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ABSTRACT

This pilot study examined the interrelationships between school desegregation programs and housing patterns in Milwaukee County, Wisconsin. First, a field study explored the attitudes of minority families participating in the city-suburban school desegregation program which involved city-suburban pupil transfers. Secondly, the pupil movement under the city and metropolitan desegregation plans was assessed for its impact on segregated residential housing patterns in the community. The third aspect of the study analyzed the two largest Federal rental housing programs operating in the county for their impact on racial integration of schools and housing. The study indicates a need for more coordinated efforts by school and housing officials if successful, long-range integration is to occur. (Author/ML)

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION AND GOVERNMENT HOUSING PROGRAMS: A MILWAUKEE CASE STUDY

By

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This report was prepared for the National Institute of Education. Points of view or opinions expressed in this report are not necessarily those of the National Institute of Education or the U.S. Department of Education.

ABSTRACT

School desegregation was initiated in Milwaukee in the 1976-77 school year through a court-ordered city desegregation program and a state-financed city-suburban pupil transfer program. This pilot study explored three dimensions of the complex interrelationships between these school desegregation programs and housing patterns in Milwaukee County. First, a field study explored the attitudes of minority families participating in the innovative city-suburban school desegregation program. The survey found high satisfaction with the educational program and relatively strong interest in possible housing moves to suburban areas where children were busing to school. Secondly, the pupil movement under the city and metropolitan desegregation plans was assessed for its impact on segregated residential housing patterns in the community. The largely voluntary plan implemented by the Milwaukee Public Schools appeared to have possible negative impacts on racially changing neighborhoods. The highest percentages of students were leaving schools in residentially integrated areas (10-20% black) and schools in transitional areas (20-50% black) were allowed to "tip" to predominantly black.

The third aspect of the study analyzed the two largest federal rental housing programs operating in the county for their impact on racial integration of schools and housing. The Section 8 rent assistance program, operated by three governmental units in Milwaukee County, appeared to reinforce the segregated housing patterns of the community and failed to complement school desegregation efforts. Scattered site and traditional public housing provided by the City of Milwaukee also impacted negatively on the racial make-up of neighborhood schools in the city. The study suggests the need for more coordinated efforts by school and housing officials if successful, long-range integration is to occur.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This report represents the efforts of many individuals concerned about racial integration of our major metropolitan areas. The writings of Dr. Gary Orfield and Dr. Karl Taeuber, emphasizing relationships between school desegregation and housing patterns, inspired the research design. We are also grateful to Dr. Orfield and Dr. Taeuber for their advice and encouragement throughout the project.

Three research assistants--Kenneth Robinson, Annie Sprowls and Anthony Steiner--aided the project immeasurably through their work on the attitudinal survey of Chapter 220 families and analysis of housing data as well as daily consultation assessing local policies. We were fortunate to find such assistants with their high level of commitment to the project, insights and continued enthusiasm and good humor.

This study involved a review of large quantities of governmental data and reports, and we are grateful for the cooperation provided by government officials from the Milwaukee Public Schools, the City of Milwaukee Department of City Development, the Milwaukee County Real Estate and Housing Division, Southeastern Wisconsin Regional Planning Commission and Wisconsin office of the U.S. Department of Housing & Urban Development.

A special debt of gratitude is owed to William Sell and Donna Bennett of The Last Word who typed the several draft versions of this report. We also appreciate the editing suggestions provided by JoAnn McGeorge of the National Institute of Education. The conclusions made in this report are the responsibility of the authors, however, and do

not necessarily reflect the views of the National Institute of Education.

Finally, we appreciate the encouragement and inspiration provided by the Board of Directors of the Metropolitan Integration Research Center. This group of attorneys, community activists and educators has encouraged exploration of integration issues in Milwaukee and encouraged the community to consider innovative approaches to racial integration in Milwaukee. Without their continued support this project would not have been possible.

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INTRODUCTION

Racial segregation in large urban areas has involved complex interplays between school and housing policies, economics, personal choices and discriminatory actions.[1] Discrimination has been documented not only in the private market, but also in government-operated programs. Federal government housing policies have restricted housing choices of minorities through racially motivated site selection, steering, financing, sales and rental policies in subsidized housing.[2] In several school cases housing authorities were listed as defendants (Indianapolis and Akron), and in Louisville the court order incorporated housing concerns in the school settlement.[3]

School desegregation cases have also addressed the impact of educational decisions on housing patterns. In Milwaukee, for example, Federal Judge John Reynolds determined that school board policies in school sitings, boundary changes, intact busing and pupil transfer decisions contributed to racial segregation of residential areas. Reynolds concurred with the testimony of Dr. Karl Taeuber that

> there was a continuing reciprocal interplay between schooling and housing, such that the highly concentrated black ghetto and the highly concentration portions of the school system grew up together, and the reciprocal influence on the white areas produced solidly white resident and school areas.[4]

In attemping to unravel the effects of school segregation in Milwaukee and other cities, school officials now face the prospect of integrating large city school systems, with little support from other major institutions in the community. This study was designed to assist educators in evaluating the effects of one type of school desegregation

plan on housing patterns in a community and to explore the impact of local housing policies on their school efforts.

The residential impact of the Milwaukee school desegregation plan may be of particular interest, given its appeal as a largely voluntary integration program coupled with a metropolitan pupil exchange plan. Given the limited resources and the time available for research, this pilot study explores three dimensions of the complex interrelationships between Milwaukee school desegregation programs and government housing policies. First, a field survey explored the attitudes of minority families participating in an innovative city-suburban school desegregation program toward their school experiences and possible interest in integrated housing. Secondly, the pupil movement under the city school desegregation plan and a voluntary metropolitan integration program was assessed for its impact on sgregated residential housing patterns in the community. Finally, we analyzed the racial impact of the two largest federal rental housing programs for their impact on racial integration of schools and housing in Milwaukee County. The findings are summarized in Chapter Six.

Footnotes

[1]Karl E. Taeuber et al, "School Segregation and Residential Segregation: A Social Science Statement," Appendix to the Brief for Respondents in the Columbus School Segregation Case, March, 1979.

[2]Karl E. Taeuber, "Racial Segregation: The Persisting Dilemma," The Annals, 422 (November, 1975), 87-96.

[3]Gary Orfield, Must We Bus? Segregated Schools and National Policy (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1978).

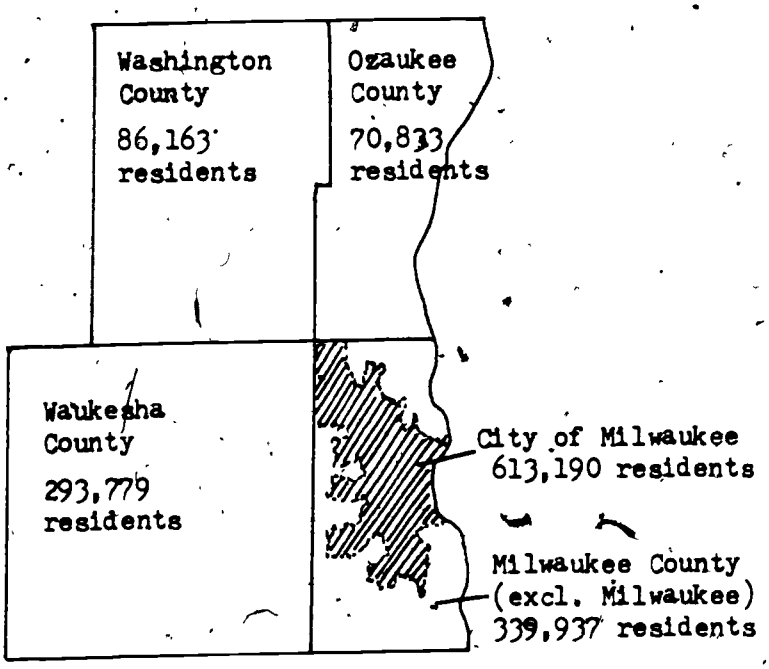
[4]U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Wisconsin, Armstrong v. O'Connell, Findings of Fact, Conclusions of Law, and Decision and Order, February 8, 1979.

Chapter 1

RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS IN MILWAUKEE COUNTY

The Milwaukee Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) includes Milwaukee, Ozaukee, Washington and Waukesha counties, with 44% of the total population (1.4 million) residing in the City of Milwaukee.

1979 Population Estimates
(Wisconsin Dept. of Administration)



Milwaukee typifies the segregated racial patterns of our large urban areas.[1]

- 99% of black persons residing in the Milwaukee SMSA in 1970 lived in the central city. A 1976 survey by the Milwaukee Journal estimated that only 1,200 blacks resided in the 18 suburbs of Milwaukee County and 850 blacks lived in 16 suburbs surrounding the county.

- Within the City of Milwaukee the black population has been contained within an expanding ghetto area on the northside. In 1960 nearly half (49%) of the city's black population lived in census tracts which were at least 70% black. By 1975, in

spite of individual family moves to outlying areas, 64% of all Milwaukee blacks lived in ghetto areas over 70% black.

- The special 1975 City of Milwaukee census revealed that only 170 black persons resided in the southern half of the city, an area with 210,000 people.

Historical Growth of the Black Community

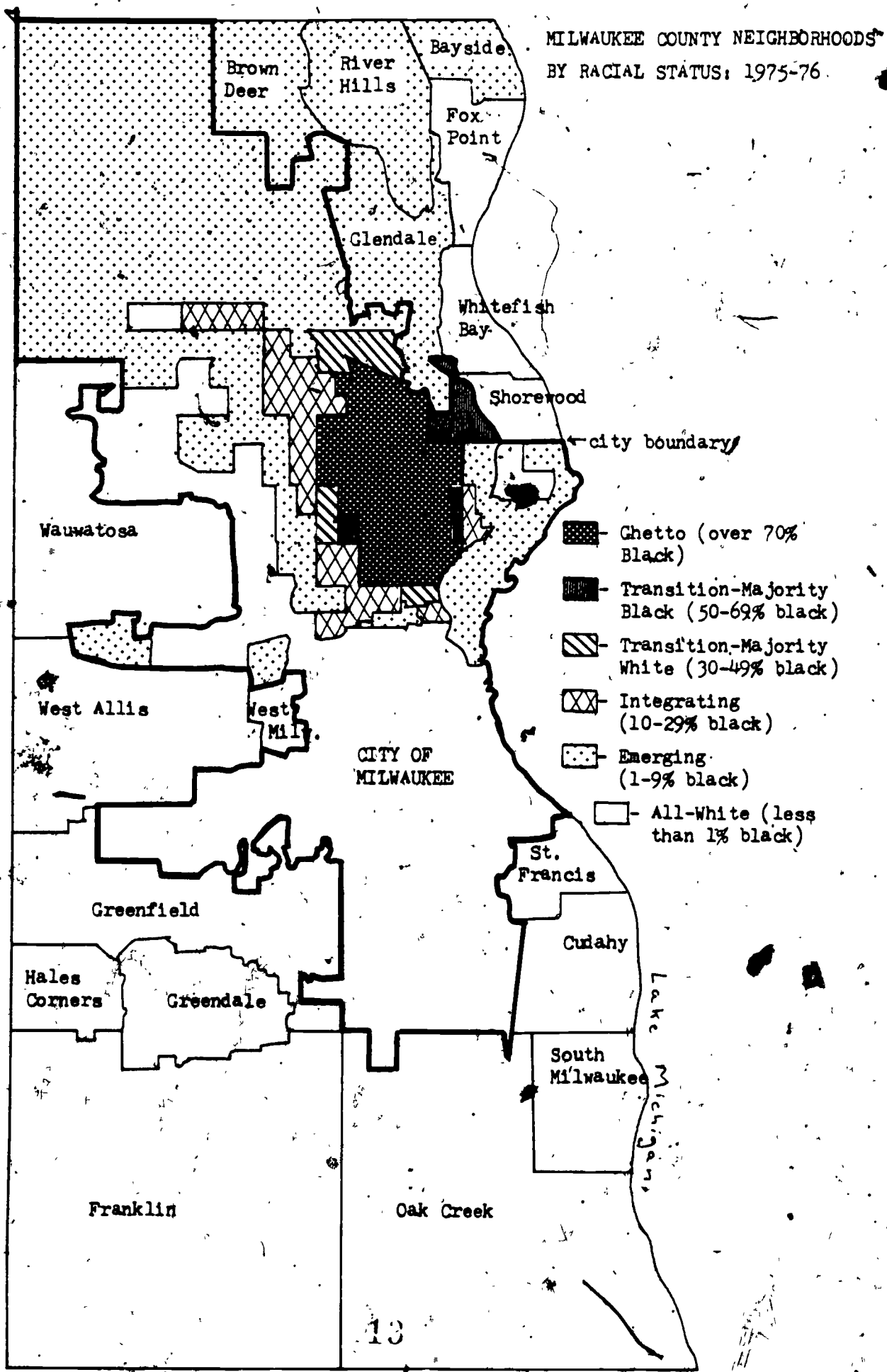
The growth of the black community in Milwaukee has been recent and rapid. Prior to 1910 the black population was small and well dispersed throughout the city. By 1920 the black community had doubled as a stream of black laborers were recruited during World War I to work in wartime factories. World War II brought a second influx of black immigrants looking for employment opportunities.[2] In the 1950's migration, largely from the south, continued to account for much of the black population growth. This population doubled in the 1960's as the white population in the city began its decline.

