

The Black Ghetto: New White Frontier

by Dempsey J. Travis, C.R.E.

Blacks, browns, and poor whites are being recycled off the prime land in the central areas of many of our oldest cities. Their strong backs and unlettered minds no longer qualify them to be urban guests. They, their parents, and their grandparents had been recipients of invitations extended on three occasions: as strike breakers early in the 20th century and as unskilled laborers in both world wars. But the current recruitment specifications for the urban populace have changed from blue-collar and unskilled to white-collar and computer-oriented.

The task of recycling urban land was a corporate assignment shifted from city councils to Congress when that body passed a displacement law, the Federal Urban Renewal Act of 1949. This act spawned many housing and land banking bills and regulations, most effective of which was HUD's 1972 Site Selection Criteria, the first unclothed effort to dislodge blacks from the central areas of major cities. This regulation's on-the-table objective was to relocate the unemployed and underemployed blacks into white middle-class suburban communities. But the hidden agenda of these criteria was captured in Alex Poinsett's September 1972 *Ebony* article, "Countdown in Housing":

"Where are black people supposed to go?" Travis asks audiences at several rallies he has staged to arouse public sentiment against HUD regulations. "They cannot build or rent where they live. They are not welcome in white

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suburbs. It looks to me like this is an attempt to move the niggers back into the swamp."

Unfortunately, this 1972 hypothesis is rapidly shaping into historic fact. To accelerate a push-'em-back-to-the-swamps drive, in January 1973, HUD announced an 18-month moratorium on low- and-moderate-income housing. This moratorium is still in effect because of litigation surrounding the site selection criteria. Thus our black communities, where most of the vacant urban land is, become more dismal and more abandoned while HUD and the courts refuse to permit new construction where it is most needed.

In the interim, several municipal displacement tools have been put to work: excessively high taxes, stringent code enforcement, poor schools, and ineffective police protection—which add up to accelerated housing abandonment.

On the other side of the street and sometimes next door, in these central city communities, young white professionals are moving in with front money and unlimited credit for rehabilitating recently deserted shells into Georgetown-like showplaces. There is much evidence for this in Chicago, Washington, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Atlanta, and so forth.

In addition to housing laws and regulations, other legislation and a Nixon directive, Executive Order 11593, May 13, 1971, broadened the federal mandate on historic preservation. Blacks have not realized that much of the property they occupy in old sections of our cities has historic and great monetary value. Most people have not been alerted to the preservation, restoration, and rehabilitation tools provided in the funded Housing and Community Development Act of 1974.

In 1976, more than 1000 districts were registered under the Historic Preservation Act of 1966. Recently, Chicago's Hyde Park-Kenwood Community filed an application for designation as a National Historic District. The Gold Coast and Pullman areas of Chicago, a working-class neighborhood in Minneapolis, a barrio in San Antonio, and Boston's waterfront are among historic districts already approved. The Tax Reform Act of 1976 established important incentives for the preservation and rehabilitation of commercial and income-producing structures located in the designated historic communities.

The group most likely to benefit from the tax shelters are the young white returnees to the city, whom some have variously labeled as "colonizers," "urban homesteaders," "inner-city pioneers," "frontier persons," "municipal carpet-baggers," and "city redeemers." The group least likely to benefit from the incentives and historic designations are the blacks who begin the geographic competition for the cities with a median income of \$9,252, only 60% that of whites. In cities like New York and Washington, one cannot enter this market with an income of less than \$25,000 per year.

Other factors stimulating the back-to-the-city movement among whites and the push-'em-back-to-the-swamps drive against blacks are the high cost of suburban housing, disenchantment with commuting time among working couples, increased cost of transportation, and the variety of activi-

ties in the city for young people seeking new life styles and cultural opportunities. An up-to-date census would reveal a suburban-to-urban movement that rivals the westward movement of the last century.

PHILADELPHIA

"There's a conspiracy afoot to reverse the growth of Philadelphia from black to white. For black people, this is the story of our life since slavery," states Shirley Dennis, managing director of the Housing Association of Delaware Valley.

Society Hill is a classic example of the use of urban renewal program to recycle a community. This section of Philadelphia, where the first black families settled in the 1700s, reflected a 64.2% decrease in black population and a 32.7% increase in white population between 1960 and 1970. An estimated 1976 census reflected an additional 13% increase in higher-income white families in this area.

The white demand for space in downtown neighborhoods is so strong that it is spilling over into Queen Village in South Philadelphia and moving west for several blocks from the Delaware River.

