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RACIAL CHANGE OR RACIAL STABILIZATION: POLICY  
AND PROCESS AT A NEIGHBORHOOD LEVEL

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ABSTRACT

Housing segregation and integration are areas of great concern to all citizens. Public policy in the past favored segregation, and while formal policy now favors integration, relatively little is done to implement this policy.

Social science data in the area of residential integration have often been used to foster the status quo by misinterpretation or selective use. This paper reviews some of these data and suggests some principles for practitioners who wish to enhance the potential for integration.

A comprehensive view of a neighborhood should be taken rather than examining only racial factors. Families choose to enter or leave a neighborhood for a variety of reasons - relative number of whites or Blacks is only one factor in their choice. Other market forces enter the picture also. Seeing potential or existing residents as consumers dealing with the neighborhood as a "total package" is more helpful than dealing only with racial aspects.

It would appear that at least some consumers are looking for a sense of community in the neighborhood they choose; and, if enough residents are seeking this, a stronger sense of community can, in fact, be created.

Local organizations can enhance the possibilities of maintaining integration in a neighborhood. Definition of integrated neighborhoods and a review of the process within them are presented to aid understanding.

Overall policy needs to support housing integration are identified together with principles that would be useful for local community practitioners who are interested in fostering and maintaining integration.

INTRODUCTION

Residential housing integration is an important but neglected concern of social work. Because integration is likely to arouse strong feelings and deals with many complex forces in a neighborhood, social workers, skilled in community work would seem to be particularly well equipped to provide support and consultation to community groups interested in promoting racial integration.

The purpose of this paper is to review the literature on neighborhood racial change and stabilization and suggest ways that social workers can be better informed and more skilled in their work to enhance neighborhood social stabilization.

A major assumption of this paper is that neighborhood social stabilization is both a feasible and desirable goal that social workers can be helpful in achieving.

Several key questions need to be addressed. What, if anything can a local neighborhood do that wishes to encourage a stabilized integrated neighborhood? What factors influence decisions to buy in or stay in a neighborhood?

### Consequences of Past Policy

It should be clear that, for years, public policy strongly supported residential segregation through such means as restrictive covenants, and the favoring of new construction and suburban development rather than preservation of existing housing. Because housing integration is still controversial and likely to be strongly resisted in some communities even today, open housing laws are fairly weak and poorly enforced. Pearce (1976) and Lake (1981), for example still found extensive discrimination in their studies of local real estate practices in the 70s.

While formal public policy now favors housing integration, major institutions continue to act in ways that perpetuate segregation. Red-lining, or the denial of mortgages in certain areas (often because they are racially mixed), is a prevalent problem. Real estate interests too, have often acted in ways that minimize opportunities for integration and the relatively small size and large number of real estate operators make them difficult to control either through self regulation or government action.

It is clear that the price paid for housing segregation is substantial. Blacks are often locked into areas where they must pay more for lower quality housing, and at the same time they do not enjoy neighborhood amenities or services such as adequate education, sanitation and police protection. In its worst forms, housing segregation concentrates social problems in ghettos that restrict opportunity and helps sustain poverty and poor social conditions.

Whites too, are negatively affected. White suburbanites are often cut off from Black friendships and an accurate understanding of social conditions. Fears of residential racial change result in whites feeling a need to move when their economic and social needs suggest that they would be better off staying where they are.

Substantial benefits can be obtained from housing integration. It represents the most natural way of overcoming school segregation. Integrated neighborhoods can reduce social distance, can provide benefits of cultural diversity, and can provide a greater sense of community in the overall American society.

### Social Science and Integration

Social science information has not always been used to provide support for integration, but rather has been used to add to the fears. Material has been used selectively and there probably has been some tendency for social science to reflect the status quo. A review of the traditional literature is useful in identifying common misperceptions.

There is often a feeling among the public that residential segregation essentially reflects a Black preference to live with other Blacks. Most writers, however feel that housing segregation is not a matter of preference on the part of Blacks but rather is a result of discriminatory practices. (Taebur, 1969).

Another commonly held notion is that housing segregation is an inevitable phenomenon and that racial change in a neighborhood only involves increasing proportions of Blacks. Traditional writers have reflected the view that once started, complete racial change is inevitable. Housing succession theory suggests a process of 1. penetration 2. invasion (more substantial black influx) 3. consolidation 4. piling up of Blacks in the area (Johnston, 1972). The choice of terms obviously reflects a view that the process also involves conflict.

