial organizing.
2. Aids buildings to organize tenant associations.
3. Works with such groups to plan for and secure minimum housing standards for buildings.
4. Identifies and works with landlords around problems related to maintaining buildings, securing mortgages, selling unwanted buildings, etc.
5. Maintains liaison with banks and other lending institutions to increase receptiveness of these institutions to lending in the PLGNA area.

QUALIFICATIONS:

1. A Master's Degree in social work with a specialization in community organization.
2. Knowledge of New York City and its government.
3. At least one year's experience in community organization settings.
4. Ability to read, write and speak effectively to people of various backgrounds.
5. Maturity of judgement, flexibility and ability to work under pressure, and ability to work and function without daily supervision.
6. Ability to relate to people from different backgrounds and all levels of income.
7. Ability to maintain records and do routine office work related to assignments. Typing ability preferred but not required.
8. Willingness to work 3 to 4 evenings per week.

TITLE: Secretary
RESPONSIBLE TO: Director
SALARY: \$4,000/half-time

JOB RESPONSIBILITIES:

1. Types reports, letters and other communications for agency.
2. Maintains agency's files.
3. Maintains mailing lists and lists of available resources.
4. Provides reception service when present, trains and schedules volunteer aid for other times.
5. Assists tenants and others around routine inquiries or service requests.
6. Maintains simple financial records.

QUALIFICATIONS:

1. Ability to type 50 w.p.m.
2. Ability to operate common business machines.
3. Previous office experience.
4. Ability to meet public.
5. Ability to organize work of an office.

Note: More job descriptions than were actually funded are listed here.

PROSPECT LEFFERTS GARDENSEXPENSE BUDGET PROJECTIONS

	1974 - 75
Salaries	\$12,000
Taxes (& Fringe)	700
Consultants Audit & Comm Plan	200
Travel	200
Space Costs	200
Supplies	700
Equipment	400
Other (telephone, postage, printing including newspaper less in- come*)	2,000
	<u>\$16,400</u>
	<u>Income</u>
	Actual
Outside Church Grants	
United Church of Christ	5,000
Fund for Human Development	4,500
Outside Foundations	
Vinmont	1,000
N.Y. Foundation	2,500
Local contribution including Chase Manhattan Bank (\$750), Block Association, & Churches & PLG Gund Raising Events	2,000
Dues	<u>\$15,000</u>

*Does not include other activities that are self supporting or covered from dues.

Note: This represents a deficit budget.

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