By 1975 when the U.S. Census Bureau conducted a special population count for the City of Milwaukee, 18.5% of the total population was black. (The Milwaukee special census did not count Hispanic residents. In 1970, Hispanics made up 2.2% of the city's population and were clustered in 22 census tracts around the lower half and to the south of the black ghetto. School data since 1970 indicates that this group is continuing to increase as a percentage of total population. Native Americans totaled 3,300 persons in 1970, again primarily clustered in 13 census tracts to the west of the black neighborhoods.)[3]

CITY OF MILWAUKEE BLACK POPULATION: 1900 - 1975[4]

Year	Total Population	Black Population	Black Population as Percent of Total
1900	285,315	862	0.3%
1910	373,857	980	0.3
1920	457,147	2,229	0.5
1930	578,249	7,501	1.3
1940	587,472	8,821	1.5
1950	637,392	20,454	3.2
1960	741,324	62,458	8.4
1970	717,099	105,088	14.7
1975	669,014	123,683	18.5

The channeled expansion of Milwaukee's black community has been explored in a doctoral thesis by Leo Zonn.[5] According to his analysis, growth of the black ghetto to the east has been inhibited by a "small but viable Polish enclave...particularly resistant to black encroachment," and by price competition with a student housing market spilling over from the University community located to the east of the Milwaukee River. Black expansion to the south has been blocked by the barrier of the Central Business District and commercial area, followed by an industrial valley of similar length, and a southside dominated by East European ethnics, especially the Poles who have shown open antipathy for blacks.[6] (In the late 1960's marches in support of a city fair housing ordinance faced hostile crowds on the southside. More recently, efforts to locate federal housing projects for lower-income families have been blocked by local aldermen.) As a consequence, black expansion has moved to the west and northwest of the ghetto where the middle class housing complements the housing needs of a growing black middle class group, according to Zonn.


MILWAUKEE COUNTY NEIGHBORHOODS
BY RACIAL STATUS: 1975-76
Brown Deer
River Hills
Bayside
Fox Point
Glendale
Whitefish Bay
Shorewood
city boundary
Wauwatosa
West Allis
West Mil.
CITY OF MILWAUKEE
St. Francis
Cudahy
Greenfield
Hales Corners
Greendale
South Milwaukee
Lake Michigan
Franklin
Oak Creek
Ghetto (over 70% Black)
Transition-Majority Black (50-69% black)
Transition-Majority White (30-49% black)
Integrating (10-29% black)
Emerging (1-9% black)
All-White (less than 1% black)

Migration of black families to developing suburban areas was inhibited by both governmental actions and private discrimination. A study by the Metropolitan Integration Research Center in 1979 found racially restrictive covenants operating in at least sixteen of the eighteen Milwaukee County suburbs. Subdivisions established in 1927, for example, in Cudahy, Shorewood, West Milwaukee, Whitefish Bay and Wauwatosa excluded all non-Caucasian families. In the 1930's subdivisions created in Bayside, Fox Point, Glendale, Greenfield, Hales Corners, St. Francis and West Allis were still using covenants to exclude blacks. As late as 1958, ten years after the U.S. Supreme Court outlawed judicial enforcement of these covenants, race restrictions were recorded for a new subdivision in Glendale. A case study of Wauwatosa, an attractive middle class suburb less than 5 miles from the black ghetto, revealed that 51 subdivisions (covering 1/3 of all residential land in the community) were developed with restrictive covenants which prevented non-Caucasians from purchasing or renting homes in their neighborhoods.

More recently, many suburban governments have restricted construction of subsidized housing to insure that lower-income Milwaukee families, including minorities, do not begin moving into their neighborhoods in significant numbers.

Since the 1960's black families have begun to migrate into several northside suburbs, notably Brown Deer and Glendale. In addition, a small number of upper income families have located in the more affluent communities of River Hills and Bayside. According to the Milwaukee Journal estimates for 1976, less than 125 blacks resided in the eight suburbs in the southern half of Milwaukee County, continuing the intense segregation of Milwaukee's southside.

BLACK POPULATION IN MILWAUKEE COUNTY SUBURBS: 1976 ESTIMATES[7]

Municipality	Total Population	Black Population	Per Cent Black
North Side			
Bayside	4,659	48	1.0%
Brown Deer	13,850	550	4.0
Fox Point	8,122	40	0.5
Glendale	13,860	172	1.2
River Hills	1,589	55	3.5
Shorewood	14,400	50	0.3
Whitefish Bay	16,400	30	0.2
West Side			
Wauwatosa	57,600	120	0.2
West Allis	70,954	20	0.0
West Milwaukee	3,896	0	0.0
South Side			
Cudahy	21,920	12	0.0
Franklin	15,110	10	0.1
Greendale	17,326	6	0.0
Greenfield	31,400	30	0.1
Hales Corners	9,024	0	0.0
Oak Creek	15,910	40	0.3
St. Francis	10,300	20	0.2
South Milwaukee	24,100	3	0.0
TOTAL - 18 SUBURBS	350,420	1,206	0.3%

Analysis of Neighborhoods by Race

For this study analyzing the impact of school desegregation movement on residential patterns, we divided Milwaukee County neighborhoods into six racial categories based on their deviation from Milwaukee's black population as a percentage of total population.[8]

RACIAL STATUS OF CENSUS TRACTS IN THE CITY OF MILWAUKEE: 1960-1975

Racial Status of Neighborhood	% Black	# of Census Tracts in Category 1960	1970	1975
Ghetto	More than 70%	10	29	37
Transition-Majority Black	50 - 69%	10	9	4
Transition-Majority White	30 - 49%	2	4	5
Integrating	10 - 29%	6	6	23
Emerging	1 - 9%	16	48	53
All-White	Less than 1%	145	122	96
TOTAL		189	218	218

RACIAL STATUS OF SUBURBAN MUNICIPALITIES IN COUNTY: 1960-1976

Racial Status of Neighborhood	% Black	# of Municipalities in Category 1960	1970	1975
Ghetto	More than 70%	0	0	0
Transition-Majority Black	50 - 69%	0	0	0
Transition-Majority White	30 - 49%	0	0	0
Integrating	10 - 29%	0	0	0
Emerging	1 - 9%	0	1	4
All-White	Less than 1%	18	17	14
TOTAL		18	18	18

Footnotes

[1]Annemette Sorensen, Karl E. Taeuber and Leslie Hollingsworth, "Indexes of Racial Residential Segregation for 190 Cities in the United States, 1964 to 1970," Sociological Focus (April, 1975).

[2]Milwaukee Commission on Community Relations, The Negro in Milwaukee: Progress and Portent 1863-1963 (City of Milwaukee, 1963).

[3]Milwaukee Urban Observatory, Metropolitan Milwaukee Fact Book: 1970, edited by Frances Beverstock and Robert P. Stuckert (Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 1972).

[4]Charles T. O'Reilly, The Inner Core-North: A Study of Milwaukee's Negro Community (Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee School of Social Welfare, 1963).

[5]Leo Edward Zonn, Residential Search Patterns of Black Urban Households: A Spatial-Behavioral View (Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee unpublished doctoral thesis, 1975).

[6]These two residential areas, while serving as barriers to black expansion, have housed an increasing number of Hispanic families during the 1960's and 1970's.

[7]Black population estimates from the Milwaukee Journal (January 23, 1977). Total populations estimates are calculated by the Wisconsin Department of Administration annually.

[8]In the City of Milwaukee where 1975 census data was available, the census tract was used as the basic unit of analysis. For suburban areas we relied on 1976 estimates of black population by municipality developed by the Milwaukee Journal (January 23, 1977), the best available data for this time period. A review of the distribution of black students by elementary school attendance area indicated that the black population was evenly distributed in those suburbs which include more than one census tract.

Chapter 2

BACKGROUND ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN MILWAUKEE COUNTY

In assessing the impact of school desegregation on the residential patterns of a community, Orfield emphasizes the importance of the type of plan used to achieve racial balance in schools.

> School desegregation is a massive social change that only happens once in most areas. If it is to have a positive impact in creating new expectations, it must be done in a way that takes into account the underlying demographic patterns of an area. If it is done in a way that increases the black, white or Hispanic racial identifiability of cities and school systems, it may speed destructive processes. If it encompasses a sufficient area to offer the prospect of long-run integration in largely middle class schools, it may be the first step toward building a stable integrated society.[1]

This chapter explores the role of state legislative efforts to effect city-suburban integration in the county and provides background on the strategies used by the Milwaukee Public Schools to meet court-ordered desegregation of its schools from 1976 to 1979. Chapter 3 will explore the effect of one school desegregation strategy on attitudes of minority families. Chapter 4 will analyze the impact of these desegregation strategies on housing patterns in the community and Chapter 5 looks at the racial impact of two federal housing programs operating in Milwaukee County.

When the federal court ordered Milwaukee to desegregate its schools in 1976, 40% of city school childen were minorities.[2] In the suburban districts of Milwaukee County, minorities made of 2% of the total school population.

MINORITY CHILDREN IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS: 1975-76

District	Total Enrollment	Percent Black	Percent Hispanic	Percent Total Minorities*
City of Milwaukee	114,180	34.4%	4.2%	39.9%
17 Suburban Districts	67,118	0.5	0.7	2.2

*Includes Blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans and Oriental Americans.

Although the minority student population in the City of Milwaukee had reached 52% by the 1979-80 school year, the resident suburban school population remained only 3% minority.

The City and most suburban school districts have lost student population since the early 1970's due primarily to lower birth rates. Since 1970-71, Milwaukee Public Schools enrollments declined by 30% and the suburban districts in Milwaukee County decreased an average of 28%. (The impact of outmigration from Milwaukee to suburban schools is discussed later in this chapter.)

CHANGES IN ETHNIC POPLUATION: MILWAUKEE PUBLIC SCHOOLS[3]

Year	Total Population	White Students	Black Students	Hispanic Students	Other Minorities
1970-71	132,349	93,023	34,355	3,898	1,073
1975-76	114,180	68,671	39,250	4,808	1,451
1976-77	109,122	62,329	40,127	4,929	1,737
1977-78	101,926	54,091	41,109	4,863	1,863
1978-79	96,592	48,148	41,312	4,963	2,169
1979-80	91,940	43,009	41,530	5,175	2,226

City-Suburban School Desegregation

In March of 1976 the Wisconsin legislature passed an innovative bill (popularly known as Chapter 220) which provides state fiscal incentives for pupil transfers which promote racial balance within or

between school districts. School district and student participation in the program is optional. The law (Wisconsin statute 121.85) merely requires each district in Milwaukee County to appoint a joint city-suburban planning council which must meet annually to recommend cooperative programs. Districts receive full costs per/pupil (excluding operating receipts) for each student transferring into their district under the plan. (If the transfer students accepted by the district reach 5% or more of the district's total student enrollment, this payment is multiplied by 1.2.) Sending districts may continue to count the outgoing students in their total pupil count for general state aid calculations and all costs of transportation are paid by the state. To prevent students from leaving integrated schools under the program, eligible transfers are limited to minority students leaving attendance areas which are over 30% minority for either citywide schools or schools than less 30% minority. Suburban white students may transfer from schools in areas less than 30% minority to schools with more than 30% minority students or citywide schools in Milwaukee.

Each district determines the number of students they will accept and the conditions they will place on transfers. All participating districts establish a quota of students by grade levels, and most exclude children with exceptional education needs. A few districts review the records of applicants to select those they believe will adapt most successfully to their schools. Other take eligible students on a first-come-first-serve basis.

Since 1976 twelve school districts in Milwaukee County have elected to participate in the Chapter 220 transfer program. Five districts (Cudahy, Franklin, Greenfield, St. Francis, and West

Allis-West Milwaukee) have refused. By the fourth year of the program the total number of minority students accepted had reached 916. In addition, 117 fulltime and 21 parttime suburban white students transfer to Milwaukee's citywide programs or schools in predominantly minority neighborhoods. In 1978-79 state tuition payments averaged $2,464 per pupil and the total state payment to the 12 participating districts was $2 million.[4]

Although the total number of transfer students is small, the Chapter 220 program has nearly doubled the number of minority students in the 12 participating districts and has involved suburban districts in considering the racial composition of their school. However, the minority enrollments of the participating districts still average less

GROWTH OF THE CHAPTER 220 CITY-SUBURBAN PROGRAM

Participating Districts	Minority Student Transfers (Full-Time Equiv.) 1976-77	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80
North Side				
Brown Deer	89	111	112.5	116
Fox Point-Bayside #2 Elem.	4	12.5	18	30
Glendale-River Hills Elem.	32	35.5	40	61
Maple Dale-Indian Hill El.	8	16	26.5	37
Nicolet High	27	55	73	93
Shorewood	60	90	107.5	111
Whitefish Bay	57.5	66	72.5	85
West Side				
Wauwatosa	—	96	146	195
South Side				
Greendale	34	72.5	71	73
Oak Creek	—	31	42.5	62
South Milwaukee	—	7.5	21	31
Whitnall	—	15.5	24.5	22
TOTAL	311.5	608.5	755.0	916

than 7% of the total suburban student population. (In the five non-participating districts minority students make up 2% of the total school population.)