While this may be a common pattern, it does not take into account the existence of either stable integrated areas or areas where whites are increasing relative to Blacks, such as in areas of gentrification.

Similarly, the notion of tipping points has been used to suggest a scientifically determined level of integration which, if exceeded, leads to inevitable segregation. Such a notion confuses rather than clarifies the situation. Wolf (1968) finds little evidence of a predictable tipping point and finds that the term has been used in a number of ways including 1. a preference point 2. a "willingness to enter" point and 3. a leaving point for whites (the most common usage). Decisions to enter or leave an area do not seem to be made based on any current level of integration but rather on "one's estimation of what the situation will be in the future."

A general misconception is that property values decline when Blacks enter an area. The evidence shows that, in almost all cases, as neighborhoods are integrated property values increase or keep up with those of comparable white areas. The only threat to property values is when a substantial number of whites panic and glut the market, (Laurenti, 1972) suggesting that such change depends much more on white than Black attitudes and actions.

### Definition of Integrated Communities

A helpful definition of an integrated neighborhood is that used by Bradburn (1971) and the National Opinion Research Center, which identifies an integrated neighborhood as one where both Blacks and whites are moving into housing of comparable quality. While such a definition includes neighborhoods with very little integration, it does recognize the crucial nature of move in patterns, and emphasizes the process of integration

rather than using any fixed proportion of population for definition. As some of the formal barriers to integration have been removed and the number of middle income blacks has increased, it would appear that the long term prospects for the increase of interracial neighborhoods is good. Even in 1967, Bradburn (1971) found that 19% of the total population lived in integrated areas where there was at least a token Black resident.

### Measurement

In looking at integration in any particular neighborhood it may be helpful to look at three concerns 1. current level of integration - the relative percentage of white and black residents 2. trends - whether and how the relative percentage is changing over the course of time, and 3. the quality of integration - the extent to which the integration includes social and community participation between blacks and whites.

The Taebers (1969) have developed a segregation index, comparing the actual distribution of blacks and whites in a city or neighborhood, to what would be expected if blacks and whites were distributed randomly throughout the city. If there was complete randomness the index would be zero. If blacks and whites never lived in the same area the index would be 1.00. Typical indices for cities across the country have ranged from .60 to above .96. Such an index is useful to examine integration at any given point in time and by periodic measurement, can identify long term trends over time.

### Quality of Integration

Several recent attempts have broadened the perceptions of material or residential integration. Molotch (1974) develops the notion that the relative stability of integration depends on its quality. He suggests three levels of integration "1. Demographic, where the community contains both blacks and whites in some specified proportions, 2. biracial interaction, whereby non-antagonist social interaction is occurring between blacks and whites to some specifiabale 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."

In his review of the transitional area of South Shore in Chicago, Molotch 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, or when Blacks are seen as invaders. While he found relatively few examples of transracial solidarity, he did find such examples where participants shared an unusual ideology, or group affiliation and an equality in occupational status. 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. Little "neighboring" across racial lines seems to occur in most integrated neighborhoods (Taebor, 1969).

In the most important established civic groups both membership and leadership was predominantly white. The role Blacks had was often as "workhorse", but their role as respected leaders was not seen (Molotch, 1974).

In any neighborhood social visiting among neighbors is in most cases limited to a relatively few people (Newman, 1981). Strong friendship among all neighbors is not necessary in order to have a strong neighborhood. While transracial solidarity might not be feasible, biracial interaction would seem to be a practical goal for local neighborhood groups in integrated neighborhoods.

#### Need for a More Comprehensive View of Integration

It seems appropriate to go beyond popularized views of integration and deal with a wider view of that literature that incorporates more recent data. We should use a "total market" or "consumer model" to explain housing integration, using a broad context rather than concentrating only on racial aspects. Housing stabilization programs typically emphasize retaining present white residents in an area, forgetting that turnover is normal due to deaths, job moves etc. If racial stability is to be achieved, a neighborhood must be able to continue to be able to attract whites as well as Black housing consumers. If all new residents are Black then the area must inevitably become all Black even though the process may take place over many years.