The recycling process at the upper-middle-income level sometimes appears to be economic rather than racial. The Franklin Town Urban Renewal Area, adjacent to Society Hill, experienced an upper-income black population increase of 16.5% compared to 14% increase for whites; however, blacks only constitute 6.8% of the area's population.

Prior to 1963, blacks comprised 45% of all families in the blue-collar Whitman section of Philadelphia. In that year, the area was designated for urban renewal with provision to clear for construction of the Whitman public townhouses. After demolition and clearance, the area was transformed from an integrated community to a 98% white area. To date, the planned urban renewal units for low-income families have not been built because of the opposition of the 98%. The courts have ruled "Yes!" but the mayor said "No!"

Urban renewal's commitment to recycle the city also extends to commercial areas. Federal subsidies paid part of the \$44.5 million for the new 125-store complex, The Gallery, on Market Street East. Gimbels opened a new store at a cost of about \$30 million. These changes, in addition to Strawbridge and Clothier's \$12 million renovation, have collectively created a shopping mecca virtually at the doorsteps of those who live downtown and have reversed some shopping patterns; that is, suburbanites are coming back to the city to shop. The magnetism of the shops will cause many of the suburbanite shoppers to move closer to the attraction.

NEW YORK CITY

A city of seven million people will be as economically obsolete in the year 2000 as a 12-child middle-class family is in 1978. The big family without

subsidy is destitute and the big city with 30 to 40% of its young blacks under- or unemployed is bankrupt. The recycled city must contemplate a planned reduction of its indigent population, because society has not found a mechanism to replace the welfare treadmill that has been rolling with increased acceleration during each of the past 45 years.

It is the movement of the governed and not the government that is setting the tempo for solving the urban housing problem. A recent survey conducted by the Rutgers University Center for Urban Policy Research revealed that 30% of the occupants in recycled vacant commercial and industrial buildings in SoHo, Greenwich Village, and other sections of lower Manhattan moved to their apartments from addresses outside of New York City. Only 13% of the households had children. Half of the individuals in the sample were single, a quarter married, and the remainder divorced, widowed, or separated. More than 80% were between the ages of 20 and 40. Three-quarters had graduated from college. Median income was \$21,783, more than twice the New York City median of \$9,724.

The high earners with small families and the singles who are attracted to New York City with its shortage of housing will hasten the urban depopling process. The urban recycling race will not be won by the city with the highest welfare load.

The riot climate of the 1960s did not stop New York's brownstone revival; it simply slowed it down. Brownstones that sold for \$16,000 in 1966 have a value today ranging from \$90,000 to \$150,000. These post-Civil War structures measure 20' by 50', stand four stories tall, and are covered by a veneer of brown sandstone. Today's demand for Victorian styles has expanded to include period row houses with facades as diverse as granite and wood.

The \$100,000 price tag has excluded most middle-income blacks from ownership in the Central Park West brownstone revival. The 1973 median income of whites in this district was \$12,299, of blacks \$7,355, and of Hispanics only \$5,989. The economic and racial mix in Central Park West is unique, but how long can blacks and browns compete in a tight housing market with 40 to 50% less income than the competition.

Lawrence W. Holland, vice president of Robert W. Jones & Associates of New York City, said, "The ideals of the '60s with urban renewal projects leading the way are being replaced by the realities of the '70s, with the recapture of urban areas the underlying theme."

CHICAGO

Chicago: the city that burned but would not melt. Non-melding ethnic neighborhoods are the political and cultural phenomena of whites running monolithically from blacks. Whole ethnic groups have moved as many as three times since World War II, leap-frogging away from the center of the city. In the ten year period, 1961-1971, 2,000 city blocks (in a city whose blocks are twice as long as blocks in most cities) changed from white to black. By 1975, approximately 50% of the Chicago landscape was occupied by a 30% minority population. Moreover, blacks occupied the prime geog-

raphy, closest in travel time to the Loop (central business district) from the near north, near south, and near west (the near east is Lake Michigan). When most of the ethnic communities were galloping en masse to suburbs made ready by developers and lenders who needed to create a new market, the University of Chicago decided to de-accelerate the exodus from its home communities of Hyde Park and Kenwood.

