reflects that cultures uniqueness. Bilingualism, he feels, helps create awareness and meaning in more than one culture. It is a base for intercultural communication" (1978:6).

Loewen, writing from a religious perspective, remarks,

"When the [majority language] is not the language of a man's heart, and of his past religious experience, it may affect his receptivity to the message; or it may limit the depth of its penetration into the inner life" (1965:98).

Hammond says that:

Man's capacity for culture and his capacity to use language are closely linked. Probably, they develop together. Certainly, neither could exist without the other, for the ability to use language is essential to the acquisition of culture. As the infant first develops into a young child, and the child continues on to maturity, he learns the culture of his group by a process in which language as a means of cultural transmission becomes increasingly important as his intellect grows. If, because of some impairment, a child cannot readily use spoken language, his acquisition of culture will be seriously interfered with until the impairment is overcome. Culture is learned. Without language, such learning cannot occur, and culture can be neither acquired, used, nor passed on (1971:337).

Perinpanayagam uses the terms "language of confidence," a person's heart language, and "language of survival," the majority language in a bilingual society (1973).

Advocates of bilingual/bicultural education appeal to this concept of heart language. They stress the need for self-esteem in those who speak a minority language. Most agree that the melting-pot theory is no longer valid. Bilingual education is therefore imperative. It provides a new synthesis. It provides an answer to the question of how the
guage by a considerable population occupying considerable parts of the country" (1981:25).

Hayakawa, one of the leading voices against bicultura-

lism, is upset by the special interest groups pressing for language separatism (1986).

Bethell sees bilingual education as the Hispanic equi-

valent of affirmative action. It creates jobs for thousands of Hispanic teachers (1979:30).

Kjolseth presents a closely reasoned argument defending the Hispanic drive for bilingual/bicultural education. The monolingualism of the United States, he argues, is a unique historic event. Most countries of the world are characterized by stable intra-group bilingualism (1982:6).

A concept he calls the "Law of Anglo Love of Ethnic Irrelevance" infects the Anglo population of the United States. It is also known as the "Disneyland preference for symbolic ethnicity." "Spanish, he says, "is only a prestige idiom in the United States where there are irrelevant numbers of Spanish-speakers. Where Spanish-speakers are a relatively large group, it is an idiom held in considerable contempt" (1982:7). Therefore Spanish-speaking children are perceived as disadvantaged. The Spanish speakers, however, were here before the English speakers, at least in the Southwest. Any attempt to superimpose English on them constitutes a violation of their human rights. He endorses the conclusions of a report on bilingual education that
(S. Wagner 1981:47). In this view, the purpose of bilingual education is to perpetuate the mother tongue and the cultural heritage it represents. The debate between these two concepts continues today.

California Senator Alan Cranston, for instance, advocates biculturalism. He rejects,

"The idea that the prime objective of the school is to wipe out all differences in style, heritage, and language background, delivering to society - at the end of 12 years - a nicely packaged, well-rehearsed, automatic reciter of majority maxims (1974:58)."

He does not feel that a non-English-speaking child is disadvantaged. "What we need," he writes, "are schools with a passionate regard for the uniqueness of a child and the inclination to develop and preserve intact the splendid resource of a child's own background and cultural heritage" (1981:59).

**Bilingual Education Act of 1974.** A 1974 revision of the Bilingual Education Act was a victory for the advocates of the maintenance theory. It strengthened the tendencies toward biculturalism.

**Lau vs Nichols.** The key judicial test of bilingual education was the case of *Lau vs Nichols* in 1974. The Supreme Court found the public schools of San Francisco guilty of denying 1800 Chinese immigrant children the right to an education because they were taught only in English (Yaffe 1978:51). The ruling required school districts receiving federal aid to provide special help for students unable to
the Civil Rights Act of 1968, United States law officially sanctions bilingual/biculturalism.

**Historical Perspectives**

Before World War I the major language issue arose over the use of German in the courts along the Eastern Seaboard. In time public opinion turned against the use of languages other than English in public schools (S. Wagner 1981:37). A knowledge of English was considered a part of the Americanization process. In 1888, Theodore Roosevelt remarked:

> The man who becomes completely Americanized ... and who "talks United States" instead of the dialect of the country which he has of his own free will abandoned is not only doing his plain duty by his adopted land, but is also rendering to himself a service of immeasurable value.... A man who speaks only German or Swedish may nevertheless be a most useful American citizen; but it is impossible for him to derive the full benefit he should from American citizenship (Quoted in S. Wagner 1981:37).