Individuals are attracted to an area for many reasons, and racial percentages are only one factor that may encourage or discourage consumers to choose a particular area. In choosing a particular house, the house must 1. meet family needs in terms of price and size etc. and 2. must be situated in a pleasant environment (Johnston, 1972). In addition, a wide variety of supply and demand factors enter into the picture to determine the total housing market, including real estate activity, relative demand by Blacks and whites, openness of other areas, mortgage terms etc. (Rapkin & Grigsby, 1968) that is clear is that to attract and retain middle class buyers, the area must be "viable" to use Down's (1973) term. That is, the area must be reasonably safe, streets and buildings must be maintained, schools must be adequate, and there must be a sense that conditions will remain good for the foreseeable future.

While an urban community may not be the preferred choice for all, for many it is. Besides the tangible advantages of good transportation, nearness to cultural facilities, and work 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 (Hunter, 1975).

Janowitz suggests that increasingly local neighborhoods are "communities of limited liability", characterized by voluntary associations that only a relatively few residents are active in even though they are open to everyone living in an area (Hunter, 1974). Neighborhood residents were more likely to emphasize secondary relations which emphasize narrower and more formalized roles rather than primary relations as in the past. This is particularly true as one moves beyond the block level to the wider neighborhood. Local groups tend to provide social integration into local community, interest groups provide integration into the wider society (Hunter, 1974). Each has their own role.

There is even hierarchy of local groups. Small block groups tend to be federated with larger neighborhood groups and neighborhood groups tend to be linked to similar urban groups. Local block groups tend to focus on internal matters, individual concerns and maintenance while larger groups focus on external work, group concerns and change (Hunter, 1974:162).

Sense of community among residents varies with status, local structures and demographics (Hunter, 1974:179). Four demographic factors seem to have important influence on how people evaluate neighborhoods: economic status, family status (number of families with children), racial/ethnic status and proportion of single family homes (Hunter, 1974:29). The Taeburs' (1969:180) findings for a twenty-year period show that a neighborhood's relative economic standing with other areas in the city tends to remain stable despite racial change.

Newman (1981) deals extensively with the physical design of housing and community space and he feels that satisfaction with housing may also be more related to design, construction and management than race. Residents need to feel a sense of "ownership" of common access to develop a "community of interest". Physical design of housing can have enormous impact on enhancing or impeding such a sense of ownership. Newman (1981:44) also suggests that satisfaction with neighborhood is also related to whether residents felt neighbors were friendly and well behaved.

Here again local community organizations can have an important role in fostering a sense of ownership and control of public space and can provide important opportunities for residents of different backgrounds to know each other.

#### Retaining Existing Consumers

For current residents, choices are available. Hirshman (1970) 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, residents or prospective residents are the consumers and the total neighborhood is the "product" consumed.

#### Exit

Regarding exit, Hirshman (1970:37) feels that "exit will often be taken in the light of the prospects for the effective use of voice." Exit may be a reaction of last resort after voice has failed. Those who care most, may be the ones most likely to exit when quality declines (Hirshman, 1970:47). Insensitivity may be common to public agencies and is therefore something that promotes exit.

"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" (Hirshman, 1970:110).

(The neighborhood conditions cited are essentially those incorporated in Downs' concept of neighborhood viability.)

In terms of changing conditions in a way most desired by those who exit, "exit is likely to be unsuccessful even for those who practice it" (Hirshman, 1970:110). Exit may be precluded for many. For example, in a typical neighborhood many would have difficulty in moving because housing costs are higher elsewhere. Where neither loyalty or voice options are perceived to be valid, and exit is precluded, consumers could be expected to be alienated and uninvolved.

#### Voice

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 (Hirshman, 1970:76).

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" (Hirshman, 1970:7).

Edward Banfield (quoted in Hirschman 1970:39) 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".

#### 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." (Hirshman, 1970:78-79)

The goals of a neighborhood association in an integrated neighborhood would be to increase loyalty to a neighborhood by involvement of local residents and to increase the effectiveness of the collective voice of residents, thereby limiting the degree to which the exit option is exercised. This involvement should increase residents sense of community.

#### Importance of Community Perception

A central issue is how people perceive their community. Such perceptions affect how people work within their neighborhood and ultimately how major decisions are made. Whether one remains in a community or not is often dependent on one's perception or whether they see theirs as a good



or bad community. Community evaluation is frequently based on perception of the long term prospects of the community as well as perceptions of current conditions.

While reality factors play a role in people's perceptions, many times nonreality 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, his/her friends and relatives 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 achieving goals, and are useful in and of themselves. One's perception of a neighborhood changes if he/she 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 that neighborhood.