Contrary to early hopes for the program, the Chapter 220 program appears to have reached a plateau in numbers of minority students accepted. Most districts are now only increasing available spaces on an incremental basis as they add new kindergarten or first grade students each year.[5] The suburban spaces available for minority students for 1979-80 accommodated less than 2% of the city's 48,500 minority children, and even with minimal advertising for the program, demand exceeds the spaces available. Only two districts have taken advantage of the higher state aids offered districts who accept students exceeding 5% of their student bodies.[6] In 1980-81, the total number of spaces available for city children was 959, only 43 spaces over 1979-80.

Also, districts have been slow to change their employment practices or curriculum offerings under the "no strings" tuition approach of the Wisconsin program. Since 1976 the number of minority professional staff employed in the twelve participating school districts has actually decreased.

MINORITY PERSONS EMPLOYED BY SUBURBAN SCHOOL DISTRICTS: 1979-806

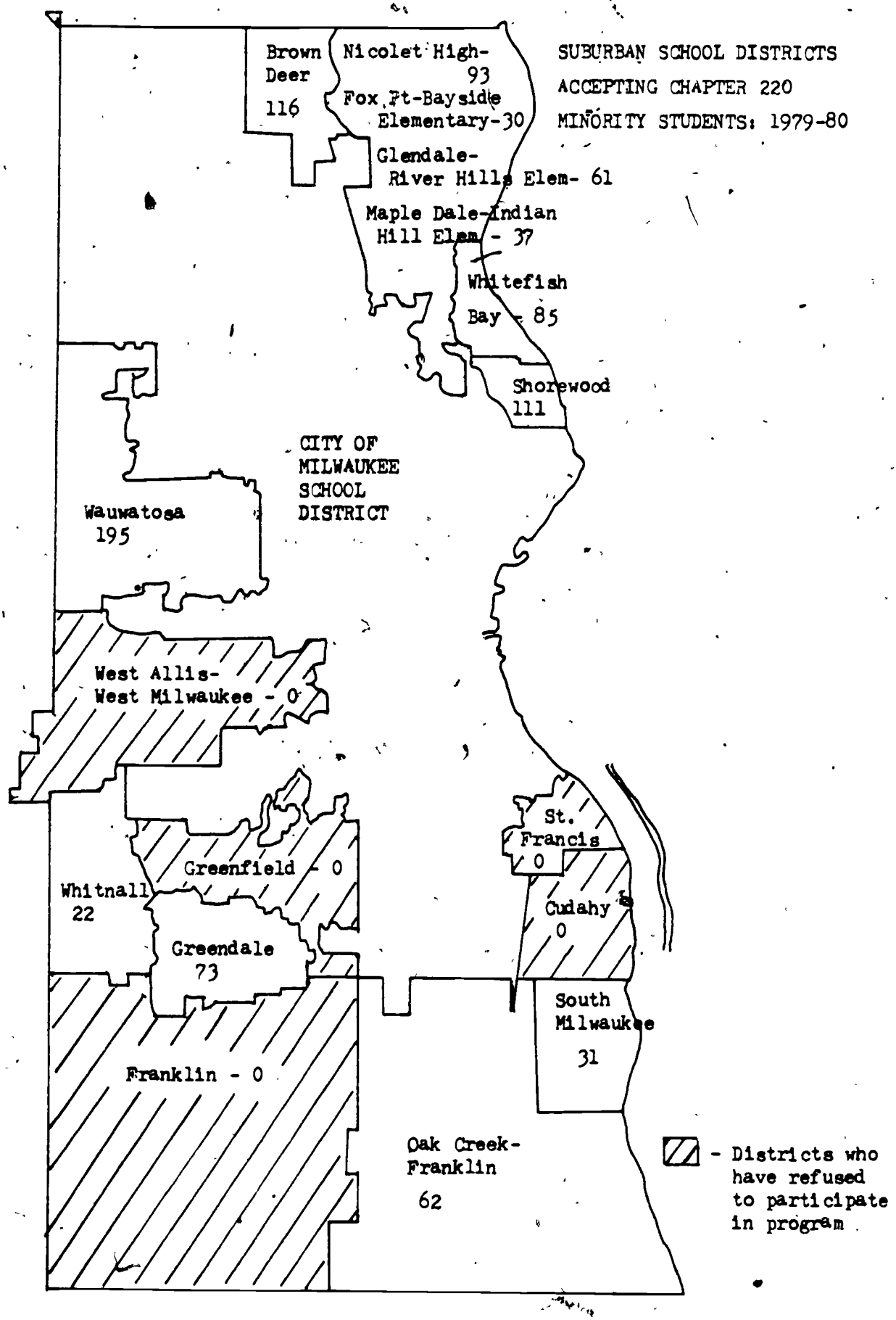
Chapter 220 Participating Districts	District-wide Administrators' Minorities	Total	Other Professional Staff Minor.	Total	Non-Professional Staff Minor.	Total
Brown Deer	0	5	1	177.7	1.1	77.4
Fox Point-Bayside	0	7	1	57	0	30
Glendale-River Hills	0	9	0	86	0	23
Greendale	0	14.4	1	230.8	0	90.7
Maple Dale-Indian Hill	0	5	0	51	0	24
Nicolet High	0	7.9	3	124.1	2.4	64.2
Oak Creek	1	11	2	266	0	139
Shorewood	0	9.4	2	141.9	6	85.1
South Milwaukee	0	9	0	240	0	78.5
Wauwatosa	0	19	4	525.4	0	175
Whitefish Bay	0	18	1	187.7	1	74
Whitnall	0	3	1	161	0	19
Sub-Total	1	117.7	16	2,248.6	10.5	879.9
Non-Participating Districts						
Cudahy	0	8	1	258.5	0	65.5
Franklin	0	7	1	176	1	65.3
Greenfield	0	11	2	233	0	54
St. Francis	0	16	0	97	0	29
West Allis-West Milwaukee	0	25	4.4	674.4	0	229
Sub-Total	0	67	8.4	1,438.9	1	442.8
TOTAL - 17 DISTRICTS	1	184.7	24.4	3,687.5	11.5	1,322.7

Potential for "White Flight" Under the 220 Program

A concern expressed with central city desegregation is the potential for encouraging "white flight" to unaffected suburban areas.[7] In spite of its stated intent to reduce racial isolation in public schools, the Wisconsin Chapter 220 program has failed to significantly effect the growing racial isolation between city and suburban school districts in Milwaukee County. Suburban districts participating in the Chapter 220 program were only 6% minority in 1979-80 while Milwaukee Public Schools reached 52% minority.

(Non-participating districts remained 2% minority.) While the Milwaukee Public Schools are expected to total 70% minority by the mid-1980's, due to the slow rate of growth of the Chapter 220 program suburban schools are not expected to exceed 7% minority by that time.

While this project did not study the possible exodus of white students from the Milwaukee Public Schools during the desegregation process, statistics collected by Milwaukee Public Schools on student transfers suggest some movement, particularly in the first two years of desegregation. In 1976-77, the first year of the court order, the number of Milwaukee public school students transferring to public and private suburban schools ~~in~~ Milwaukee County increased by 400 over the previous year. The number of students transferring to Wisconsin schools outside the county boundary jumped from 1,700 to 2,300. While the number of transfer students leaving Milwaukee has declined, in 1978-79 net out-migration to suburban and exurban schools still totaled 840 students.[8]


SUBURBAN SCHOOL DISTRICTS
ACCEPTING CHAPTER 220
MINORITY STUDENTS: 1979-80
Brown Deer 116
Nicolet High- 93
Fox Pt-Bayside Elementary-30
Glendale- River Hills Elem- 61
Maple Dale-Indian Hill Elem - 37
Whitefish Bay - 85
Shorewood 111
CITY OF MILWAUKEE SCHOOL DISTRICT
Wauwatosa 195
West Allis- West Milwaukee - 0
Greenfield - 0
Whitnall 22
Greendale 73
St. Francis 0
Cudahy 0
South Milwaukee 31
Franklin - 0
Oak Creek- Franklin 62
- Districts who have refused to participate in program

City School Desegregation

In January, 1976, when Milwaukee Public Schools received a federal court order to desegregate its schools, seventy-three of the city's 158 schools had student populations over 90% white, and thirty buildings were over 90% black. The School Board and Administration had argued that this segregation resulted from implementation of a neighborhood school policy in a community with segregated housing patterns. However, U.S. District Judge John Reynolds noted in his decision that

> ...racial imbalance was advanced by the Board's practice in siting new schools, building additions for existing schools, leasing or purchasing unused buildings for school purposes, utilizing substandard classrooms, changing district boundaries, and bussing primarily black students intact to primarily white schools where the bussed students were kept separate from students in the receiving school.[9]

In May, 1976, Judge Reynolds ordered the School Board to bring all of its schools to within "racial balance" over a three year period. ("Racial balance" was defined as buildings with 25-50% black student populations. All other students, including whites, Hispanics and Native Americans were considered "nonblack.") The Board appealed the decision, while meeting immediate court orders to desegregate 1/3 of its schools in 1976-77 and 2/3 by 1977-78.

An out-of-court settlement reached by plaintiffs and defendants in the Milwaukee school case and approved by Judge Reynolds in May, 1979, set new standards for student movement in the 1979-80 school year (through 1983-84).

1. At least 75% of students in Milwaukee Public Schools must attend desegregated schools. A desegregated building is defined as 25-60% black at the elementary and middle school level and 20-60% black at the high school level. (The order exempts about 12,000 students from the desegregation order:

kindergarten pupils, exceptional education students in special schools for the handicapped, and students in 4 schools with heavy concentrations of Hispanic students.)

2. As soon as the black student population exceeds 50% of the total school population, the percentage of students required to be in desegregated facilities will be reduced according to a mathematical formula.

3. Every elementary and middle school must have a minimum of 20% black student population, and each high school must have at least 20% (or 250 black students) in attendance. (Schools with bilingual education programs may have a 25% minority student population including at least 12.5% black and at least 12.5% Hispanic student bodies.)

4. Each student in the system must be notified annually of his/her right to attend a desegregated school and any student requesting that right must be accommodated.[10]

The Milwaukee Plan

At the Superintendent's recommendation, the Milwaukee Board of School Directors adopted a "freedom of choice" desegregation plan with educational incentives to meet the court order requirements. The rationale for the magnet school approach was explained in the first year desegregation plan submitted to the court:

> A map of the city in three concentric circles was used to demonstrate that there would be two-way movement of students. The movement would be outward for students [i.e. blacks] whose parents desired to have them attend schools in new neighborhoods, even though economic and other circumstances might prevent the family from those neighborhoods. Inward movement would take place for those students [i.e. white] whose parents wish to have them attend alternative schools which would stress different approaches to learning. Such alternative schools would be located closer to the central section of the city.[11]

The view of innercity schools as inferior, based on historic school board policies cited in court, may have also served as a strong "push factor" in encouraging voluntary black student movement to white schools.

The Milwaukee Plan has received a great deal of attention due to

its voluntary characteristics. However, a series of policy decisions made by the School Board and Administration required large-scale movement of students from specific schools. (Some principals were given suggested quotas of students they should encourage to "volunteer" out.) In most cases, the students required to move were black. For example, school closings were concentrated in black neighborhoods even though white areas had experienced the most significant student enrollment declines and facilities in black neighborhoods were overcrowded. As a result, many previously white schools had sufficient space to accept black students required by the court order without displacing white children. Specialty schools with smaller class sizes were located in previously overcrowded facilities in black neighborhoods requiring displacement of large numbers of children from these "special" programs. Specialty programs placed in white neighborhoods were usually located in buildings with sufficiently low enrollments to allow the addition of black children, again without displacement of neighborhood residents. In several instances, the School Board voted to allow the operation of overcrowded schools rather than to require mandatory reasignments of white children.

In the first four years of the court order, sixteen schools were closed, displacing about 4,600 black students and 1,600 whites. (Also in the first year of the order approximately 3,100 black children were bused out of overcrowded inner-city facilities.) Under the Milwaukee plan few white children were subject to mandatory reassignments. This course was further facilitated through the administrative rule that students would not be involuntarily reassigned to specialty schools, although these were the only black schools targeted for white

volunteers. (In the first two years of desegregation black non-specialty schools attracted less than 3 nonblack volunteers per school.) In the four years of court-ordered desegregation, white children were mandatorily reassigned to only two schools -- 20th Street Elementary School and the Roosevelt Middle School. According to school administrators, many of the white children refused to attend these schools and transferred to parochial schools or other schools in the system. By 1979-80 both schools were out of racial balance.

Educational Options Under the Milwaukee Plan

Milwaukee Public Schools created over thirty specialty schools, offering educational alternatives during the desegregation process. (U.S. Emergency School Aid Act Funds were used for many of these programs.) On the elementary level, 26 magnet schools offer alternative modes of instruction, including six citywide specialties: School for the Creative Arts, Teacher-Pupil Learning Center, Multi-Language School, Gifted and Talented, Montessori, and Environmental Studies.[12]

Seventeen attendance area schools have different modes of instruction: continuous progress, fundamental, multi-unit/individually guided education, and open education. Three schools emphasize subject areas: health; physical education and science; and mathematics and science. All of the citywide specialty schools and 14 of the 20 attendance area specialties are racially balanced.

