

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF KANSAS

OLIVER BROWN, et al.,				
	Plaintiffs,)		
)		
and)		
)		
CHARLES and KIMBERLY SMITH, minor)		
children, by their mother and next)		
friend, LINDA BROWN SMITH, et al.,)	No. T-316	
	Intervening)		
	Plaintiffs,)		
)		
vs.)		
)		
BOARD OF EDUCATION OF TOPEKA,)		
SHAWNEE COUNTY, KANSAS,)		
et al.,)		
	Defendants.)		
)		

ANSWER OF UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT NO. 501
TO PLAINTIFF-INTERVENORS' INTERROGATORY NO. 17

17. For each of the school years from [1950-51] to 1979-80, state whether any federally subsidised housing projects have been or are located within any attendance zone for a school in the school district. If the answer is in the affirmative, state:

- a. Name and address of the housing project
- b. Name of school whose attendance zone the housing project is located within
- c. Date the housing project was open
- d. The school year the housing project was included in the school attendance zone
- e. A description of the school attendance zone prior and subsequent to the housing project being included in the attendance zone. Accompany a map with a demarcation of this description
- f. The residency of the housing project by:
 1. Total number of residents
 2. Total number of white residents
 3. Total number of black residents
 4. Total number of other residents
- g. Whether any federal, state, county or municipal agency requested the school district to provide a school to serve a federal housing project. If the answer is in the affirmative, state:

1. Name of the governmental agency that made the request

2. The date the request was made
3. The housing project to be served by the school
4. The school which was provided to serve the housing project

ANSWER:

Attached hereto is the response of Unified School District No. 501 to Interrogatory No. 17, which was prepared under the direction and supervision of Michael D. Tribbey, General Director of Planning and Evaluation Services, with the assistance of Gerald Miller, Director of Demographic Services; and Larry Gaston, Director of Grant Procurement.

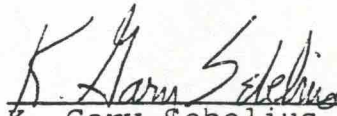
The list of federally subsidized housing projects in Topeka, Kansas, was obtained from reviewing the financial records of the City of Topeka, which indicated the year of construction but did not specifically indicate the year the housing project was included in the school attendance zone. No records could be located to determine the precise date on which the housing project was opened and included within the school attendance zone. The Topeka Housing Authority was contacted and the director advised that all records regarding federally subsidized housing in Topeka had been destroyed. Five volumes of minutes of the Topeka Housing Authority were made available and reviewed by staff members of the School District. Accompanying the answer to this interrogatory are excerpts and abstracts from a review of the five volumes of the Housing Authority of the City of Topeka.

In answer to subpart e of Interrogatory No. 17, maps of the school attendance zones of each school of the School District are contained in answer to Interrogatory No. 9i and a comparison of the attendance zone prior to and subsequent to the year of construction can be made from reviewing those documents.

The information sought in subpart f of Interrogatory No. 17 could not be obtained; however, the minutes of the Topeka Housing Authority indicate the resident population of six subsidized

CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

The undersigned hereby certifies that a true and correct copy of the above and foregoing ANSWER OF UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT NO. 501 TO PLAINTIFF-INTERVENORS' INTERROGATORY NO. 17 was served by hand delivering the same this 3d day of July, 1981, to attorneys for Intervening Plaintiffs by serving Richard Jones, Jones & Jones, 724 1/2 Kansas Avenue, Topeka, Kansas 66603.



K. Gary Sebelius
of Eidson, Lewis, Porter & Haynes
1300 Merchants National Bank Bldg.
Topeka, Kansas 66612
(913) 233-2332

Attorneys for Unified
School District No. 501

Federally Subsidized Housing in Topeka

<u>17c</u> <u>Year of</u> <u>Const.</u>	<u>17a</u> <u>Name and Address</u> <u>of Housing Project</u>	<u>17b</u> <u>School Attendance</u> <u>Zones for Project</u>	<u>17f</u> <u>Number and</u> <u>Type of Units</u>
1961	Eastboro Apartments 400 Winfield	Lafayette/Rice; East Topeka Jr. High; Highland Park High School (HPS)	28 units, family
1962	Eastboro Apartments 400 Winfield (28 more units) and 400 Arter (48 units)	Lafayette/Rice; East Topeka; HPS	76 units, family
1963	Pine Ridge 2701 East 10th St.Rd.	Belvoir; East Topeka; HPS	210 units, family
1965	Trail Ridge 2000 East 12th	Belvoir; East Topeka; HPS	148 units, family
1965	Colonial Townhouses 2501 East 25th (26 units), 2502 Colonial Drive (13 units) and Golden (98 units)	Hudson; Eisenhower; Jr. High; HPS	137 units, family
1967	Highland Park Apts. 2301 Belleview	Hudson; Eisenhower HPS	200 units, family
1969	Jackson Towers 1122 Jackson	No school-age children	102 units, elderly and handicapped
1969	Polk Plaza 1312 Polk	No school-age children	108 units, elderly and handicapped
1970	Ripley Park Apts. 300 block of Lime (54 units) and 200 block of Lawrence (48 units)	Lafayette; East Topeka; Topeka High School (THS)	102 units, family
1970	Deer Creek 2435 East 25th	Hudson; Eisenhower; HPS	92 units, family
1970	Western Plaza 1300 Western	Polk (presently Quinton Heights); Crane Jr. High (presently Robinson Middle School); THS	22 units, family

1972	Tyler Towers 600 West 14th	No school-age children	75 units, elderly and handicapped
1972	Northland Manor 2135 Eugene	USD 345	100 units, family
1972	Plaza West 373 Plaza Drive	No school-age children	144 units, elderly and handicapped
1975-76	Fox Ridge 1101 Glendale	McCarter; Landon Jr. High; Topeka West High School (TWHS)	94 units, family
1978	Mission Towers 2929 Minnesota	No school-age children	100 units, elderly
1980-81	Glen Oaks 36th and Plass	Shaner; Jardine Middle School; THS	30 units, family
1980-81	Knightsbridge Manor 6th and Franklin	No school-age children	60 units, elderly

Housing Authority of City of Topeka
Minutes

Volume I

Meeting-3-27-61

- Resolution 1: Housing Authority was organized and authorized to transact business. Ken Murrow moved that this resolution be adopted and D. E. Roach seconded.
- Resolution 4: Housing Authority submitted an application to the Public Housing Administration for funds for a low-rent housing project of 211 units.

Special Meeting-4-24-61

Present: Norvill Wingate, Exec. Director of Urban Renewal Agency. Murrow reported he had written AIA and ARA for recommendations of architect.

Public Housing Adm. asked for June 30, 1961 deadline of site selection, exec. dir., and architect.

Meeting-5-31-61

- Resolution 7: Harold V. Barnes was appointed Exec. Dir. and Secretary of Housing Authority, effective 5-23-1961.
Page 19
- Resolution 15: That executive director establish and maintain complete and accurate records of all real and personal property acquired and held for a project under a contract with Public Housing Adm.
Page 24
- Resolution 16: Exec. Director to make survey of Topeka for sites for low-rent housing of 211 units.
Page 25
- Motion: That Com. Taggart prepare list of persons who might wish to serve on Citizens Advisory Committee.
Page 26

Meeting-6-14-61

- Motion: Selection of Sites: Site bounded by Illinois, E. 13th, and Topeka Cemetery, Right of way of proposed I-70.
Page 29
Site #1.
- Site bounded by Golden, E. 10th, Carnahan, and Right of Way of proposed I-70. Site #2.
- Site bounded by Adams, E. 27th, Monroe, and E. 25th.
Site #3.
- Motion carried.

Vol 1, Minutes of Housing Authority

Meeting-7-7-61

Resolution 19: Architect selected: Williamson, Loebdach and Assoc. for
Page 36 211 unit development.

Meeting-7-25-61

Resolution 21: Contract with Allied Engineering for Survey of K-2-1.
Page 38

Resolution 22: Contract with Howard Lyngar and G.R. Van Arsdale, Topeka,
Page 38 for appraisal of land and improvements for Project K-2-1.

Meeting-8-1-61

Resolution 25 Exec. Dir. of authority to prepare development program
Page 40 for 211 units, K-2-1

Meeting-8-30-61

Resolution 27: Exec. Dir. to submit to Public Housing Adm. Development
Page 45 Program for review, 211 units, K-2-1, Cost: \$2,328,988.

Meeting-9-26-61

Resolution 30: 211 unit program approved: \$2,581,091.00
Page 48

Meeting-10-26-61

Resolution 35: Housing auth. office moved from 535 Jefferson to 1000 Golden.
Page 54

Resolution 37: Ks. 2-1, E 10th, Golden, Carnahan, I-70. Public Housing
Page 55 Adm. raised questions as to suitability. PHA to make investigation. There were complaints by Citizens Advisory Committee:

1. No consideration for human factor
2. Schools in area are overcrowded
3. Shopping facilities are obsolescent
4. Public Transportation too distant
5. No sewer facilities
6. Site will create Negro ghetto
7. That Topeka Housing Authority refuses to appoint Adv. Committee or consult with Urban Renewal Agency citizen relocation advisory committee.

Citizens Advisory Committee stated it had no power and was not recognized.

Meeting-11-9-61

Resolution 38: Salary of exec. dir. increased to \$600 per mo.
Page 59 effective 10-1-61

Meeting-12-5-61

Resolution 42: Quinlan, Hiatt, Listrom, & Dimmitt, negotiated with
Page 62 concerning acquisition of land. Proj. K-2-1.

Meeting-1-2-62

Resolution 46: In condemnation proceedings in Proj. K-2-1, property
Page 64 E. 10th, Carnahan, I-70, Golden, consisted of 9 individual parcel ownerships. Following were suggested as citizens advisory committee:

1. Minnie Harlow, Soc. Worker
 2. G.W. Snyder, Topeka State Bank
 3. Miss Taylor, County Welfare Dept.
 4. L. Wood, Principal, Belvoir
 5. Dr. Otto Ravenholt, City-County Health Dept.
 6. Rep. from H.P. Booster Club
 7. Rep. resident of public housing area
- Also, member of Mexican Community

Meeting-2-6-62

Resolution 48: That a community facility building be built for
Page 68 Project K-2-1.

Resolution 50: Name for K-2-1, Pine Ridge Manor
Page 69

Meeting 3-6-62

Resolution 52: Approving working drawings, specifications, and contract
Page 71 documents for K-2-1.

Meeting 5-18-62

Special Problems with HHFA, Housing and Home Finance Agency required
Meeting city to adopt adequate, enforceable housing code, designate
Page 78 agency to enforce code, assume responsibility of relocating displaced persons, and designate citizens advisory committee.

Commissioners said they would do everything possible to assist city in getting recertification of a workable program and would cooperate with citizens advisory committee appointed by mayor.

Housing Authority of City of Topeka
Minutes

Volume II

Meeting-4-19-65

Resolution 100: Compliance under Title VI of Civil Rights Act of 1964,
Page 180 "No person in the U.S. shall, on the grounds of race,
color, or national origin, be excluded from participation
in, be denied benefits of, or be subjected to discrim-
ination under any program or activity receiving Federal
Financial Assistance."

Meeting-7-14-66

Resolution 110: Authorizing submission of application for program
Page 213 reservation of low-rent housing and for a preliminary
loan due to tornado and depleted supply of safe and
sanitary dwelling accomodations. Proj. K-2-C

Meeting-10-17-66

Resolution 113: Exec. Dir. of Housing Authority authorized to study sites
Page 216 for low-rent public housing for elderly and non-elderly.

Meeting 11-9-66

Resolution 114: Contract with architects, Van Doren, Hazard, Stallings,
Page 218 Schnacke for K-2-C

Resolution 115: Appraiser for K-2-C, Robert N. Kirk
Page 219

Resolution 116: Authorizing housing for elderly. Survey made of land
Page 219 between Kansas Ave. and College Hill.

Meeting-12-30-66

Resolution 117: To proceed with development programs for housing for
Page 222 elderly--2 sites, 100 units/site

Resolution 118: Negotiate with Kenkraft for construction of housing
Page 223 project: Bounded by W 13th, W. 14th, Polk, Tyler (100 dwellings)

&

Negotiate with Clemmons and Shortall for construction of
housing (100 dwellings) East side of Jackson between 11th
& West 12th.

Meeting-3-6-67

Resolution 119: Buddy Dawson as appraiser in connection with public housing projects.
Page 226

Resolution 120: Knight & Remmele, AIA, for Ks 2-C project,
Page 226

Meeting-4-14-67

Resolution 122: Clemmons-Ross proposal in sum of \$1,629,437. for Housing Project Ks 2-2 for elderly
Page 230

Resolution 123: Approving sites for general family projects: Ks 2-4 (25 dwellings); Ks 2-5 (35 dwellings); and Ks 2-6 (50 dwellings), All designated as Ks 2-4.
Page 230

Meeting 5-8-67

Kiene, architect, presented plans for elderly housing Ks 2-3, 109 units,

Resolution 124: David Craig, appraiser for Ks, 2-C
Pg. 232

Meeting-5-19-67

Resolution 125: Turnkey method for elderly project: Ks-2-2, accepted in sum of \$1,612,087.00.
Page 233

Resolution 126: Turnkey Method, Project Ks 2-3, \$1,973,311.
Page 234

Resolution 127: Approved preliminary drawings for KS 2-4 (family project) W 22nd and Fillmore
Page 234
E Frances
E 31st St.

Meeting-9-5-67

General discussion regarding protests from residents on E 30th, Michigan Ave., E. 32nd and Minnesota which is project Ks 2-4

Meeting 9-29-67

Citizens Advisory Committee, with protests from residents of Proj KS 2-4.

1. Schools are already overcrowded
2. Certain high school courses have been curtailed.
3. Too many housing projects are being located in H.P.

Meeting-12-7-67

Resolution:
Page 257

Accepting proposal for Project Ks 2-4. Clemmons, Shortall, Sargent, \$1,596,000.00, 1300 Western & Burr and 25th; total 114 family units.

Following is a list of project offices locations:

- Ks 2-1, 2701 E. 10th St. Rd.
- Ks 2-2, 1122 Jackson
- Ks. 2-3, 1312 Polk
- Ks. 2-4, 2534 E. 25th and 1311 Western

Housing Authority of City of Topeka
Minutes

Volume III

Meeting-7-30-70

Discussion about sites proposed for Turnkey project
Ks 2-5, 75 units for elderly at 10th and Kansas,
National Reserve Life Building.

Meeting-8-15-70

- Resolution 185: 10th and Kansas accepted for Turnkey Project Ks. 2-5,
Page 328
- Resolution 186: Site at W. 14th & Tyler, Ks. 2-5, 75 units for elderly.
Page 328
- Resolution 187: Appraisers for Ks 2-5, Dawson, Craig, William Reed.
Page 329

Meeting-6-29-71

Turnkey Project, Ks. 2-4A, Deer Creek Village
Ks. 2-4B, Western Plaza

Meeting-7-19-71

- Resolution 200: Buddy Dawson: Assis. Dir., Exec. Dir. of LHA as of
Page 349 1971.

Meeting-8-11-71

- Resolution 202: Application for 589 units, New Town
Page 351 100 units, 2135 Eugene

Meeting-9-21-71

- Resolution 204: Authorizing Development Program for Proj. Ks 2-6
Page 353 (New Town)

Meeting-3-15-72

- Resolution 208: Proj. Ks 2-6, 2135 Eugene named Northland Manor.
Page 358
- Resolution 209: Proj. K-2-5, 600 W. 14th, named Tyler Towers
Page 358

Meeting-9-13-72

Resolution 231:
Page 389

Authorization to submit application to US Department
of Housing and Urban Development additional housing
a. 500 units for elderly
b. 50 units in HP-Pierce area

Listing of projects to date:

Ks 2-1, 2701 E. 10th St. Rd.
Ks 2-2, 1122 Jackson
Ks. 2-3, 1312 Polk
Ks. 2-4A, 2435 E. 25th St. (Deer Creek Village)
Ks. 2-4B, 1312 Polk
Ks. 2-5, 600 W. 14th
Ks. 2-6, 2135 Eugene

Meeting-5-14-73

Page 442

Personnel problems between Barnes and Dawson.
Barnes asked for Dawson's resignation.

Regular Meeting-6-26-73

Resolution 257:
Page 444

To terminate employment of assistant director, Dawson
Tabled until Monday 7-7-73.

Housing Authority of City of Topeka
Minutes

Volume IV

Meeting-9-18-73

Motion by Com. Wilkinson to terminate services of H. Barnes. Com. Corona 2nd motion. Motion carried

Com. Wilkinson made motion that Buddy Dawson serve as acting exec. dir. Motion carried.

Housing Authority of City of Topeka
Minutes

Volume V

Meeting-12-14-73

Lana
Balka,
Secre-
tary

There were complaints among maintenance workers. Not enough men and supplies. Men would not follow orders of Dawson. Tenants complain of maintenance work not being done.

Meeting-1-4-74

Joan Finney appointed as Acting Director, LHA; Buddy Dawson, Assistant Director.

Meeting-2-8-74

Discussion was held on clarification of employees' job descriptions.

Meeting-2-22-74

Discussion of proposed reorganization chart; position of assistant director was eliminated.

Budget: Deficit of \$45,220. Com. Elder suggested city's revenue sharing money be earmarked for use by authority. Balka said first step should be to ask for subsidy from HUD.

July, 1974,
Balka is
shown as
Exec.
Dir.

Meeting-6-3-74

Guidelines for New LHA Board were set up.

Meeting-6-13-74

Resolution
21:

Authorizing minority representation. It is wished to increase the minority percentages in Ks 2-2, Ks. 2-3, and Ks. 2-5.

Meeting-5-21-75

Balka explained new Section 8 Housing Application. There is start up money of \$24,000; will pay for Program Specialist, accounting firm. This did not pass, because of board members lack of understanding of Section 8.

Meeting-11-17-75

Section 8-New Construction--was explained. Housing for elderly. 140 units, 100 elderly and 40 elderly or family, \$495,000.

Vol V, Minutes of Housing Authority

Meeting-1-15-76

Section 8-Existing Housing Program:
20 people were under contract with Section 8,
but 3 and 4 bedroom homes were difficult to find.

Meeting-2-23-76

Section 8-Existing Housing Program.
36 units now under contract.

Meeting-3-15-76

Section 8-53 units now under lease, making this program
5 weeks ahead of schedule.

Meeting 4-19-76

Section 8-15 new contracts. Section 8 had been
undercharging on 55 contracts. New rent figures to
take effect 5-1-76.

Meeting-5-17-76

Section 8 Program revisions. Moved to include sections
of the Occupancy Policy. Motion passed.

Meeting-6-9-76

Lunch Program: KSDE was contacted for funding of free
breakfast and lunches for children in projects under 18
years. Meals prepared by USD No. 501 and served in
Recreation Centers at Northland, Deer Creek, Western,
Pine Ridge, 200 children expected to participate. Motion
passed.

Section 8, moved to expand Section 8 Program from 118
to 240 units. Motion passed.

Meeting 6-21-76

Section 8, 17 new units under contract, bringing total
to 93. Total applicants to 246.

Meeting-7-19-76

Section 8: Word from HUD for increase of 122 units
expected.

Meeting 8-23-76

Section 8: There are 107 contracts on file. Applications
being taken again, but applicants must wait until 10-1-76.

Vol. V, Minutes of Housing Authority

Meeting 9-20-76

Summer Food Program:

271 children served in July and 275 in August. Total cost \$11,000.

Section 8: Notice from HUD to increase Program. Section 8 has been in existence for one year.

Meeting-11-15-76

Groundbreaking for Deer Creek Community Center.

Meeting-12-20-76

Section 8: Existing Housing
Running a month ahead of schedule.

Spec. Project:

NYC workers involved in inventory with the Hi-rises in office work and cleaning units.

Meeting-1-19-77

Section 8, Existing Housing.

Program has doubled in size as of October, 1976.

Meeting-2-22-77

"Ms. Balka gave the Board a letter of resignation from the Exec. Dir's position. No statements were made at this time,"

Meeting-3-21-77

Section 8, Budget.

It was recommended to accept Section 8 budget as is and submit it to the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Motion died.

Meeting-4-18-77

Section 8 Inspections and Section 8 Review, Unit Inspection was presented to the Board; "Mrs. Sargent and Mrs. Schermerhorn favored plan to pursue the inspection ourselves."

Meeting-9-19-77

Deer Creek Day Care: SRS has reserved \$10,000. in seed money for Deer Creek Day Care Center. Doors of this day-care facility must be open by 12-15-77.

Vol. V, Minutes of Housing Authority

Meeting-9-28-77

Member of LHA, Robert Bugg, stated he would like to hear from City Commission on status of THA Board. "Mr. Bugg will look into this matter."

Resident Population as of 6-30-77

<u>Total Units</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Native</u>	<u>Spanish</u>	<u>Vacant</u>
K 2-1, 210	138-66%	66-31%		1	
K 2-2, 102	7-7%	93-91%			
K 2-3, 109	17-16%	91-83%			
K 2-4, 114	63-55%	34-30%	4-4%		
K 2-5, 75	11-15%	63-84%			
K 2-6, 100	36-36%	53-53%	1-1%	7-7%	

527 units with Female Head of Household = 77%
 160 units with Male Head of Household = 22%
 22 vacant units.

Vol. V, Minutes of Housing Authority

Affirmative Action Plan, Mid-1977

"...A careful review of our housing procedures needs to be made in order to assure that we do not develop ghetto or garrio projects. Deer Creek Village presently has 55% minority representations. Pine Ridge is 66% minority. Northland Manor has 36%. The reverse point can be made of our elderly high-rises, as they are below the city minority percentages. Steps have already been taken to correct the lack of minorities in the high-rises, but a concerted effort needs to be put forth to inform minority elderly of their right to public housing. This would be the responsibility of the Equal Opportunity officer in cooperation with Intake and Referral Specialist."