Occasionally a surge of nativism focused on language. Stephen Wagner quotes a poem by one Thomas Bailey Aldrich published in the 1890s (1981:93,40):

> In street and alley what strange tongues are these, Accents of menace alien to our air, Voices that once the Tower of Babel knew! O Liberty, white Goddess! is it well To leave the gates unguarded?

The ability to speak English became a requirement for naturalization in 1906. This is the closest the nation has ever come to declaring English its official language.

Language was an issue in admitting Louisiana and New Mexico as States. The commonly spoken language in Louisiana
ready present in large sections of the continent long before
the Anglos arrived. Rudolfo Gonzalez writes in his poem
"Yo Soy Joaquin" [I Am Joaquin] (1972):

My land is lost
and stolen,
My culture has been raped,
I lengthen
the line at the welfare door

Who
changed our language
and plagiarized our deeds
as feats of valor
of their own
They frown upon our way of
life
and took what they could use . . .

I am the masses of my people and
I refuse to be absorbed.
I am Joaquin
The odds are great
but my spirit is strong
My faith unbreakable
My blood is pure
I am Aztec Prince and Christian
Christ
I SHALL ENDURE!
I WILL ENDURE!

Add to this group the Puerto Ricans who are American
citizens by law, but have retained Spanish as their official
language. Many Cubans cherish the hope of "going home" and
resist acculturation. The result is that:

For the first time in American experience, some
concerned observers have pointed out, a large immigrant
group may be electing to bypass the process of accul-
turation and assimilation that turned previous
immigrant groups in English-speaking Americans (Nunis

These issues bring about situations like an incident in
Miami. Two black women brought suit (and won) after being
Social action refers to Christian involvement in changing structures of society in order to help the poor and oppressed in contrast to social service, which refers to involvement designed to meet immediate and long-term needs of the poor and oppressed (Wagner 1986:299).
and remove selfish behavior and unbalanced judgment as patiently as we can (1986:11-I).
During the 1970s, Boston, Massachusetts increased the number of minorities on its police force and fire department from less than 2% to 13%. During a fiscal crisis in 1981 layoffs were made based on seniority. That action was overturned in the courts with the comment "there is nothing magical about seniority" (U.S. News & World Report 1983b). On June 21, 1984 the Supreme Court reversed the trend. It ruled in favor of seniority in a case involving the Memphis, Tennessee fire department. This decision raised new fears that affirmative action might be in jeopardy.

Affirmative Action And The Reagan Administration

The Reagan Administration has recently begun to take a dim view of affirmative action. Most of the opposition is coming from Edwin Meese, the Attorney General. Meese opposes numerical quotas. He uses the term reverse discrimination to mean discrimination against white males in favor of minorities and women. He appeals to the Fourteenth Amendment and affirms that the U. S. Constitution is color blind. It prohibits any kind of discrimination. This, of course, undercuts the basic premise of affirmative action.

Meese has not met with much sympathy in the business community. A great deal of effort has gone into the formulation of affirmative action plans. They are now a standard part of the working policies of businesses. There is little interest in redoing all that work. Numerical quota
Four other Justices ruled that reverse discrimination was a valid legal concept. Even though the University itself was not guilty of past discrimination, society was, therefore race can be a valid criteria for admittance.

Justice Powell supported both conclusions, but added his own criteria and interpretation. Powell took a more limited view of the extent to which either Title VI or the Fourteenth Amendment could be used to justify preferential treatment for minorities. He felt there are only three circumstances that would justify affirmative action: (1) if standardized tests or grading systems were shown to be biased, a school could consider a candidate’s ethnic background so as to level opportunity, (2) the medical school could consider ethnicity if it could prove that a given racial segment of the population did not have enough doctors to deliver adequate health care, and (3) if the purpose of the racially biased quota system was to promote diversity in the student body (United States Civil Rights Commission 1979:2). Powell ruled that the admissions policy at Davis did not meet these criteria and therefore Bakke should be admitted.

In the long run, the Bakke case clarified very little regarding affirmative action. Its point of reference was the legality of the admissions policy of the medical school at Davis, not affirmative action, or even the concept of reverse discrimination. Adelson, writing from inside acade-
with the guilt (1977:182).