#### Creation of Community

Hunter presents an analysis of the sense of community in an interracial area. It seems clear from this study that use or non use of local facilities such as businesses and social services has come to have little relationship with sense of community supporting Janowitz notion of a "community of limited liability". Use of local facilities may increase informal neighboring which increases the 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.

Informal neighboring increases sense of community more directly than use of local facilities. 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 renters" (Hunter, 1975).

Hunter (1975:547-548) suggests that residents have a direct role in directing a sense of community.

"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."

"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 who 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 and increases the sense of community for members, though informal neighboring remains the most significant in its effect. Structures and activities heighten both the social and symbolic 'sense of community' for local residents."

In summary Hunter feels that while functional community may have been lost in neighborhoods "symbolic community may have been found" (Hunter, 1974:186). 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.

#### Need for Overall Policy

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, not under neighborhood control.

Housing transition unfortunately tends to be concentrated in a relatively few areas of the city. Open housing needs to be a reality in most of a metropolitan area, to take pressure off the few areas that are integrated. Similarly if center city areas are undergoing either abandonment or redevelopment, this will increase the pressure for transition in adjacent areas. Cities and the national government must adopt more comprehensive policies to make for more orderly growth in cities.

Downs(1970) in a very thorough discussion, suggests that the present policies that favor concentration and segregation are not acceptable. They should be replaced with policies that favor integration over most of the metropolitan area and enrichment in neighborhoods with high concentrations of Blacks. The idea of a fully integrated society is not yet politically feasible as any resolution must be supported ultimately by a majority of the white middle class and must appeal to the self interest of the majority of blacks and whites.

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 (Downs, 1970:70-77).

Oscar Newman (1981:36) suggests that such policies as giving tax deductions for property tax for schools and mortgage interest provides incentives "to the creation of exclusive suburban enclaves and segregation by income, and therefore race.

### Schools

As we have seen locally based institutions have, over time, become less important in establishing a sense of community among local residents. Residents may or may not use local facilities. Schools may be something of an exception because they are organized on a neighborhood basis, are used extensively by local residents, and are strongly identified with local neighborhoods.

While data suggests that perceptions of school quality do not diminish when schools are moderately integrated (less than 10%), quality of schools and integration levels (particularly perceptions that there were trends to increasing levels of integration) are important (Bradburn, 1971; Wolf and LeBaux, 1967; Goodwin, 1979). There may well be a fear of some white residents that they have no control over long term levels of integration or quality of schools.

For prospective residents, particularly those with children local schools are a matter of concern that gets factored into the total choice of house and neighborhood.

Pearce (1980) in reviewing data for areas that have had metropolitan integration (as opposed to integration in a smaller area of a larger metropolitan area) for at least five years, suggests that such integration is an important tool in housing stabilization.

Pearce suggests that metropolitan integration eliminates most of the status differences in schools but also tends to close the worst schools and upgrade many others. Metropolitan integration eliminates choosing neighborhoods on the basis of schools or moving to find better schools. In a sense the reduction of choices may be desirable as all metropolitan residents are assured of a similar level of integration and quality in schools. The areas most assured of neighborhood schools in metropolitan integration plans are those that are well integrated. As we have seen local facility use is not required to achieve a sense of community particularly in the "community of limited liability". Other major social provisions such as health have become more equal over time and there is no reason why we shouldn't expect the same for education.

### Specific Practice Principles

#### Use of Local Organizations

Gockel, Bradburn and Siedman (in Spergel, 1972), 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.

If development of strong community organizations is important in fostering neighborhood integration, social work, particularly community organization, would seem to have a great deal to contribute, both because of theory and the sensitive training social workers receive to deal with subtle feelings.

Locality based efforts would seem to be quite relevant as traditional views of residential succession process assume that it will take place essentially on a neighborhood by neighborhood basis.

#### Neighborhood Structure

Thelen sees the overall neighborhood association and individual block associations 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 (in Miller, 1968) which are useful. To summarize, he sees a community group as serving as 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.

Community groups should:

- a. Bring about communication between members of the opposing groups
- b. Develop the bridging group itself into a strong one with its own culture and appeal to members.
- c. Operate the bridging group as a training situation in which the members can learn the experimental method of group problem-solving.
- d. Facilitate acceptance by members of each other and of the groups they represent.
- e. Influence the members of the groups toward gradual change of their ways of operating, toward a more problem-reality-oriented approach.