Middle school specialties include open education, a school for the Gifted and Talented, and multi-unit/individually guided education. On the senior high level, three schools operate citywide (King for the

College Bound, Milwaukee Tech, and Juneau Developmental High School). In addition, the other 12 high schools offer career/specialty programs for a portion of their student bodies.[13]

The specialty school programs have furthered racial integration, while generating parental enthusiasm for the educational changes initiated. A survey of parents with children in Milwaukee's racially balanced specialty schools and programs in 1978 concluded, "It is obvious from the study that parents who have been involved in the specialty programs are pleased with both the educational and social advantages of these integrated programs."[14]

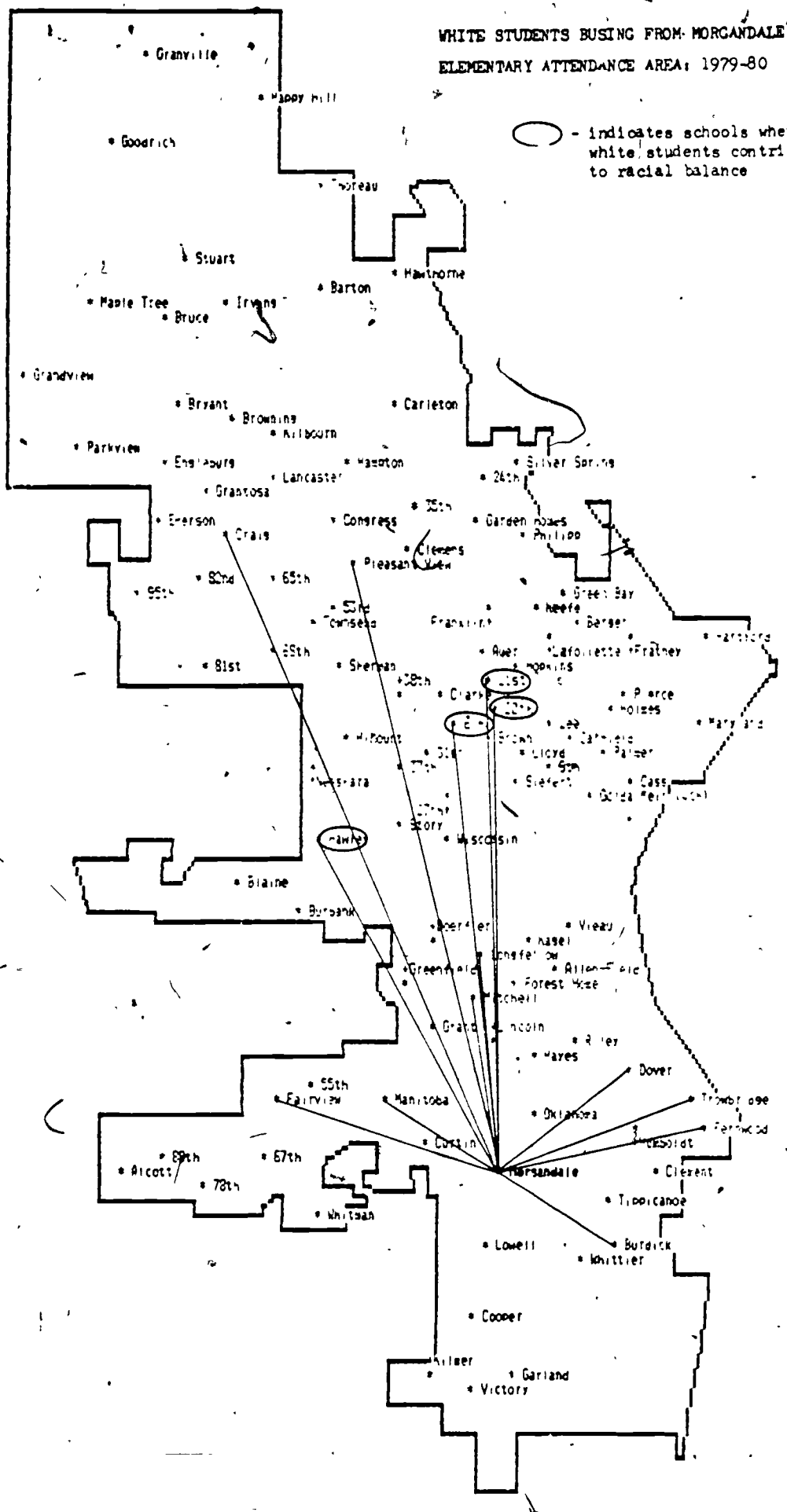
The creation of specialty schools has also forced significant numbers of black children from these "special" schools into regular buildings in other parts of the city since the majority of citywide specialty schools are in black neighborhoods. Most Milwaukee specialty schools operate significantly below building capacity. (The middle school for the Gifted and Talented and high school for the College Bound, for example, was operating at 51% of building capacity in 1979-80.)

The system also operated Bilingual-Bicultural Education centers in 10 elementary schools, 2 junior highs and 4 high schools. In 1979-80 Milwaukee Public Schools operated Superior Ability Programs in 20 schools, as well. However, these programs were segregated, with over 90% of the children enrolled white.

Milwaukee Plan Encourages Wide Choices by Parents

Any analysis of Milwaukee's desegregation plan must focus on the elaborate transportation network which supports it. The Wisconsin Chapter 220 program, passed two months after the court order was imposed, provided state payments to Milwaukee for intradistrict pupil transfers which reduced racial isolation in the schools. As a result the state government financed the full costs of transportation for many transfers promoting racial balance. Thus, Milwaukee Public Schools was able to offer parents a wide variety of choices in school assignments, without the normal fiscal restraints of busing costs. (The system allowed student transfers even when the student contributed to racial balance in his/her home school.) To illustrate, by the second year of school desegregation, students were transferring in 3,194 different exchanges among the system's 122 elementary schools. (That is, students from one elementary attendance area were bussing to 26 different schools on the average.)

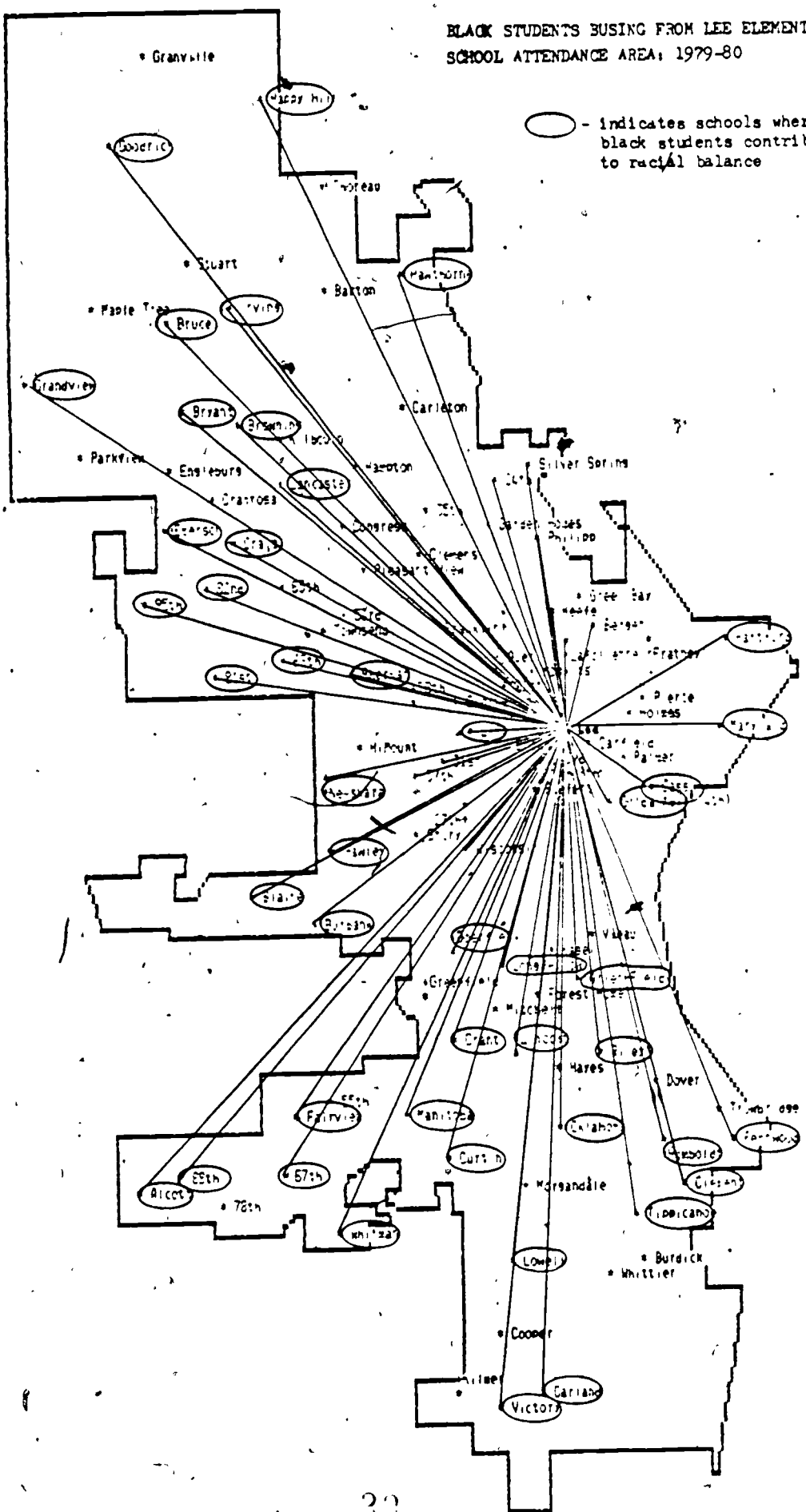
These transportation patterns vary significantly between white and black students. Maps on the following pages show typical patterns for black and white schools. In most cases, white students bus to adjacent white schools (often for exceptional education programs) and to a few specialty schools in the innercity. Black students by contrast often bus to 50 to 70 elementary schools in various parts of the city.[15]


WHITE STUDENTS BUSING FROM MORGANDALE
ELEMENTARY ATTENDANCE AREA: 1979-80
- indicates schools where white students contribute to racial balance
Granville
Goodrich
Thoreau
Stuart
Hawthorne
Barton
Maple Tree
Irvine
Bruce
Grandview
Bryant
Carleton
Browning
Kilbourn
Parkview
Englewood
Hampton
Silver Spring
Lancaster
Granrosa
Emerson
Crain
Congress
Garden Acres
Phillips
Pleasant View
Green Bay
Keefe
Berger
Consaul
Franklin
Auer
Lafayette
Palmer
Hopkins
Sherman
Clark
Pierce
Holmes
Brown
Lloyd
Stefert
Cass
Story
Wisconsin
Hawthorne
Blaine
Burbank
Greenfield
Forest Acres
Schell
Grand
Lincoln
Riley
Hayes
Dover
Fairview
Manitoba
Oklahoma
Curtin
Detroit
Morgandale
Clement
Tropicana
Alcott
Whitman
Lowell
Burdick
Whittier
Cooper
Garland
Victory

32

BLACK STUDENTS BUSING FROM LEE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AREA: 1979-80

- indicates schools where black students contribute to racial balance



Extent of Desegregation Under the Milwaukee Plan

By the 1979-80 school year, 110 schools in Milwaukee were racially balanced according to the court guidelines. Twenty-five schools remained over 70% black. Five schools, exempted from the court order, had 14-33% Hispanic populations.

MILWAUKEE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: May, 1976 - September, 1979

Grade Level	Schools in Racial Balance* May 1976	Sept 1976	Sept 1979	Total Schools Sept 1979
Elementary	16	63	84	108
Middle/Junior High	5	8	14	17
Senior High	2	3	12	15
TOTAL	23	74	110	140

*Racial balance is defined as elementary and middle schools which are 25-60% black and senior highs 20-60% black. Liberty schools serving less than 40 students are excluded from this count

Footnotes

[1]Gary Orfield, "If Wishes Were Houses Then Busing Could Stop: Demographic Trends and Desegregation Policy," The Urban Review, X (Summer, 1978), 120-121.

[2]The public school population has a higher proportion of minority persons than the city as a whole. Minority families are younger, have more school age children on the average, and have fewer children enrolled in private schools. In addition, the city's significant elderly population is predominantly white.

[3]Milwaukee Public Schools, 1980-1990 School Building and Sites Plan (Milwaukee: The Building and Sites Commission, Milwaukee Public Schools, April 24, 1980).

[4]Based on reports from the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction on "Student Transfer Program to Achieve Greater Racial Balance in Schools," 1976-77, 1977-78 and 1978-79.

[5]One district, Brown Deer, voted not to allow any new minority transfers for 1979-80 except siblings of children already in the program. Several observers said the action was motivated by a concern

that there were already "enough" minorities moving into Brown Deer. (Barabara A. Koppe, "Suburb Rethinks Integration Plan," Milwaukee Journal, March 2, 1980.)

[6]Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, "District Staff by District: School Year 1979-80" and "Ethnic Enrollment/School Staff Summary by District: School Year 1979-80," Madison, Wisconsin, 1979.

[7]See Gary Orfield, Must We Bus? Segregated Schools and National Policy (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1978.)

[8]Milwaukee Public Schools, "Mobility Report," 1975-76, 1976-77, 1977-78, 1978-79. According to school officials the accuracy of the data may vary from year to year.

[9]Armstrong v. O'Connell, Feburary 8, 1979.

[10]Armstrong v. O'Connell, Negotiated Settlement and Court Order of May 11, 1979.