Problem Three: Do Majorities Have The Same Rights As Minorities Under The Civil Rights Act?

In popular usage the term "reverse discrimination" applies to cases in which a white male suffers a setback in the job market or in admission to a school.

This issue first arose in the case of Marco DeFunis. DeFunis, who is Jewish, applied for admission to the University of Washington Law School. An affirmative action quota regulation admitted a black student with lower test scores than his own. Refused admission, DeFunis sued the University. By the time the case got to the Supreme Court, DeFunis had been admitted to the law school and the bar. The Supreme Court declared the issue a moot question and refused to hear the case (Woodward and Armstrong 1979:282).

The Case of Allan Bakke. The most famous of these cases is that of Allan Bakke. Bakke, a 36 year old Civil Engineer, decided he wanted to take the medical course. He applied twice to the School of Medicine at the University of California at Davis. Bakke already had degrees from Minnesota and Stanford and scored in the 95th percentile on his entrance tests. The affirmative action system at Davis was based on straight quotas. Sixteen out of 100 openings were reserved for minorities, regardless of who outscored whom on entrance tests. Bakke sued the University on the ground of the Fourteenth Amendment and Title VI of the Civil
percent [1978] of black teens are wasted. And that is a national disaster."

Choosing people on the basis of merit without regard to color sounds fair, but in fact it is unfair. It is unfair because it ignores history. It ignores the long legacy of discrimination in America. Something must be done to correct past crimes (1978: 13).

Alexander contends that even though the arguments against affirmative action may be logically sound, they do not take into account the realities faced by minorities:

What it means in flesh and blood is that some seventeen-year-old kid went to school for thirteen years so she could get a job, and now she can’t find one. She pounds the pavement for months looking for work, but eventually she quits trying. She doesn’t have anything to do but hang out and get pregnant. She slowly moves from unemployed to unemployable. She hates the system and she hates whitey because the system has jobs for whitey’s kids but not for her. She joins the great American underclass, the human refuse of the affluent society. And this is happening not just to an occasional black kid but to half of them (1978:12).

Alexander composes an analogy to illustrate why he is in favor of reverse discrimination:

Suppose that in a foot race the team in white shirts cheated and got a long lead over the team with black shirts. Suppose the officials then said, ‘From now on there will be no more cheating.’ But suppose they did nothing to correct the cheating that had already happened? Would you think that was fair? Wouldn’t you think something should be done to level things out?

Or take it one step further. Suppose the white team attacked the black team and broke their legs? Suppose the officials then called everyone back to the starting line to level things off, but suppose they still said that the fastest runners would win. There would be no discrimination by color, and the ‘best one’ would win, but it would be grossly unfair. ‘Equal opportunity’ is a travesty when some of those given

Arguments against this philosophy. Gross approaches the problem from a philosophical angle. Using the rules of logic to analyze arguments in favor of preferential treatment, he concludes that if society’s overriding goal is to "level" socioeconomic strata, then affirmative action’s preferential treatment strategy is the route to follow. If, however, leveling is not the overriding goal of society, then merit [by which he means ability to do the job] is an acceptable principle (1978:117).

Since Gross does not believe that leveling is the goal of society, he views preferential treatment as simply a way of allowing people to get something for nothing. He sees the basic weakness of affirmative action as its claim that the injustices righted by reverse discrimination are so great that they more than offset losses due to poor performance. He also argues that affirmative action was never designed to favor any one group over against the rights of individuals. Moreover, the numbers likely to be helped by reverse discrimination are small and probably concentrated in the more visible and intellectual areas of society.

In Gross’s view, affirmative action should be opposed by showing: (1) the arguments that defend it are unsound, (2) their premises and conclusions violate the principles
tial hiring practices, while helping to some extent the minority middle class, do not help the problems of real poverty. This is especially true among blacks. On the other hand these practices put an undue expense and burden of paperwork on employers (1975:69-72). Killian goes even further. He claims that the whole array of preferential hiring regulations is the consequence of black and white liberal reactions to the failure of the Civil Rights movement to achieve equality of results and of white guilt evoked by the abrasive charges of the Black Power movement against white America in toto (1981:48).