Since 1952, when the university first launched its program, it has made 926 loans totaling more than \$10 million to faculty families. The Hyde Park-Kenwood area houses 70%; 35% of the 7,000 non-academic staff live within an 18-minute walk or six-minute drive of the campus, which has added \$250 million in real estate improvements since 1959. The university's plan was both a success and a failure. It was a success in creating a national model for stopping urban decay. It failed by not resolving the problem of displacement, as can be noted in a simple chart:

	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1975(estimate)</u>
Blacks in Hyde Park	1,727	17,163	10,424	7,877
Percent of total				
Hyde Park population	3.2%	37.7%	31.0%	27.0%

A microcosm of black displacement and white replacement in Hyde Park is dramatically revealed in the membership of a mainline denomination's parish. The black membership of this congregation, which was rapidly approaching 50% in the 1960s, decreased 75% from 1970 to 1977. What was once a church with a significant number of black leaders now has only a 22% black membership and few blacks in leadership positions. The university environment has attracted major Lutheran, Presbyterian, and Jesuit seminaries and some 17 Catholic orders, whose thirst for land and housing has further displaced the neighborhood's poor. What was once a well-integrated urban community is becoming a mostly white, upper-middle class area complete with pockets of students and religious groups, who are also mostly white.

With the influx of whites into Hyde Park, real estate expansion into Woodlawn, the neighborhood bordering the university on the south, is imminent. Woodlawn's population has decreased 36.4% or 26,319 between 1960 and 1975, as a result of fires that produced acres of abandoned buildings and vacant blocks. The Woodlawn Organization's new federally-subsidized housing development, Jackson Park Terrace, is itself built on land leased for 65 years from the University of Chicago for about \$400,000. The university's expansion program will extend one mile south of Hyde Park campus to a natural boundary, the graveyard.

North of Chicago's Loop in the early 1960s came Carl Sandburg Village, a beachhead established on urban renewal land to combat the spread of slums and blight. This \$97 million complex houses 8,000 people in eight high rises, 82 townhouses, and artist studios, with rents ranging from \$250 for a studio to \$570 for a two-bedroom apartment. The complex was named for poet-journalist Carl Sandburg (himself an immigrant from the Swedish settlements of central and western Illinois), who labeled Chicago the "hog

butcher to the world" and "city of the big shoulders." Sandburg's arrival displaced Lorraine Hansberry's "Raisin in the Sun."

Such downtown and Near North vertical precincts as Sandburg Village, Marina City, Lake Point Tower, and Outer Drive East would not have been possible in the early back-to-the-city movement without a pragmatic dreamer and chief catalyst in the person of the late Mayor Richard J. Daley, himself a scion of the Irish bastion of Bridgeport, which has remained a white island in a sea of blacks and Hispanics. Daley, master of detail and budgets, had the eyes, ears, and respect of both labor and business. He understood a balanced budget as the ingredient that makes both a city and a business work.

Since 1971, occupied office space in the Loop has increased 12.9 million square feet, or by 2.3 million square feet per year, which is a 31% increase between October 1971, and May 1977. Eight additional major office buildings were underway in 1978. An office building creates some 4,000 jobs per acre (43,560 square feet). The number of workers in the Loop and the Near North increased 21% from 329,000 to 398,000 between 1963 and 1977. Residential telephones in the Loop increased from 100,000 to 134,000 between 1967 and 1976. Former or potential commuters numbering 34,000 now live in or near the Loop.

According to Chicago Title and Trust Company, 35,000 condominiums were sold in the Chicago metropolitan area in 1977; 80% of these were within the city limits and were concentrated in lake shore communities. The condominium market in Hyde Park and on the north side is so strong that rental units are rapidly disappearing and renters are being forced out of neighborhoods which many have occupied for decades.

An additional 30,000 persons may make their homes within a decade in Dearborn Park, a proposed south Loop development on unused railroad yards. The Dearborn (Chicago 21) Plan is exceptional because no people displacement is required. This railroad development foretells a bright Chicago future for those who can pay the freight.

Parallel to the astonishing development of the Loop and Near North is the satellite rehabilitation of old communities such as Lincoln Park, Old Town, New Town, Ravenswood, DePaul, Lakeview, and the Ranch Triangle where homes are being restored to glories they may never have possessed. Even the public schools, notoriously poor throughout Chicago, have proved acceptable to upper-middle income whites, who send their offspring to Old Town's La Salle School or Hyde Park's Bret Harte School, Ray School, and Kenwood Academy. Somehow, public schools in white middle-class neighborhoods become good schools. Recycled housing begets recycled schools.