Names and dates of election or appointment, and the dates of the beginning and ending of the terms of office, of the members of the governing body of the local agency and of its principal officers are as follows:

<u>Name and office</u>	<u>Date of election or Appointment</u>	<u>Date of Commencement of Term of Office</u>	<u>Date of Expiration of Term of Office</u>
Robert Taggart- Chairman	9-13-72	9-13-72	Indefinite
Commissioner	5-11-71	5-11-71	3-21-75
Charles S. Scott Vice Chairman	9-13-72	9-13-72	Indefinite
Commissioner	5-4-71	5-4-71	3-21-74
Robert B. Maupin Commissioner	3-21-69	3-21-69	3-21-73
Darrel E. Roach Commissioner	3-21-69	3-21-69	3-21-73
Lloyd Jenkins Commissioner	5-16-72	5-16-72	3-21-76
Harold Barnes Sec., Exec. Director	5-9-61	5-23-61	Indefinite

CHAPTER 5

THE RELOCATION PROGRAM

This chapter presents a history of the development, the theory guiding the operation, and a behavioral description of the relocation program of the Topeka Urban Renewal Agency. This detailed description is presented because the program constitutes the variable being evaluated by this study and because, at the time of its establishment, it was a pioneer effort. Now, most of the elements of the program have been incorporated into practice or are being urged on local public agencies by the Urban Renewal Administration. In addition, the program contained many elements that are currently fashionable in community development and the helping professions. These include the use of nonprofessionals as helpers; the use of an "overlap" model for the Relocation Advisory Committee, a model which foreshadowed the poverty program; an "aggressive" reaching out to make contact with clients rather than an office bound practice; the adoption of an Ombudsman orientation by the helpers.

Background

Relocation has been a sensitive area in most urban renewal programs, and Topeka was no exception. The relocation program in Topeka grew out of the conflict surrounding the early days of the Urban Renewal Agency, and it is difficult to understand the program as it emerged without some description of that evolution. This section is intended to present a sufficient background so that the reader can see Topeka's urban renewal program in its developmental context.

In the beginning, the Topeka Urban Renewal Agency did not involve the people affected, businessmen or residents, in planning for the forthcoming displacement. There was no effort to understand or plan for the place of urban renewal in the total community. The task of the Urban Renewal Agency was defined as overseeing the development and operation of the Keyway project. The Urban Renewal Agency addressed itself to the only public with which it was actively concerned (or even perceived)--the business leaders in town--and largely ignored other parts of the community. It seems fair to say that the early Agency perceived urban renewal as a real estate operation and did not perceive the various affected publics in the community such as the slum landlord, the social welfare professional, the project area resident, and the minority groups with which it would have to be concerned.

The prevailing image of the Agency was varied, depending on the needs of the perceiving individual and the information he had available, but it was almost consistently negative. There was, in the language of the middle 1960's, a credibility gap. People reacted to their inability to receive what they felt was reliable information in terms of their stereotypes of businessmen. They came to feel that the only explanation for the involvement of Agency members was interest in themselves or their friends. These stereotypes were reinforced for the minority groups and the welfare professionals

when the Agency rejected public housing before the dimensions of the relocation problem were known.

Public concern and criticism mounted. It was expressed first in several meetings held by professional groups and culminated in a stormy public hearing where the lack of support for the relocation plan became apparent. In spite of this hearing, the plan was approved as one of the last acts of a lame-duck City Commission. While it cannot be said that the next City Commission was anti-urban renewal, it was not identified with it. The Urban Renewal Agency had worked very closely with the City Commission that was in office when urban renewal was started, but it now faced a skeptical, if not hostile, governing body with little support among the citizenry.

The Agency was obviously in trouble, and its governing board set about to rectify past oversights. Its first act in this regard was the appointment of a new, unbiased and, in fact, quite critical Citizens Relocation Advisory Committee. The selection of relocation as the field in which to appoint a community advisory group was significant since the improvement of the living conditions of the people in the project area was not the central purpose of the program at that time. The central purpose of the program was redevelopment to increase the tax base of the city. However, relocation had become the focus of community antagonisms and represented the portion of the urban renewal program most frequently attacked.

The Relocation Advisory Committee consisted of project area residents, social welfare professionals, middle-class citizens, minority group representatives and social scientists. One of the first acts of the committee was to insist that the Agency secure the services of a professional social scientist to assist in the relocation program. Attempts to secure the services of a full-time worker trained in community organization failed because of the instability of the situation and the obvious distrust of one group by another. One candidate, after rejecting the position, wrote a letter detailing his reasons for nonacceptance and his views that the Urban Renewal Agency members were not sincere in their support of the position but were concurring for public relations' reasons. The Agency members reacted angrily to that letter and, in a confrontation, the chairman of the Urban Renewal Agency suggested that a member of the Citizens Relocation Advisory Committee had written the letter for the candidate with the intent of sabotaging the urban renewal program.

At this point there was an impasse with two hostile groups eyeing each other suspiciously and with no one willing to take the job. As a compromise, a joint committee approached the academic vice-president of Washburn University to see if the senior author of this report could be borrowed. His training was not that of a community organization worker, but he had the advantage of being interested, willing, and available locally so that he would not have to relocate. In addition, he was acceptable to both groups and had a secure position in the community, independent of the course of urban renewal.

Shortly after that appointment, relationships between the groups began to improve. The conflict over the previously mentioned letter had been cathartic, and the appointment of the consultant was important because it symbolized the willingness of the Urban Renewal Agency to meet criticisms with positive rather than defensive action. The Citizens Relocation Advisory Committee continued to meet with the Relocation Division, and together they began to shape a revised relocation plan.

Although the Agency's old plan had been approved by the Urban Renewal Administration, two lawsuits had been filed and temporary injunctions prevented its execution. Fortunately, for the Agency's sake, the new Interstate Highway bisected the Urban Renewal Area and, under agreement with the plaintiffs in the court cases, the Agency was permitted to buy property, relocate people, and demolish buildings within the limits of the right-of-way of the highway. This allowed the Agency to hold together the staff which had been assembled and to use the staff and time to modify the plan and meet the charges raised by the lawsuits.

One suit, which challenged the legitimacy of the designation of the area as slum and blight, had been filed in District Court by a group of businessmen located in the area. This suit was settled out of court by reducing the size of the project area and eliminating, in the process, the portion of the area in which the plaintiffs were located. The other suit, filed by the NAACP, challenged the adequacy of the relocation plan for housing members of minority groups. The NAACP, under the able leadership of an aggressive young lawyer, Samuel Jackson, had tried many ways to bring about a modification of the original relocation plan. The organization had attempted to use its influence directly on the Agency; it had tried to go through Kansas Congressmen, through the Housing and Home Finance Agency, and through congressmen in other states by cooperation with NAACP chapters in those states. This suit, which had been filed in a Federal court, was dismissed by mutual agreement when the revised relocation plan (presented at the second public hearing) included a provision for the building of 211 public housing units. The provision of public housing, while a sine qua non for dismissal of the suit filed by the NAACP, was of little importance to the actual operation of the Relocation Division since only 29 of the 570 families in the workload were relocated directly into public housing.

This entire conflict produced a plan which was a compromise but met the requirements of the urban renewal law and regulations, satisfied the NAACP, and provided a setting for the involvement of interested social scientists.

The Relocation Program

The urban renewal law requires that a relocation plan be developed for each urban renewal project. The plan must demonstrate that people can be relocated into decent, safe, and sanitary housing within their ability to pay. It is in some measure ironic that the Urban Renewal Administration, the first

government agency in history to show any compassion for the problems of those people it forces to move, has been so bitterly criticized for its relocation efforts. The law and the regulations that implement the law constitute both the strength and weakness of the program. For one thing, the law is not specific; this allows local communities great latitude to innovate and to adapt to the needs of the people being relocated. However, this may also lead a local community to pay minimum attention to the problems of relocation. Before an urban renewal plan can be approved, the Local Public Agency must submit evidence of the frequency of the housing supply. The supply must meet the anticipated demand that relocation will cause. Relocation housing must meet five types of standards:

Physical standards (including the condition of the structure, bathroom facilities, kitchen facilities, sewage disposal, heating facilities, electrical power, and natural light and ventilation).

Occupancy standards (including the size and number of rooms in relationship to the family size and composition).

Health and safety standards (including the nature of egress and freedom from health hazards).

Ability-to-pay standards (expressed in terms of gross rent as a percentage of income, and criteria for determining a family's ability to purchase a house).

Location standards (accessibility to places of employment and desirability of the new location in terms of public utilities and commercial facilities).¹

It was the inability of the Topeka Urban Renewal Agency to show that a sufficient stock of private housing existed that led to the inclusion of 211 public housing units as part of its relocation plan.

In addition to the standards for rehousing, a relocation plan must include the establishment of a relocation service to assist businesses, families, and individuals in effecting a satisfactory relocation. To assist in the financial cost of moving and to cover property loss resulting from the move, Congress provided a system of relocation payments. These payments are Federal grants administered by each local agency under Urban Renewal Administration regulations and supervision. The local community does not contribute to these grants. The maximum payment for a family or individual is \$200. For business concerns the payment may be as high as \$25,000.

Despite these generous provisions, relocation has been severely criticized because it is "an ancillary component of the renewal process."² This criticism stems primarily from deficiencies in the execution of the program, not in the goals and standards established by the Urban Renewal Administration. Control over the data supplied and the evaluation of the resources lie with the local community. This means that virtually any relocation plan could be approved (at least this was the situation in the middle 1950's when the Topeka plan was being developed). Even so, some very

good plans were developed in which relocation was taken seriously. However, about 1960, procedures and requirements were tightened and the number of "adequate" relocation programs apparently increased.

The program developed by the Topeka Urban Renewal Agency included the requirements, standards, and procedures specified by the Urban Renewal Administration. The program differed from other relocation programs primarily in the explicitness of the philosophy or theory which guided the daily actions of the relocation staff, in the training and consultation provided by people in the helping professions, in the degree of integration of the staff with other social agencies, in the size of the staff and its day-to-day behavior.

Each of these specific elements will be discussed in turn, but one general orientation should first be noted. It is more useful to think of a relocation process than a relocation program. To the greatest extent possible, our relocation plan avoided describing in detail the program elements. The authors of the plan preferred to emphasize the goals and the process rather than the procedure of relocation. This was not easy because there is always pressure from bureaucrats to be highly specific about procedures and to limit the flexibility of the workers. This seems to be a normal attempt to forestall criticism. Such specificity is, however, self-defeating. It almost inevitably leads to the "means-end turnabout." When this happens, the commitment of the worker is invested in the maintenance of procedures instead of in meeting the needs of the client; thus, adherence to the specified procedures becomes the goal. The senior author of this report has attended several relocation workshops where the liveliest discussion occurred over such questions as the eligibility of the clients for certain types of payment. Such a definition of the relocation problem implies a series of diagnostic and procedural pigeonholes into which project area residents and their problems can be fitted.

This "pigeonhole" orientation is not unique to the urban renewal program or to the Federal government, but inflexibility has probably reached the highest stage of development there. The constant need to justify the program to Congress and the threat of the General Accounting Office mean that it is unusual when any innovative or imaginative relocation program operates in urban renewal. It is, therefore, astonishing that the relatively unstructured process-oriented program we are describing was allowed to operate at all. Credit or blame for this has to go to the Urban Renewal Commissioners and Mr. Norville Wingate, first relocation director of the Topeka Urban Renewal Agency and later its executive director.

The theory guiding our program was not unitary but eclectic and represented an attempt to integrate several theoretical traditions. For convenience these will be divided into subdivisions, though it should be understood that these are academic distinctions. It should also be noted that the section below presents the theoretical assumptions on which the program was based at the time it was developed in 1959 and 1960, not on

the modifications of those assumptions that inevitably occurred as the program developed and the participants learned.

Theoretical Assumptions

The Nature and the Impact of Change. Change seems to be viewed by most social scientists as disturbing and fraught with problems for individuals. To understand why this is so, it is necessary to understand certain basic assumptions of sociology. Man is a social animal. For either inherent or functional reasons, no society permits its members to individually choose all of the possible alternatives to behavior but narrows the range of choices. All societies, and perhaps all men, have a narrow range of tolerance for unpredictability; thus, each society collectively develops a series of guidelines for behavior which it imparts to its new members and which social scientists have come to call "social structure" or "culture" depending upon whether they are referring to the pattern of relationships among the people of the society or to the normative rules governing behavior. All societies attempt to develop clear-cut prescriptions for placing individuals in the social structure vis-a-vis all other individuals and groups and to establish a set of moral norms to which the individual can refer. There is always a limit to the variations in behavior which a society will tolerate, and stringent attempts are made to socialize the society's members so that they will not pass the limits of such variations.

Membership in and identification with the society and/or its many subgroupings and adherence to its moral norms have a positive function for an individual. First and foremost, they provide him with an objective view of himself--in George Herbert Mead's terms, "a self."³ Without the stimulation of social interaction, an individual would never know he existed in any objective sense. Once grown, with a clear-cut identity, an explanation of the world and his relationship to it, a set of rules by which he can guide his behavior and the physical and psychological support of his group(s), the individual is in a position to face the vicissitudes of an uncertain world.

The various traits, patterns of behavior, interactional patterns, and values do not exist in isolation, but are combined to form an integrated and comprehensive system. It comes to be what Lewin has called a "quasi-stationary equilibrium."⁴ Under such a system the individual can play out his clearly delineated and carefully assigned social roles with a minimum of confusion. Behavior is routinized and (almost) perfectly predictable. Any change introduced into the system produces problems, conflicts, confusion and, for some individuals, problems of self-identification. Social theorists throughout history, but especially since the time of Durkheim, have pointed to the disastrous consequences of alteration of this system to the individual and to the society. Many fascinating studies have traced out the consequences of change and/or the isolation of individuals from the ongoing social structure

A person may be a member of any number of social groups, broadly defined, which vary in size, degree of formalization, cohesiveness, openness, tolerance for change, and member characteristics. The individual enacts his membership role within a specific group in accordance with his interpretation of what is expected of him and what he expects of himself. Similarly, he learns to anticipate certain behaviors from others, depending upon what roles he perceives them to be enacting in association with what social groups. These behavioral expectations sustain for the individual a degree of predictability of and control over events in his social world.

When social change did occur, there had been an "unfreezing" of significant components of the social system, engendered by an increase in the forces for and/or a decrease in the forces against change. Since such forces and such systems are the result of human interaction, the process of "unfreezing" usually is stressful to at least some of the system's members.

Thus, he may become distressed, to the extent delimited by his personality structure, when changes in the social system or incidences of atypical behavior interfere with the sense and order of things as he perceives them. Also, the learning of new roles, insofar as they require the abandoning or modification of accustomed behavior, may be stressful to the individual. Related to this is the stress-producing conflict that may result when two or more of the multiple roles the person enacts, by virtue of his membership in a multiplicity of social groups, are perceived by him or significant others to have conflicting behavioral expectations.

Social change is, by definition, a process in which the boundaries of groups are reshaped, behavioral expectations are redefined, new social roles are learned, and roles in transition come into conflict. To the community, depending upon the rapidity of and tolerance for change, this can mean a struggle between those social forces which perpetuate the quasi-stationary equilibrium and those which strive to recenter the balance of social power. To the individual, depending upon his needs to maintain the status quo and his tolerance for role assimilation and role strain, the process of change can be unsettling and psychologically painful.⁵

It is obvious, with only minimal reflection, that this somewhat gloomy view of change is a distortion. Extensive mobility (the change which we have under consideration) is characteristic of the United States, and not all who move are subject to some form of pathology. Our culture emphasizes social mobility and achievement and, from one point of view,

immobility itself represents a stressful situation. For some people, then, mobility means opportunity, challenge, and a stimulus for achievement. For some people, change potentially represents an opportunity to alter an unsatisfactory equilibrium which has developed. The ecological correlations and studies hide the differential impact on our population and because most studies look for the negative factors associated with change and movement, it is not surprising that that is what they find.

Let us turn from this sociological and social-psychological orientation to consider the question of what this implies for an intervention program. This question has been considered most carefully by Gerald Caplan⁶ and Erich Lindemann⁷ under the general heading of Crisis Theory. A full exposition of crisis theory is not necessary here but a brief description of what happens when an individual faces a crisis is appropriate.

The essential factor influencing the occurrence of crisis is an imbalance between the difficulty and importance of the problem and the resources immediately available to deal with it. The usual homeostatic, direct problem-solving mechanisms do not work, and the problem is such that other methods which might be used to sidestep it also cannot be used....The outcome will be determined by choices which are made partly actively and partly by chance and by other aspects of the situation. The bodily state of the individual at the time, the purely chance aspects of the development of the external stress, the availability of external social resources, and the communication system of the milieu are all important, as well as the personality of the individual, which is the psychological crystallization of his experience.⁸

Caplan views a crisis as a transitional period, both with an opportunity for personality growth and with the danger of increased vulnerability. His intervention theory calls for the identification of crisis, e.g., the birth of a premature baby, the birth of a baby with a congenital abnormality, the diagnosis of TB among family members. Then a psychiatric first-aid squad approaches the individual or family to offer assistance in the adjustment of the crisis.

In our project, all of the families in the experimental group were facing a common stress situation, i.e., the necessity of moving. They were approached by a relocater who offered direct assistance to the family and offered to mobilize the existing resources of the community to supplement the direct help provided. Our practice went beyond the crisis theory developed by Caplan. We say this because our efforts to use the crisis situation as a "natural" avenue of contact between the worker and the client allowed us to expand the relationship and then work on any problem whether directly related to moving or not. Thus, the crisis situation was to be viewed as an opportunity to assist the individuals and families in the

reorganization of their lives toward a more satisfactory pattern. Change in any area of life occurs most easily when there is change in some other area. The necessity to move upset the previous quasi-stationary equilibrium and presented a situation in which change could most easily take place in all areas of life.

The Nature of Lower-Class Life. The use of the class concept has become widespread in all of the social sciences, as well as in popular literature. Social class, like most such general concepts, lacks precision, and many variations of the central notion exist. However, there is some consensus among various reports about the life style of the urban poor--the people who most often constitute the clientele of a relocation division. One other facet of our relocation program was based upon the consensus reported below which admittedly stereotypes the lower class and emphasizes certain features most frequently associated with what W.L. Warner⁹ called the "lower-lower class." The following description leans heavily on the book Social Class and Mental Illness by Hollingshead and Redlich.¹⁰ We became increasingly dissatisfied with this stereotype and have planned a book which will explore in greater detail our later versions of the culture of the lower class.

Lower-class workers are concentrated in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations. Their incomes are low, their job tenures uncertain, and their savings nonexistent. Life is a struggle for existence and marked by instability and frequent, even chronic crisis. Their life adjustment is a temporary equilibrium with values, habits, and group memberships functioning to enable the individual and family to carry out life tasks. Family relationships exist in great variety, and families are more unstable than in any other class. This is a paradox because the people are dependent on their families, but family life is unstable. Only a small minority of the population participates in the life of the community through formal associations. In this sense, they are unorganized. Their social life is informal and takes place in the home, street, or in neighborhood agencies such as the school playground. Reading for information or pleasure is infrequent. Their outlook is particularistic and concretistic. They are uneasy when participating or confronting bureaucratic institutions and are resentful and suspicious of agencies of all types. They don't see agencies as sources of assistance, but as something to be avoided because they are punitive and restrictive. Frequent experiences with welfare, police, courts, and schools reinforce this hostility and contribute to the difficulties of dealing with the agencies. They tend to have low self-esteem and avoid, where possible, getting involved with the middle class or upper class because of the personal debasement inherent in such interaction. However, in order to survive, such contacts are necessary, and people of the lower class learn to control their hostility toward authority figures and to act out their resentments against society, against members of the family, or themselves. Their relationships are particularistic, not categorical or bureaucratic. Their lives are not ordered by the clock. Time doesn't have the same meaning to

the lower class that it does to the middle-class. Appointments are foreign ideas to be avoided, if possible, and to be broken easily. Cleanliness is not universally regarded as one of the higher virtues. From the viewpoint of the middle-class, the homes of the lower class are apt to be cluttered and untidy rather than neat and orderly. The lower class emphasizes direct action rather than verbalizations.

These assumptions affected the development of our helping program in many ways. The first was to dictate the choice of personnel. The staff consisted of three nonprofessional women: a Negro, a Mexican-American, and a Caucasian. This use of nonprofessionals was by choice because research had shown that professional training was often a burden when dealing with the lower class. Professional training seemed to emphasize verbal behavior, maintenance of a professional distance between client and helper, an insistence that clients come to the worker, and an assumption that everyone needing help can reach out for it. We wanted our relocation workers to emphasize the relationship between client and worker; to be personalistic, to reduce, not emphasize, the social distance between themselves and their clients. We wanted them to be "aggressive," to take the initiative in establishing relations with the family. Working hours would be flexible, depending on the needs of the client rather than the schedule of the worker, and the worker should be willing to go to the client. We wanted relationships to be stable without the staff turnover usually associated with professional organizations, and so we emphasized our expectations during the recruiting interviews.

The primary tasks of the relocation workers were to get acquainted with the households, to assess strengths and weaknesses, to identify problems and assist in using available resources in solving the problems. The worker was encouraged to become as intimately acquainted with the family as possible. She was "aggressive" in the sense that she did not wait for someone to come to her with a problem. She approached the family, and as soon as she knew enough about them to anticipate the problems they might face, she started to deal with them through whatever activity seemed appropriate. This could include providing transportation to buy groceries, stopping to visit someone who was lonely, helping a housewife clean up a filthy house, bullying a woman with a hygiene problem into taking a bath, interceding with an "unscrupulous" real estate agent to protect the family's cash investment, helping people open bank accounts and lecturing them on the importance of safety for funds, organizing group training sessions for people about to move into public housing.

Despite this aggressive stance, the workers were very careful to involve the client. Long before the poverty program, we borrowed the idea from social work of doing things with people, not for them. Our workers did not view people as helpless; they realized that doing things for people often creates a paralyzing dependency. The program and the behavior of the workers was designed to work in partnership with the site occupants. It was not designed to do something to them so much as to be available as a resource to do something for them if they needed it. A relocation plan for each household was developed and started with an assessment of the needs and

desires of the people. No attempt was made to force people into the pigeon-holes of a predetermined program.

The Nature of Community Organization. As a community grows and becomes more complex, there is an increasing differentiation of function. For example, our society has developed an array of formal helping agencies or institutions based on the assumptions that some or all individuals need guides to find their niche in the social structure or to acquire the "appropriate" values and attitudes and that the family is inadequate in performing this function. These helping agencies range all the way from the most universal, the school (which is based on the assumption that the helping potential of the family is insufficient for all new members of the society), to those that deal with specialized and frequently small populations.

The techniques of helping vary, depending on the needs of the population. One widely used technique is information-giving. This is carried out through lecture, exhortation, or demonstration, and is for people who are assumed to need only a road map to guide them in selecting new roles and who have developed the techniques, values and attitudes by which they can initiate, develop and sustain interaction with other people. At the other extreme are the helping agencies that are designed to deal with people whose ability to initiate, develop and sustain interpersonal relationships has been so seriously disturbed that the provision of information is of no use. The task here is to develop or improve the capacity for interpersonal relationships. Helping under these circumstances has conventionally been viewed as "the therapeutic use of self"¹¹ and proceeds by developing a relationship between the helper and the helped that will provide a model the helped can use in his interpersonal contacts.