Samuelson, an economist, looks at the picture from a different perspective (1978:56). According to economic theory, he says, an increase in the work force, whether due to an increased birth rate, increased immigration, or the entrance of minorities, does not decrease the number of jobs available. Rather, "the total of the national output is produced by the cooperation of the factors of production: original natural resources and produced capital goods, human endowments as modified by training and education." Thus the "social pie" is expandable. If it reaches a saturation point, the worst that can happen is that everyone's wages will go down. His point is that quota systems are a waste of time since they don't do any good one way or the other.

Nevertheless, in 1979, the Supreme Court legitimized the use of specific quotas in hiring practices in Weber vs
general intelligence testing and requirements such as a high school diploma. It declared that these criteria disproportionately excluded minorities, even if dictated by business necessity. What the Griggs decision really mandated was that past discrimination practices on a broad scale in society, including inadequate schooling and opportunities for advancement, left minority students unprepared for the kind of tests given and the criteria required:

Griggs was rightly concerned that childhood deficiencies in the education and background of minority citizens, resulting from forces beyond their control, not be allowed to work a cumulative and invidious burden on such citizens for the rest of their lives (Leisner v. New York Telephone Company, 1973).

Tests were therefore considered to be discriminatory, even if the discrimination was unintentional. Tests were attacked on the ground that they often have little bearing on whether the applicant can actually do the job (U.S. News & World Report, 1976).

This rational remains the backbone of the arguments in favor of affirmative action programs.

The Philadelphia Plan. One of the initial programs that actually set numerical hiring quotas was a program that became known as the "Philadelphia Plan." Craft unions were reluctant to provide opportunities for minorities (Yinger 1968:136). As a result, the Department of Labor issued an order in June, 1969 to end discrimination in these unions in
Problem One: Does Affirmative Action Imply A Numerical Quota System?

Previous to the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the standard criteria for employment were merit and job qualification. This system was heavily weighted by tradition and practice toward the white majority. The provisions of the Civil Rights Act indicated that defined minorities would receive preferential treatment because of past discrimination. Those who employed more than 50 people, later amended to 25 and then 15, were required to set up goals for hiring. The goals reflected the percentages of minorities in the available and applicable labor pool or community\(^2\) (United States Commission on Civil Rights 1977:184). Employers were then required to establish timetables for achieving the goals and report their progress to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). The speed and "good faith"\(^3\) with which a company proceeded was adjudicated by the EEOC. This agency had to prove discrimination in hiring practices to take action:

Nothing contained in this title [VII] shall be interpreted to require any employer...to grant preferential treatment to any individual or to any group because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin of such individual or group on account of an imbalance which may exist with respect to the total number or percentage of persons of any race, color, religion, sex, or national origin employed by any employer... (Civil Rights Act, section 703 j).

In 1970, the Labor Department issued Order No. 4. This order changed the way the system operated. It required
national origin.

The second source of affirmative action programs is Executive Orders issued by various presidents. Executive Order No. 10925, issued by John Kennedy in 1961, used the term "affirmative action" for the first time. The order said that contractors were to act affirmatively to recruit workers from minority groups. The major Executive Order is No. 11246, issued by Lyndon Johnson in 1965. It defines minorities as "blacks, American Indians, Orientals, persons with Spanish surnames, and women" (Rosen 1980:158). Its intent was to oblige employers and institutions to give preferential treatment to minorities and women in school admission, hiring, and promotion practices.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION DEFINITIONS

In order to understand how affirmative action works, some definitions need to be stated. The first is the meaning and use of the phrase "reverse discrimination". This phrase is used in two different ways. In legal and governmental language it usually means including in affirmative action programs compensation for past wrongs, thus "reversing" discrimination. It is also used when white males are denied employment or admission to schools because of affirmative action quotas. In this case, the discrimination is "reversed" because the victim is a member of the majority rather than the minority population.
ENDNOTES


2 Cottington writes that "Black urbanization created the physical and social conditions supporting a range of cultural, social, and political changes in the black community. First, large-scale urbanization has transformed the racial issue from a regional problem into a national problem in which an array of racially tinged issues and conflicts, such as black concern with the quality of urban education, the quest for quality housing, increased employment opportunities, and the eventual 'integration' of blacks into American society, have increasingly become, since the 1960s, a central focus of national concern. Second, urbanization has been accompanied by increased social and political tensions within the black urban communities regarding the appropriate tactics (confrontation verses peaceful petition) and objectives (integration verses some form of racial autonomy) for attaining equality in a white dominated society. Thus, the movement of blacks out of the rural South and into the urban North and out of agriculture into industry has resulted in new social and political formulations on a variety of issues of immediate concern to black Americans" (11974:4).