SAVANNAH

The Union torches that burned Atlanta spared Savannah. In December 1864, the City of Savannah was offered to President Lincoln as a Christmas gift by Union General William T. Sherman.

Now, 114 years later, we find the descendants of former slaves and slave masters exchanging residences in downtown Savannah. A total of 735 blacks were displaced in three census tracts of the downtown historic district by affluent middle and upper-middle income whites between 1960 and 1975:

HISTORIC DISTRICT CENSUS TRACTS OF SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

Census Tract	Population			Percent Black		Per capita income, 1975
	1960	1970	1975	1960	1975	
3 white	733	1,283	1,331			
black	127	220	52			
total	860	1,503	1,383	14.7	3.8	\$3,037
8 white	1,381	574	1,008			
black	731	339	282			
total	2,112	913	1,290	34.6	21.9	\$2,660
9 white	1,564	886	1,147			
black	236	118	15			
total	1,800	1,004	1,162	13.1	1.3	\$3,867

Sources: U.S. Census of Population and Housing; City Government of Savannah, Georgia, Metropolitan Planning Division.

In the absence of federal assistance in the form of 3% 20-year rehabilitation loans and/or substantial rent subsidies, the adjacent Victorian district of Savannah could lose as many as 1,200 blacks within three years as a result of real estate speculation and escalating rents. Blacks cannot compete in the same housing market where whites have 171% advantage in per capita income. Compare Victorian district census tract 13 below with census tract 9 above as a prime example of black inability to compete:

VICTORIAN DISTRICT CENSUS TRACTS OF SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

Census Tract	Population			Percent Black			Per capita income, 1975
	1960	1970	1975 (est)	1960	1970	1975	
13 white	1,050	313	1,532				
black	1,690	1,388	1,127				
total	2,740	1,701	2,759	61.7	81.6	40.8	\$1,427
15 white	1,757	628	1,098				
black	306	660	492				
total	2,063	1,288	1,590	14.8	51.2	30.9	\$1,039

A clear pattern emerges in Savannah: blacks are leaving the historic and Victorian districts of the downtown and whites are moving in, with astonishing changes in the city's demography. A white or black on the low end of an annual per capita income of \$1,427 cannot sleep comfortably with the expenses included in maintaining a \$50,000 rehabilitated home. Houses occupied by blacks were picked up on option or contracts within the past 15 years for prices varying from \$600 to \$8,000; however, the selling price

today runs on a scale from \$35,000 to \$70,000. Hence, the ghetto ain't the ghetto anymore.

Black dispersement has caused some concern among blacks about its effect on black voting power. An annexation proposal is being discussed by Savannah's mayor and supported by black Senators Bobby Hill and Albert Scott. The mayor would be elected on a city-wide basis, but aldermen would be elected by district. By annexing the suburban communities that are turning black, minority political representation could be kept in balance.

ATLANTA

Atlanta, the city with a hand, has adopted a housing philosophy based on a sentence from Booker T. Washington's 1895 Atlanta Exposition speech that will make it the Cinderella City of the 21st century for both black and white citizens. Washington said: "In all things that are purely social we *can* be as separate as the five fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."

The hand for mutual progress symbolizes the neighborhood movement which crosses racial lines in Atlanta where a white neighborhood in the northeast and a black neighborhood in the southwest, though as separate as the fingers, discovered they had a great deal in common. The black area, with a relatively large middle class, had produced through its Atlanta University complex some of America's outstanding scholars and political, civil rights, and business leaders.

The white finger, called Inman Park (only 2.9% black in 1977) realized in the early 1970s that it needed a political fist which could not be achieved with an unfolded hand or with disunited communities, that is, if Inman Park were to stop freeway I-485 from ploughing through it and 30 other white and black neighborhoods across the entire city.

The issue ignited an anti-freeway revolt which was the springboard for organizing a city-wide league of neighborhoods interested in preserving the integrity of the sundry communities. Collectively, the black and white communities were a coalition whose strength could not be ignored. The political potency of this bi-racial movement was instrumental in the elections of both Congressman Andrew Young and Mayor Maynard Jackson. Both had opposed I-485. Atlanta neighborhood power based on mutual co-existence between the races assured that the Cinderella City, once the victim of a civil war among American whites, would not return to urban cinders at the stroke of the 21st century.