[11]Milwaukee Public Schools, Preliminary Recommendations for Increasing Educational Opportunities and Improving Racial Balance Pursuant to the June 11, 1976 Court Order (Milwaukee, June 25, 1976).

[12]Citywide specialty schools have no neighborhood attendance area but are open to any students in the city. Children previously attending the school are reassigned to neighboring attendance areas.

[13]Milwaukee Public Schools, MPS Info #20, 1979.

[14]Ibid.

[15]In 1980 the state legislature eliminated the "sum sufficient" appropriation for Milwaukee's desegregation transportation costs, which may provide fiscal incentives to reduce the number of choices available to each parent.

Chapter 3

ATTITUDES OF FAMILIES PARTICIPATING IN THE CITY-SUBURBAN TRANSFER PROGRAM

School desegregation plans introduce large numbers of students to schools in racially segregated areas and disperse minority student populations throughout the community. The purpose of this section is to investigate the attitudes toward housing choices of families involved in one of the school desegregation programs operating in Milwaukee.

Farley's research in Detroit suggests that few black families prefer the role of leaders in moving into all-white neighborhoods.[1] Our survey focused on a subset of minority families in Milwaukee who have made "pioneering" school choices for their children under the Wisconsin Chapter 220 city-suburban student transfer program. Several questions were addressed:

1. How do attitudes toward desegregated school programs effect attitudes toward housing choices in school neighborhoods?
2. To what extent are minority families who "pioneer" in school desegregation willing to consider "pioneering" housing moves into predominantly white areas?
3. What barriers are perceived by minority families toward housing opportunities in suburban communities? What school experiences appear to reduce perceptions of barriers?
4. What role could subsidized housing programs play in reducing perceived barriers to housing moves into predominantly white neighborhoods? What is the level of interest by minority families in utilizing such programs?

Data Collection

In the 1979-80 school year 916 minority children were enrolled in suburban schools under the Chapter 220 program. From a list of the children participating in the program, 690 family units were identified and a sample of 112 names were selected randomly among the families. During the eight weeks of interviews, 84 families were located and 78 agreed to participate in the survey.

The addresses available for this study were ten months old. Interviews were lost almost entirely because families had moved. As a result, an extra effort was made to locate families who had moved and interviews were identified by the degree of difficulty in locating families. The last known addresses of families who could not be reached were compared to the sample group and indicate that families living in ghetto areas may be slightly overrepresented.

SAMPLE AND CHAPTER 220 POPULATION BY NEIGHBORHOOD CATEGORIES

Racial Status of Neighborhood	Sample N	Sample Percent	Total Ch. 220 Population N	Total Ch. 220 Population Percent
Ghetto	51	65.4	414	60.0
Transition-Majority Black	3	3.8	36	5.2
Transition-Majority White	5	6.4	60	8.7
Integrating	11	14.1	103	14.9
Emerging	7	9.0	66	9.6
All-White	1	1.3	4	0.6
TOTAL	78	100.0	690	100.0

The race of families surveyed reflected the racial distribution of the total population. (Although the Chapter 220 program is open to all minority children, mostly black families have participated to date.)

SAMPLE AND CHAPTER 220 POPULATION BY RACE OF CHILDREN

Race of of Children	Sample N	Sample Percent	Total Ch. 220 Population N	Total Ch. 220 Population Percent
American Indian	0	--	4	0.6
Asian American	2	2.5	8	1.1
Black	74	94.9	656	95.1
Hispanic	1	1.3	15	2.2
Other Minority	1	1.3	6	0.9
White	0	--	1	0.1
TOTAL	78	100.0	690	100.0

Since the list of Chapter 220 participants was arranged by the receiving school district, it was expected that the random selection would be evenly distributed among the districts accepting students under the Chapter 220 program.

SAMPLE AND CHAPTER 220 POPULATION BY RECEIVING SCHOOL DISTRICT

Suburban School District Pupils Attend	Sample N	Sample Percent	Total Ch. 220 Population N	Total Ch. 220 Population Percent
Brown Deer	10	12.8	87	12.8
Greendale	5	6.4	46	6.7
Nicolet + 3 Elem. Districts	23	29.5	186	27.0
Oak Creek	4	5.1	42	6.1
Shorewood	7	9.0	83	12.0
South Milwaukee	2	2.6	18	2.6
Wauwatosa	17	21.8	145	21.0
Whitefish Bay	9	11.5	68	9.8
Whitnall	1	1.3	14	2.0
TOTAL	78	100.0	690	100.0

Interviews were conducted by phone, where possible, or in person and averaged 20-30 minutes in duration. The skill and maturity of the two graduate students conducting the interviews was a major factor in the successful completion rate of surveys. (Most questions were

answered by all participants; even a question on household income was refused by only 3 respondents.) 88% of the survey respondents were female, in part because most surveys were conducted during the daytime hours.

Survey Design

A major purpose of the survey design was to examine the attitudes of respondents toward education and housing choices. One set of questions explored the basis for families volunteering their children for the Chapter 220 school program, both in terms of attraction to suburban schools and reactions to the home school. Open-ended and fixed alternative questions were used. (See Appendix A.)

Fixed alternative questions dealt with matters of quality (the quality of education, special school programs, to get away from neighborhood school), convenience (close to work, close to home, cheaper than private school, children could not attend neighborhood school), and social opportunity (racially mixed school, to be with various socio-economic backgrounds).

The effects of the experience with 220 schools were developed. Questions were somewhat repetitive to increase the opportunities to learn of concerns about the 220 experience, asking for the level of satisfaction with the school as well as specific difficulties encountered. Special circumstances were explored for those families who had taken their children out of the 220 program or planned to do so in the future. Other questions served as a bridge linking the educational experience with broader involvement with the suburban community since it was felt that increased contacts with the community

might relate to a willingness to consider moving there. Some questions focused on active roles in the school program (opportunity of parents to visit school or community, the nature of activities visited, child's participation in extracurricular activities). Other questions focused more directly upon social opportunities for the parents to get to know suburban children and for home visits between suburban and 220 children.

Another major set of questions explored the basis for housing choices. These included discussions of past moving patterns over the last 10 years, satisfaction with current home and neighborhood, likelihood of moving in the next 3-5 years, possible reasons for moving and the likely destination of future moves. Attitudes toward a housing move to the suburb attended by the family's children was explored through open-ended and fixed alternative questions. In addition, more specific questions focused on whether the family had actually looked for housing there. (Families were also asked about possible moves to city locations where their children were busing.) Two questions explored the willingness of families to move to white or integrated neighborhoods. The second was intended to identify a small group of families who were willing to see themselves as pioneers.

- Families often have different preferences for the racial make-up of their neighborhood. If you were to move, would you prefer to live in a neighborhood which is (predominately black, evenly mixed, predominately white)

- Would you be willing to move to a neighborhood in which there were only a few Black families on the block? (yes, no)

Finally, anticipating that economic factors might be an important barrier to respondents' consideration of suburban housing, the questionnaire asked how choices might be affected by removing economic considerations. (If you could live in SUBURB at the same rent

or mortgage payment you now pay, would you consider moving there?) Two questions related to specific government subsidy programs which could be used to further pro-integration housing moves:

- Milwaukee County operates a federal rent assistance program for eligible families. If you could receive a rent subsidy for housing in (SUBURB), would you be interested in moving there? (Yes, no, not applicable)

- The state is considering a housing program providing lower-interest mortgage rates to encourage housing purchases. If you could use a lower interest mortgage to move to the (SUBURB), would you be interested in moving there? (yes, no)[2]

Follow-up questions checked to see whether the use of a specific suburb was restricting the response and probed when appropriate for alternative responses.

Questions regarding propensity to move were raised in a series of ways: past housing patterns (#36), satisfaction with current home (#37a), likelihood of moving (#38), willingness to "pioneer" (#53), would consider moving to SUBURB (#[illegible]), would consider moving to SUBURB if same costs (#44), would consider moving to SUBURB if mortgage or rent subsidy were available (#60 + 59). This range allowed for both experience and attitudes to be explored. Attitudinal questions or predictions of future behavior are difficult under any circumstances. The design of this study attempted to address possible limitations through use of questions offering different approaches and different levels of response. Findings based on self-reported interest in moving must, however, be viewed with caution as predictors of actual changes in residence.

Description of the 220 Families

Survey results provide a profile of the minority families participating in the Chapter 220 city-suburban transfer program. As noted, most of the participants were black. The families, as represented by our sample of 78, are relatively small, well-educated, and of moderate incomes. Most of the families had 1-2 children 18 years of age or under.

Number of Children in Chapter 220 Families

Children in Household	Sample N	% of Total	Cum. Freq.(%)
1 child	23	29.5%	29.5%
2 children	28	35.9	65.4
3 "	16	20.5	85.9
4 "	8	10.2	96.1
5 "	2	2.6	98.7
6 "	1	1.3	100.00
TOTAL	78	100.0	

50% of the families were two-parent households. The Chapter 220 participating families also represent a well-educated group. 60% of the respondents (and 49% of their spouses) have attended or graduated from college. Only 11% have not completed high school. Income status is also higher than might be expected from the neighborhood areas, with 45% of the families making over $20,000 per year, and 21% making over $25,000 annually.[3]

ANNUAL INCOME OF FAMILIES IN 220 PROGRAM

Total Family Income	Sample N	% of Total	Cum. Freq.(%)
Under $10,000	10	13.3%	13.3%
$10,000 - 14,000	14	18.7	32.0
$15,000 - 19,999	16	21.3	53.3
$20,000 - 24,000	19	25.3	78.7
$25,000 - 29,000	12	16.0	94.7
Over $30,000	4	5.3	100.0
TOTAL	75*	100.0.	

*Three respondents did not answer question.

The Chapter 220 families are a stable group in terms of housing characteristics. Most (72%) owned their own homes; only 22 families (28%) were renters. Also, the vast majority (88%) had moved less than three times in the last 10 years. (35% had maintained the same address for over 10 years.)

Thirty-two families (41% of the total sample) are receiving government subsidies for their housing. Twenty-seven families are purchasing homes with FHA or VA mortages, 3 families are living in public housing units, 1 family is receiving Section 8 rent assistance and 1 family is receiving an FHA rent subsidy.

At least one adult was employed in all but 6 (8%) of the households interviewed; in many families both parents were employed. 51% of the adult workers were employed in the innercity of Milwaukee, 24% in other parts of the city, and 24% in suburbs surrounding the city.

MUNICIPALITIES WHERE ADULTS IN CH. 220 HOUSEHOLDS WORKED

Municipality	Responses N	% of Total Responses
City of Milwaukee:		
Innercity	40	38.8%
Southside	13	12.6
Northwest side	11	10.7
East side	7	6.8
West side	5	4.9
Sub-Total City	(76)	(73.8)
Suburbs:		
Wauwatosa	10	9.7
Oak Creek	5	4.8
West Allis	4	3.9
Glendale	1	1.0
Greenfield	1	1.0
South Milwaukee	1	1.0
Cudahy	1	1.0
New Berlin	1	1.0
Waukesha	1	1.0
Other in Wisconsin	2	1.9
Sub-Total Suburbs	(27)	(26.3)
TOTAL	103	100.0

Eleven of the adults worked in suburbs that are not participating in the Chapter 220 pupil exchange program. Of the other 15 adults working outside the central city, nine sent their children to the same suburb where they were working (eight to Wauwatosa, one to Oak Creek).

Participation in the Chapter 220 Programs

Most of the families surveyed have only one child participating in the 220 program. (The 78 families surveyed had a total of 115 children attending suburban schools. Twenty-three families also had children attending schools in the City of Milwaukee.)

NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN CHAPTER 220 PROGRAM

Children in Family Enrolled in 220	Sample Families N	% of Total	Cum Freq. (%)
1 child	51	65.4%	65.4%
2 children	19	24.3	89.7
3 "	6	7.7	97.4
4 "	2	2.6	100.0
TOTAL	78	100.0	

Although the ages of children are evenly distributed across grade school and high school populations, the majority of Chapter 220 student participants are in the elementary grades. 60% are in grades 1-6, 13% in grades 7-8, and 27% in high school. (Many suburban districts opened up spaces only at the lower grade levels initially.)

The number of years children had been in the program varied. Only a few children in our survey (6%) had been in the program since its inception in 1976.

YEARS CHILDREN WERE ENROLLED IN SUBURBAN SCHOOL

Years Child Enrolled in Suburban School	Sample Children N	% of Total	Cum. Freq. (%)
1	42	36.5%	36.5%
2	27	23.5	60.0
3	39	33.9	93.9
4	7	6.1	100.0
TOTAL	115	100.0	

The primary motivation for volunteering for the city-suburban program was for a better education. This was mentioned in the open-ended question by 72% of the respondents. A desire to get away from the neighborhood school was the second most frequent reason

volunteered. Only 1 family mentioned racial integration as a motivating factor in the open-ended question.

REASONS WHY FAMILIES VOLUNTEERED THEIR CHILDREN FOR PROGRAM
(Open-Ended Responses)

Reason Cited	Times Reasons Was Offered N	% of Responses	% of Cases
Better education	48	57.8%	71.6%
Away from local school	13	15.7	19.4
Change in local school	10	12.0	14.9
Would be bussed anyway	7	8.4	10.4
For socio-economic mix	2	2.4	3.0
For racial composition	1	1.2	1.5
For specialty program	1	1.2	1.5
Cheaper than private school	1	1.2	1.5

When respondents were presented with a list of reasons "people often give for sending their children to particular schools", additional factors were acknowledged. Although 51% of the respondents would agree that a school with different socio-economic backgrounds was important, only 32% agreed that a racially mixed school was a reason for participation in the 220 program.