Ideally the relocation workers would have spanned the entire spectrum of these helping techniques. They were, of course, constrained by the limits of time and knowledge. They provided information, intervened with other social agencies, and attempted to develop a relationship with a specific group of people. They attempted to supply a stable relationship for people who needed it during the transitional period. The relationship began with planning for the move and ended with reintegrating the individual into the life of a new neighborhood.

The relocation process was shaped by our view of where the relocators fit vis-a-vis the people in the project area and the community system of helping agencies. Urban Renewal was a transitional agency which worked with, but did not substitute for other helping agencies. The relocators attempted to identify the needs of the people and to match those needs with the available community resources. If there was a continuing need for either material goods or personal relationships, they tried to assist the members of the household to hook into an institutionalized program. This meant that the relocation workers were faced with the psychological problems of disengagement as well as engagement. One does not easily go beyond the worker-client relationship and then disrupt the relationship with no problems or no separation anxiety. In one case, a relocation worker was still visiting and

providing transportation for a client three months after completion of "satisfactory" (measured by housing standards) relocation.

The conception of the community social system or of "helping agencies" was broader than the usual catalog of social welfare services. The relocation workers established liaison with real estate firms, banks, social service agencies, churches, and a variety of other resources. These relationships were very carefully established so that the relocation workers could deal directly with line workers without going through supervisors. We avoided the territoriality squabbles that are common and received unparalleled cooperation from other agencies by holding a series of meetings in which we mutually defined relocation as a responsibility of the entire community and not just the Urban Renewal Agency. In the early stages of program development, some agency executives were uneasy about permitting their personnel to work with the Urban Renewal Agency relocation staff without their approving each separate case. After these early fears had been assuaged, the relocators themselves were ingenious in ferreting out contacts with workers in other agencies and developing additional resources.

Conclusion

The philosophy or theory guiding the formulation and operation of the relocation plan and the guide for operation of the relocation staff are expressed in the following points.

1. Helping families relocate in decent, safe, and sanitary housing which is within their means and without undue hardship is a minimum legal requirement that must be met, but is not the sole goal of relocation.
2. Successful relocation must take into account the sociological and psychological problems created or intensified by involuntary residential mobility. The constructive aspects of, or opportunities created by, relocation must be emphasized.
3. The autonomy of each family, individual householder or businessman to be relocated is respected. The staff exists to facilitate the transition, not to make or oppose decisions. The relocation plan cannot be summarized easily since we develop an individual plan for each separate household and we consider each of the problems on an individual basis. A subpoint here is that our sole job is to help families or individuals. We do not exist to forward the goals of other groups however worthy we may consider them.

4. The information gathered from the family is completely confidential. We view it as a privileged communication and try to maintain this kind of confidentiality at all times.
5. The relocation program revolves around the personal relationship of the interviewer with the families. The interviewers set the pace for the programs because the Agency has committed itself to the idea that redevelopment can only follow relocation, not vice versa.

The staff to carry out this relocation plan was composed of a relocation director, a staff sociologist, a property manager, three field relocators, and a secretary. The senior author of this report served initially as consultant to the director of relocation on relocation problems and later as consultant to the board and to the executive director on problems other than relocation. At the board and executive level he tried to influence the actions of the Agency to facilitate relocation.

The burden of the program was carried by the three counselors who operationalized the theory. It is difficult to accurately describe their behavior in order to demonstrate the degree to which that behavior was in accord with the theory. Two kinds of descriptive material will be provided. The first is a statistical summary of the workers' contacts with the households. The other is a description of the day's work taken from the diary of one relocater.

Summary of Contacts

The number of contacts in the table below is probably understated. The figures represent only the recorded contacts with the people involved in being relocated; they do not include contacts with friends, relatives, agencies, real estate companies, banks, or other groups which were made by the relocation workers on behalf of their clients. The figures do not include real estate referrals or the original contact(s) with each household in which information on household composition, other demographic data, homeownership, expenses, condition of housing, relocation plans, and other descriptive material was gathered. Thus, these contacts represent only actual helping contacts with the client.

The number of contacts per household ranged from 0 to 87 (0 representing those people who had an initial interview only). The average number of contacts was 7.7; the median number was 5.

It should also be noted that these figures represent only the contacts that were made with the people in the official workload of the Agency. Helping contacts were also made with people who were not in the workload, i.e., those people who vacated their property before it was purchased by the Agency. The people who moved prior to acquisition were not considered part of the workload even though they may have received help from the

relocation workers. Of the 222 households not in the workload, 100 received some help from the workers. For this group, the number of helping contacts ranged from 1 to 13.

NUMBER OF CONTACTS
PER HOUSEHOLD
URBAN RENEWAL AGENCY WORKLOAD

<u>Contacts</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
0-4	281	49.8
5-9	151	26.8
10-14	59	10.5
15-19	24	4.3
20-24	17	3.0
25 & Over	32	5.7
Total	564	100.1

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CHAPTER 6

HOUSING

The urban renewal law requires specific attention to the question of how displaced families are to be rehoused. The goal, as stated in the law, is a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family. The decision as to whether a relocation plan is adequate or not adequate is largely dependent on the extent to which standard housing, at prices the displaced family can afford, is available. Even people who feel that concerns about sociological and psychological concomitants of relocation are too fuzzy and vague to be properly considered, agree that the condition of the new house is a solid and objective condition with which everyone should be concerned.

Thus, almost everyone grants the legitimacy of concern over the task of physically rehousing the population, but there is little agreement as to how satisfactorily this has been carried out. The Housing and Home Finance Agency, in response to numerous criticisms of relocation programs and urban renewal projects, requested the U.S. Bureau of the Census to survey a sample of recently relocated families to determine the adequacy of the housing units to which they had been relocated.¹ The study focused on persons displaced by 132 local public agencies between June 1 and August 31 of 1964. Between Thanksgiving 1964 and early January 1965, the Census Bureau interviewed 2300 of the 2842 families certified by the 132 local public agencies. HHFA, on the basis of the Census study, concluded that relocation had been carried out satisfactorily when quality of house, size of house, location of house, rent, and rent-income ratios were considered.

Chester Hartman² had previously made an exhaustive review of all available relocation reports and concluded that relocation had harmed rather than helped displaced people in their search for a decent home in a suitable living environment at a price they could afford to pay. Later, he severely criticized the methodology of the Census Bureau and said "the credibility of the report is diminished by the fact that it was done by one Federal agency at the request of another...."³ Other critics have voiced similar objections to the adequacy of physically rehousing displaced people.

Our study can constitute only a small increment to this national debate because the data we have are for a specific city, with a unique housing market, at one point in time. Our major contribution is an evaluation of the difference a more than perfunctory relocation service can make in this process of seeking adequate relocation housing. However, if the Topeka experience cannot be generalized because of its uniqueness, then there is a certain illogical aspect to pooling results from a variety of cities at different points in time as Hartman did. Nor did such a restriction deter Hartman from delivering a vigorous indictment of all urban renewal; an indictment based primarily upon the experience in a highly unique situation in the West End of Boston. Similarly, the HHFA reached the conclusion that relocation was being carried out satisfactorily despite the combining of small cities with large cities in a nationwide sample.

One difficulty in determining the impact of displacement is the lack of an objective measure of housing quality which is judgment-free and which summarizes the various attributes of the house into at least an ordinal scale. The literature abounds in descriptions of houses, descriptions such as "good," "fair," "poor," "dilapidated," "deteriorated," that are summary judgments of people variously trained; people judging different houses at different points in time. In this report, we have operationalized our judgment by utilizing one variant of scaling technology to develop a housing quality scale described in the appendix to this chapter. The scale which we have used is not the final answer, but it is one step toward the development of a measuring tool which will avoid the "rubber yardstick" curse of most of the literature in the field.

A second methodological difficulty with most of the studies that purport to show the impact of urban renewal on housing quality and cost is that the researchers usually conduct a before and after study on one group--in this case, the people displaced by urban renewal. This means they have no way of correcting for the changes that have taken place across the time period they used. Housing costs have been rising steadily since World War II, and what these studies may be measuring are changes in the general condition of the housing economy that are unrelated to relocation. In addition, most studies compare people who have been relocated for different lengths of time. Hartman based most of his case on the West End study where the reinterview took place approximately two years after relocation and on studies for which the time period between relocation and the restudy was not reported. In the Census Bureau study, a maximum of six months had elapsed between displacement and interview.

Another difficulty is that there frequently is no indication of the inclusion or exclusion of the cost of utilities. In older houses in northern cities, utilities can cause wide fluctuations in housing costs. Since the relocation studied by the Census Bureau took place during the summer, and the interview took place during the winter, one is left with a sense of indecision about the impact of relocation because it isn't clear what is meant by housing cost.

Our study has attempted to cope in its design and execution with each of these problems. The specific data on the impact of relocation are presented below under a series of questions that have been used in other studies. The data consist of reports on objective conditions as well as reports of satisfaction with the post-relocation housing. Tables are located in the appendix to this chapter.

Where Did They Go?

Many studies of the redistribution of relocation families have indicated that most of the people clustered in the immediate vicinity of the area from which they were dislocated. In very large cities, a combination of the transportation system and the complex working of racial ecology frequently resulted

in a more widespread distribution of relocatees, although the pattern was polynuclear rather than randomly scattered. Hartman's study of the population dislocated from the West End of Boston showed a wide dispersion from the site of the former residence. The reasons given for this atypical pattern were that the people were mostly white, they had relatively high family incomes, and opportunities for rehousing were limited in the area immediately adjacent to the West End.

The population dislocated in Topeka showed two different patterns of redistribution in the city. A large proportion of the families displaced by urban renewal moved to areas that were within a mile of their former homes. The families displaced by the Interstate Highway were more widely dispersed throughout the city.

Information concerning location of new housing for the displacees was available from the Urban Renewal Agency files and from our survey interviews. There was no significant difference between these sources when distance from the Urban Renewal Area was computed; the percentages computed from the Urban Renewal Agency data and those computed from our second interview data were very similar. Forty-two percent of the families in the Agency workload moved within one mile of the Urban Renewal Area, 37% moved within a one--to two-mile radius, 13.5% moved more than two miles from the Urban Renewal Area, and 7.3% of all the families moved out of town. The reinterview sample percentages for the same distances respectively were: 39.7%, 40.7%, 13.2%, and 6.4% (Tables 6.1 and 6.2). Because our sample was representative of the Urban Renewal Area population, the data which follow were based on survey interview findings.

Looking at the sections of the city into which our Urban Renewal sample moved, we found that 45% of all the families who remained in Topeka moved into the East Topeka area, about 14% remained in the downtown area, 18% moved to the West Side, and 11% moved to North Topeka (Table 6.3).

At the time of the second interview, the households dislocated by the highway formed a pattern within the city significantly different in some respects from the Urban Renewal pattern. Thirty-six percent of the total Highway sample moved to the East Topeka area, but 38% moved to the West Side (Table 6.4).

As could be expected, race affected the dispersion of the populations. More than two-thirds of the Mexican families from the Urban Renewal group moved into East Topeka and Oakland, the two areas closest to their church and to the Santa Fe Shops where many of them were employed. Only 13% moved west of Topeka Avenue, and most of these homes were close to the downtown area. The Highway sample contained few Mexicans, but they too tended to remain close to their original homes.

General areas of residence after relocation were similar for Negro households from the Highway and Urban Renewal samples. Over 70% of the Negroes from both these samples moved into the East Topeka area. Overwhelmingly, the Negroes moved to blocks that were already occupied by other Negroes. Only about 20% of the Negroes from the Urban Renewal and Highway moved into previously all-white blocks, but these were adjacent to blocks already containing Negroes. There is no one particular area where Negroes live in Topeka, but two areas where housing was available to Negroes were eliminated. As a result, there was an increase in the proportion of East Topeka residents who were Negro, and several areas of Negro residence expanded at their edges.

The large differences in the patterns of relocation occurred primarily in the white populations of the two samples. There was a wider dispersion of the white population in the Highway sample, especially into the more outlying sections of the city. This may be because the Highway sample had proportionately more white households with high incomes; thus, they were better able to move to more diverse areas of the city. Analysis of the data indicated that this was not the only reason. Although there were more households in the high-income* bracket in this sample and a larger number from this group did locate in areas such as west Topeka, Highland Park, and Oakland, more than half (58.6%) of the Highway families in the low-income group located in these areas as well. Less than one-third of the low-income white families in the Urban Renewal sample moved into West Topeka, Highland Park, and Oakland. The proportion was small among the medium-income families as well: 17% of the Urban Renewal group, compared to 42% of the Highway group, moved to these areas.

The exact reasons for this more random dispersal of the white Highway population are not known. An analysis of age and family characteristics shed no light on the subject. However, the younger (under 35) nuclear family households in both groups seemed more inclined to move farther away from their old homes. Among the other age groups, no consistent pattern emerged. It is possible that car ownership, significantly higher ($P < .001$) in the Highway sample, freed them to move greater distances. At the time of the reinterview, only 48% of the Urban Renewal respondents owned automobiles, but 68.5% of the Highway respondents had cars.

The forced relocation from the two projects resulted in some changes in the patterns of residence in the city. One low-rent area, East Topeka, was inundated by the populations from these projects. The Negro and Mexican families in particular migrated heavily into this area. Naturally this migration increased the density of these kinds of households in East Topeka.

*High income is defined as a family income of over \$125 per week; medium income is defined as a family income of \$50 to \$125 per week; low income is defined as a family income of under \$50 per week.

It has been reported by observers in this area that many white families moved out of East Topeka as a result of discontent over the changing character of the neighborhood.

The Voluntary Movers moved in a slightly different pattern. They moved a greater distance if they remained in the city, and they more frequently moved out of town--26% of the Voluntary Movers, 6% of the Urban Renewal, and 15% of the Highway samples moved out of town. No map is included showing the dispersal pattern of the Voluntary Movers because the area from which they were selected remained residential and is so large that many of them stayed in the same area.

Racial groups from the Voluntary Movers sample moved in substantially the same pattern as the Highway and Urban Renewal racial populations. Whites moved the farthest, and a greater proportion of them moved out of town. Mexicans moved a very short distance; two-thirds of those remaining in Topeka stayed within one-half mile and all within one and one-half miles of their original homes. Negroes moved on a scale intermediate between these two groups.

What Was the Impact on Homeownership?

Previous relocation reports have presented a mixed picture of the impact of moving on homeownership. The Census Bureau survey of relocation from urban renewal projects reported a net increase in homeownership from 34% to 37%. Hartman reported for the West End that homeownership increased from 10% to 21%. Hartman's review of 32 relocation reports, dating from 1936 to 1963, showed that in 6 cases the percentage of homeownership increased, in 5 cases it decreased, 1 case stayed the same, and in 20 cases there was no direct information on homeownership.

In Topeka, net homeownership increased for both the Highway and the Urban Renewal samples. Chart 6.1 compares the before and after experience broken down by racial groups.

The incidence of homeownership before and after the move varied substantially by racial groups. In the Urban Renewal sample, more than three-fifths (61.9%) of the Mexican families, one-third of the white families, but less than one-fifth of the Negroes were homeowners prior to relocation. Thirty-six percent of all the families owned their own homes, and in each racial group the incidence of homeownership increased. Seventy-six percent of the Mexican families; 40% of the white families, and 28% of the Negro families were owners after the move. This increase (to 45%) of homeownership in the Urban Renewal sample occurred because 91% of those who owned before relocation retained homeownership and 19% of those who were renters before relocation became owners.

In the Highway sample, slightly over half (52%) of the respondents were owners before relocation: 47% of the whites and 67% of the Negro and Other group owned their homes. It should be remembered that the few Mexican respondents in the Highway sample were included in the Negro and Other category. After the move, almost 58% of the Highway sample were homeowners. This slight increase in homeownership for residents of the Highway Area was accomplished because 88% of the owners in the pre-relocation period retained homeownership and 25% of the renters became homeowners in the post-relocation period.

A statistical analysis of the data via the 3-variable chi-square showed that the difference between Urban Renewal and Highway in change in homeownership patterns was not significant. It does seem clear, however, that the relocation program affected homeownership when one realizes that the income level of the Urban Renewal population was significantly lower than that of the Highway population. The objective probabilities of increased homeownership of the Urban Renewal population were much less than those of the Highway, even when we consider that the Highway had less room for increase because of its already higher proportion of homeowners.

Mortgage status of the homes in the pre-relocation period were also taken into account. Many of the families who owned homes in the Highway and Urban Renewal areas had no mortgages on their property before relocation and, in order to buy new homes, some of these families had to take out mortgages. Of the families we reinterviewed, 85% of those who had owned homes in the Urban Renewal Area had had no mortgage on that property. Of these families, 68% had to obtain loans in order to purchase their new homes. Among the families we reinterviewed in the Highway sample, 76% of those who had owned homes before relocation had had no loans on their property, and 64% of these families had to take out mortgages in order to finance their new homes. Very few families in either group reported difficulties in finding financing. This was true probably because those who might have found financing difficult did not even consider purchasing. Three-fourths of the renters in the Highway sample stated that they did not consider buying. The same was true for more than 80% of the renters in the Urban Renewal sample. When asked why they did not purchase, most of the renters in both samples mentioned the cost of buying a home, and a small percentage said they were too old or were not well enough for the responsibility of owning a home.

It was around the issue of homeownership that the relocation counselors seemed to invest considerable time and effort. Not only did they assist their clients in locating homes that were financially feasible for them to purchase, but they developed many contacts with banks and with savings and loan associations, the primary sources of mortgage money. They advised their clients about financing and helped them to shop for the cheapest available loans. In several cases, they intervened with a savings and loan association to "sell" a family as a loan prospect.

The Voluntary Movers did not change their ownership status. Approximately 74% were renters at the time of the first interview, and the same number were renters at the time of the reinterview. Again the 3-variable chi-square

showed no significant difference in change in homeownership patterns between the Forced Movers (Highway and Urban Renewal combined) and the Voluntary Movers. However, significantly fewer Voluntary Movers owned their homes (only 26%). In contrast, about 80% of the Non-Movers were homeowners (Table 6.5). Such disparate figures are not unusual--renters are much more likely to move voluntarily than are homeowners who would have more at stake in a move.

How Much Space Did They Secure?

The previously cited studies by Hartman and the Census Bureau indicated that the average number of rooms per household increased after relocation. Such was not the case in Topeka.. The average number of rooms for our Urban Renewal and Highway reinterview samples was exactly the same after movement as before.

The average number of rooms per household in the Urban Renewal reinterview sample before relocation was 4.3; it was the same in the relocation dwellings. Almost 39% of the families moved into dwellings containing more rooms than their homes in the Urban Renewal Area, 28% had the same number of rooms, and 34% moved into homes with fewer rooms. Families with a decrease in the number of rooms were mainly those who had previously lived in homes of six or more rooms. Almost 61% of the families who had lived in homes of six or more rooms relocated in homes with fewer rooms.

In the Highway sample, also, the average number of rooms per household (4.8) remained the same after relocation. However, in the process of relocation, almost 39% of the families moved into dwellings containing more rooms than their previous homes, 28% moved into dwellings with the same number of rooms, and 34% moved into homes with fewer rooms. These proportions are almost exactly the same as those reported for the people in the Urban Renewal sample.

The changes in the size of relocation dwellings had differential effects. They resulted in a lowering of density for the Urban Renewal population, but had no effect on household density for those relocated from the Highway. Before relocation, 24% of the Urban Renewal sample lived in dwellings that were considered overcrowded* by Census standards. After relocation, only 16% lived in such dwellings. There was therefore a slight drop in the proportion of families living in overcrowded households despite the fact that the average number of rooms per household remained the same. The movement had no impact on the amount of overcrowding for the population from the Highway. Both before and after relocation, 18% of the families were living in overcrowded conditions. An examination of the data on household density by racial group and age indicated that the younger families and ethnic minorities were usually the ones who moved into overcrowded homes.

The Voluntary Movers also moved to housing where they were less crowded.

*Overcrowded means more than 1.01 persons per room.

The average number of rooms increased slightly, and the percentage of overcrowding was reduced from 39% to 32%. This reduction was not quite so large as that in the Urban Renewal group. In looking at Table 6.6, it should be noted that the Voluntary Movers had the largest proportion of families who were overcrowded before moving. This fits the findings of Peter Rossi⁴ that the primary reason for voluntary moving is to adjust housing to needs. Overcrowding among the Non-Movers increased from 18% to 20%, but was still significantly lower than overcrowding in the Voluntary Movers sample.

Another way of looking at the changes in household density was to see exactly what happened to the pre-relocation overcrowded and not overcrowded households. In the Urban Renewal sample, 94.8% of the households which were not overcrowded were able to find housing to fit their space needs. This was true for 92.3% of the Highway and 79.2% of the Voluntary Movers. Of those overcrowded households in the Urban Renewal group, 48.8% moved into housing which was spatially adequate. Only 34.8% of the overcrowded Highway sample was able to improve, but 50% of the Voluntary Movers obtained more space.

Due to additions and losses of household members in the Non-Mover group, density changed slightly (the net result was an increase in overcrowding). Ninety-four percent of the uncrowded households remained uncrowded, and 16% of the overcrowded households improved. It should also be noted that the Non-Mover group had the highest average number of rooms per dwelling (5.0).

In summary, there was a larger degree of improvement with regard to overcrowding in the Urban Renewal sample than for any other group, but the difference was not statistically significant. The average size of the dwellings remained the same in the two forced-mover groups. The relocation program of the Urban Renewal Agency made some gains in fitting the size of the house to the size of the family. The net impact of moving in all samples was to secure housing that more closely approximated needs.

What Was the Cost of the New Housing?

Most studies of relocated families have characteristically reported increased housing costs. Our groups were not different in this respect, but it is interesting to note the differences for owners and for renters. For the Urban Renewal reinterview sample, the median total monthly housing expenses* increased to \$67, the median for the Highway sample was \$74 after relocation. The median monthly expenses were much higher in both the Highway and Urban Renewal groups for owners than for renters. In the Highway sample, the median

*Total housing expenses for renters includes contract monthly rent plus utilities. For owners it includes mortgage payments, taxes, upkeep, and utilities minus any income.

was \$85 for owners and \$69 for renters, and in the Urban Renewal sample it was \$88 for owners and \$56 for renters. The increase in cost of housing for the owners was more dramatic because more than three-fourths of the families (76% in Highway and 85% in Urban Renewal) had had no mortgages on their pre-relocation homes.