Operating principles suggested are these:

- a. Community problem-solving is put ahead of organizational power as the objective.
- b. Anyone who can help with the problem-solving is welcome, regardless of professed belief or the group's theories about his personality.
- c. Efforts are made to seek out and reach working agreement with other groups working for the same objectives.
- d. The group serves as a bridging group to reduce conflict among the other groups to which the members are loyal.
- e. The group adopts an experimental methodology, determining action at each step on the basis of evaluation of results of preceding steps.
- f. 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.
- g. The group collects adequate data about the problem . . . .
- h. The group realistically appraises its own resources and skills and gets professional help when needed.

- i. 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.

In addition, Abrahamson (in Miller, 1968) using the same experience, listed additional principles:

- j. Do not appeal to people in neighborhoods on the basis of any kind of ideological principles.
- k. Always appeal in terms of enlightened self-interest.
- l. Action should be task-oriented.
- m. Make alliances with groups that have power and influence.

The following principles have been developed from the literature cited earlier and from practical experiences in inter racial neighborhoods.

1. Views of neighborhoods as a "community of limited liability" would suggest that the emphasis at the local level should be primarily on neighborhood based concerns. As we have seen neighborhood conditions are important in how people evaluate a neighborhood. It is important to focus on monitoring and improving conditions and avoid a tendency to focus on "intergroup relations" too directly or exclusively.
2. We should expect that a variety of organizational levels will be present. We have seen that it is natural for there to be a number of different local groups and that they are often linked hierarchally from the local block level to neighborhood wide groups. There is no reason why neighborhood-wide groups shouldn't be similarly linked to groups concerned with metropolitan wide concerns such as overall school and housing problems. For example, National Neighbors, which is a federation of neighborhood groups in interracial areas and National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, both based in Washington, provide information and other resources of use to local interracial communities.
3. We should also recognize that while neighborhood involvement of a significant number of residents is useful for achieving neighborhood goals, it is not necessary or realistic to expect that all residents will be good friends.
4. It is important to foster a strong, positive neighborhood image and identity and a view that local organizations are successful. This image is important not only for local residents but also for prospective residents (consumers) of the neighborhood.
5. 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.

6. Those affected by a problem should be involved in the planning and implementation of solutions of these problems. The principle of client self-determination is expressed in community organization practice as helping the group or community to determine its goals usually solving specific problems and strategies to be used in solving these problems. Not only is this ethically sound practice, but there is also evidence that if people are involved in defining a goal and ways of achieving the goal, they will be more likely to achieve that goal. It is important to strive to include Blacks in leadership positions in local groups.

7. Community organization is most effective when employed in a preventive or early treatment approach rather than where large scale remedial goals are attempted. Physical design should be recognized as having important impact on local neighborhoods.

8. Community resources and supports should be used wherever possible to strengthen the effectiveness of the neighborhood work. This includes good use of such mechanisms as a neighborhood newspaper or maximization of effective city services.

9. 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, even across racial lines. Participation should increase both the perceived effectiveness of voice options and also increase the loyalty to the neighborhood.

10. Contact theory holds that interracial understanding is improved where there is contact across racial lines, involving people of equal status and where a superordinate goal that is of concern to each group is pursued (Rothman, 1977).

Turner (1968:18-19) categorizes the range of strategies available to "citizen self help" 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.

While consensus should be emphasized within the community, negotiation rather than confrontation (conflict) or cooperation (consensus) would seem to be the tactic of greatest potential in dealing with problems where the source of the problem is seen to stem from sources outside the neighborhood. For example, confrontation with landlords should be used only when reasonable attempts of negotiating building improvements have failed.

The strategy and principles described above are very much in keeping with Rothman's (1979) model of "locality development" as a community organization model and deemphasize social planning and social action models.

## Conclusion

There seems to be a compelling need for public policy to support efforts to foster stabilization of integrated neighborhoods. Such policies would include support for open housing efforts, means to reduce income disparities between blacks and whites and erect job opportunities and efforts to improve the stability of cities.

These policies can be complemented by local neighborhood level programs. Such efforts at the local neighborhood level require a good deal of sensitivity to feelings of both current and prospective residents as well as the development of creative intervention strategies. It is in these local neighborhood efforts that social work can play a particularly important role.

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