REASONS WHY FAMILIES VOLUNTEERED THEIR CHILDREN FOR 220 PROGRAM
(From List of Fixed Alternatives)

Reason Listed	Families Responding Yes N	% of Total (76)
To be in a racially mixed school	24	31.6%
To be in a school with children from different socio-economic backgrounds	39	51.3
To get better education	72	94.7
Because school has a specialty program	9	11.8
To get away from neighborhood school	41	53.9
Because of uncertainties or change in local schools	29	38.2
Close to work	4	5.3
Because school was cheaper than private school	26	34.2
Because school administration said child could not attend neighborhood school	5	6.6

Specific requests for suburban school districts included other more direct factors. Schools were often chosen that were close to home or in areas with which the family was familiar. Fifteen families volunteered for the city-suburban program but stated no preference as to which suburban district their children would attend. Most of the districts requested were in the North Shore-Brown Deer area. Only five families indicated that they had requested a southside suburb. Also, most families did not know other 220 families in the city or suburbs when they volunteered for the program.

Satisfaction with the Chapter 220 Program

Families interviewed expressed high satisfaction with the Chapter 220 city-suburban program. 76% of the parents said they were very satisfied with the education their children had been receiving in the suburban schools, 22% were moderately satisfied, and only 3% were not satisfied. When asked to identify complaints they had with the school, 54 families had none.

SOURCES OF PARENTAL DISASTISFACTION WITH SUBURBAN SCHOOLS
(Open-ended Question)

Complaints Cited by Parents with Suburban School	Times Cited	
	Number	% of 78 Cases
No complaints	54	69.2%
School below expectations	8	10.3
Problems with staff	8	10.3
Problems with racial overtones	5	6.4
Transportation difficulties	4	5.1
Grades lower now	3	3.8
Suburban children unfriendly	1	1.3
Other	3	3.8

Seven families indicated that they were planning to transfer one of their children from the program -- four because they disliked the 220 school and three because they wanted to enroll their child in a specific program in Milwaukee Public Schools.

Involvement with the Chapter 220 School and Community

A majority of the parents have had frequent contact with their children's school; only 2 families reported no contact. Most parents have attended parent-teacher conferences and other school programs. Only 13 reported involvement with the PTA, and similarly, a small number (15%) reported getting to know any of the suburban parents well.

ACTIVITIES PARENTS HAVE ATTENDED IN CHAPTER 220 SUBURB
(Open Question)

Type of Activity	Frequency of Response	% of Cases (78)
Parent-teacher conference	53	67.9%
Other school program	41	52.6
Open house	17	21.8
PTA	13	16.7
Extra-Curricular activity	9	11.5
Visit friends	4	5.1
Work	3	3.8
Other	5	6.4

Most of the Chapter 220 children participated in extracurricular activities at least occasionally. 60% had visited with suburban children in their suburban homes, and 40% of the city children had entertained suburban children in their homes in Milwaukee. Distance to the community was not cited often as a problem for parent or student contacts. (The average reported bus trip for the 220 program was 35-40 minutes long, although 22% of the children ride the bus an hour or more

each way and 21% have bus trips of only 1-20 minutes.) The close proximity of the north shore, Brown Deer, and Wauwatosa schools to the black neighborhoods may mean shorter bus trips under the 220 program than for desegregation within the city.

Residential Mobility of the Chapter 220 Families

Most of the Chapter 220 families surveyed own their own homes. Many appear to be homeowners for the first time; only 8% of the respondents moved within the last ten years from a home they had previously owned.

FREQUENCY OF MOVES BY CHAPTER 220 FAMILIES

Number of Moves in Last 10 Years	Families Responding (78) N	% of Total	Cum. Freq. (5)
0	27	34.6%	34.6%
1	30	38.3	73.1
2	12	15.4	88.5
3	3	3.8	92.3
4	2	2.6	97.4
5	2	2.6	97.9
6	1	1.3	98.7
7	1	1.3	100.0
Total	78	100.1	

Residents were generally satisfied with their homes, and somewhat less satisfied with their neighborhoods. (A 1978 survey of 218 randomly selected city households showed a slightly higher level of satisfaction with present homes among a citywide population.)[4]

CH. 220 FAMILY SATISFACTION WITH PRESENT HOME AND NEIGHBORHOOD

Level of Satisfaction	With Present Home N	% of Total	With Present Neighborhood N	% of Total
Very satisfied	45	57.7%	25	32.1
Moderately satisfied	24	30.8	37	47.4
Not satisfied	9	11.5	16	20.5
Total	78	100.0	78	100.0

Most of the homeowners in our sample indicated that they were unlikely to move within the next 3-5 years, while over half of the renters were contemplating such a move.

LIKELIHOOD OF A MOVE WITHIN 3-5 YEARS

Likelihood of a Move	Homeowners N	% of Total	Renters N	% of Total
Definitely will	5	8.9%	8	36.4%
Probably will	11	19.6	6	27.3
Probably will not	10	17.9	3	13.6
Definitely will not	30	53.6	5	22.7
TOTAL	56	100.00	22	100.0

When the 30 residents who indicated a probability of moving in the next few years were asked where they would like to move next, the answers were consistent with the current patterns of black residential movement. The northwest side of Milwaukee, the destination of most black out-migration in the 1970's, was most frequently mentioned. Only four families mentioned Milwaukee County suburbs as likely destinations.

AREAS WHERE CH. 220 FAMILIES WOULD LIKE TO MOVE NEXT

Community	Families Indicating Move Likely N	% of Total (29)
Milwaukee:		
Northwest side	13	44.8%
West side	3	10.4
East side	3	10.4
Central city	1	3.4
Sub-Total City	(20)	(69.0)
Brown Deer	1	3.4
North Shore	1	3.4
Oak Creek	1	3.4
Wauwatosa	1	3.4
Outside SMSA	1	3.4
Out-of-state	4	13.8
TOTAL	29	99.8

Families seem to be motivated to move for substantially practical reasons. A number plan to buy rather than rent homes. Many are seeking a larger or better quality home. More important, however, is the desire for a better neighborhood. (The fixed list of possible responses for "reasons people give for moving" solicited similar responses to an open-ended question which preceded it.)

REASONS FOR PLANNING TO MOVE: 38 CH. 220 FAMILIES*

Reason Listed	Families Responding Yes N	% of Total Cases (38)
For change in size of residence	27	67.5%
For change in quality of the home	28	70.0
For convenience to work and shopping	6	15.0
For better neighborhood	27	67.5
To be closer to child's school	9	22.5
To buy rather than rent home	12	10.8
To be close to family or friends	2	5.0

* Question was not asked of 35 families who definitely did not plan to move. 5 missing cases.

All of the families surveyed were asked the racial composition they would prefer in the neighborhood in which they could live. Of the three choices given nearly all families indicated a preference for integrated neighborhoods.

Families often have different preferences for the racial make-up of their neighborhoods. If you were to move, would you PREFER to live in a neighborhood which is:

Predominately black	1	1.3% of total
Evenly mixed	74	94.9
Predominately white	2	2.6
(Missing Case)	1	1.2
	78	100.0

In spite of this strong preference, nearly all families indicated a willingness to "pioneer" into neighborhoods with few black families. When asked, "Would you be willing to move to a neighborhood in which there were only a few Black families on the block?" 72 (92.3% of total) answered yes, and 6 (7.7%) responded no.

A study by Farley in Detroit in 1976 found that while only 5% of the sample of black households indicated they would prefer an all-white neighborhood to other neighborhoods, 38% of the sample said they would be willing to move into an all-white neighborhood if it were the only neighborhood with the type of housing they wanted.[5] Our sample of minority families who have taken initiatives to place their children in racially isolated suburban school systems, shows a dramatically higher willingness to pioneer into all-white areas. This willingness is also consistent with the patterns of housing moves respondents have made over the past years. Thirty-six families, 47% of all families who moved within the past 10 years, made pioneering moves into

neighborhoods which were less than 10% black. Eight of these families made at least 2 pioneering moves out of the last 3 moves. Given the rapid racial turnover in Milwaukee neighborhoods, many of these families are now living in predominantly black areas of the city.

Possible Interest in Suburban Housing

Given the propensity to consider housing moves into traditionally white areas in spite of preferences for integrated housing, we also explored the interest of the Chapter 220 families in moving to suburbs where their children now attend school. Although few families indicated a suburban location as the likely choice for their next housing move, when the option of moving to the suburb was discussed, 49% of the respondents (N=38) said they would consider moving to that community. Fourteen of these families reported that they had already looked for housing in that suburb.

The attractiveness of moving to suburban areas to which their children were busing was solicited through an open-ended question. The most common response was that the suburban area represented a better neighborhood or offered a higher quality of housing.

While about half of the families said they would consider housing moves to suburban areas, the response was negative regarding segregated Milwaukee neighborhoods to which other families children were busing. All ten families busing their children to southside neighborhoods under the city desegregation plan said they would not consider housing moves there, although 8 of the ten indicated that they were open to moves to the suburban areas where their 220 children bused.

Barriers to moving to the suburb where their child(ren) attended

school were frequently recognized. The primary concern, cost of housing, was cited by 75% of the respondents. Suburban locations were also considered a distance from family and friends and limited by transportation services. Some concern was raised as well with the nearly all-white populations in these communities, and 20% acknowledged feeling some discomfort with the people in the suburb.

Some concerns varied significantly by the suburban area to which the children were busing. Families sending their children to southside suburban schools expressed greater concern for possible discrimination against blacks and discomfort with people living there. Distance from family and friends and transportation problems were of less concern in the northshore suburbs which are close to the innercity of Milwaukee. Expense was seen as less of a barrier in Brown Deer than in the other suburbs.

Interaction Between School Experiences and Interest in Suburban Housing

Significant numbers of 220 families have been pioneers in their choice of housing in the past. The participation of their children in the 220 program is an extension of that pattern. But what is the relationship between the attitudes of families toward possible pioneering housing moves to the 220 suburbs and their degree of involvement with parents and children in the 220 schools?

A series of questions explored such behavioral patterns. Interpretation is complicated by a lack of a time dimension. However, the survey results suggest that while interest in suburban housing is not affected significantly by the degree of involvement with suburban families under the program, an actual search for suburban housing is

REASONS FOR NOT MOVING TO SUBURB WHERE 220 CHILDREN ATTEND SCHOOL
(Respondents Saying Yes to a Fixed List of Alternatives

Reason Listed	North Shore N	North Shore % of 31 Cases	Southside N	Southside % of 10 Cases	Wauwatosa N	Wauwatosa % of 15 Cases	Brown Deer N	Brown Deer % of 7 Cases	Total N	Total % of 63 Cases
The housing is too expensive.	25	81%	7	70%	11	73%	4	57%	47	75%
Blacks are discouraged from living there.	6	19	7	70	1	7	--	0	14	22
I did not like the neighborhood.	3	10	3	30	2	13	2	29	10	10
I didn't think I could find a suitable home.	6	19	4	40	5	33	--	0	15	24
I wanted to remain close to my family and friends.	5	16	4	40	6	40	3	43	18	29
The area has poor transportation	5	16	5	50	3	20	3	43	16	25
I did not like the racial composition of the area.	9	26	5	50	4	27	2	29	20	32
I felt uncomfortable with the people there.	6	19	3	30	3	20	1	14	13	21
The area does not have subsidized housing.	3	10	2	20	2	13	1	14	8	13

more likely to have occurred if the family had established ties with the suburb.

When asked if they would consider moving to the suburbs, 49% of all respondents answered yes. Of those for whom their child had visited a suburban home, 52% answered yes. Of those for whom a child from the suburbs had visited their home, 53% answered yes. And of those for whom parents had frequently visited the school, 47% answered yes. None of these differences is significant.

Families active socially are somewhat more likely, however, to have looked for housing. When those willing to consider a move to the suburbs were asked if they had actually looked for housing, 37% answered yes. Of those for whom:

- a city child had visited a suburban home, 42% answered yes.
- a child from the suburbs had visited their home, 45% answered yes.
- parents frequently visited the schools, 44% answered yes.

Potential Use of Subsidized Mortgage Payments

General attitudinal questions in this survey demonstrated that the Chapter 220 respondents express a substantial willingness to be pioneers into predominantly white neighborhoods. A smaller, but still substantial group is open to considering moves to the 220 suburb where their child attends school. By far the largest barrier to suburban housing is perceived to be the expense of the housing. (75% of all families identified this factor.) Reduction of the barrier of housing costs is seen to increase the interest in housing to suburban areas. 49% (N=38) of the sample said they were willing to consider moving to the suburbs. When asked if they would consider a suburban move if

their housing costs could remain the same, 55% (N=43) said yes. And if a government mortgage subsidy were available for such a move, the number of Ch. 220 families interested in suburban housing increased to 59% (N=46).

The addition of opportunities for mortgage subsidy programs results in a positive response to suburban moves by nearly 60% of the sample. Comparisons of this result among owners and renters, by income and by the likelihood of moving within 3-5 years do not show important differences in this outcome.