Using exact dollar amounts and only those people who rented both before and after the move, we found that the median contract rent for the Highway rose from \$50 to \$52.50 per month. For the Urban Renewal sample, the median contract rent rose from \$31 to \$48 per month. The Voluntary Movers median increased from \$50 to \$55; it remained at \$50 for the Non-Movers.

When the contract monthly rental paid was divided into two categories--under \$60 and over \$60 per month--there was no significant difference between the experience of the Highway and Urban Renewal samples across the two time periods ($P < .30$), i.e., both groups experienced a similar increase in rent. However, when the Highway and Urban Renewal samples were combined into a Forced Movers sample and were compared to the Voluntary Movers, there was a significant difference ($P < .05$). This occurred because there was an increase in rent levels for the Forced Movers but no change in rent levels for the Voluntary Movers when the dollar amounts were divided at under \$60 and over \$60 per month.

It should be noted that there was a significant difference between the Highway and Urban Renewal groups on amount of rent paid for pre-relocation homes. Only 3% of the Urban Renewal respondents who were renters both before and after relocation paid more than \$60 in rent for their pre-relocation homes, but 30% of the Highway renters paid more than this amount. After relocation, 32% of the Urban Renewal and 45% of the Highway renters were paying more than \$60 (Table 6.7). There was no significant difference between the two groups for the post-relocation rental amounts.

Rent level relative to family income was perhaps a more important consideration than absolute housing cost for the housing welfare of the families with whom we were concerned. For renters in the Urban Renewal sample, the median rent-income ratio rose from 19% to 28%. Those hardest hit in this respect were the white renters over 65 who were on Social Security or pensions. For renters in the Highway sample, the rent-income ratio decreased from 21% before the move to 16.5% after the move. For the Voluntary Movers the rent-income ratio increased slightly--from 18.0% to 18.5%. For the Non-Movers, the ratio went from 15.5% to 13.5%.

Increased rent, in general, resulted in increased quality of housing; only 16.5% of the households in both the Urban Renewal and Highway samples moved into housing that was not so good as their pre-relocation housing. There was a significant relationship between quality of house and monthly housing expenses in the Urban Renewal and Highway samples. Those with higher expenses had better housing (chi-square was significant at .05 level for Highway and .001 level for Urban Renewal).

A 3-variable chi-square test which utilized the relationship between quality of relocation housing and income in the two groups, indicated that the higher the income, the better the housing that was obtained; that the quality of housing was significantly better in the Highway sample; that the income of the Highway group was significantly higher than that in the Urban Renewal group; that there was no significant difference in the distribution between the quality of house and income in the two groups. In other words, income was the significant factor in determining the quality of housing obtained.

What Was the Quality of Housing?

Findings from other studies have shown that, in most cases, housing quality, measured in terms of structural conditions and facilities, improved considerably after relocation. The experience in Topeka was no exception. The degree of improvement in the quality of housing may be considered from several vantage points. As indicated in Table 6.8, 30% of the households in the Urban Renewal sample were living in good housing before relocation. After relocation, 43% lived in such housing. At the other extreme, 55% of the families lived in poor or very poor housing in the Urban Renewal Area, but only 27% lived in such housing after relocation. For those who were forced to move from the path of the highway, close to 60% moved into good housing, whereas 48% had lived in good housing before relocation. Twenty-seven percent of the households had previously lived in poor or very poor housing and only 15% lived in such housing after relocation. The Voluntary Movers, as expected, improved their housing too. Before relocation, 15% lived in good housing and 51% lived in poor or very poor housing. After relocation, 44% were living in good housing and only about 24% were in poor housing.

Since the households who were moved out of the Urban Renewal Area were offered help in relocation and those in the Highway Area were not, we were interested in knowing whether the degree of improvement that was achieved by the two groups was significantly different. A 3-variable chi-square analysis was made of the relationship of the various levels of housing quality in the Highway sample and the Urban Renewal sample between the times of the first and second interviews. The analysis indicated that the difference in degree of improvement between the two groups was significant at the .05 level.

Another way of viewing this material is to compare the pre-relocation and post-relocation housing for each household. Forty-nine percent of the Urban Renewal families improved their housing as a result of the move. Thirty-five percent stayed at approximately the same level of housing, and 16% moved into housing that was not so good as their pre-relocation housing. To be more specific, 37% of the households were in fair or good housing before relocation and stayed in such housing after relocation; 35% of the households were in poor or very poor housing and moved to fair or good housing; 7.5% moved from good or fair housing to poor or very poor housing, and 2.5% were in very poor housing before and after the move.

In the Highway sample, 41% improved their housing, 42% stayed the same, 17% had housing that was not so good after relocation. Among those in our Highway sample, we found that 66.7% of the households were in fair or good housing before relocation and moved into such housing after relocation; 17.9% of the households were in poor or very poor housing before relocation and moved to fair or good housing; 6.0% of the families moved from good or fair housing

to poor or very poor housing. The proportion of the Urban Renewal sample which moved from poor or very poor housing into fair or good housing was much larger, almost twice as great as that same proportion within the Highway sample.*

The Voluntary Movers also improved their housing rather dramatically. Fifty-six percent improved their housing, 37% stayed the same, and 7.4% moved into housing that was worse than their previous housing. Of those who were in fair or good housing prior to the move, 45.6% remained in such housing; 30.9% of those in poor or very poor housing moved to fair or good housing. Of those occupying good or fair housing at the time of the first interview, 2.9% moved to poor or very poor housing. No one remained in very poor housing.

What happened in each housing classification by group is illustrated under the following headings:

Changes in Housing Quality for Urban Renewal Sample

Of the respondents who were in:

Good Housing (N=48)	62.5% stayed in good 27.1% moved to fair 8.3% moved to poor 2.1% moved to very poor
Fair Housing (N=24)	33.3% moved to good 37.5% stayed in fair 29.2% moved to poor 0.0% moved to very poor
Poor Housing (N=39)	33.3% moved to good 30.8% moved to fair 35.9% stayed in poor 0.0% moved to very poor
Very Poor Housing (N=50)	36.0% moved to good 28.0% moved to fair 28.0% moved to poor 8.0% stayed in very poor

*3-variable chi-square significant at .05 level.

Changes in Housing Quality for Highway Sample

Of the respondents who were in:

Good Housing (N=56)	75.0% stayed in good 21.4% moved to fair 3.6% moved to poor 0.0% moved to very poor
Fair Housing (N=29)	65.5% moved to good 17.2% stayed in fair 17.2% moved to poor 0.0% moved to very poor
Poor Housing (N=17)	47.1% moved to good 41.2% moved to fair 5.9% stayed in poor 5.9% moved to very poor
Very Poor Housing (N=15)	6.7% moved to good 33.3% moved to fair 53.3% moved to poor 6.7% stayed in very poor

Changes in Housing Quality for Voluntary Movers

Of the respondents who were in:

Good Housing (N=10)	80.0% stayed in good 20.0% moved to fair 0.0% moved to poor 0.0% moved to very poor
Fair Housing (N=23)	60.9% moved to good 30.4% stayed in fair 4.3% moved to poor 4.3% moved to very poor
Poor Housing (N=24)	25.0% moved to good 29.2% moved to fair 41.7% stayed in poor 4.2% moved to very poor
Very Poor Housing (N=11)	18.2% moved to good 54.5% moved to fair 27.3% moved to poor 0.0% stayed in very poor

These various ways of viewing the data all reinforce the notion that the relocation workers in the Urban Renewal Area were of considerable assistance in helping people who were forced to move, and that people who move voluntarily are opportunists seizing housing that meets their needs at little or no increase in rent.

Even if there were no improvement in structural condition of the housing, facilities and amenities in most households improved because of an increased proportion of families having toilets, hot water, and baths or showers available within their homes. Very few families (a total of seven in the three mover groups) were without flush toilets in their homes after relocation, whereas 26.4% of the Urban Renewal families, 10.9% of the Highway families and 13.8% of the Voluntary Movers had no flush toilets in their homes before relocation. In addition, 28% of the Urban Renewal families, 12% of the Highway families, and 9.3% of the Voluntary Mover families had no hot water before relocation; the percentages after relocation were 0.6%, 1.7% and 3.5% respectively. The proportion of families with baths or showers after relocation increased also (Table 6.9). In fact, chi-squares showed a significant difference in the improvement of all three facilities over time. The Non-Movers showed very little improvement.

Of importance to our study also was whether relocation services of the Urban Renewal Agency made any contribution toward improving the housing of the low-income group. Analysis of the changes in housing quality before and after relocation in the various income groups* in both the Highway and Urban Renewal samples indicated that there was no significant difference in the amount of change over time in housing quality in the low-income groups between the Highway and Urban Renewal samples. The same was true of the high-income groups. There was a significant difference between the Highway and Urban Renewal samples in the medium-income groups. The Urban Renewal sample showed more improvement proportionately than the Highway sample (3-variable chi-square significant at the .02 level).

Apparently the high-income groups had little difficulty finding adequate housing. Most of these respondents had more adequate housing to begin with and continued to have more adequate housing after relocation.

The low-income groups improved their housing significantly as a result of the move, but most of this was artifactual since the housing in the Urban Renewal Area was some of the worst in Topeka and any move would usually result in at least getting an indoor toilet. A large proportion (38%) of the Urban Renewal respondents in the low-income group continued to live in poor housing after relocation, but this was a decrease of 26% in this category. The Highway low-income group had only 16% in poor housing--a decrease of 20% in this category. Both the Highway and Urban Renewal low-income groups were able to improve their housing at about the same rate. It appears that the

*See previous definition of high, medium, low income.

Agency relocation workers were not as much help to the low-income people as we would have liked. Part of this is a reflection of the difficulty of finding adequate housing at low rentals, especially for non-white families.

Only in the medium-income levels, where the amount respondents could afford offered a wider choice of housing, was there a significantly greater improvement in the housing of the Urban Renewal sample as compared to the Highway sample. This reinforces the statements made by many that, in order to help in the process of relocation, we must have not only a program of relocation assistance but a program for the construction of more low-rent housing in the community. When adequate choices are not available, there is not much a relocation officer can do to change the situation.

An examination of the data broken down into racial groups (Table 6.10) indicated that the Negro and Mexican-American families showed the greatest relative gains.* Before relocation, 17% of the Negro respondents in the Urban Renewal sample lived in fair or good housing, and after relocation 76% lived in fair or good housing. Fifty percent of the Mexican respondents in the Urban Renewal sample lived in fair or good housing before relocation, and after relocation more than three-fourths (78%) of these respondents lived in fair or good housing.** In the Highway sample, the proportion of Negro and Other respondents who had lived in fair or good housing before relocation was 34%. This increased to 66% in fair or good housing after relocation.*** In both forced-mover samples, the racial groups improved their housing, but the degree of improvement for the Negroes and Mexicans in the Urban Renewal group and for the Negroes in the Highway group was significantly greater than the improvement made by the whites.

The Negro families in the Urban Renewal sample showed the greatest relative gains in the quality of their housing. The improvement was not, however, significantly greater than the improvement shown by the Negro respondents in the Highway sample. Part of the improvement was artifactual as well, since more than half the Negro respondents in the Urban Renewal sample who moved into good housing, moved into public housing. A higher proportion of Negro respondents made use of public housing facilities to get standard housing in the Urban Renewal sample than the Highway sample.

*Chi-square indicated a significantly greater improvement in the housing of Negroes pre- and post-relocation in both Highway and Urban Renewal samples.

**3-variable chi-square significant at the .01 level for racial groups in Urban Renewal sample.

***3-variable chi-square significant at the .001 level for racial groups in Highway sample.

Part of this may be due to the fact that the relocation workers of the Urban Renewal Agency advised the families of their eligibility. It has often been stated that the Negro is most hurt by the process of relocation. This may be true in large cities where the opportunities for Negro families to move into standard housing are severely limited. In a smaller city, this does not necessarily seem to be the case.

The older people in many cities have been hurt the most in the process of relocation. The quality of housing obtained might conceivably contribute to the distress felt by these people. In Topeka, age was not related to the quality of housing either before or after the move. This was true for both the Urban Renewal and Highway groups (Table 6.11). However, the overall improvement in housing quality that was found for the entire Urban Renewal sample did not hold true for all age groups. It was not proportionately as great for the older age groups in the Urban Renewal sample as it was for the younger age groups.

The Urban Renewal and Highway samples were broken down into age groups (under 35, 35-49, 50-64, 65 and over) for a further comparison of changes in housing quality. Using the 3-variable chi-square, we found that only in the 35-49 age group was there a significantly greater improvement in housing quality for the Urban Renewal sample as compared to the Highway sample. The degree of improvement was not significant in the other three age groups. Moreover, there was a significant difference in housing quality over time for all the age groups except the 50-64 group. In other words, each age group was able to significantly improve its housing except the 50-64 age group. This is not to say that the quality did not improve; it most definitely did, but the difference between the quality of housing over time for this age group was not significant ($P < .10$).

The Question of Satisfaction with Housing Following Relocation

The question of how satisfied people are with their housing after relocation has not received as much research consideration as have the physical and economic characteristics of relocation housing, i.e., size, quality, crowding, and cost. The Census Bureau completely omitted satisfaction from its study, evidently not considering it so relevant as a definition of adequacy. Fried,⁵ in his study of the West End, considered some psychological variables of housing by focusing on the "grief" associated with loss of home. However, he did not report directly on satisfaction with housing before and after the move. Neither did Rossi, in his Why Families Move, report whether or not a move was followed by increased or decreased satisfaction with the house.

There are cogent reasons to follow Fried's interest in the social-psychological consequences of forced mobility if we are to fully understand the consequences of urban renewal, and/or if we want to improve the relocation process. It is almost axiomatic in the social sciences that "reality" differs, depending on the reaction of the person to it, as much as its objective components. Thus "adequate" housing is not simply a function or

an interaction of economic and physical variables. It is impossible to say that a house is adequate without at least considering the way in which it satisfies the needs and wishes of its occupants.

We do not need to concern ourselves at this point with a consideration of why some people are satisfied with one house and not with another because we only wish to explore the relationship between expressed satisfaction, forced and voluntary moving, and the relationship of the helping process as an intervening variable. We will consider the psychological concomitants of mobility more directly in a later chapter. Here we are primarily concerned with the differences in expressed satisfaction with the house, not in the psychological reaction to the entire experience.

Rossi, after his study of why families move, came to the conclusion that in the familiar push-pull hypothesis, people move more frequently as a result of push than pull. Dissatisfaction with the space available and an attempt to adjust the space available to the perceived needs were the most important reasons for moving. For this reason, we would expect our Voluntary Movers to report a significant gain in satisfaction when their new housing was compared to their old. Hypothetically, their move was a deliberate attempt to increase satisfaction with their housing.

The Highway and Urban Renewal groups, on the other hand, did not move to increase satisfaction. The push behind their mobility was of a different sort and unrelated to life cycle or personal desires. The time in which they had to move was more severely limited, and the resentment over their loss of control over their own destiny could be expected to result in either no increase in expression of satisfaction or a decrease.

Our measure of satisfaction in this instance was simple and direct and consisted of a series of three questions. (1) What do you like about this house? (2) How does your spouse feel about the house? (3) How do your children feel about the house? All three questions were asked before and after the move and the latter two were analyzed only for respondents who had the same spouse and children at time two as they had at time one.

On the first question, respondents in all the mover groups reported an increase in satisfaction across time ($P < .05$), and there was a shift in the features of the house that were salient to satisfaction. For the Urban Renewal and Voluntary Movers samples, there was a reduction in the "like nothing" responses and in responses unrelated to the physical aspects of the house--such responses as convenience to stores, amounts of rent, and nearness to relatives. There was an increase in expressed satisfaction by the Urban Renewal sample with the physical aspects of the house and by the Voluntary Movers with both the physical aspects and the space available. The Highway group reported few changes in these features; in fact, there were decreases in satisfaction with physical characteristics and space (Table 6.12).

When respondents were questioned about how their spouses felt about the house, there was a significant increase among the Urban Renewal and Voluntary Movers in reported satisfaction, while the Highway and Non-Movers remained the same (Table 6.13). The differences between the Urban Renewal and Voluntary Movers compared with the Highway and Non-Movers were significant. No significant differences were reported in expressed satisfaction of children between time one and time two for any combination of samples (Table 6.14).

Evidently the relocation program made some difference in the acquisition of a satisfactory house--satisfactory as defined by the respondents. It seems most reasonable to assume that the relocation counselors operated to increase the available alternatives which most nearly met the perceived needs and desires of their clients.

Summary and Interpretation

Relocation had a mixed impact on the housing of our populations. The quality of housing improved for all groups with the Urban Renewal population and the Voluntary Movers making significantly greater improvements than the other samples. Negroes and Mexican-Americans made significantly greater gains in housing quality than did the whites. The average size of the dwelling units remained virtually the same (a very slight increase for the Voluntary Movers). Crowding decreased for the Urban Renewal and Voluntary Movers as a result of more efficient matching of size of house with need. Homeownership increased for the two forced-mover groups but not for the Voluntary Movers or the Non-Movers. Housing costs, as measured by monthly rent, increased substantially for Urban Renewal, only slightly for the Highway and the Voluntary Movers, and not at all for the Non-Movers. Housing cost, as measured by rent-income ratios, increased (dramatically) for the Urban Renewal population but remained comparatively stable or declined for the other groups. Among all movers, there was an increase across time in the proportion of respondents who reported that they were satisfied with their houses, but none for the Non-Movers. Respondents in the Urban Renewal and Voluntary Movers samples reported substantial increases in satisfaction of spouses with the house. The Highway and Non-Mover groups reported virtually the same degree of spouse satisfaction time one as compared to time two.

It appears that the Urban Renewal counselors exerted a "favorable" influence for the Urban Renewal population on the variables of quality, crowding, ownership, and satisfaction. They did not "favorably" affect housing costs. As indicated by the Highway-Urban Renewal comparisons, they were most helpful among the middle-income group in improving housing quality. Those with higher incomes had no difficulty in finding housing they wanted or at least the efforts of the relocation workers gave no significant advantage to the high-income Urban Renewal population over the Highway group. Among the low-income families in the sample, the constraints and lack of choices were so limiting that the work of the relocation workers had no measurable effect. It was in the medium-income group that the Urban Renewal

relocation service produced a significantly greater improvement in housing. This reinforces the view that we must have not only a program of relocation assistance, but an adequate supply of housing available for low- and medium-income groups.

A difference in the expressed satisfaction with relocation housing appears to support the social-psychological impact of the relocation program. This is particularly true in the face of the dramatic rise in the ratio of rent to income among the Urban Renewal population. In the future, satisfaction with house should probably be included as a component of the definition of "adequate" housing.

To integrate all of these comparisons into a summary evaluation of the impact of the relocation program on the moving process is difficult if not impossible. It should be noted, however, that previous studies have shown that voluntary movers are a group of opportunists pulled out of one dwelling unit by an opportunity to improve the match between house and needs or desires. In the case of our sample of Voluntary Movers, this was achieved at little increase in costs. On the crucial variables of satisfaction, crowding, and quality, the Urban Renewal sample more closely approximated the experiences of the Voluntary Movers than it did the experiences of the Highway. It is reasonable to assume that the relocation counselors operated to increase the available alternatives which most clearly met the needs and desires of their clients. A not unreasonable test is the degree to which a forced-mover group with limited time for analyzing the alternatives, matches the efficiency of people who move voluntarily. With the exception of cost of housing, the criteria were met by the Urban Renewal population.

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CHAPTER 11

THE IMPACT OF FORCED RELOCATION ON CHILDREN

By

Larry K. Northwood, Ph.D.

In this chapter is an assessment of one of a set of events surrounding the demolition of a neighborhood and school. It is concerned with the impact on grade school children of their removal from areas in which most of them were born and raised.

Although several million families and their children have been displaced from their homes by urban renewal projects and other civic improvements, there are few, if any, careful empirical studies of this subject.¹

This modest study will be based largely on interviews with 83 children during three points of time: just before their families were removed from the Urban Renewal or Highway areas, just after this event, and one year later. The early history of these children, as captured in school records, will be placed in the broader context of the Control group school population. This will permit a comparison of the project children (Urban Renewal and Highway) with children living in an area not undergoing such disruption (Control). Other supplementary sources of information that enrich our account are: interviews with some of the parents of the project children,* school counselor records, social agency records, and Urban Renewal worker records about the children and their families.

For reasons of economy, this chapter will focus on the impact of the removal of the children and their families from the project areas. We will not deal with the entire set of events in the transition of families from one neighborhood to another. This is the subject of a later report.² However, it is desirable to provide the outlines of this broader theory so that a context can be provided for the single event of the forced removal from project areas.

Our first premise in this broader theory of family transition from one neighborhood to another is that the forced removal from a project area is quite different from the usual moving process. It has been said that poor people--and the children in our sample are from an impoverished population--have become inured to eviction through having experienced it so often. A parallel is sometimes drawn between random evictions and dislocation brought about through urban development. We hold that this parallel is misleading

*The interviews referred to are the survey research interviews.

for several reasons. To start with, the scope of the evictions is much greater. Frequently, all housing and neighborhood facilities are razed. Moreover, some efforts may be made to mitigate the bad effects of moving, as in the project under study. For example, social services and financial aids were provided to the parents of the Urban Renewal children, and all the children were prepared for the move by a program of education and persuasion conducted by an authority they recognized, the public school.

The act of moving frequently becomes a lengthy resettlement process, a set of events which may be evaluated by the participants in contradictory ways. It is for this reason that it is misleading and simplistic to characterize the process by one gross feeling-tone, such as grief about the lost home.

Most of the participants in urban relocation will probably view the events from four standpoints:

1. as the permanent destruction of familiar landmarks and old neighborhood ties. It is anticipated that this event will become salient and meaningful only for those who are anchored to the neighborhood and/or who are involved in irreplaceable locality-based activities.
2. as interim living during the removal. There are at least two facets to this event: the distress that accompanies the emptying out of the old neighborhood, or that which is associated with the moving process itself. It should be clearly understood that, in emptying out, the living arrangements of the area are drastically altered. The expression of attitudes of resentment may be directed at what the dying neighborhood has become during the transition period, rather than at the loss of an old neighborhood.
3. as adjustment by the newcomer to a strange new territory. As soon as the displaced person moves into a new area, there are problems of accommodation and assimilation to be managed. For some, there is a drastic shift in roles from "old-timer" to "newcomer" with its consequent problems.
4. as a civic enterprise. Urban redevelopment and the moving process may be evaluated in terms of efficiency, economy, and humanity. That is, personal difficulties may be weighed against the civic good.