Co-incidental with the new politics of Atlanta, the out-migration of both whites and blacks decreased from 6,213 annually between 1960 and 1970 to 5,333 annually between 1970 and 1977, a 14.1% annual decrease for the past seven years. At the same time, we witness a reverse trend in white owner-occupied properties in predominantly white neighborhoods, such as Virginia Highlands, Inman Park, and Ansley Park. Note these figures for Virginia Highlands:

<u>Housing Units</u>	<u>1950*</u>	<u>1960*</u>	<u>1970*</u>	<u>1977**</u>
Owner occupied	1,811	1,492	1,513	1,952
Total units	3,342	3,574	4,228	4,129
% owner occupied	54.2	41.8	35.8	47.2

*U.S. Bureau of the Census

**City of Atlanta Department of Planning

In this white neighborhood, the trend in the 1950s and 1960s was toward conversion and rental units. In the 1970s, the trend reversed to deconversion and homeownership, as a younger white population displaced an older white population.

Eighty percent of the "city redeemers" who purchased old homes in declining neighborhoods were between the ages of 20 and 39, were well-educated, economically mobile, and very representative of the "ins" of the white middle and upper class of the new South. This young group defies the trickle-down theory in real estate and provides an example of inverted filtering-upward motion. But this is a phenomenon which could not occur if the desire and demand to live near the central business district were absent. Indeed, if the demand for inner-city property in Atlanta continues, not only will the older and poorer whites continue to be displaced, but the black areas abutting the older, Victorian neighborhoods will also be under pressure from the in-migration of the aggressive and economically powerful new and young white middle class.

The areas of greatest white in-migration are in close proximity to the central business district, which has shown unprecedented growth in the past 15 years and for which further growth is anticipated, as indicated in this 1971 table:

ATLANTA CENTRAL AREA (NPU M) DEVELOPMENT HISTORY AND PROJECTIONS

	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1983</u>	<u>1995</u>
General Office (million square feet)	10.0	17.6	28.9	46.1
Governmental Offices (million square feet)	5.8	6.1	8.1	10.1
Retail Sales Area (million square feet)	4.3	4.1	5.2	6.1
Hotels and Motels (rooms)	3,400	7,700	16,000	32,000
Housing (units)	62,500	51,200	45,200	45,200
Employees	190,000	230,000	320,000	440,000
Assessed value (1970 dollars)	\$827,900,000	\$850,000,000	\$1,260,000,000	\$1,850,000,000

Sources: Central Atlanta Progress, Inc., City of Atlanta, and Hammer, Green, Siler Associates, *Central Atlanta Opportunities and Responses*, 1971.

A pattern emerges in Atlanta which applies to most of our older cities. Decaying inner-city neighborhoods, near the central business district

(subject to urban renewal and new development) become partially vacant as several thousand low-income households are displaced. Until the late 1960s the cleared land is used mainly for commercial development. The hotels and new enterprises that locate in downtown Atlanta act as a magnet attracting young middle-management executives and their families who see that investing in an old house at the right price near the central business district is a risk worth taking, especially when compared with the high-cost and remote suburban housing market.

These young "urban pioneers" attract others who see their friends' advantages in terms of life style and property values. The area gains a reputation for being "in" or "with it" and a flood of in-migration occurs. The poor, both white and black, and often elderly, are forced to locate elsewhere, either in more blighted urban communities or in distant, inconvenient suburbs. Note Atlanta's projections for the year 1995 in this table:

ATLANTA CENTRAL AREA HOUSEHOLDS BY INCOME GROUP 1975, 1985, and 1995 TARGETS

	1975	1985	Change 1975-85	1995	Change 1985-95
Families	(29300)	(38200)		(50000)	
Low	9700	9700	0	9500	-200
Moderate	9400	9400	0	9400	0
Lower Middle	5900	7900	2000	9600	1700
Upper Middle	2000	4700	2700	9000	4300
High	2300	6500	4200	12500	6000
Other Households	(19200)	(20600)		(25300)	
Low	8000	6600	-1400*	6300	-300
Moderate	7900	9500	1600	11600	2100
Lower Middle	1700	2300	600	3800	1500
Upper Middle	600	800	200	1000	200
High	1000	1400	400	2600	1200
Total Households	48500	58800	10300	75300	16500

*Loss is shown based on projected major decreases of households in this group due to rising income.

Source: Central Atlanta Progress, *et. al.*

The officials may chart the decrease in low-income families and households as due to "rising income" but displacement is more likely.