A group of particular interest may be the 27 respondents (35% of the sample) who are currently participating in an FHA or VA mortgage subsidy program. Most of these families purchased their homes in the late 1960's and early 1970's. At the time they bought their homes, 60% of the families located in majority black neighborhoods, 33% in integrating or emerging mixed areas, and 7% in all-white (less than 1% black) neighborhoods. This group of homeowners exhibits the same patterns of satisfaction with current home and neighborhood as other homeowners. In many other respects they are not much different than the general interview sample. Eight probably will move within 3-5 years. Fourteen would consider moving to the suburbs. Eighteen (67%) would consider a suburban move if housing costs were the same.

Given the high percentage of homeowners in the Chapter 220 program and their willingness to consider and initiate pioneering moves into all-white areas, this population may provide a group for a state or federal mortgage subsidy program available to families whose housing moves promote racial integration.

One community, Wauwatosa, stands out as an ideal place to test a

pro-integrative mortgage program. Wauwatosa could be considered a "closed" suburb given its current racial characteristics (0.2% black). It has a similar housing stock to middle income black neighborhoods in Milwaukee but its proximity to these areas has not effected the racial character of its housing patterns. Only 2 (12%) of the Wauwatosa volunteers report having looked for housing there. However, the city is a relatively popular work site, with 10% of the employed adults in the Ch. 220 sample working there.

Seventeen families in the sample sent their children to Wauwatosa schools, and they have been very satisfied with the educational experience. Fourteen (86%) have no complaints with the schools -- a higher than average figure. When the Wauwatosa volunteers were asked about their willingness to consider a move to Wauwatosa, 7 (41%) answered affirmatively. If costs of housing were the same as they currently pay, 9 (53%) would consider such a move. If a mortgage subsidy program were available, 10 (59%) would consider relocating in Wauwatosa. Given its prominance as a work center for Milwaukee families, including minorities, it appears that a mortgage program developed in Wauwatosa would draw considerable interest among Chapter 220 families.

Potential Use of Section 8 Housing Rental Programs

At the request of HUD and local housing officials this survey also examined the potential use of the Section 8 rent assistance program (see Chapter 4) by Chapter 220 families interested in locating in suburban communities. Fourteen families in the sample (18% of the total) met the income requirements of the program, including one family

HOUSING RESPONSES OF CHAPTER 220 FAMILIES BY SUBURBAN AREA

Question Asked	Families Responding Yes by Suburban Area: Brown Deer N	Brown Deer % of 31 Cases	NorthShore N	NorthShore % of 10 Cases	SouthSide N	SouthSide % of 15 Cases	Wauwatosa N	Wauwatosa % of 7 Cases	All Families N	All Families % of 63 Cases
1. Would you consider moving to the suburb where your children are going to school?	4	40%	23	59%	4	33%	7	41%	38	49%
2. If you could live in SUBURB at same rent or mortgage payment you now pay, would you consider moving there?	5	50	24	62	5	42	9	53	43	55
3. If you could use a lower interest mortgage to move to SUBURB, would you be interested in moving there?	5	50	26	67	5	42	10	59	46	59
4. How likely is it that you will move within the next 3-5 years? Definitely or robably will move.	4	40	13	33	6	50	7	41	30	39
5. Would you be willing to move to a neighborhood in which there were only a few black families on the block?	9	90	36	92	11	92	16	94	72	92
6. Have you ever looked for housing in SUBURB where your children go to school? (Only asked of those who said they would consider a move.)	2	20	7	18	3	25	2	12	14	18
7. (Families who indicated that they had no complaints with their child's suburban school)	6	60	25	64	8	67	14	82	54	69
TOTAL RESPONDENTS	10		39		12		17		78	

now receiving rent assistance through the City of Milwaukee. (Homeowners were considered ineligible regardless of income.) This group is likely to be representative of 125 families participating in the Chapter 220 program.

All of the Section 8 eligible families expressed a willingness to consider a move into predominantly white neighborhoods, and 61% said they would consider moves to suburban areas if their housing costs could remain the same. Most families (64%) expect to move within the next 3-5 years. They are less satisfied with their current homes -- 29% are very satisfied compared to 64% of other families. There is also less satisfaction with the current neighborhood -- 14% are very satisfied, compared to 36% of the others. (The survey showed no significant differences in their participation in the activities of the Ch. 220 school or interaction with suburban residents.)

Almost all of the families eligible for the Section 8 rent assistance program (12 of the fourteen) recognized cost of housing as a barrier to suburban moves. Poor transportation and difficulty with finding housing were also likely to be identified as problems. Geographical factors were not ranked as important. Families attending suburban schools on the southside were as interested in moving to these communities as families busing their children to the northshore.

When asked if they would be interested in moving to the suburb where their children were attending school if they could receive a rent subsidy under the Milwaukee County section 8 program, 9 of the 14 said yes. This answer is consistent with other survey responses regarding pioneering and housing preferences. Examination of the Chapter 220

program alone suggests that as many as 80 minority families in the 220 program would be interested in using the county's Section 8 assistance certificates for housing in the suburbs.

Footnotes

[1]Reynolds Farley et al, "Population Trends and Residential Segregation Since 1960," Science, 59 (1977), 953-56.

[2]A variety of program objectives have been proposed. The City of Milwaukee, for example, uses tax-exempt revenue bonds to offer 6-3/4% interest mortgages to anyone who purchases a single family home or duplex in the Midtown area of Milwaukee.

[3]A 1978 housing survey of 12,000 City of Milwaukee households found only 18.5% of all households making over $20,000 per year, although this survey included elderly households who would make up a disproportionate number of households with incomes under $10,000. Department of City Development, 1978 City of Milwaukee Housing Survey Area Results (City of Milwaukee, February, 1979).

[4]Kane, Parsons & Associates, Inc., 1978 Residential Survey for the Department of City Development (Milwaukee, 1978). In this survey respondents ranked satisfaction with their present home. 52% reported being "very satisfied," 37% "fairly well satisfied," 8% "somewhat dissatisfied," and 3% "very dissatisfied."

[5]Reynolds Farley et al, "Chocolate City, Vanilla Suburbs: Will the Trend Toward Racially Separate Communities Continue?" (unpublished manuscript, 1977) cited in John M Yinger et al, "The Status of Research into Racial Discrimination and Segregation in American Housing Markets: A Research Agenda for the Department of Housing and Urban Development," Occasional Papers in Housing in Community Affairs, Vol. 6 (U.S. Department of Housing & Urban Development, December, 1979).

Chapter 4

IMPACT OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION ON HOUSING PATTERNS

In his Findings of Fact in February, 1979, Judge John Reynolds emphasized the relationship between school board actions and segregated housing patterns in Milwaukee.

> A school, as a principal and visible neighborhood entity, often acts as the central identifying institution for a neighborhood. Within an otherwise undifferentiated residential area, school boundaries tend to be the most meaningful boundaries in defining a neighborhood. Thus, the racial identifiability of a school helps to racially identify the neighborhood. This racial identifiability, in conjunction with the message conveyed by defendants' unlawful conduct that contact between blacks and whites is to be avoided, had a substantial impact on the housing patterns in Milwaukee. It contributed to the drying up of the deamnd by whites for housing in areas which, in part as a result of defendants' wrongful acts, were racially earmarked as being for blacks. Similarly, defendants' conduct contributed to the black housing demand being channeled into black residential areas of Milwaukee rather than being dispersed throughout the city.[1]

School desegregation programs introduce large numbers of students to schools in racially segregated residential areas and disperse minority populations, previously contained in ghetto areas, throughout the city. This analysis explores the pupil desegregation movement within the city and between city and suburban school districts for its possible impact on segregated housing patterns in the Milwaukee area. We addressed two major questions:

1. What movement is encouraged between neighborhoods under the Milwaukee School desegregation plan and Chapter 220 program?
2. What racial impact did school desegregation have on school populations in various neighborhoods?

Student Movement Under the City-Suburban Program

By 1979-80 twelve participating suburban school districts were accepting 916 minority students from Milwaukee under the Chapter 220 program. This program allowed a small number of city families to send their children into many suburban areas with few minority residents.

MILWAUKEE MINORITY STUDENTS ATTENDING SCHOOLS IN SUBURBAN NEIGHBORHOODS

Racial Classification of Suburban Neighborhood	# of Participating Suburban Districts	# of Students Accepted in 1979-80
Emerging (1-9% black)	3	270
All-White (Less than 1% black)	9	646
TOTAL	12	916

Most of the Milwaukee volunteers for the Chapter 220 program came from the north side of the city, with 60% of the families residing in ghetto areas. (Since the program was restricted to minority children residing in school attendance areas which were at least 30% minority, most minority families in predominantly white areas were ineligible for the program.)

MILWAUKEE MINORITY FAMILIES PARTICIPATING IN CITY-SUBURBAN TRANSFERS

Racial Classification of Home Neighborhood	# of Families Participating 1979-80	% of Total
Ghetto (More than 70% black)	414	60%
Transition-Majority Black (50-69% Bl.)	36	5
Transition-Majority White (30-49% Bl.)	60	9
Integrating (10-29% black)	103	15
Emerging (1-9% black)	66	10
All-White (Less than 1% black)	11	1
TOTAL	690	100%

138 suburban white children bus to Milwaukee Public Schools under the Chapter 220 program. Almost all are enrolled in specialty schools or high school career programs. About 50% of the white children bus into ghetto neighborhoods.

City School Desegregation

Three features of the Milwaukee Plan have important implications for residential patterns.

1. Because the plan emphasized voluntary choices, there is wide movement. Unlike pairing and clustering plans or redistricting used by many school systems, Milwaukee's desegregation plan allowed individual families to select schools (and neighborhoods) in all parts of the city to which they would send their children.

2. The plan imposed few restrictions on students leaving a home school. That is, students could bus to a different school even when they contributed to racial balance in their home school. As a result, students may be leaving neighborhoods where they contribute to racial balance.

3. The Milwaukee school system was not required to desegregate all of its buildings. Under the federal court order, all white schools must be desegregated (with a least a 20% black student population) but a gradually increasing number of facilities could remain predominantly black.

We analyzed pupil movement under the Milwaukee Plan according to the neighborhood classifications described in Chapter One in order to assess the impact of school moves on residential neighborhoods in the city.[2] The analysis focused on elementary pupil movement, as the grade levels most likely to influence family housing choices. Because data was unavailable on the actual choices made by parents, the analysis deals with student assignments, whether voluntary or mandatory. (Where possible, the school Administration accommodated parental requests. However, as noted in Chapter Two, some students--primarily blacks--were required to move from buildings which were closed, overcrowded facilities, or schools designated as specialty sites.)

The student transfer data includes all transfers including movement to exceptional education facilities and programs, enrollments in special programs which were not designed to promote racial balance (i.e. superior ability classes, bilingual education), and individually granted assignments for personal reasons. In our analysis, total transfers are discussed as well as transfers which contribute to racial balance in the receiving school (i.e. a white student transferring to a racially mixed or predominantly black school). In some cases, the transfers may have a negative impact on the home school (i.e. a white student leaving a predominantly black school) while still contributing to racial balance in the receiving school.

LOCATION OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN MILWAUKEE: 1979-80

Racial Classification of Neighborhood	# of Attendance Area Schools	Student Residing in Area	
		White	Black
Ghetto (Over 70% Black)	17	209	14,429
Transition-Maj. Black (50-69% Bl)	2	66	1,166
Transition-Maj. White (30-49% Bl)	2	111	624
Integrating (10-29% Black)	12	2,061	5,106
Emerging (1-9% Black)	26	6,585	2,129
All-White (Less than 1% Black)	45	11,298	232
TOTAL	104	20,330	23,686

Systemwide, one-half of all black elementary school children left their neighborhood schools in 1979-80. A majority of the black children desegregating schools in white neighborhoods come from ghetto areas. However, about 1/3 of black children affecting Milwaukee's desegregation plan come from residentially integrating neighborhoods. Unfortunately, under the Milwaukee Plan, 63% of all black children residing in residential neighborhoods that are only 10-29% black (integrating), are bused from those neighborhoods to other schools.[3]

BLACK CHILDREN LEAVING THEIR NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS: 1979-80

Racial Status of Home Neighborhood	Black Children Leaving Home School		Black Children Busing for Racial Balance*	
	Number	%#	Number	%#
Ghetto	7,194	50%	6,203	43%
Transition-Majority Black	427	37	324	28
Transition-Majority White	184	30	163	26
Integrating	3,220	63	3,005	59
Emerging	659	31	609	29
All-White	57	25	49	21
TOTAL	11,741	50%	10,353	44%

*Student transfers to schools where student does not contribute to racial balance are excluded (i.e. black student transfer to non-specialty school in ghetto area). Of the 7,194 black students leaving schools in ghetto neighborhoods, 6,203 are going to schools where they contribute to racial balance (991 are going to other predominantly black schools.)

#Percent of Total in Neighborhood

The largest percentages of white children leaving their neighborhood schools under the Milwaukee Plan come from the blackest neighborhoods. 75% (157 children) of white children living in the ghetto chose an option outside of this area (with about half busing to outlying white schools.) In transitional neighborhoods which are still majority white, 39% (43 youngsters) of white children bus out of the neighborhood schools Even in residentially integrating neighborhoods (10-29% black), 1/3 of all white children are busing from the neighborhood schools, although only about half of these children are busing to schools where they contribute to racial balance.