The outcome of the evaluation of moving will depend upon which of these events is under consideration. Although this chapter primarily is focused on the evaluation of the moving process, one phase of the interim living during the removal, some of the findings will have implications for the broader theory.

Our second premise in the theory of neighborhood transition is that changes in physical properties of the living arrangements may be equally or more important to residents than changes in purely social properties of a neighborhood. Some physical properties that frequently are identified by their social and psychological aspects would include: familiarity with the forms, structures, and facilities located in an area; convenient transportation routes and locations; the aesthetic environment; the potentials of the environment for creative reorganization. What many people miss in a new area are: knowledge of the shortcuts; tolerance limits of neighbors and other obstacles; objects which lack historical and sentimental values to the viewers.

It is likely that children use the physical properties of the area surrounding their homes more intensively than adults. The child may find that he can create or reproduce satisfactory social relationships rather easily during the transition from one neighborhood to another. On the other hand, there may be no replacement for the physical properties of the old area.

Many authors have pointed to the school as central to the social life of grade school children. It may well be that the loss of familiar school associations and the destruction of the school property may be more threatening to the child than the loss of a house. The current study is designed to allow an exploration of this factor.

The strategy for the organization of the chapter is as follows. (1) The sampling and analysis procedures are described. (2) The findings are arrayed with respect to each of the indices used to measure the impact of the move on the children.

PROCEDURES FOR THE ANALYSIS OF THE SAMPLINGS

The findings reported in this chapter are based on four samples, the characteristics of which are identified in Table 11.1.

Sample A is based strictly on interviews with the children in three time periods: one year before move from the project areas, one year after move, and one year later. In a few cases, the first interview was taken just after the move, and children were asked to recapture their pre-move experiences. The sample size varies with the maximum number being 72, 75, and 62 children, respectively, in the time periods. Within any time period, the findings are based on usable answers. Thus, the number of cases varies widely. The data in the pre-move period are most sketchy because they were gathered through an open-ended technique, which resulted in an emphasis on salient rather than systematic information. In contrast, a standard set of questions was asked of all children in the post-move periods. Twelve of the children lived in the Highway Area prior to the move and the balance in the Urban Renewal Area.

Sample B is made up of selected cases from Sample A: 50 children for whom we have both personal interviews and school records, some of which extend

backwards five or six years before the move. By looking at these data conjointly, it is possible to compare indices derived from the school records with the attitudes expressed by the children.

Sample C, also a part of Sample A, captures comparable items in the survey research interviews of parents and the interviews with children. Thus, consensus and dissensus within the same family on the issues of the move can be contrasted. The maximum number of parents is 31, and they have among them a total of 39 children.

Sample D involves available school records on children from the project and Control areas.* The sample size varies from 218 records in 1954-55 to 944 records in the latter years of the study, 1960-63. The variations in sample size, of course, are a product of the age of the child in entering school--we tried to get a lifetime account of children in our sample at the time of the renewal project--plus the usual transfers, dropouts, and record inadequacies. There are statistically significant differences between the three school populations. The Urban Renewal school population, for example, contained larger proportions of children of Mexican-American and Indian ancestry and more older children than either the Highway or the Control groups. Thus, in a real sense, the Control group does not perform an adequate control function. A discussion of this appears elsewhere in the report.

A cursory examination of Table 11.1 will indicate that our three small samples are more like each other than they are like Sample D. Sample A was selected from the grade school population of Lincoln School and was not intended to represent older school children living in the project areas. Lincoln School served the concentrated Mexican-American community and this resulted in their over-representation in Sample A. These biases in Sample A also affect Samples B and C.

What was the nature of the population** whose children we study? It was comprised predominantly of intact nuclear families with a generous sprinkling of extended families and one-parent households. At the time of the move, the income and educational status of these families was at or below the poverty line. Over half the families were Mexican-American, a quarter were Negro, and the balance included a handful of whites.

*Where possible, school records were gathered on all of the children from the Urban Renewal Area households; on the children from the survey research interview households in the Highway Area; on children from 22 other identified Highway Area households; on the children from the survey research interview households from Control groups #1 and #2. Control #1 and #2 were combined for this part of the study.

**It should be emphasized that this is the population which comprised the 83 children who were interviewed. This population consists of only 63 households and is by no means representative of the entire Urban Renewal or Highway population.

TABLE 11.1
HOUSEHOLD AND RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS OF FOUR SAMPLES

	<u>Sample A</u>	<u>Sample B</u>	<u>Sample C</u>	<u>Sample D</u>
<u>No. of Cases in Time Periods</u>	62-75	50	27 to 31 parents of 39 children	218 to 944
<u>Source of Information</u>	Interview with child	Interview with child; school records	Interview with child & parent; school records	School records
<u>Household Data</u>				
1) Area Location:	Urban Renewal Highway	Urban Renewal Highway	Urban Renewal	Urban Renewal Highway; Contr
2) Racial Composition:				
White	19%	17%	19%	37% (25) *
Mex-American & Indian	51%	58%	58%	33% (44)
Negro	30%	25%	23%	29% (30)
No Information	--	--	--	1% (1)
3) Monthly Income:				
\$250 & Less	34%	27%	35%	--
\$251 to \$450	49%	40%	52%	--
\$451 & Up	16%	25%	13%	--
No Information	1%	8%	--	--
4) Educational Status:				
Low	26%	21%	35%	--
Medium	40%	40%	19%	--
High	17%	17%	23%	--
No Information	17%	21%	23%	--
5) Family Composition:				
Intact Nuclear	64%	67%	55%	--
Extended	13%	13%	26%	--
Child w/Relatives	7%	6%	3%	--
One Parent Only	14%	13%	16%	--
No Reply	3%	--	--	--
<u>Data on Child</u>				
1) Sex--% Male:	47%	56%	56%	51%
2) School Grade After Move:				
0-1	--	--	--	8%
2-3	11%	6%	13%	16%
4-5	34%	31%	26%	15%
6-7	53%	61%	59%	13%
8-9	3%	2%	3%	12%
10-11	--	--	--	10%
12	--	--	--	4%
Other	1%	--	--	22%

*The number in the brackets refers to the proportion of children in the Urban Renewal group only.

For the most part, Samples A, B, and C contain an even number of boys and girls, the majority of whom were in grades 6-7 after they had completed their move from the project areas. The balance of the children were in earlier grades. The children in Sample D are evenly distributed between grades 2-11 with smaller proportions in the first and twelfth grades. A quarter of the children were not in local public schools at the time of the survey; this proportion included 62 high school graduates, 123 withdrawals, and 25 children whose status was not known.

Seven sets of indices will be employed in assessing the impact on children of events in the moving process. These are: (1) number of school transfers, (2) number of referrals to agencies for behavior problems, (3) number of withdrawals, dropouts, and failures, (4) absences, (5) grade-point averages, (6) scores on the Iowa Test of Basic Skills, and (7) positive and negative attitudes about the moving process.

All but the last of the indices are based on school records. Indices 1-3 permit a comparison of groups only; indices 4-6 allow for a comparison of trends within groups and also use some items taken from the interviews of the children. The last set of indices is derived from answers to questions of both the children and their parents.

The logic of the analysis is to test the null hypothesis of no difference between samples. If the null hypothesis can be rejected at the .05 level of significance, we will assume that there is relevance in the differences found, and that these may be related to the moving process. Our prediction for indices 1-3 above is that there is a greater proportion of transfers, referrals, withdrawals, dropouts, and failures within the two project areas (from which there was a forced removal) than in the Control areas (where there was a more "normal" state of affairs with respect to residential moves). The same prediction holds for indices 4-6 concerning absence rates and academic competence as measured by the grade-point average and the Iowa Test of Basic Skills. In the case of indices 4-6, however, it is possible to discriminate between the period of the move, before, and after. We would, therefore, predict greater disruption during the period of the move than before or after. Our last set of indices, which are based on personal interviews with the children, allows a comparison between those who felt positive and were satisfied with the move and those with reverse feelings. In these comparisons, we are able to examine in detail some factors associated with positive and negative feelings about the moving process.

To avoid needless repetition, we will indicate the level of statistical significance that can be accorded a finding by placing asterisks after the sentence reporting the finding. One asterisk means that the finding was at the .05 level of significance according to the chi-square analysis; two asterisks indicate the .10 level, and three asterisks the .20 level. Unless there is one or more asterisks following the sentence, the probability level is more than .20 or a statistical test was not performed on the data.

FINDINGS

School Transfers

It was to be expected that significant differences occurred between Urban Renewal, Highway, and Control on the number of times children transferred schools.* The average child changed schools about three times, with one-sixth of the 944 children for whom we have records having changed schools 8 or more times during their lifetimes. However, over one-half of the children from the Control group had no more than one change in schools, and many had never changed schools. Over two-thirds of the children in Urban Renewal and 61% of the children in the Highway had changed schools more than once in their lifetimes.

Referral to Agencies

By the end of the 1962-63 school year, about one-third, or 299 children, had been referred by the school to social agencies for problem behavior.* The Urban Renewal group had the largest number of referrals with 176 cases; Control had 80, and Highway had 43. Each group contributed to referrals in about the proportion of the size of their child populations. However, the Highway contributed proportionately more referrals than either Urban Renewal or Control, and 23% of the Highway children who were referred to an agency received two, three, or more than three types of referrals. This contrasted with 17% of the children in both the other groups.

Withdrawals, Dropouts, and Failures

The variety of indices noted in Table 11.2 would suggest that the Urban Renewal children exhibited more school related "problem behavior" in the years through 1963 than did the children from either of the other groups. About 21%, 113 children, failed once or twice; 16% had withdrawn from school. The proportions are lower in both Highway and Control. However, school officials state that high rates of withdrawal pertained both before and after the move. Thus, withdrawal from school cannot be attributed solely to the forced relocation. It is inappropriate to compare "before" with "after" because the "before" period is based on many years and the "after" period on few; nor are the data age-standardized.

TABLE 11.2
SCHOOL PROBLEM BEHAVIOR

Type of School Problem Behavior	Urban Renewal	Highway	Control
Failed Once or Twice	21% (113)	15% (19)	15% (37)
Withdrawal From School	16% (88)	15% (6)	11% (29)
"Quit School <u>BEFORE</u> Move"	9% (46)	2% (3)	6% (17)
"Quit School <u>AFTER</u> Move"	6% (33)	2% (2)	4% (10)

Absence Rates

Information on absences was compiled for a nine-year period, with the sample size ranging from 270 children in the school year 1954-55, to 688 children in the school year 1962-63.

The main absence rates in days per year for all of Sample D in each of the nine successive years were: 12.83, 16.17, 9.49, 14.25, 12.77, 14.73, 14.02, 11.52, and 13.64. There is no marked trend in this series with the low point in 1956-57 and the high point in the previous year.

The three groups are contrasted in Chart 11.1. The Control group exhibits a marked two-year cycle with the peaks at about 16 days of absence per year and the troughs at 12. The cyclic patterns for the other two groups are not as regular. In eight of nine periods, absence rates were lower in Urban Renewal than Control. In the year when much of the relocation took place, 1961-62, children in Urban Renewal lost about nine days per child in absences as compared with 15 days per child for the Control group for most years. The differences between the groups are statistically significant only for 1959-60; they are not significant for other school years.

Thus, it would seem that there was better attendance among children living in the area experiencing the greatest changes (Urban Renewal) than in the other areas. Furthermore, when the three groups are compared as to proportion of children having 15 or more days of absence per year, the record of Urban Renewal children is superior to the other two.

The median is a more adequate measure of central tendency for data such as those just reported since it reduces the effect of extreme scores, i.e., the scores of children with very high absence rates in a particular year. We

were unable to compute the median with the tabled data available. The arithmetic means for Sample D are further inflated by the inclusion of children with 0-15 absences in the same category and having to use the midpoint value of 7.5 in computations. This has led to a serious underestimate of children with low absence rates. Corrections for this are made in the computation of absence rates for the children of Sample A reported in the next section of this chapter.

Whatever the mode of analysis, using mean or median, absence rates in the Control group exceed both Urban Renewal and Highway for most years, including those of the period of the move.

Grade-Point Averages

The information on grade-point averages was compiled from the same sample as for absence rates. The trend of mean GPA's for all of Sample D in each of the nine successive years was: 2.30, 2.25, 2.21, 2.17, 2.14, 2.12, 2.02, 2.01, and 1.96. Thus, a gradual decline occurred with the largest single decrement of one-tenth of a grade point occurring in the school year 1960-61.

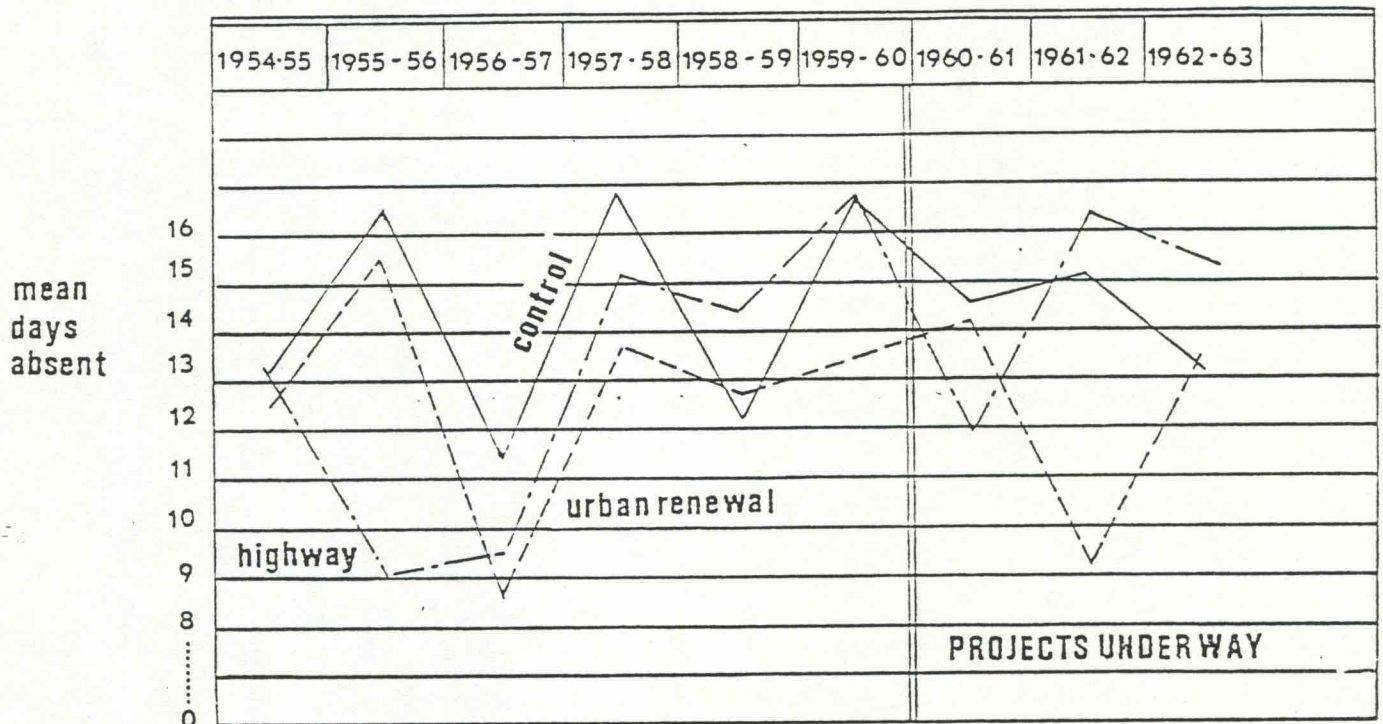
The trends in the mean GPA of children in the three groups are plotted in Chart 11.2. In general, Control children have a higher mean GPA than Urban Renewal and Highway children. The maximum differences among groups would seem to have occurred in 1957-58 by visual inspection of the chart. However, statistically significant differences were noted only in 1958-59 and in none of the other school years. The decline in mean GPA was greatest during the nine years for Urban Renewal and Highway children and least for the Control children. The declines were: Urban Renewal, 2.30 to 1.90; Highway, 2.36 to 1.93; Control, 2.31 to 2.07.

An examination of the trend lines in Chart 11.2 shows that the most marked fluctuation occurred with Control children and the most regularity with Urban Renewal children. All groups have declining grade-point averages during the period when most project children were relocated. The average decline was miniscule in both Urban Renewal and Highway: one-tenth of a grade point for Urban Renewal children and two-tenths for Highway children. In eight of the nine school years, however, there were larger proportions of children with the high GPA of 3.0 or better in the Highway than in either of the other groups. In four school years, Urban Renewal also bettered Control in the proportion of students with a GPA of 3.0 and up.

The conclusion would seem to be that the demolition and forced move had little effect on children as measured by significant fluctuation or decline in the mean GPA. This conclusion must be tempered, however.

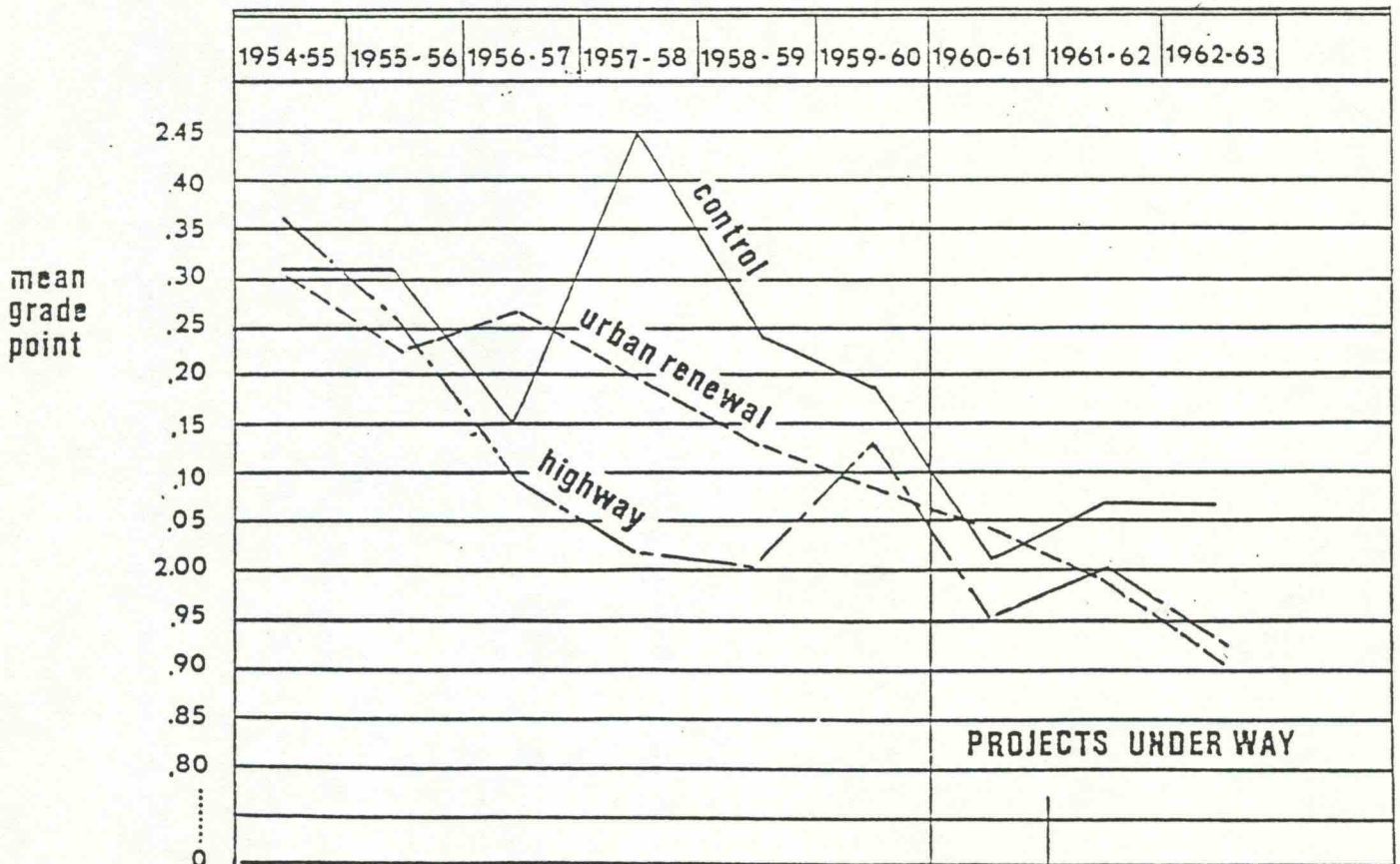
Aside from questions about the validity of the grade-point average as an indicator of the impact of the move, the procedures we used for the identification of the critical period of the move were rather crude as applied in Sample D. We arbitrarily established this at mid-1960, whereas many children actually moved a year before or after. This is corrected in the detailed study of the 50 children in Sample B for whom we have personal interviews and social agency records to work with as well as school records.

CHART II.1 Mean number of days absent per year for children from Urban Renewal, Highway and Control - 1954-1963*



* These data are based on Table II.15 in the Appendix

II.2 Mean grade points per year for children from Urban Renewal, Highway and Control - 1954-1963*



* These data are based on Table II.16 in the Appendix

In this analysis, the trend in grade-point average will be used to identify four types of children: gradual decliners, early losers, late losers, and late gainers. The procedures for establishing the typology were as follows: GPA's were computed for each child for four periods: Time 1, the mean for the two or more years prior to removal from the project areas; Time 2, the year immediately preceding the move; Time 3, the year immediately following the move; Time 4, the mean for two or more years after the date of move. Once having established the trend for each child, the types were defined as:

Gradual Decliner. This rating was given any child with a loss in GPA of less than .50 in any one time period. Only three of the 22 children so classified lost as much as .50 in the sum of changes in GPA for all time periods.

Early Loser. This rating was given any child if the loss between Time 1 and Time 2 in GPA exceeded .50. Nine of the 11 Early Losers recovered the loss in GPA experienced during the pre-move year in the period thereafter.

Late Loser. This rating was given to any child if the loss between Time 2 and Time 3 exceeded .50, or if the loss between Time 3 and Time 4 exceeded .50. Eleven of the 15 children thus classified experienced relatively large losses in Time 3.

Late Gainer. This rating was given to two children whose improvement in GPA exceeded .50 between Time 1 and Time 4.

The number of Late Gainers is insufficient for further consideration. Two children were also excluded from Sample B because they had repeated the same grade within one year of the move; this had a marked effect on their grade-point averages. Thus, the subsequent analysis is based on 48 children classified according to the typology.