3 A typical restrictive covenant read, "The said property is hereby restricted to the use and occupancy for the term of Fifty (50) years from this date, so that it shall be a condition all the time and whether recited or referred to or not in subsequent conveyances and shall attach to the land as a condition precedent to the sale of the same that hereafter no part of said property or any portion thereof shall be, for said term of Fifty-years, occupied by any person not of the Caucasian race, it being intended thereby to restrict the use of said property for said person for said period of time against occupancy as owners or tenants of any portion of said property for resident or other purpose of the Negro or Mongolian Race" (Greenberg 1959:279).

4 Redlining, also called "steering," continues to be a primary strategy (Burnham 1978; Drinan 1984).

5 This debate has been discussed pro and con by Wagner (1981b), Escobar and Driver (1978), and Elliott (1982).
church. Members no longer lives in the area, but out of loyalty to "old first church," they still attend. Wagner's research shows that the crunch comes when a members children enter school. Parents stop commuting and join a church nearer home where the children's friends from school also attend.

Churches that find themselves in this situation must examine both their theology and the practical aspects of survival. If they truly believe "all men are created equal," they will attempt to serve the community in which they find themselves. On the other hand, churches are voluntary organizations. If individual members choose to move away and only attend once a week, the church has no community presence. So it must decide what to do. It may decide to stay and rebuild its congregation from the community. Or it may decide to sell to the new ethnic group and follow its congregation to the suburbs. Wagner advocates making the decision as early as possible (1979a:36).

As has been noted, ethnokitis is not exclusively a problem of white churches. Wagner cites the experience of a black church made up primarily of middle-class professionals. The community surrounding the church changed from black middle-class into a slum. The middle-class members move away and the church suffered a case of ethnokitis. I am personally acquainted with the case of a
toward smooth community change. In too many cases the minister's influence has been negative. He cites evidence showing that the key figure in the success or failure of a church to minister to a racially changing community is the pastor. "He, probably more than any other person," Ziegenthaler says, "guides the congregation in the direction that it will take" (1978:18).

James Hecht. Hecht expressed his opinion in a 1972 article in *The Christian Century*. Since open housing became the law of the land, churches have done little or nothing to promote it. He also feels that the law is not being vigorously enforced. Churches have the responsibility of functioning as watchdogs to make sure that the law is enforced. He recommends that churches (1) send white "checkers" to find out if cases of refusal to sell to nonwhites stem from racial discrimination, (2) actively aid fair housing groups, or initiate such groups if they do not exist in a community, and (3) do all they can to influence the Federal Government to put more money into the enforcement of fair housing (1972:1010, 1011).

Before open housing became the law of the land, churches took ambivalent positions. Some took a vigorous open housing stand and were actively involved. It is accurate to state, however, that the majority of churches took a hands-off position. Often individual church members who were
What Has Been The Influence of The Church in Changing Communities?

The issue of housing and community change raises a serious question for the church. Has the church made a positive or a negative contribution to community change and integrated housing over the past two decades? Opinions vary.

Gibson Winter. One of the earliest studies on this question began in the 1950's. It was published in 1962. The author, Gibson Winter, is a professor at the University of Chicago Divinity School. He is of the opinion that the white Protestant church has been a negative influence in community change. "The churches," he writes, "bear a heavy burden of responsibility for the failure of the metropolis to become a community" (1962:191). He feels that the church is under moral obligation to participate in a positive sense in community change.

Dennis Clark. Clark feels that ethnic change in many communities has not been as smooth as it might have been. His opinion is that churches, businesses and other institutions have for the most part maintained a hands-off policy (1962:191). Some churches, he says, made great contributions. However, churches with "long lines of communication and elaborate organization usually remain inert and aloof" (192).
blacks was not always greeted with joy by the Northern middle-class blacks. Many were well established in professions. They enjoyed a degree of acceptance in the white community. This was due, at least in part, to their relatively small numbers and little socioeconomic distance between them and the majority population.