The re-vitalization of old communities like Virginia Highlands, Inman Park, and Ansley Park is a good dose of urban medicine for Atlanta. But the side effects are discomfiting as low-income families are dislodged. The implications are racial because so many of the poor are black. Urban economic integration is creditable, but not workable. The haves will always out-bid the have-nots as the City of Atlanta becomes more attractive. Within a decade, many of the poor will have to commute to see the old homesteads, unless substantial subsidies are made available to make them competitive in the inner-city marketplace.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

If the yearning of blacks to stay in the central area of the nation's capital were stated in a blues lyric, the song would begin:

Momma, Momma, I want to stay in the middle of the District,
but my short money tells me I must go.
The white man is a-coming and there ain't no room for those
like me anymore.
The man has taken my old run-down house and with borrowed cash made
it better than new.
This morning a move to Prince George's County is the only
thing I can do.

Five years ago the only areas in the District that attracted whites were Georgetown and Capitol Hill. Today the in-migration of whites appears to be infectious and spontaneous in many sections. Recent estimates prepared by the D.C. government indicate that the city's white population has started to increase after a 25-year decline. In contrast, the black population began a decline in 1973. The Bureau of the Census estimates that the total population of Washington had declined to 690,000 by July 1, 1977, which is the lowest level since 1940.

The number of households in the District has increased with young white singles and empty nesters, but the total population has decreased with the displacement of black families with children from the central areas. Many black families have been pushed beyond the District line into adjacent Prince George's County, Maryland. An ordinance has been proposed to stop the southeastward movement of low-income blacks by curtailing the building of cheap housing in Prince George's County. At the same time, desperate black renters with large families, making less than \$10,000 per year, are trying to buy run-down homes on 12th Place in Northwest Washington, a neighborhood where some have lived for the past 40 years.

In their eagerness to stay on 12th Place some have resorted to public sale of soul dinners, consisting of such staples as pig's feet, chitterlings, fried fish, and chicken. This kitchen entrepreneurial action, reminiscent of the rent parties of the 1930s Depression, may beget the small downpayment but won't maintain the cash flow to support a \$65,000 home. The fact that blacks win sometime is evident in the intense two-month struggle by five families on 12th Place N.W. and the year-long struggle between developers and nine low-income families on Seaton Street between Florida Avenue and 17th Street. The nine families raised downpayment money through a series of community fund-raisers and won a legal battle with the new owners that permitted the families to buy their homes. However, other houses on the block were sold to professionals and high-salaried newcomers. No government relocation money was made available for the displaced blacks because the development was a private act, committed, in some instances, by public persons.

The under-salaried struggle to stay, while some amply-paid congressional staffers have made dabbling in the black housing market a financial sport.

On the 1400 block of Corcoran Street, just off the riot corridor, \$20,000 row houses are being restored and sold for prices ranging from \$62,000 to \$70,000. The private investor is a public person named Stewart McKinney (Republican Congressman from Connecticut), a liberal House District Committee member and one of the District's blacks' best friends on the Hill. McKinney is just one of numerous examples.

Although some black renters and homeowners are enraged by the dislodgement caused by speculators, there are black owners who laugh all the way to the bank with the new-found wealth realized from the sale of their run-down shells.

In 1977, Perpetual Federal Savings & Loan Association pioneered in developing 11 new two-family structures in the middle of black Washington in the 1400 block of 11th Street N.W. According to the association's black director, Realtor James Harps, white families purchased eight of the first nine structures. The reason for this oddity is probably that the blacks who could afford a \$79,500 sale price were not seeking economic integration.

Robert Linowes, white president of the conservative Metropolitan Board of Trade, the city's powerful business association, says, "In the next decade the District will be solidly middle and upper class, racially balanced, with the poor pushed into the suburbs. The suburbs will inherit the problems—including crime—that the city suffered from so long."

Although blacks have political control of the District, their impotence in economic power is all present. Investment capital is still concentrated in the hands of white banks and savings and loan institutions. Note the comparison in this table:

	<u>Number of businesses</u>	<u>Gross receipts</u>	<u>Percentage of entire city</u>
Blacks	5,000	\$200,000,000	3
Whites	10,000	\$6,600,000,000,000	97

Source: Urban Research Institute, Inc.

William B. Fitzgerald, president of Independence Federal Savings and Loan, one of Washington's six minority-controlled financial institutions, said, "It is the 'haves' against the 'have-nots'—and blacks are two hundred years ahead in the line-up for the 'have-nots'." Twenty years ago, there were no black partners in any major law firm. Today there are three—which is three more than we have in Chicago. Black lawyers, who by necessity 25 years ago were forced to treat law as a hobby and drove taxis as a profession, are in demand in the District today because whites feel that black government officials will respond better to a qualified black barrister.