The average loss or gain in grade-point averages is reported in Table 11.3. The greatest average loss of .83 was experienced by the Early Losers, but about one-third of this was recovered in the post-move years. The Late Losers, on the other hand, did not have as great a loss in any single time period as their counterpart, but the total impact of the loss was more substantial.

TABLE 11.3
AVERAGE LOSS OR GAIN IN GRADE POINTS

	<u>During Year Before Move</u>	<u>During Year After Move</u>	<u>One Year Later</u>
Gradual Decliners (N = 22)	- .13	- .09	- .02
Early Losers (N = 11)	- .83	+ .26	+ .02
Late Losers (N = 15)	- .13	- .66	- .04
Late Gainers (N = 2)	- .03	+ .15	+ .35

What were the characteristics of the three types of children with declining GPA's? Table 11.4 shows that about three-quarters of the Gradual Decliners came from households where the monthly income was \$251 to \$350 and where neither parent had completed high school. In contrast, the parents of most Early Losers and Late Losers earned \$250 or less each month and neither parent had education beyond the eighth grade. There were a few exceptions to this among the Late Losers. The majority of the children in all of Sample B were part of a nuclear family, but larger portions of the Gradual Decliners lived in extended families and one-parent households. Academically, a large portion of the Gradual Decliners had GPA's of 3.0 and over, whereas the "Losers" were less qualified. Almost 40% of the "Losers" had a mean GPA of less than 2.0.

TABLE 11.4
COMPARISON OF SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF
GRADUAL DECLINERS, EARLY LOSERS, AND LATE LOSERS

	<u>Gradual Decliners</u>	<u>Early Losers</u>	<u>Late Losers</u>
<u>Household Social Status</u>			
High	1	--	4
Medium	15	6	3
Low	4	4	7
<u>Family Corporation of Household</u>			
Nuclear	13	8	11
Extended	4	1	1
One-Parent	5	--	2
Child With Relatives	--	2	1
<u>Mean GPA of Child</u>			
Above 3.0	5	2	2
2.0 to 2.9	12	5	7
Below 2.0	5	4	6

A statistical portrait of the Early Loser would show that he was likely to be a boy of 12 of Mexican-American lineage. Oriented toward the old Lincoln School neighborhood, where he went to school before Urban Renewal, he had an excellent attendance record there--better than the other types. Having moved to a new neighborhood, he was poorly satisfied with his new house, new neighborhood, and new school.

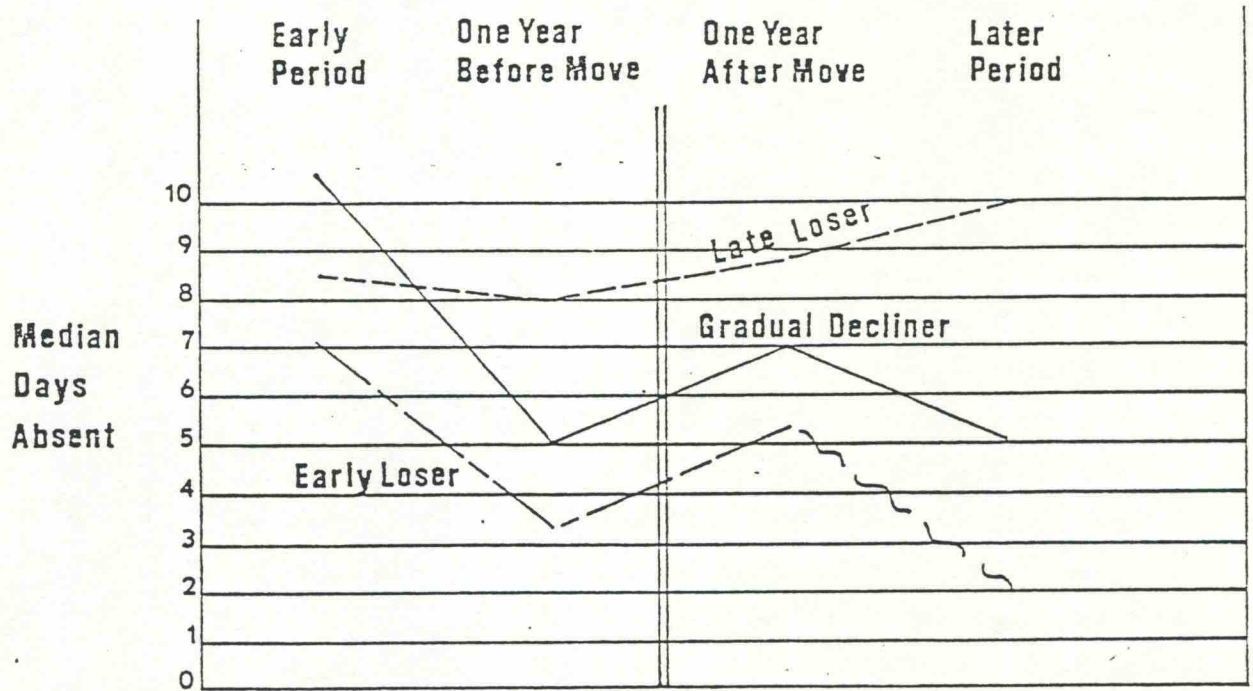
In contrast, six of fifteen Late Losers were Negro boys and girls. They were about 10 years old. Being younger, they had moved less frequently in their lifetimes. They were divided in their preference for old or new neighborhoods. They transferred school more often than the other types and had the poorest attendance records.

Most Gradual Decliners were Mexican-Americans. However, five of the eight white children in Sample B were "Decliners." There were a few more boys than girls, and the median age was 12. Although they were satisfied with the new neighborhood, generally, about half still preferred the old. Many were quite negative about the moving process. With respect to school transfers and attendance, their record was midway between the other types.

Chart 11.3 and Chart 11.4 plot the attendance records for the three types. They are based on medians, with no ambiguity about when the family moved from the project areas. The trend line shows that the children whose grade-point averages dipped most drastically in the post-move period, the Late Losers, also had the highest absence rates during the whole period of the move, an average of eight to ten days per year. Furthermore, the attendance record of the Late Loser seemed to be worsening. On the other hand, the Early Loser had

CHART II.3

Median Number of Days Absent from School during the Years preceding and following Forced Move for 3 Groups of Children, classified by trends in their Mean Grade-Point Averages*



* The wavy line of Early Losers is used to indicate the trend computed from less than five cases in the later period

his lowest annual absence rate, three days per year, just at the time of moving. Thus, there was an apparently anomalous finding. There was a sharp drop in GPA concurrent with a sharp drop in number of days absent per year. This low absence rate cannot be attributed simply to the two-year age difference between Early Losers and Late Losers. This is ruled out by the examination of the more extended history of absenteeism that is presented in Chart 11.4. All types of children had higher absence rates when they were younger, i.e., 1955-57.

The examination of the longer time period brings out another finding. It suggests that patterns of the past were reproduced in the present. The Late Losers started with the highest absence rates of the three types, and for the most part, continued this record. The Gradual Decliners lived up to their name. They had the most stable records for both attendance and grade point.

This analysis of grade-point averages suggests that for two of the types, the Gradual Decliner and the Early Loser, the period of crisis in moving had a depressant effect until the move was completed. But this depressant effect, amounting to a few tenths of a grade point, was minimal. On the other hand, the crisis of adjustment following the move from the project areas seemed to accelerate the downward trend in GPA for the Late Loser. From the small number of children who improved their grade-point averages during and following the move, it would appear that such an event does not have great stimulus value for academic achievement. None of these findings are statistically significant.

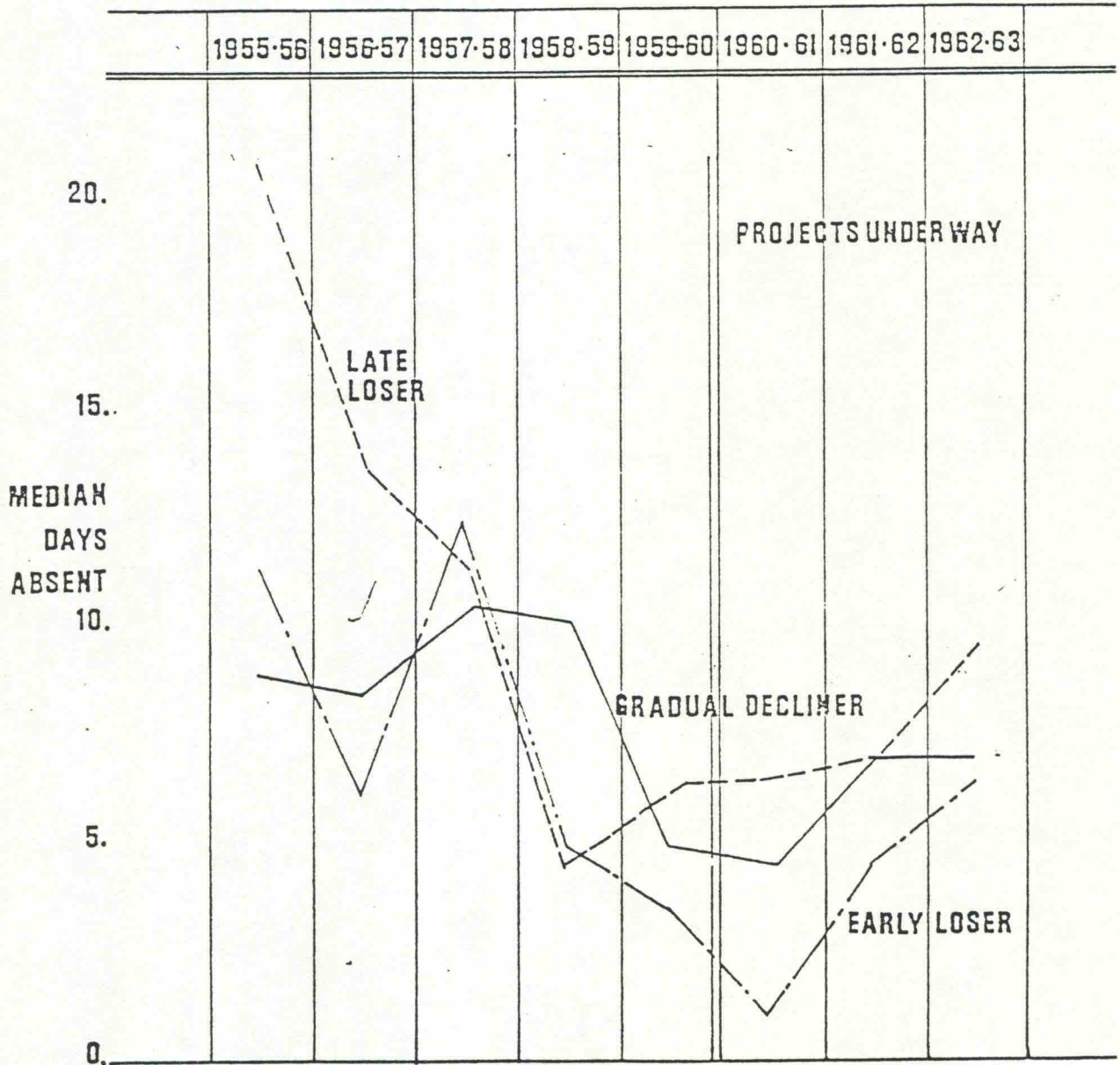
Basic Skills

Besides the grade-point average, another test of academic achievement was available for the children in Sample A. Most of the children had completed the Iowa Test of Basic Skills at the end of their third, fourth, fifth, and sixth years in school. If a child is proceeding normally, he would be expected to improve his basic skills in increments of 1.0 from one year to the next. Thus, if a child had a score of 3.0 in the third grade, this would proceed to 4.0 in the fourth year and so on.

During the years for which we have test scores, the increments for children ranged from .3 to 2.3. On three occasions, there were decrements not exceeding .6. The data were examined to see whether the size of the mean increment in the test score was associated with the period of the move. Test scores were available for 46 children in the year before the move, for 28 children during the year of the move, and for 13 children in the year after the move. The mean increments for these three periods successively were: .84, .85, and .93. The differences are not statistically significant.

The conclusion can be reached that, although many children improved their basic skills at or above that which is expected by the completion of a school grade (1.0), the children of Sample A, taken as a whole, continued to slip further behind in academic achievement. There was a loss of .16 from the norm of 1.0 in basic skills for the year before the move, of .15 in the year during the move, and of .07 in the year after the move. This finding is consistent with the overall decline in grade-point averages noted in the last section. However, no phase of the moving process contributed significantly

CHART II.4 Median number of days absent from school/yr. 1955-1963, for three groups of children, classified by trends in their mean grade point averages*



* There were too few cases in 1954-55 to warrant the computation of the median.

more to the decline in basic skills than the other phases.

Attitudes About the Move and Related Matters

What do the children and their parents have to say about the move from the project areas? This is the subject we will deal with in this section, drawing our answers from the respondents in Sample A and Sample C.

The findings are organized to answer four basic questions. (1) To what extent was knowledge about the move from the project sites salient to the children? (2) To what extent did the children actually participate in the moving process? (3) What were the children's feelings about the cluster of events surrounding the removal? How did these feelings shift before and after the event? (4) What factors were associated with the children's satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the removal?

The space limitations of this report require drastic compression of the methodology and findings. These are to be reported more extensively in another publication.

Knowledge in Advance About the Move

By the time they were first interviewed, the children in our sample knew that there was such a thing as "urban renewal" and that Lincoln School and their homes would be torn down in the near future.

When asked about this directly, only 5 of 46 children were unsure about the razing of the school. One of them denied the fact. The other 41 knew of the impending change; 27 told the interviewer the name of the school to which they expected to be transferred.

All but two of these children also agreed that they would need to move from their present homes. Forty families were reported to have begun the search for housing. The status of this search is indicated in Table 11.5.

TABLE 11.5
ADVANCE PREPARATION FOR HOUSING MOVE
MADE BY CHILDREN'S FAMILIES (N=47)

	<u>Family Has Located House or Lot</u>	<u>Family Is Looking For House</u>	<u>Family Is Considering Leaving Town</u>	<u>Family Not Started Home Hunting Yet</u>
Knows Specifically When Move Will Be	2%	2%	2%	----
Knows Generally When Move Will Be	19%	26%	13%	----
Knows of Move But Not When	----	15%	4%	13%
Confused or Denies Impending Move	----	4%	----	----

Children's Participation in the Moving Process

Questions were asked to determine the extent of discussion about the move among the children themselves and between child and parents.

Of 21 children who were asked whether they discussed this issue with other children, 15 replied that they had. What did the other children think of the move? Eight thought that others were "opposed"; four thought they "favored the move"; the balance had mixed opinions.

Twenty-five children made assessments of their parents' feelings about the forthcoming move. The parents were divided, according to the estimates: 13 favored the move; 8 were negative; 4 ambivalent. For whom, parents or children does the move give the hardest time? Twelve children said parents had "more work or responsibility in the move," or "they had lived longer in the neighborhood and would hate to give it up." The nine who said that children suffered most gave reasons such as: "they lost their friends," and "they have to change school."

From the foregoing, it would seem that the impending move had been the subject of general conversation among the children and their families.

In what ways besides general conversation were the children involved in the relocation? Children participated in the moving process in different ways; also there were systematic variations according to the monthly household income. This is indicated in Table 11.6.

TABLE 11.6
WAYS IN WHICH PARENTS INVOLVED THEIR CHILDREN IN
SEARCH FOR HOUSING FOLLOWING FORCED RELOCATION

<u>Monthly Household Income</u>	<u>Number of Cases</u>	<u>Child Saw House, Asked His Opn.</u>	<u>Child Saw House, Not Asked His Opinion</u>	<u>Child Did Not See House, Asked His Opn.</u>	<u>Child Did Not See House, No Asked His Opn</u>
\$250 & Under	17	41%	18%	18%	24%
\$251 to \$350	17	53%	29%	6%	12%
Over \$350	14	43%	38%	7%	14%

Children in households with higher incomes apparently were more likely to be involved in decisions about housing than those in households with lower incomes. This relationship is not statistically significant. However, income of household seems to be related to the information process. For example, children in lower-income households had less knowledge of a new housing site than children in the other household income categories.* The relationship of income to availability of housing was also marked. Two-thirds of the children in the upper-income households reported their families had found a home or were building one by the time of the first interview. This compares with 32% of the middle-income households and 6% of the low-income households.

Twenty-six children were asked in Time 1 how they were involved in the move which they had just completed or which was imminent. The usual answers were that they helped in packing and loading. Two children volunteered that they were helpful by "staying out of the way."

The Meaning of Urban Renewal

Moving to make way for an urban renewal project meant many things to the children involved. And these meanings changed over time.

At the beginning, children were divided in their evaluations. About 40% of the children identified urban renewal as a program for building highways or for the general improvement of Topeka. A similar proportion saw the program as a form of destruction that would result in the inconveniences of a forced move, the loss of cherished friends, or the tearing down of home and school. A few children identified urban renewal with Agency services or payments to help in the moving process.

Over time, the most frequently mentioned negative aspect of urban renewal came to be: NOT the loss of friends, NOT the physical destruction of buildings, but the continuing inconveniences suffered during the move itself. This is seen in Table 11.7.

TABLE 11.7
REASONS GIVEN FOR DISLIKING URBAN RENEWAL

<u>Reason</u>	<u>Year Before Move (N=20)</u>	<u>Year After Move (N=32)</u>	<u>One Year Later (N=49)</u>
Inconveniences Suffered During Move	35%	47%	53%
Physical Deterioration of Buildings or Neighborhood	25%	22%	10%
Loss of Friends	25%	3%	4%
Personal Attachment to Buildings, Things, Housing, People	5%	16%	8%
Nothing or General Negativeness	10%	13%	24%

The negative comments about urban renewal outweigh the positive comments in the ratio of 5/1. However, these negative comments declined over time. The reasons given for the negative evaluation sharply divided our sample of children: Negro and Mexican-American vs. white; lower vs. upper poverty households, based on income and educational status. Children of both deprived minorities and in lower status households were more concerned with the loss of their friends and the loss of familiar aspects of the old neighborhood than they were with the inconveniences of moving. Although, to be sure, they also resented these inconveniences. This finding was often repeated in the subsequent analysis.

Children's Feelings About Moving

Following the questions about their knowledge and attitudes toward urban renewal, the children were queried directly about the history of residential moves since their departure from the project sites. The question required the rating of "moving in general" on a five-point scale having the following steps: very positive, positive with reservations, neutral or ambivalent, negative with reservations, very negative. Table 11.8 presents the findings for the three time periods. There was a regular shift away from a majority of children with positive feelings toward moving.

TABLE 11.8
CHILDREN'S RATINGS OF MOVING IN GENERAL

<u>Rating of "Moving in General"</u>	<u>Year Before Move (N=45)</u>	<u>Year After Move (N=56)</u>	<u>One Year Later (N=62)</u>
Positive	51%	30%	23%
Neutral or Ambivalent	11%	18%	29%
Negative	38%	52%	48%

In the latest period, fewer than a quarter of the children felt positive about moving, and the great bulk were either negative, neutral, or ambivalent.

What factors are associated with the children's attitudes about moving? They are as follows:

1. Sex of Child. While there was little difference between girls and boys prior to the move, boys were likely to look back on the move with less favor than girls.* Our discussion with boys about their daily round of activities pointed clearly to an outdoor orientation missing in the girls. Girls saw the dying Lincoln School Area with its taverns and unsavory night life as a threat to them, whereas the boys found adventure in the empty houses and excitement in the big machinery working on the projects. Perhaps these were environmental factors that the boys missed after the move that led to its negative evaluation by them.
2. Race of Child. Of the three ethnic groups, Negro children most favored the move before it occurred (78%) and least favored the move in the year after (23%). They had the sharpest opposition to moving in general at the time of the third interview (64%).

3. Age of Child. The children in early primary school grades were most positive to moving at all times that they were interviewed, or this is what they said. Dissatisfaction with moving was positively related to the level of the school grade.** Over half of the children in grades 7-9 were negative to moving in general.
4. Homeownership vs. Renting. Two-thirds of the children of homeowners in the Lincoln School District were opposed to moving, whereas only a quarter of the children of renters felt the same way.** However, there were no differences in attitudes toward moving among the children who moved from substandard or standard housing.
5. Number of Moves in Lifetime. Only 19% of the children who claimed to have moved five or more times in their lifetime felt positively about the relocation from the Lincoln School District, whereas 33% of those having only one move did so.*
6. Time of Move. Some families moved from the Urban Renewal and Highway areas as soon as they heard that these were to be project sites. Others lingered until the last minute. The children of families that moved at the latest possible time were much more positive to having moved than those who did so earlier.*** This finding reinforces the comment made under (1) above.
7. Number of Shifts in School. There were some children who had completed grade school and who were ready to shift to junior high school at the time of the relocation. Speaking in retrospect, two years after relocation, these children with a normal pattern of shifting schools were much more positive about moving than the other children.*
8. Frequency of Contact with Relatives. Children who saw their relatives less frequently in the period immediately following the move than they did before, were much more likely to disfavor moving than their counterparts.* This is illustrated in Table 11.9. Sixty-seven percent of the children with fewer contacts with their relatives following the move from the Urban Renewal Area were negative to the moving process, whereas only 17% of those with more contacts with their relatives after the move felt that way.

TABLE 11.9
CHANGE IN FREQUENCY OF CONTACT WITH RELATIVES
BEFORE AND AFTER URBAN RENEWAL MOVE

<u>Child's Attitude Toward Moving</u>	<u>More (N=12)</u>	<u>Same (N=15)</u>	<u>Less (N=31)</u>
Positive	42%	33%	10%
Neutral	42%	40%	23%
Negative	17%	27%	67%

9. Loss of Playmates. Children, in general, apparently were not so distressed during the shift of neighborhoods by the loss of playmates as they were by separation from relatives.*** Being close to one's friends is desirable, but not necessary. A detailed analysis of the patterning of activities of the children during the move indicated that there was a very minor change in their daily round.³ The activities remained relatively the same, but there were drastic shifts in the participants. Whereas the continuity of activities with "some friend" was maintained during the period of the move, the continuity of activities with siblings declined markedly. Most children, however, were able to find new playmates shortly after moving. The presence of friends was always associated significantly with the positive ratings given new schools in the new neighborhoods.* It was much more difficult to reproduce the "social life" of the Lincoln School District than to replace lost friends. The comments of early teen-age girls of Mexican-American origin suggest that they missed the social life of the Mexican-American community lost to them during the course of the moves.