As lower class people with a different value system moved in, inevitable conflicts arose. The nonwhite middle-class found itself caught in a vise. They were often in the forefront of moves deeper into white housing areas. This was not always because of civil rights concerns, however. Sometimes they were simply fleeing the influx of the lower classes into their old neighborhoods. Social class status made them at least marginally acceptable in white neighborhoods. They did not, however, associate with the white population on a primary relationship level. They were often stereotyped with all nonwhites. Their historic identification remained with their ethnic group. However, their participational identification in the workplace, and their value system, remained with their social class (Gordon 1964:53). Thus you have examples of middle-class black churches experiencing black flight to the suburbs. A black church may keep its inner city building but become a commuter church. It may have no more community presence than does a white church down the street. These kinds of situa-
Christian Century felt that the Supreme Court had valid legal reasons for its decision. Morally speaking, however, it was slowing down the process of integration in housing (Fuerst 1977:77,78).

Economic and Ethclass Issues

Economic issues and social class status figure prominently in housing and community change considerations. During the 1960s Gordon developed the ethclass model discussed in the previous chapter. He perceived two substrata of society as illustrated in Figure 10 (1964:48).

Out of this concept, Gordon drew two conclusions about factors that affect changing communities and have repercussions for the church (1964:52).

First of all, differences in social class are more important and decisive to cultural behavior than differences in ethnicity. People of the same social class usually act alike and have the same values, even if they have different ethnic backgrounds. In contrast, people of the same ethnic background, but in differing social classes, do not act alike. They have different values, even if they have the same ethnic background.

Secondly, people usually confine their social participation to their own class segment within their ethnic group. This is their ethclass.
to plan its land use. Many zoning laws were on the books years before segregated housing was an issue. It is often difficult to prove that they were put there specifically to impede integration. This is especially true in the suburbs.

White flight during the 1960s and '70s formed a "white noose around the nonwhite inner city" (Time 1970). Upwardly mobile nonwhites, along with nonwhite middle-class immigrants, particularly from Cuba and the Southeast Asia, also began settling in the suburbs. This caused some new tensions. The primary cause for zoning problems, however, is the building of low-cost housing in suburban areas. This again raised the specter of new slums in people's minds.

The Arlington Heights Case

An example of this kind of situation was a zoning ordinance case in Arlington Heights, Ill. in 1977. Arlington Heights is a bedroom community about 26 miles from Chicago. The 1970 census showed a population of 64,857 whites and 27 blacks. By 1977, some 200 blacks lived in the town. The municipality had a law on its books that banned apartment buildings or multi-family dwellings in most parts of the village.

In 1971, a Roman Catholic religious order leased 15 acres of land to a Chicago building firm. The firm proposed
Some of the clergy, especially in mainline Protestant churches, took the lead in favor of integration. They attempted to prepare the town for it. In the long run, the issue was settled to the satisfaction of most people.

California and Proposition Fourteen

A major test case on open housing came in California during the middle 1960s. In 1963 a black member of the California legislature named W. Byron Rumford introduced an open housing bill. It passed during the final minutes of the legislative session. The Rumford Act prohibited discrimination in housing based on race or creed. The California Real Estate Association immediately organized a drive for an amendment to the California constitution. The proposed amendment nullified the effects of the Rumford bill. The proposal won a place on the 1964 ballot as "Proposition 14." Proposition 14 did not repeal the Rumford Act. Its intent was to allow sellers and landlords the latitude to choose to whom they wished to sell or rent. In effect, it maintained the status quo of restricted housing. Proposition 14 won in the face of opposition by the Federal Government, many churches and the advocates of open housing. It was immediately declared unconstitutional in the courts and never went into effect (Time 1964).
and the social environment more stable, blockbusting is no longer the prevalent practice it once was (U.S. News & World Report 1969a; Newsweek 1969).

The Hyde Park, Chicago Experience

For many years the Hyde Park area adjacent to the University of Chicago was a model example of an integrated neighborhood. Professors from the University were instrumental in establishing and maintaining a relatively smooth transition in housing and in maintaining neighborhood harmony. When lower class nonwhites began moving into the area, however, houses were converted into tiny apartments. Criminal activities increased and the streets became unsafe. Dr. Dwight Ingle, a physiologist at the University, recorded his experience in a book published in 1963. He finally moved his family to another integrated community where homebuyers and renters were screened by socioeconomic status.