On the other hand, it appears that the "cross-over dollar" and the "cross-over opportunity" have evaded the other black professions, businesses, and workers. The median salary in the District for a black white-collar federal worker as of November 1976, was \$13,000 or 46% less than the white civil servant whose median earnings were \$24,000 per annum. Black women earned a median of \$11,000 or 8.3% less than white females.

A salary of \$13,000 per annum will not buy much housing in a city where the average market value for the existing 100,000 single family dwellings is \$44,837. Future assessments based on current market values will displace a large number of blacks who became homeowners on low downpayment programs in the 1950s and '60s. Their low salaries cannot be budgeted to compete in a highly competitive real estate market.

The D.C. Legislative Commission estimated that there are currently 20,000 low and moderate income homeowners who are overburdened by real estate taxes and other housing expenses. In addition, there are more than 50,000 renters who are being priced out of the District housing market.

A survey of District real estate brokers, mortgage bankers, and savings and loan officials revealed that there is a decrease in home ownership among blacks and an increase among whites. Georgetown could be the model for the District's transformation because east of Wisconsin Avenue it gradually changed from 90% black in 1940 to 95% white in 1978.

Some black and white statistics for the District of Columbia are compared in the table below. Population estimates from 1975 indicate a slight increase in the white percentage of the total. The dramatic figures, however,

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SELECTED BLACK AND WHITE STATISTICS

Item	Total	Black	% of total	White	% of total
Population					
1970	756,510	547,200	72.3	209,300	27.7
1975 (est)	712,000	511,928	71.9	200,072	28.1
Newcomer Households					
1970-74	42,200	13,500	32.1	26,100	62.0
Professional/Technical					
Head of Household	12,660 (30.0%)	1,750	13.8	10,180	80.4
College degrees					
(Head of household)	24,054 (57.0%)	3,780	15.7	18,792	78.1
Income over					
\$15,000	14,348 (34.0%)	2,565	17.9	10,179	70.9
Newcomers in					
Owner units	5,894 (14.0%)	540	9.2	5,220	88.6
Federal Government Employees					
All pay plans	296,717	85,308	28.8	205,841	69.4
Median Salary	16,000	12,000		19,000	
GS Schedule &					
Equivalent	243,691 (82.1%)	57,867	23.7	180,772	74.2
Median GS Grade Level	9	6		11	
Median GS Salary	17,000	12,000		20,000	
Reg. Supervisory	2,445	1,201	49.1	1,232	50.4
Median WS Grade Level	8	5		9	
Median WS Salary	19,000	17,000		20,000	

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census; Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies; Civil Service Commission, 1976.

are from the Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies' 1977 report, "Movers to the City," based on a comparison of their 1974 census with the 1970 U.S. Census.

Thus, from the Washington Center's superb study, we learn that newcomers to the city are most likely to be white and most likely to be the households buying homes. Their study of 1970-1974 also revealed:

- 47% of newcomer households were one person
- 67% of the heads of household were under 35 years of age
- 57% of the heads of household had college degrees (compared to 19% of the total D.C. population)
- 80% of the households had no children present under 18 years of age (whereas 56% of the households moving *within* the metropolitan area had children present under 18 years of age)

Because we have every reason to believe that this trend of white movement into the District of Columbia is rapidly increasing, the 1980 Census will show a dramatic change in the capital city's demography.

SAN FRANCISCO

Mass human displacement in the city by the bay has been caused by three separate events in this century: an earthquake, the forced Japanese evacuation, and urban renewal.

The first event was a *vis major* and uncontrollable. However, the latter two were programmed and controllable. The extent to which persons were affected by any one of the three events depended upon both ethnic background and skin pigmentation.

The devastating earthquake of 1906 displaced many white San Franciscans. But all Americans of Japanese ancestry were dislodged by Executive Order #9066 issued on February 19, 1942. Order #9066 was a directive to evacuate Japanese Americans from both city and farm to one of ten inland concentration camps. The time allowed upon receipt of evacuation orders to dispose of businesses, homes, and furnishings was 48 hours.

The housing vacated by the Japanese was inherited by imported black war workers. Many of these blacks were ultimately displaced by both skyrocketing unemployment following World War II and the urban renewal bulldozers that plowed through a ghetto known as the Western Addition.