10. Participation in the Moving Process. Some parents involved their children in the work of the move and in the decision of selecting a new house. But there were no significant differences in the attitudes of children toward moving, whether or not they were involved in such participation.

11. Parents' Attitudes Toward Moving. In general, the children said they reflected their parents' attitudes: where parents were positive toward moving, so were the children.*** In passing, it should be noted that in the year immediately after the removal from the Urban Renewal and Highway areas, children turned from their peers to their parents for help with homework.* Shortly after this the help was discontinued, according to the children's reports.

12. Family Consensus. There was an opportunity to measure the extent of family consensus on issues in the moving process. Interviews had been taken separately with parent and child for a limited number of pairs (Sample C). Thus, a direct comparison could be made on the items reported in Table 11.10 below. On each of the items, most children were in "full consensus" or "partial consensus" with their parents. The rating of "full consensus" was given where both members of the pair exactly agreed in their feelings of "positive," "negative," or "neutral." "Partial consensus" was achieved when one member of the pair rated the event as "positive" or "negative" and the other member was "neutral." The rating of "dissensus" was given when members of the pair took opposed points of view.

TABLE 11.10
EXTENT OF FAMILY CONSENSUS ON FEELINGS ABOUT ISSUES IN
THE MOVING PROCESS BY PARENT-CHILD PAIRS

<u>Extent of Agreement Between Parent & Child</u>	<u>About Necessity of Moving (N=32)</u>	<u>About Having Moved (N=29)</u>	<u>About New Neigh- borhood (N=24)</u>	<u>About New House (N=29)</u>
Full Consensus	37%	45%	66%	72%
Partial Consensus	31%	17%	29%	15%
Dissensus	31%	38%	4%	14%

The extent of consensus varied by item with the greatest dissensus about moving and the least dissensus about the new neighborhood.

A Consensus Score can be constructed for each pair summing their positions on the four events. By scoring two points for "full consensus," one point for "partial consensus," and no points for "dissensus," the Consensus Score has the theoretical range of 0-8. Actually, a quarter of our sample of pairs scored 7-8; another quarter scored 5-6; the balance scored 2-5; that is, they were in full agreement on less than half of the issues. With only a quarter of the sample of pairs in full agreement on all four issues related to the moving process, it would appear that there was much room for differences of opinion and for dissensus in our families.

The extent of consensus also was related to the position of the parent-child pair, whether they were collectively "positive" or "negative" about the event. Only 6% of the parent-child pairs

felt completely positive about the necessity of moving; 28% felt completely positive about having moved, 67% about the new neighborhood, and 69% about the new house. In this finding, we see a shift in attitude from a heavily negative one about the anticipated move in the period before the event to a more positive orientation about some of the outcomes of the move after it occurred, i.e., positive attitudes toward the new house and new neighborhood.

The Durability of Negative Attitudes Toward Moving

Children look with increasing disfavor on the moving process over time. This was clearly brought out in Table 11.8 where it was shown that increasing proportions of children were negative or neutral toward moving as they aged. In Table 11.11, the shift in attitudes toward school, house, neighborhood, and the moving process are contrasted. Only the proportion of children with positive attitudes is reported. The proportion of children who favored moving in the year before the move was 51%; in each of the years after the move, similar proportions favored having moved. However, the proportion of the children who felt positive about the moving process declined to 30% in the year after the move, and to 23% one year later. At the same time, rather large majorities continued to feel positive toward their present school, present house, and present neighborhood. In the latest interview period, 82% of the children liked their present house; 74% liked their present school; 60% liked their present neighborhood. This was in sharp contrast to the 23% of the children who still felt positively toward the moving process. The conclusion must inevitably be reached that there was something in the moving process per se which was disfavored by children.

TABLE 11.11
 POSITIVE ATTITUDES ABOUT HOUSE, NEIGHBORHOOD, SCHOOL,
 AND THE MOVING PROCESS

<u>Subject</u>	<u>Year Before Move</u>	<u>Year After Move</u>	<u>One Year Later</u>
About Moving Process	51% (23)	30% (17)	23% (14)
About Having Moved	- - - -	48% (29)	51% (30)
About Present School	100% (47)	85% (46)	74% (46)
About Present House	85% ^x (29)	85% (50)	82% (51)
About Present Neighborhood	69% ^x (33)	76% (36)	60% (37)

^xIn the year following the move, children were asked to indicate their feelings about the Lincoln neighborhood and their former homes. These are the data reported. In the year before the move, four of nine children stated that they were positive about their house, and three of five children stated that they were positive about their neighborhood. By using the retrospective evaluations, a larger number of children can be represented.

The children's attitudes toward moving also contributed to their feelings about the new school, house, and neighborhood. Table 11.12 shows that if children were positive about having moved, they were more likely to have favorable attitudes about these facilities. Of the children positive to having moved, only 7% were negative toward the new school, whereas 68% of the children who disfavored having moved also disliked their new school. A similar relationship pertained for house and neighborhood.

TABLE 11.12
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FEELINGS OF HAVING MOVED WITH ATTITUDES
TOWARD NEW SCHOOL, HOUSE, & NEIGHBORHOOD

<u>Feelings About Having Moved</u>	<u>Positive to New School</u>	<u>Positive to New House</u>	<u>Positive to New Neighborhood</u>
Positive	93% (14)	79% (11)	67% (10)
Neutral	69% (11)	94% (17)	77% (13)
Negative	68% (11)	73% (24)	47% (15)

CONCLUSIONS

What conclusions can be drawn about the impact of forced relocation on children? Our findings are summarized in four propositions.

1. The forced relocation of school and home of children in the Topeka Urban Renewal and Highway projects did not result in significant damages to them in school progress and behavior as measured by such indicators as grade-point average, absence rates, grade failures, withdrawals, dropouts, and other test scores.

Table 11.13 reviews the evidence. We postulated that children living in the project areas would have more difficulties in school adjustment than children of the Control group. Our prediction about differences between the Urban Renewal and Control groups was upheld in six cases, between Urban Renewal and Highway in five cases, between Highway and Control in four cases. For example, the Urban Renewal group had "more" problem behavior than the Control group with respect to school transfers, referrals to agencies, failure in grades, withdrawal from school, quitting school; it had "less" problem behavior in terms of days absent; the results for grade-point average were sometimes "more," sometimes "less." However, among all these indicators, the differences were statistically significant for only two: school transfers and referral to agencies. In general, we did not find an abrupt worsening in school achievement as measured by grade-point average or the Iowa Basic Skills Test. Moreover, children participated in school more regularly during the period of the move than they did in the period before the move--another prediction that failed.

TABLE 11.13
DIFFERENCES AMONG GROUPS ON MEASURES OF SCHOOL ADJUSTMENT

<u>Types of Behavior of Children</u>	<u>Urban R. with Control</u>	<u>Urban R. with Highway</u>	<u>Highway with Control</u>
School Transfers*	More	More	More
Referrals to Agencies for Behavior Problems	More	Less	More
Failure of Grades	More	more	Less
Withdrawal From School	More	More	More
"Quit School Before Move"	More	More	Less
"Quit School After Move"	More	More	Less
Days Absent Per Year Following Start of Project	Less	Less	Mixed
Grade-Point Average Following Start of Project	Mixed	Mixed	Lower

It was only after an adjustment in the statistical series that we were able to identify two types of children for whom the forced relocation apparently had its deleterious effects. This led to a second proposition.

2. There were variations in timing among children in the ways they experienced the events in forced relocation. For some children the period of distressful crisis occurred prior to removal from the old neighborhood; for others it came afterward.

Five factors seem to be related systematically to this phenomenon: (a) age of child, (b) neighborhood orientation of child, (c) school attendance record of child, (d) child's ability to recover from substantial academic setback, and (e) family income and educational status.

The source of distress of the Early Loser would seem to be his fear of loss of friends and associations in the old neighborhood, of which he was firmly a part. This distress was reflected in the abrupt decline of his grade-point average in the year immediately preceding the removal. Although this attachment to the past impeded his integration into the life of the new neighborhood, gradually this was overcome. The threat of the move turned out to be less than reality as social patterns persisted. Consequently, there was a recovery in academic performance.

The Late Loser, on the other hand, seemed to be dissociated from the patterns of life about him. Many factors contributed to his marginality. Frequently, his parents were Negroes, or they were persons with higher or lower income and educational status than others in the area in which they lived. The Late Loser had a history of many school transfers and high absence rates. The time of the move came just when he was ready to shift from grade school to junior high. He was older than the Early Loser, and without the same strong neighborhood anchorages. In short, it seemed that there was some basic disorientation in this child which prevented his integration into the community and his easy recovery from the impact of forced removal.

Further study is required before an adequate typology can be specified. Certainly, the majority of the children seemed able to absorb the move as just one more event in a lifetime characterized by uncertainty and deprivation. A larger sample would allow exploration of children who gained by having been exposed to urban removal. Apparently we had only two such atypical youngsters, in Sample A.

The analysis of the response of the children represented in Sample A produced two additional propositions.

3. Most children have more negative than positive feelings toward the moving process. These negative feelings occur more frequently after the move than beforehand.
4. The negative evaluation by children of the moving process is associated with negative evaluation of housing, school, and neighborhood in the new area.

Significantly associated with the negative feelings toward the moving process were: (a) male sex, (b) number of residential moves in a lifetime, (c) number of shifts in school in lifetime, (d) less frequent contact with relatives after the move. Although several other factors failed to achieve the .05 level of statistical significance, the following seven appeared highly relevant to the negative evaluation of the move: (a) Negro race, (b) parental ownership of housing in the project areas, (c) preference of the Lincoln School District over the new neighborhood, (d) delay in moving from project area until latest possible time, (e) anticipated loss of playmates, (f) membership in junior high school after the move, (g) negative attitudes of parents toward move.⁴ No association was found between attitudes toward the move and (a) living in sub-standard housing in the project area, (b) ascription of great public value to the urban renewal project, (c) participation in the moving process, (d) participation in the selection of the house in the new area.

There are many limitations to this study. Where the sample size is adequate for detailed analysis, the data are sketchy. Where the data are rich and detailed, there is a limited number of cases. Caution must be exercised in the use of the school related data as measures of "impact" of the forced

move. For example, the "abrupt decline" in grade-point averages experienced by the Late Movers could be the product of stricter procedures for assigning good grades at the new schools to which these children moved; or it might simply have resulted from the shift from grade school to junior high, having little to do with the forced residential move. Reservations must also be exercised with respect to information gathered in an open-ended interview. We cannot be sure how much interviewer "loading" occurred in this process. On the other hand, the greatest methodological strength of the study, perhaps, came from the use of diverse sources of information: personal interviews, school and social agency records, rating forms filled out by teachers, and Urban Renewal Agency records. These sources supplement and buttress one another.

In toto, we are able to derive an insightful account of how children, living in poverty, largely are shifted from one low-income area to another. For most families the conditions of life at no time permit the optimal selection of house, school, and neighborhood. The forced removal from the project areas is one more large-scale disruption in their lives. Most of our children are on the "losing end" of this transaction, not because of the forced removal, per se, but because they are part of the culture of poverty. The position of the children is quite clearly shown by the juxtaposition of two questions asked them during the interviews. They were asked about future career aspirations and how far they expected to go in school. Table 11.14 presents the results. The children would seem to have had completely unrealistic aspirations for managerial or professional careers, and these aspirations continued to trend upward as they grew older. A majority of the children at the time of the latest interview expected to attend college, although more children realistically estimated they would be limited to a high school education than at the beginning of the survey. The data highlighted a second contradiction: as career aspirations increased, educational aspirations declined! It would seem that most of the children lived in a fantasy world.

It is such a world of fantasy that is evoked by "grand public events" like urban renewal. The hopes of children may be raised by promises inherent in the events even if they are not spoken. The personal outcome for the child and his family is seldom as great as the promise. Sometimes the move brings no distinct advantage in living conditions, and for some the conditions are even worsened. The growth in negative attitudes toward the process of moving may be a reflection of this disillusionment. The lessened involvement of children in school and neighborhood may well be a part of their gradual phase-out from society.

The findings have implications for ameliorative intervention.

TABLE 11.14
CAREER AND EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF CHILDREN

<u>Career Aspiration</u>	<u>Year Before Move</u>	<u>Year After Move</u>	<u>One Year Later</u>
Managerial or Professional	55% (18)	55% (30)	63% (30)
Unskilled Labor or Service	15% (5)	7% (4)	4% (2)
Other	30% (10)	38% (21)	33% (16)
<u>Educational Aspiration</u>			
To Go to College	75% (9)	64% (28)	52% (30)
To Complete High School	8% (1)	27% (12)	36% (21)
Other	17% (2)	9% (4)	12% (7)

For many children the impending move was a very real worry. The programs under the auspices of Lincoln School gave the children information about the nature of the Highway and Urban Renewal projects. Urban Renewal workers came to the homes in the Urban Renewal Area to help with the tasks of the move and to provide financial aid to the parents. But there was very little personal counseling with the children themselves except during the annual interviews with the friendly members of the survey team. Levin and Sprague carefully document the help given children through an examination of the tape-recorded accounts of the open-ended interviews with them in the early phases of the moving process.⁵ Questions were asked to help the child to relate to the reality of relocation such as: "When you move what will you do to help?" "What will you take with you?" "What will you have to leave behind?" "Will you miss your friends?" "Will you have difficulty in making new friends?" "Will you be attending a different school next year?" The children were encouraged through the structure of the interview to visualize the nature of the change and to anticipate in advance some of the problems they were likely to encounter through the use of pictures and "pointed" questions and comments.

In short, it would seem that the research interviewers provided informal counseling services to children in need of them. They were helpful in winning the children's initial consent and support for urban renewal.

From a research standpoint, however, it is quite likely that the activities of the researchers mitigated the deleterious impact of the move on the children, i.e., they biased the outcome of the study. The experience, however, would seem to demonstrate the utility of personal counseling services for youngsters in neighborhoods undergoing change. From a broad perspective, the incident of urban renewal can be viewed as a scheduled crisis that facilitates the early detection of children with serious personal problems that require treatment. Thus, during the process of the physical rehabilitation of an area, steps could also be taken toward improving its social health as well, if provisions were made for this.

Our data suggest that there was very little involvement of children in housing decisions by their families before the move. In fact, it has become apparent that most poor people don't have much housing choice. To be sure, the families were helped by information about available housing, by financial subsidies, and other aids. This sort of assistance was especially helpful for the discriminated-against Negro and Spanish minorities, according to our interviews. However, these are benefits that filter down to the child; they are not the sort of program in which he can be actively involved.

Once having left the Urban Renewal Area, however, social services seem to have terminated. This was the time when our children complained of lost friends and severed relational ties. It was from this point in time that the evaluations of the moving process became more and more negative. It would seem that more attention should be given to resettlement aids in the receiving neighborhoods. How can the old familiar social patterns be reproduced in the new area? One line of helpful intervention might be in providing more family-based services and programs with the theme being "family resettlement by locality-based organizations." All forms of locality-based organizations should be mobilized in this effort--from churches and neighborhood houses to citizen groups and social and recreational clubs.

Our interviews with parents and children on parallel items suggest that they live in quite different social worlds, even if these worlds are located in the same house or the same neighborhood. The findings confirm our assertion at the beginning of the chapter that the most intensive use of the neighborhood is by its children, especially boys between the ages of 9-13. Frequently, what these boys seek is not activity organized for them, but the unsupervised opportunity to create and organize activity of their own choice. The planning and design problems in creating a "children's environment" in neighborhoods is a difficult one, but long-range urban development will require adequate plans for this kind of socialization if it is to be successful. Problems of this order are to be dealt with in a forthcoming report on the subject.⁶

Footnotes

1. Dale, J., "Families and Children in Urban Redevelopment: A View From a Settlement House," Children, Vol. 6, November-December 1959, pp. 203-208.

Fried, M., "Grieving for a Lost Home," in The Urban Condition, L. J. Duhl, ed., New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1963.

Gould, F. and R. K. Kerckhoff, "A Study of Children's Sense of Community," 1961, and "A Study of Children's Sense of Community--Part II," 1962, mimeographed, Detroit: Merrill-Palmer Institute.

Granger, L. B., "The Child's Community," Child Study, Vol. 31, Summer 1954, pp. 28-33.

Kriesberg, L. and S. S. Bellin, "The World of Informal Social Relations, Neighbors, Friends and Kinsmen," mimeographed, Syracuse: Syracuse University Youth Development Center, 1965.
2. Northwood, L. K., When Children Move, manuscript in preparation.
3. Dart, J., Changes in Activities of Children Undergoing a Forced Move, University of Washington, School of Social Work, Report for Thesis Group, 1966.
4. There is an apparent, but not real, contradiction between negative evaluation of the move and two other factors: number of shifts in school in lifetime and membership in junior high school after the move. Where the shift was an expected "natural" one from grade school to junior high, and this occurred during the period of the move, children tended to be positive in their evaluation of the move. Where there was a recurrent pattern of shifts in schools other than this "natural" one, children tended to be negative.
5. Levin, H. and H. Sprague, A Study of the Social Impact of a Forced Move on School Age Children Within an Urban Area, University of Washington: M.S.W. Thesis, School of Social Work, 1965. If it is true that the research interviewers "helped" the children to deal with their problems accompanying the forced move, and thus offset some of the deleterious consequences for them, it is remarkable how many such consequences remained, and were reported by the children. Despite the softening effect of the interview on these hardships, they were still very evident.
6. Northwood, L. K., op. cit. This report will be devoted to an examination of the uses children make of the neighborhoods in which they live, and how these differ from family members at other stages of the life cycle.

CHAPTER 12

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Virtually everyone has criticized the relocation programs of urban renewal agencies and implied that the negative consequences could be eliminated if better relocation programs (usually of unspecified content) were to be established. It was against the background of these and other criticisms that this research project was launched in the early 1960's. The study has concerned itself with the forced movement of two populations. One was moved because of an urban renewal project and the other because of the construction of Interstate Highway 70. Both these programs occurred at approximately the same time; the sections of the city involved were adjacent to each other. Counseling and aid were available to one population; the other was left to its own resources. The study was designed to answer, if possible, two very broad questions:

1. What are the social, psychological, and economic consequences of forced relocation?
2. Can a program of planned counseling affect the outcome of forced relocation?

Two control groups were chosen to enable us to evaluate whether the changes in responses of our two experimental populations were related to the forced relocation experience or to more general changes in our society. Because of the tendency of people in the United States to move frequently, we had a subsample of voluntary movers and were able to evaluate whether the change in responses was related to voluntary moving or to forced moving.

To answer the question of whether a program of planned counseling can make a measurable impact in mitigating the (negative) effects of forced moving, we compared the Highway sample and the Urban Renewal sample and searched for any differential post-move changes that might have been related to the impact of the counseling.

How can we summarize the disparate results and sets of events that we have considered in our studies? What general conclusions emerge from this project? What can we learn from this intervention program on which to build more successful efforts? In one sense, this chapter cannot be a summary of the project findings. There is no single set of consequences of urban renewal relocation. Any statement that we make has to be modified by a set of intervening variables, and the consequences for one group are sometimes quite the opposite of the consequences for another. We have presented in the chapters of Section II a considerable amount of data designed to answer the factual questions about the consequences of forced or voluntary residential relocation.

Despite these many statistics, we have been able to present no more than a fraction of the information available in our project files. Nor have we presented the vast store of experience gleaned from over four years of work by the Urban Renewal relocation staff and the research project staff.

In this final chapter, we will attempt to present the results of our reflections on the data, tempered by our experience. Some of the comments in this chapter are not supported directly by the reported statistical data; in some cases, they reflect only the experience of the relocation staff and the research project staff. However, it should be noted that none of our "conclusions" statements violates or runs counter to the available evidence.

The Stigma of Urban Renewal

Let us begin by a comment about urban renewal and its relationship to the general public. Urban renewal suffers from a poor public image which seems to be largely a result of the conditions under which it is begun. An urban renewal project can be established only when the negative character of the people and the buildings is proved, i.e., an urban renewal project starts by officially labeling the area and its inhabitants as injurious to the health, safety, and morals of the rest of the community.

This beginning had at least two effects in the Topeka project, and we suspect these will be found in almost any urban renewal project. First, it tended to make some people defensive and critical about the program and must have had some negative consequences for the self-image of the project area residents. Second, the pejorative connotation of urban renewal occasionally made it difficult to relocate families when residents and landlords heard that their prospective neighbors and/or tenants were from the Urban Renewal Area. One of the early plans for relocation of the elderly was the forming of a non-profit corporation and the building of one hundred units for the housing of the elderly on a city-owned site. At an open hearing to discuss these plans, several people from the neighborhoods surrounding the proposed site said that they didn't care to have their neighborhoods "run-down because of trash moving in from the Urban Renewal Area."

Relocates from the Highway Area never faced that categorical condemnation. Some of them might have faced racial prejudice or personal mistrust, but identification of the fact that they were forced to move by the highway did not trigger a host of negative reactions independent of their personal qualities. This legal requirement to label an area to be renewed as "slum and blight" starts an urban renewal program off with at least one strike against it. It creates a sense of injustice with which other programs do not have to struggle.

The Effects of Forced Moving

When we turn to the question of the consequences of forced relocation for the residents of the area, perhaps the major conclusion is that there is little long-term impact. Forced relocation does not substantially harm the

population. Frankly, these findings astonished us. We began this project with an assumption that forced relocation was predominantly demoralizing, and our relocation program was dedicated to mitigating that demoralization. It is true that when people were asked directly about the move, the Urban Renewal population reported a greater sense of injustice and harm than did the Highway sample. However, when we discussed life circumstances without comparing present with past or referring to the move, most of this negative reaction was absent and readjustment was virtually complete. This reverse "Hawthorne effect" seems to be more related to the aforementioned public image of the urban renewal program (and the resultant public discussion) as compared to the image of the highway program than it does to any actual harm associated with moving.

Objectively, the Urban Renewal population suffered an increase in rent-income ratio, and both the Urban Renewal and Highway populations had to travel farther to the facilities they used as a result of the move. That the increase in rent-income ratio was found only among the Urban Renewal population stems from the fact that they had occupied the worst, and therefore the lowest-rent, housing in town. No comparable stock of such dilapidated private housing was available to which they could move, and public housing was completed too late to provide space for most of them. The Highway population had lived in slightly better housing and had higher incomes. They also improved their housing, but with no accompanying drain on their income. Whether this marked improvement in housing by the Urban Renewal people was an advantage or disadvantage depends upon what one emphasizes. One goal of urban renewal is to do away with housing like the majority of that found in the project area, and this was accomplished. It seems clear that some stock of low-cost housing is needed to control this rise in rent-income ratio. These programs are not typically handled by an urban renewal agency, but a need for a public housing or rent supplementation program is clearly indicated.