Dr. Ingle quotes social activists, both white and nonwhite. Their ideal was to build a classless society and all live together as brothers (Ingle 1963:97). They did not take into account the differences in value systems between socioeconomic levels, however. They had no solutions to the problems of unsafe streets and deteriorating neighborhoods.
what they call a "compact of silence" to maintain the isolation of their community.

EXAMPLES AND EVENTS

The Blockbusters

A factor of major influence in the 1960s was the role of the so-called "blockbusters." These were real estate people who saw a way to make a fast profit from changing communities. Their system was to scare whites into thinking that nonwhites were about to take over their street en masse. They used misleading advertising and gimmicks. They bought houses and paid a nonwhite families to live in them for a few weeks. Meanwhile, the blockbusters solicited sales from door to door in the neighborhood. Frightened whites sold at low prices to get out fast. The realtors then resold the property at higher prices to nonwhites and walked off with the profits. Areas worked in this way often became new ghettos. Rothman called the blockbusters "The Ghetto Makers" (1961:222).

Banks and loan institutions collaborated with the blockbusters. In regular real estate deals the seller often pays points under certain loan arrangements using government funding. The buyer does not pay points. Often, according to Rothman, points were charged to the buyer by the finance company for making the loan. Nonwhite buyers were told that
socioeconomic comparability of the groups, and, (3) the quality of the leadership of the groups carrying out the change (1960:48,56). It is at this point that community churches can exercise either a positive or a negative influence.

The Freedom of Choice Argument

Another argument used by the anti-integrationist forces is the so-called "freedom of choice" argument. The argument is supposedly based on the concepts of free enterprise and democracy. In essence, it says that discrimination is an essential part of democracy. It is democratic, and therefore "right," to choose by self-determination what you want to eat, whom you wish to marry, where you wish to live, and who you want for neighbors. Heavily labored arguments of this type appear repeatedly in court cases on open housing.

This argument contends that nonwhites have a perfect right to keep whites out of their areas if they wish. Whites have the same right to keep nonwhites out of their areas if they so desire. The government has no right to superimpose housing requirements on anyone.

Tovey pulled together court cases based on this argument and published the composite as a dialogue. He used the actual wording of the judicial decisions as the questions and answers in the dialogue (1963:50-67). Because of the
schools, businesses, or family. Residents, especially the young and the aged, became increasingly isolated from other areas of town as the massive layers of grey concrete and asphalt eliminated the trolley lines and dissipated public transit services (1983:165,170).

Source Materials

In 1965 a privately funded group formed the Commission on Race and Housing to study the issue. It published its final report 1960 (McEntire 1960). Various chapters were expanded into books. This report became a major source of information. Many of the particular issues that arose are most easily tracked in news magazines and religious journals.

PRIMARY CONCERNS AND ARGUMENTS OF THE MAJORITY GROUP

The literature on housing and community change reveals certain recurring arguments.

In a classic study on the ghetto, Weaver lists eight reasons used to justify opposition to nonwhite entry into a community: (1) fear on the part of many white people that the presence of nonwhite persons in the neighborhood will cause serious depreciation of existing property values, (2) reluctance of some whites to share public and community facilities with nonwhites, (3) fear of losing social caste by living in a neighborhood with nonwhites, (4) opposition of property owners occupied by nonwhites to expand the
CHAPTER III

HOUSING AND COMMUNITY CHANGE

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND ON HOUSING ISSUES

Since the times of World War II the population of the United States has been on the move.\(^1\) The first wave of migration was the move of Southern rural blacks to the North and some parts of the West.\(^2\) Between 1940 and 1970 over 4 million blacks migrated from the South (Sowell 1981:211). The majority of these came from rural areas and often lacked education and social standing. Sowell says that:

> This was not simply a geographic movement. It was a mass uprooting from rural southern life and a transformation into a modern industrial and urban way of life (1981:211).

In Chicago, for example, the white population decreased by over half a million between 1965 and 1980. The non-white population of the city increased by over 400,000. Most of the increase was the result of black migration (Ziegenhals 1978:5). Add to this the increase in both legal and illegal immigration since 1965. The composite picture is one of community change on a vast scale.

All of these new arrivals needed housing. This led to one of the major issues of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and '70s.

During this period, churches in changing communities faced two issues. The first involved their theology and