The Western Addition is a small chunk of geography in the bay city where white, yellow, and black actors have played roles in their respective times. Hence it serves as an excellent stage to observe middle and upper-class whites returning to the district to reclaim and renovate the remaining Victorians. The original Victorians were renovated in 1906 to accommodate wealthy whites from Nob Hill and other sections affected by the earthquake.

These whites were followed by European immigrants, who in turn were followed by Asian immigrants, who were in turn succeeded by blacks. The platform has slowly turned after 70 years, and native whites in increasing

numbers have begun to appear as members of the permanent cast in the Western Addition—this in spite of the area's lagging image of crime, dope, and welfare. The gay community and the art community did not find these factors overwhelming and began the movement to renovate the old Victorian homes of this area. Other whites were quick to follow.

The competition for housing by the affluent new residents has increased rental costs in the area by as much as 200% in the last seven years; indeed in the area north of Geary Boulevard and west of Steiner Street, rents have increased 307% since 1970!

Long-term tenants are being priced out of the market. New owners and speculators are raising their rents from \$150 to \$400 per month. The only act required before the dramatic increase is 30 days' notice. Local real estate people are predicting that if the current speculative cycle in residential properties is not abated, San Francisco could devolve into a \$90,000-one-bedroom condo town before 1985. The new occupants will most likely be white, childless, and earning in excess of \$25,000 per year. The demographic character of the new San Francisco is unfolding in the Western Addition, north of Geary Boulevard, both east and west of Steiner Street. A 1977 survey of the Western Addition area produced these statistics:

ETHNIC MIX OF WESTERN ADDITION SURVEY AREA (1977)

	<u>1960</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>1977</u>	<u>%</u>
Black	20213	72.9	12200	56.3	14002	58.1
White	7558	27.1	6929	32.0	6853	28.4
Other	NA		2558	11.8	3230	13.5
Total	27771	100.0	21687	100.0	24091	100.0

ETHNIC MIX OF AREA NORTH OF GEARY AND EAST OF STEINER

Black	5157	73.3	1530	28.3	830	14.7
White	1878	26.7	2642	48.9	3211	57.0
Other	NA		1235	22.8	1591	28.3
Total	7035	100.0	5407	100.0	5632	100.0

The same area also shows dramatic changes in income levels. In 1960, 45.3% of the area's population earned less than \$4,000 per household and only .2% earned over \$25,000. In 1977, 25.3% earned less than \$4,000, and 9.7% earned over \$25,000. Thus income and rentals in the area are both increasing more rapidly than the rate of inflation, which has been 45% since 1970.

San Francisco, like most other American cities, will be inherited by those who have the highest incomes and the fewest children.

SUMMARY

The examples clearly indicate that whites are returning to the central areas of many of our nation's cities. Several factors have been cited as causes of this: transportation costs (which will become even more important as prospects of gas shortages increase), life style, the high cost of suburban homes, cultural opportunities, and the efforts of institutions like universities and government agencies to revitalize or "preserve" neighborhoods and business districts.

Meanwhile, the inner-city communities of our land are being depleted of potential black leadership because many blacks who have the education and the economic wherewithal are leaving and the public schools are failing to educate those who remain. Thus those most able to compete with the new white influx are leaving and those unable to compete will be forced to leave eventually.

Our observations have indicated the need for substantial subsidies to the residents of old inner city neighborhoods. But there has to be some tie between the subsidies which will permit low-income households to remain in the city and the educational opportunities and development of their neighborhoods. Mobility in a technological society is directly related to academic achievement. In the several cases cited in this article, blacks begin with a handicap in the race for urban housing, not only because of lower incomes, but also because of an overwhelming education gap, all of which is compounded by lagging institutional racism.

The present hostility to new subsidy programs grows out of the frustrating experiences of the past 12 years, in which programs failed to solve urban problems. However, it was not the subsidies which were at fault, but the poor administration and monitoring of the programs which doomed the well-intentioned plans of the '60s and early '70s.

The programs are now crippled by freezes, site selection criteria, litigation, and tax-payer revolts. Meanwhile thousands of acres of urban land in black communities lie fallow and undeveloped, precisely where the housing crunch is more severe.

A concerted political effort by the black community is needed to develop this land while the black population is still concentrated enough to wield the clout necessary to break the present barriers against such development.

The alternative is a dispersal of the black population into the suburbs, a loss of the hard-won political gains of the past 30 years, and a new relegation to second-class citizenship without the political power that the inner city once represented.