Within this broad generalization, there were significantly different impacts as the result of relocation. Obviously our descriptions do not characterize everyone in an identified group, but present different central tendencies or patterns of dispersion of the reactions among the various groups.

Older people suffer more, objectively and subjectively, from both forced and voluntary moving. While some may welcome the opportunity to acquire housing more suited to their needs, the problem of providing satisfactory and adequate housing for older people is particularly difficult. Subjectively, one cannot replace memories and years of involvement with places and people. Objectively, the elderly have few remaining years in which to adapt and to replace the sights, sounds, and people from which they are separated by a move. In addition, if they are isolated from their friends and relatives, they frequently lack the means of transportation for re-establishing the contacts.

One vignette may illustrate this better than any number of abstract sentences. Before the bulldozers came, many elderly males who lived in the area were fond of gathering on the steps of the Topeka Post Office. There

they watched the sights and sounds of the city swirl around them while they commented, chatted, and reminisced. For them, this served the purpose of the old village store. Now dispersed, with poor means of transportation, it is hard to recreate that social grouping which seemingly meant so much. Despite such experiences, the elderly were optimistic, though not so much as their younger counterparts.

The younger adults, particularly those whose incomes were slightly above the subsistence level, objectively profited. Those from Urban Renewal were able to use the help from the Urban Renewal counselors to significantly improve their housing at comparable rates of rent. They viewed this shift in the perspective of a lifetime; the move improved their circumstances; they could adjust their housing to their needs and could look forward to spending some time integrating themselves into their new social structures. They displayed few problems, and when evaluations of present and future life circumstances were compared to the past, they indicated overwhelming approval. The younger forced movers were demographically similar to our people who moved voluntarily, and in most cases they shared their positive view of life with the exception of their evaluation of the move.

Dr. Northwood's analysis indicated that the children suffered a great deal because they were dependent upon the neighborhood, and it was difficult for them to replace their uses of the neighborhood. They had little involvement in the moving process and no counseling to assist them in sorting out their feelings or planning for the move.

The Mexican-Americans were predominantly young; in an objective sense, they were not worse off after the move. Nor were they worse off psychologically when they were asked to evaluate their life circumstances independent of the move. They were not less optimistic than previously or than other groups, but the move was distasteful. Their response was in line with their traditional suspicion and distrust for constituted authority and direction. In this case, the move disrupted a group which had moved into the area, not solely out of economic necessity, but in part because of choice. The location was close to their principle place of employment, and their ecology fostered subgroup interaction and integration. Any forced move was unlikely to have any positive consequences to offset the negative impact on their group. They were not worse off in income, housing, or health, but the forced move was an affront to their family independence and threatened the integration of their subculture. If we apply a cost-benefit analysis, we have to conclude that the Mexicans viewed the results of the forced move as almost all cost and little or no benefit.

The Negroes in the Urban Renewal Area objectively and psychologically profited from the move. Their housing improved, as did their satisfaction. There were few who had any strong sentimental attachments to the places or people in the area. They were alienated in the sense that they did not have a subculture or social organization which the move threatened. They lacked strong family ties, a separate language, a strong single church, or a common employer

to tie them into a social unit.

Negroes have little in common except their skin color, poverty, discrimination and a resultant sense of injustice. The Urban Renewal relocation program seems, in retrospect, to have provided some of the elements which were missing from their lives. These included an emphasis on relationships, an emphasis on their dignity, an emphasis on their right as a family to decide something about their own future. All of these efforts were rigorously equalitarian, non-discriminatory in application, and dedicated to special efforts to bring residents together with the opportunity structure. Once again, if we apply a cost-benefit analysis, urban renewal relocation did not threaten any positively held values and, however mildly or insufficiently, did provide some benefits in money and attention with little if any direct cost.

Whites, like Negroes, did not constitute a "group." Unlike the Negroes, they had higher incomes and lacked the special problems posed by discrimination. Spread across the age spectrum, the costs and benefits seemingly canceled each other out. Thus, in contrast to Negroes and Mexicans (the Mexicans were predominantly negative, the Negroes predominantly positive), the whites were frequently bimodal in response with a measure of their central tendency falling somewhere between that of the Negroes and Mexicans.

In general, the Voluntary Movers were grouped toward the improvement or positive response ends of the continuum on most measures, while the Non-Movers remained relatively unchanged and grouped toward the midpoints of measures. The Voluntary Movers were predominantly young and, in general, improved their situation by moving to larger houses with no increase in rent, or to the same size houses with a decrease in rent, or by bringing their housing in accord with an increased income.

If we turn from these various subgroups to the question of how the movers' relationship to the social institutions of the community were affected, we see some impact, but no dramatic differences. Moving seemed to affect interaction with the family (immediate and extended) very little. Whether this conclusion would have been reached if we had been able to measure family interaction more frequently during the two years is not clear. We anticipated some increase in contact with the extended family during periods in close proximity to the move, but this remains a conjecture. Satisfaction with family life definitely improved with moving.

Mobility of any sort reduces contact with the neighborhood. All mover groups showed a decline in neighboring. In addition, the extent to which the neighborhood was used diminished for the forced-mover groups. It should be noted that this is in some ways an unalterable consequence of urban renewal or highway construction in an older part of town. Because this "inner city" is in transition from one use to another, it is an area of mixed land uses, while most of the places in Topeka to which relocatees could move were single-use residential areas. The new places of residence more nearly approximated residential suburbs than did the section which was destroyed. Whether reducing

the number of areas of mixed land uses is desirable depends on one's perspective. Jane Jacobs,¹ in a strongly worded analysis, feels that such conversions from mixed- to single-purpose uses are the most negative aspects of urban renewal and other contemporary city planning.

The relationships to community institutions and agencies of all mover groups were affected. Since low-income groups, until recently, were seldom related to the institutions of the community in any way other than as clients or lower-status workers, we focused on their relationships as clients. The patterns of agency use were affected in a variety of ways, but predominantly tended toward a reduction in usage. The County Welfare Agency, which provided money and goods, was used more heavily during the move and post-move periods by the forced movers, but most other agency use declined. Whether this reflects concentration on the problems of moving and adjustment or simply a breaking of contact is not clear.

What about the program of counseling? It made a demonstrable but uneven difference. The counselors helped the middle-income displaced find better housing. They struck a responsive chord among the displaced Negroes and, paradoxically, according to Dr. Northwood, the research project interview helped to mitigate the negative effects of relocation for children. There was very little evidence of effective intervention with the elderly and the Mexicans.

Relocation Programs and the Importance of Process

The relocation program seemed to be oriented "properly" even though some of the efforts were insufficient and inadequately conceived. The following evaluative statements represent a consensus of some of the people intimately involved in the conceptualization, implementation, and execution of both the relocation program and the research project. The evaluations are based on a consideration of the research findings, illuminated by experience, as well as some evaluation of experience alone. Many of the specific recommendations are relatively obvious and minor in scope, but important to a smoothly functioning relocation program.

The first recommendation is that there needs to be a supply of vacant housing available during or preferably before relocation. This may imply conversion, rehabilitation, or construction of more public or rent supplementation housing projects. None of the process-oriented arguments that follow is of much use if there is not an adequate supply of low-rent standard housing available. It should be noted that this was not a serious problem in Topeka at the time of relocation because the housing market was "soft" during that period.

The staff needed a male relocation worker. There are times when females are inadequate, despite their competence, because of the reaction of people to them. This is frequently true for the Mexican-Americans with their machismo syndrome--the male head of the family feels that it is beneath his dignity to deal as an equal with a female worker. It is also true among lower-class Negroes where males have difficulty dealing with women because of their ambivalent

feelings--feelings that arise for reasons that were described many years ago by E. Franklin Frazier² and more recently by Daniel Moynihan.³

We had excellent women interviewers, but one of our most difficult cases was solved only after our psychiatric consultant pointed out that the man of the house simply would not talk to women and suggested that the director of the relocation service call him in and talk to him on a "man-to-man" basis. The results were gratifying, and a copy of this particular case study is appended. This also emphasized the fact that there was insufficient scheduled contact with skilled clinicians. Specialized skills, particularly psychiatric skills, need to be available in greater quantity than we had them. They are needed to deal with particular kinds of cases which most relocation staffs will not have the training to understand, diagnose, and solve. Clinicians can help a relocation staff sort the reality problems from the intra- and inter-personal problems.

A relocation staff needs a petty cash fund to use at its discretion. Problems of a month's advance rent, expenses related to the move but not covered by relocation payments, or expenses of people moving but who are for some reason not eligible for cash payments are all examples of situations where there may be a need for a petty cash fund. This deficit was made up in Topeka by some donations from local churches, but too frequently by contributions from the relocation workers themselves.

There was not enough attention paid to small businesses. This was in part a function of the regulations and in part a function of the orientation of the senior author who was intimately involved in planning both the relocation program and this study. This research, which is oriented toward the family and the individual, cannot tell us much about the impact on small business, but it is our impression that small businesses were hurt more than the families. Frequently small businesses in the area depended upon a particular customer population and their relationships with the people in the area had been developed over many years. Big businesses were not hurt significantly. In many cases, they profited from redevelopment, but small businesses were hurt because they found it very difficult to relocate. The reasons for the difficulties of small businesses are no surprise. They were inadequately capitalized, lacked the management skills to survive a change, lacked the knowledge to time their moves properly, lacked the personal sophistication or legal advisors to exploit all of the intricacies of the urban renewal legislation (e.g., they frequently reacted emotionally rather than analytically to the forthcoming move), and they were organized to serve a specific rather than a general customer population.

There are two aspects to this problem of small businesses which deserved more attention than they received in either the relocation program or the research project. One is the impact on the civil rights issues, and the other is the non-economic social functions of the small businessman.

Negro business in Topeka was centered in the Urban Renewal Area and provided the beginnings of a Negro business class. Urban renewal scattered

these businesses so that there is no longer such a concentration of Negro business in the community. The consequence of this, according to some local observers, was to destroy the possibility for development of a group of successful Negro businessmen who could serve as role models for Negro youth. It is argued that until there are successful Negro businessmen for their youth to emulate, Negroes will continue to be concentrated in menial jobs or service occupations. Given the handicaps under which Negroes operate, it is necessary for them to be protected, i.e., serve a segregated population, during their embryonic period of development.

Countering this was the argument that most of the businesses were only marginally respectable, that their owners exploited their Negro customers, and that they constituted a blot on the Negro image in the white community. Some Negro leaders felt that the breaking up of the Negro business district was a good thing because the district represented segregation. This issue resulted in a confrontation between Negro businessmen and officers of the NAACP over whether the Urban Renewal Agency should assist a Negro businessman who wanted to develop a Negro shopping center in East Topeka.

Apart from the civil rights issue, all the small businessmen in the area performed many social functions which were not easily replaced after urban renewal. One drugstore owner, for example, performed the role of landlord, guardian, counselor, banker, job placement expert, and moral supervisor. He performed these tasks for people who would seldom, if ever, venture into the terrifying bureaucratic morass of a social agency. It can be argued, as it was for the breakup of the Negro business center, that maintenance of these relationships inhibits progress and maintains a quasi-stationary equilibrium which should be destroyed so these patterns can be replaced by a more rational and scientifically sophisticated problem-solving approach. It is also clear that these types of social systems are the basis of many of the complaints leveled at urban renewal and modern day city planning by Jacobs, Gans, Hartman, and others.

Elsewhere the author has argued that the type of "fall-out" effect of urban renewal described above would increasingly push agencies toward a major role as welfare agencies in the fullest sense of that word.

Public housing and urban renewal are being, or are going to be, pushed by the inexorable demands of the times to being concerned about the welfare of our society. They are, in the real meaning of the word, welfare agencies and have the potentiality of becoming the hub of welfare efforts in our society. If this happens, if we accept the responsibility, we just might have an opportunity to achieve our goal of a decent home in a suitable living environment.⁴

Apart from the questions of the impact of relocation, there is an important question of method of operation, vis a vis project area residents, that no research project can avoid considering. The question is: To what

extent are the people in the renewal area to be involved in decision-making about the selection of the area, the planning goals to be established, and the techniques to be used in accomplishing those goals? This is not a question which can be answered by empirical research, but the answer to it suggests one possible way of dealing with the great sense of hurt which comes through in the responses of some of our subsamples, but even stronger in the literature. The following discussion makes no pretense of being based on research data. It represents the reflections of the author of this report on his past six years of experience. The author does not claim that these views are unique. Similar statements, though usually based on less direct experience, can be found many places.

There is not, and there was not in Topeka, enough involvement of area residents in the entire urban renewal process. The decision to designate an area for urban renewal does not typically involve the people living there. The decisions are made, the plans are drawn, and the project executed largely without the involvement of the project area residents in the crucial decisions. This produces a Zeitgeist in which the view is prevalent that someone is exploiting the people in the project area.

Our relocation planning involved area residents on the Citizens Relocation Advisory Committee where they helped draft the revised relocation plan. The counselors involved the residents on a household-by-household basis in the planning of their own relocation. This was a step in the right direction, but was, in my opinion, insufficient. In retrospect, we should have assembled people who were "in the same boat" to discuss thoroughly the non-technical aspects of an urban renewal project. Some community leaders were afraid of developing centers of opposition which would stall the urban renewal program, and they did not really trust the area residents with whom they dealt. But some technique could be developed which would involve the area residents and still safeguard the interest of the entire community. The idea of planning for one's life as embodied in the "maximum feasible participation" requirements of the poverty program is a step in that direction.

The view of urban renewal by the people in the area, then, typically is that "it hurts" and that while it may be necessary, the best thing one can hope for is to minimize the damage. The view of urban renewal as a tool to improve life circumstances, which residents of a project area might welcome as a good thing, scarcely ever develops. From the viewpoint of many area residents, urban renewal is seen as mostly cost and little, if any, benefit. Agencies tend to make decisions based on a series of stereotypes about the people in an area. This tendency perpetuates the communication barriers between the poor and urban renewal agency (though it could apply to almost all social agencies) representatives. Slum populations are not homogeneous. They are a part of the community, and urban renewal should be available to be used by them to obtain their goals of a more livable community and a better life. Project area residents are not simply obstacles in the way of a more efficiently planned and more aesthetically pleasing community. Psychologically, urban renewal agencies need to quit treating site occupants as outsiders. It should be emphasized that the Topeka Urban Renewal Agency has gone far toward adopting

this method of operation.

The senior author, during his term of service as executive director of the Agency, set out to work with a group who wanted to upgrade their neighborhood. Some of them felt that they could call on the city to utilize urban renewal, among other techniques, to help them achieve a "decent, safe, and sanitary house in a suitable living environment." After several meetings in which the available options were explored, the East Topeka Civic Association passed a resolution calling upon the City Commission to designate their area as an urban renewal project area. It was the residents who had taken the initial step. Ironically, the request was never approved. For our purposes, it is the reversal of the sequence of events rather than the outcome that is important.

It is the emphasis on goals and programs rather than on process of involvement which contributes to the difficulties of so many urban renewal projects. Welfare, urban renewal, and many other programs start with a set of fixed alternatives and try to adjust the people to those alternatives. The procedures do not really give any importance to the process of establishing an urban renewal project area (for example) and the importance this plays in a community. Despite its laudable goals, the actual implementation of an urban renewal project may very well assault the self-esteem of the area residents and leave them with a lowered sense of worth and control.

This need for emphasis on process rather than program is a fundamental conviction of the author as a result of his experience. No definite or rigid relocation program should be expected or permitted. The relocation staff should be able to relate to a family without question of eligibility and to be unfettered by the procedural regulations which hamper the creative efforts of the welfare workers. The requirements of law may make the designation of an area as eligible for urban renewal destructive of human dignity, but the relocation counselors can mitigate some of this negative impact by relating to area residents freely, without a constant "unspoken insult." The implication is that a relocation plan needs to pay more attention to the theory and spirit guiding the operation than it does to the specifics of the program.

A minor procedural recommendation is that an agency should use its own staff in conducting any diagnostic survey of social problems carried out under LPA letter #347 (supplemented by LPA letter #367). That letter legitimates a kind of concern with "people problems" that was felt for many years. However, it is not just abstract knowledge about "people problems" that is needed, but knowledge gathered by people who are going to use it that is important. Surveys are necessary to gauge the "aggregate demand" of problems faced jointly by the local public agency and the area residents. However, the gathering of this data for administrative planning can also be used as the first step in building a relationship between worker and client. The planners can use the data to determine the size of the task, the volume of resources and manpower that will be needed, and the time span that will be necessary. Meanwhile, the worker will have taken one long step in building the relationship through which resources will be made available to a particular family.

We emphasize the process of urban relocation because many other studies have indicated that more than poverty separates the poor from the non-poor. Concepts such as future orientation, impulse gratification, deferred gratification, interpersonal skills, and culture of poverty suggest that some of the poor do not possess the skills to cope with the demands of an urban existence. Some do not establish a set of future goals, lay out alternative methods of reaching those goals, assess the resources available to them, and integrate these into a set of purposive goal-seeking behavior.

It is neither necessary nor desirable to argue the extent to which theories such as those stated above are valid. It is clear that if urban renewal is to be used as a technique for solving urban problems, it not only must provide material resources, such as moving money or new housing, but, if its impact is not to be negative, it must contribute to an improvement in coping behavior. How is this to be accomplished? What intervention strategy has the greatest possibility of payoff for a particular family? Such questions are unanswerable before the knowledge of what a family needs is available. In some cases, the answers are still not available. The population of an urban renewal area is not homogeneous with respect to need, resources, and/or ability to cope. Some will need a great deal of assistance. Some who are essentially autonomous will need only the goods and services guaranteed under the law. The best that can be promised in a relocation plan is the provision of a staff which will bring disciplined intelligence to bear in an effort to assist the family in developing an appropriate modus operandi for problem-solving and will provide a channel through which the resources made available by community agencies will be maximized.

The Social Scientist's Role

The role of the social scientists in this urban renewal project was not that of neutral observer and thus departed somewhat from the usual role model. In this case, we were participating in the management of a planned social change. From one point of view, this participation was an attempt to utilize the community change to test certain ideas about the relationship of change to individual and group adjustment. We feel that the ultimate test of a theory is in practice, i.e., attempting to change given situations to bring about a desired goal. However, this raises certain questions about whether one person can play the role of participant and the role of neutral observer. It is our impression that the number of social scientists involved in social action or action research is increasing, and we would like to conclude this report with our views on the subject.

It should be clear that change occurs continually in any community. Social and physical factors, as well as economic factors, influence the kinds of changes that take place. Change will occur regardless of what actions may be taken. Positive actions by a community may alter the direction of this change. When an urban renewal project is undertaken, the physical changes that occur as a result of this project have a variety of social and economic consequences for the community. Certain values that existed in the area where urban renewal takes place may be destroyed. These values may have been in the process

of being destroyed by the social, economic, and physical forces that were operating in the area, but the destruction might have taken longer without urban renewal. The social scientist, economist, planner, or other expert can give information as to what would occur if an area were to remain in its present condition. They may be able to give information as to what might happen to the city finances, to people in the area, and the effect on the city as a whole. They may also be able to give estimates of what effect different kinds of physical projects may have on the physical and economic development of the city, and they will be able, as our knowledge of people increases, to determine the effects of these physical changes on the lives of the people involved. Experts may also be able to make recommendations concerning the process under which this change should occur so that any distress caused by the physical change can be minimized and the opportunities maximized.

The actual decision as to whether a particular action should be taken by a community, or whether a certain policy should be followed, is a political decision and not a decision of the expert or subject to some kind of determination that a research project group can make. It is the expert's job to give his knowledge to those in the political arena and help them weigh the alternatives of the action. As a citizen, an expert may have a particular point of view and he may advocate this view publicly, but the ultimate decision in a democratic society must be made by the community through its political machinery.

Once the decision has been made, however, the stage is set for the social scientist to administer the decisions in accord with principles derived from an increasingly precise body of knowledge. Thus, he can help with advice during the period when the community is arriving at a decision about a particular course of action. After the decision is made, assuming that it does not violate any of his ethical and moral principles, the social scientist is in a position to manage the change in accordance with the best knowledge available and in accordance with procedures which will permit him to use the public program as a further test of social theory. This was the major goal of this project, however poorly it might have been implemented. It is obvious that many political decisions are made with inadequate knowledge of the effects that the decisions may have on the various sectors of our society. It is one of the tasks of the social scientist, through his social research, to try to determine what effects certain actions have had on a community and to use the knowledge so gained in proposing to the city, or whatever governmental structure is involved, courses of action which may be of greater "benefit" to the entire society.

It is to this latter point that our emphasis upon process, utilization, and analysis is intended to bear most heavily. We have been concerned with one particular governmental program among many. Undoubtedly it has been one of the most influential in sparking Great Society legislation, largely because of its failures. The poverty program, for example, is an outgrowth of the controversy over improving houses without dealing with the remainder of the problems of slums. But neither the poverty program nor urban renewal have come to grips

with the fact that a community is a social system where changes made in one facet have consequences for another. We seem unable to anticipate any but the most obvious (manifest) consequences of an action program.

The attempts to solve the slum problems one at a time seem gradually to be grinding to a halt. The era of the establishment of single-purpose programs as a set of parallel institutions competing for attention, clients, and funds seems to be drawing to a close. Painfully, slowly, we are moving toward coordination and integration of effort on two fronts. The first is the establishment of a comprehensive umbrella organization to coordinate all efforts in a given field, e.g., comprehensive community mental health centers or comprehensive mental health planning. The second is the model cities demonstration program in which there is a concentrated effort to integrate the efforts of all Federally assisted programs in solving the problems of one small (less than 10%) part of a city.

The exciting possibility for social scientists is that they can contribute to the scientific direction of social change. The possibility exists for them to be involved in goal-setting, to reflect the process observations back to a board or group, and to sketch out the alternatives (including costs and benefits) for reaching a given goal. Using cybernetic jargon, the social scientist should be able to help to define (if not select) the goals of a "machine" or social system, to design the operational procedures for reaching the goals, and to constitute the "feedback" mechanism for operational adjustments.

Given our present state of knowledge and unfamiliarity with action programs, the actual operation of the social scientist will be unremarkable. This is not an argument for remaining aloof and irresponsible until some future date when our theories are perfected. The most difficult test of any social theory is in the crucible of practice. Policy makers are justified in scorning our advice when we insist on sitting on the sidelines with "after the fact analysis." Social science and social practice are not incompatible, and, in fact, must be merged.

Specific References

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