By contrast, in the residentially segregated all-white neighborhoods, only 22% of white children are leaving the neighborhood school and about 8% of the children are busing to enhance racial balance. (Note; pupil transfer data includes transfers for exceptional education programs which may account for many of the

non-integrative moves. Other students are allowed to transfer to a school where they do not contribute to racial balance only if sufficient numbers of black students have transferred to that school to insure an integrated student body in spite of their presence.)

WHITE CHILDREN LEAVING THEIR NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS: 1979-80

Racial Status of Home Neighborhood	White Children Leaving Home School		White Children Busing for Racial Balance	
	Number	%*	Number	%*
Ghetto	157	75%	98	47%
Transition-Majority Black	47	71	36	55
Transition-Majority White	43	39	27	24
Integrating	685	33	359	17
Emerging	1,225	19	484	7
All-White	2,539	22	889	8
TOTAL	4,696	23%	1,893	9%

*Percent of Total in Neighborhood

Directions of Black Student Movement

The Milwaukee Plan allows black students to transfer to all parts of the city, and black children are introduced into all of the formerly white schools. The map on page 28 shows the typical pattern of black movement from a ghetto area.

About half (48%) of black students leaving schools in integrating neighborhoods (10-29% black) bus to schools on the west and northwest sides of the city, in the path of present black migration patterns. 31% attend schools on the intensely segregated (white) southside, 12% bus to ghetto schools (5% to segregated innercity buildings and 7% to integrated specialty schools).

Relatively few black children (21%) are busing from schools in

emerging neighborhoods (with 1-9% black populations) or all-white areas. Those students who bus (which may include exceptional education youngsters) generally attend nearby schools in these outlying areas.

Directions of White Student Movement

The majority of white children busing to promote racial integration are transferring to schools in ghetto (over 70% black) or transitional neighborhoods which are majority black (50-69% black) for specialty school programs.

WHITE ELEMENTARY STUDENTS BUSING FOR RACIAL BALANCE: 1979-80

Racial Status of Receiving School Neighborhood	Number of White Children Busing to: Specialty Schools, Citywide Enrollments	Other Schools
Ghetto	1,121	7
Transition-Majority Black	223	8
Transition-Majority White	0	26
Integrating	238	270

As noted, only about 9% of all white elementary school students are busing to promote racial integration under the Milwaukee Plan, and the percentage of volunteers is lowest from the all-white neighborhoods. Because of declining enrollments and few school building closings in white neighborhoods, black children were accommodated in these schools without requiring displacement of neighborhood white children. Therefore, most white children are offered an integrated education at their neighborhood school, and bus only if they prefer a specialty option.

About 1/3 of white children are busing out of integrated neighborhoods. Where do these children go? 32% go into ghetto

neighborhoods to take advantage of the specialty schools created since the federal court order. 16% attend other schools in residentially integrated neighborhoods. The majority, 54% attend schools in segregated white areas. (36% go to schools on the far west and Northwest side of Milwaukee, 12% go to schools on the southside, and 2% attend schools on the city's east side.)

Impact of School Desegregation on Neighborhoods in Racial Transition

Citywide school desegregation can provide stability for neighborhoods in racial transition, insuring that the school will remain racially balanced even as the racial composition of the neighborhood changes.[4] What is the experience in Milwaukee?

Neighborhoods in Transition-Majority Black

Three elementary schools were located in neighborhoods which were 50%-74% black. All three were predominantly black prior to the court order (Elm-89% black, Holmes-88%, Palmer-91% black). Elm was closed as a neighborhood school in 1976 and opened as an integrated citywide specialty school for the creative arts. Holmes and Palmer attracted only 8 white students under the Milwaukee voluntary plan and remain 70% and 90% black, respectively.

Neighborhoods in Transition-Majority White

Two elementary schools, Silver Spring and 24th Street, are located in transitional-majority white neighborhoods (30-49% black) and prior to the court order were 63% and 58% black., Together they attracted only 27 white student volunteers, while about 40% of the neighborhood white children elected to leave these facilities. As a result, the schools although located in predominantly white

neighborhoods, are both over 80% black.

Orfield's argument that school desegregation may provide stability for changing neighborhoods does not hold true in Milwaukee. Under the "voluntary choice" plan, transitional neighborhoods appear to be the first to suffer in the popularity contests. Many white families with public school children seized the opportunity to leave the neighborhood schools, often for schools in whiter neighborhoods. Black children who remained in the neighborhood, which still may be majority white, were subjected to segregated schools.

Integrating Neighborhoods

The second victim of the "voluntary" desegregation plan, at least in Milwaukee, is the residentially integrating neighborhood. One-third of the white children and nearly 2/3 of black children left schools in these areas for other facilities. Many black children left these schools for areas in the path of present black migration trends. Others were bused to segregated neighborhoods on the southside, an area which doesn't appear open to "pioneering" integration moves. The one area of the city with the potential for integrated neighborhood schools has the lowest proportion of neighborhood children attending its facilities.

A proportion of black students would be required to leave schools in integrated neighborhoods under any type of desegregation plan. These schools are generally overcrowded and can accommodate only 80% of the students residing in the area. (The integrating neighborhoods are the only areas of the city showing student population increases at this time.) Further, the public school populations have a higher percentage of black children than the population as a whole.

While these neighborhoods are from 10-29% black, schools range from 25-78% black. Even schools that could meet the court requirements with their neighborhood students are busing significant numbers of black students out of their schools. And, unfortunately for housing integration, schools with higher percentages of blacks are busing out both black and white neighborhood children.

An example may demonstrate the devastating effect of the Milwaukee type plan on integrating neighborhoods. 38th Street Elementary School has a neighborhood school population of 1,361 children, 79% of which are black. Given a school capacity of 840 spaces, the maximum number of neighborhood children could have been accomodated under the court order if all white children remained in the school and 100 additional white children were brought in. Then 500 black children from the neighborhood (about half of all black children in the district) could have been served. Instead, the school administration bused out 866 black children (about 80% of the neighborhood black student population) as well as 100 neighborhood white children, and filled the school to only 55% of building capacity. The payoff? Six outlying white schools were brought into racial balance by the 38th Street black children bused out.

Impact of School Desegregation on Segregated White Neighborhoods

The areas of the city which have retained neighborhood schools for the majority (over 75%) of their children are all less than 10% black; most are less than 1% black. To the extent that neighborhood schools are valued by residents and enhance the housing marketability of an area, white families residing in segregated neighborhoods appear

to have benefited most under the Milwaukee Plan. Clearly, the large scale busing and resulting neighborhood disinvestment in schools in integrated areas may encourage residents to consider housing moves to the outlying areas where their children are now busing.

Addressing Attitudes Toward Ghetto Neighborhoods

Another area of concern in analyzing the impact of the Milwaukee School Plan on neighborhoods concerns the message conveyed to residents as to the desirability of various neighborhoods. In his findings, Judge Reynolds emphasized the effect of school board actions and attitudes on housing choices made by Milwaukeeans.

> Defendants' discriminatory conduct conveyed a clear message to the entire Milwaukee community that a governmental institution was intentionally protecting white students from attending schools with large numbers of black students and from being taught by black teachers. Milwaukeeans were taught lessons of racial prejudice and hostility which molded and reinforced prejudicial attitudes. These attitudes influenced the housing decisions of black and white Milwaukeeans. Had the defendants operated the school system in a racially neutral manner, Milwaukeeans would have received a different message--that a governmental institution was approving treatment of blacks and whites on a equal basis. Defendants, by direct example, would have taught Milwaukeeans lessons of racial tolerance and acceptance which would have formed and reinforced positive racial attitudes. There is a substantial probability that more Milwaukeeans would have made housing choices which would have resulted in much greater housing desegregation and, in turn, much greater school desegregation.[5]

What does the Milwaukee Plan's marketing now convey to potential homeowners and renters? First, the plan capitalizes on and encourages black families to consider all-white neighborhoods as desirable places to send their children. Volunteer rates among black families appear to be very high, even into neighborhoods with reputations as being hostile to blacks. The largely one-way busing patterns suggest that the most attractive school locations can be defined by the predominantly white

character of their neighborhoods. Some critics argue that large-scale voluntary movement is only possible in the future if blacks continue to view their neighborhood schools as inferior.

If this message is conveyed to black parents, what message has the Milwaukee Plan given to white parents? The Board's actions in refusing to mandatorily move white students (even from overcrowded schools) to schools in black neighborhoods suggests a separate message addressed to white parents -- that no white children should be <u>required</u> to attend schools in black (i.e. inferior) neighborhoods. Even white volunteers are sought only for schools which have converted to "specialty" schools.

Footnotes

[1]Armstrong v. O'Connell, February 8, 1979.

[2]This analysis is based on documents prepared by the Milwaukee Public Schools as of September 21, 1979: School Enrollment by Receiving School, School Enrollment by Sending Attendance Area, and MPS Official Fall Enrollment Report.

[3]Because the black population of Milwaukee is on the average younger than the white population with more schoolage children enrolled in public schools, schools in integrating neighborhoods have higher proportions of black children than the neighborhood as a whole. However, as the text below indicates more black students than required by the court order are bused from integrating neighborhoods to accommodate white student movement from these schools.

[4]Orfield, Must We Bus?

[5]Armstrong v. O'Connell, May 11, 1979.

Chapter 5

IMPACT OF FEDERALLY SUBSIDIZED RENTAL PROGRAMS ON RACIAL BALANCE

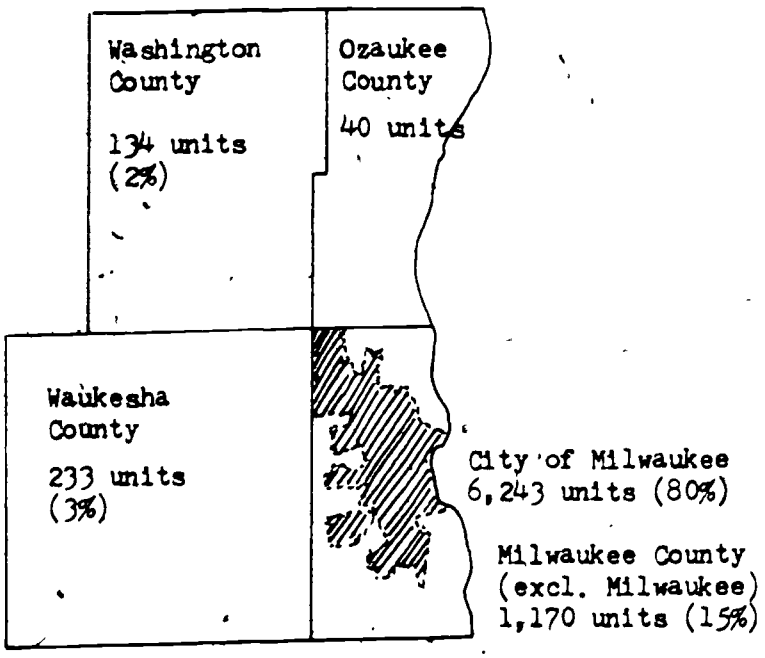
Shortly after the court order to desegregate Milwaukee schools was issued, Ted Seaver, a staff assistant in the Office of the Mayor of Milwaukee, proposed linking school desegregation planning to a government strategy for housing integration. Acknowledging the alarming rate of white population loss in Milwaukee, the movement of jobs and industry to the suburbs and increasing concentration of the poor and minorities within the city, Seaver argued that the community should "view the need to comply with the court order as a catalytic event to create the kind of institutional change in housing and education that will reverse the trendlines and result in an economically and socially balanced metropolitan area."[1] The Balanced Communities Plan recommended that rent assistance programs, home ownership subsidies, changes in zoning regulations and property tax subsidies all be used to encourage families to move into previously segregated neighborhoods where their children could attend integrated schools.

Local, state and federal housing officials declined to initiate such actions as Milwaukee began its school desegregation planning. This section analyzes the racial impact of the major federal housing programs operating in the county, in the absence of a stated commitment to racial integration. While representing a very small portion of the total housing stock in Milwaukee County, these programs have potential for breaking up traditional segregated housing patterns and set a tone

for the community regarding the value of integrated (or segregated) housing.

As of January 1, 1980, there were 7,820 units of federally subsidized rental housing for families in the Milwaukee SMSA. 80% of these units were located in the City of Milwaukee and 15% in the Milwaukee County suburbs. Together Ozaukee, Washington, and Waukesha Counties provided only 407 units of subsidized housing [2]

Govt. Subsidized Rental Housing for Families - 7,820 Units



This housing is provided through a variety of federal programs, including the Section 8 housing assistance payments program (for new, rehabilitated and existing units), traditional public housing, Section 221(d)(3) multi-family rental housing for low and moderate income households, and Section 236 rental housing for low and moderate income families.

Several housing programs have potential in complementing school

desegregation plans, particularly given the stronger commitment to expanding housing opportunities for minorities and lower-income families under the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974. Community Development Block Grant applications require housing assistance plans which consider the housing needs of both current and future low-income residents. The federal objectives of the Section 8 rent assistance program include promoting economic integration and decentralized housing opportunities.

This analysis of housing programs in Milwaukee County considers the two largest rental programs now in operation: Section 8 existing housing and traditional public housing. The racial impact of these programs is assessed in terms of the segregated housing patterns in the county and the correlations between student movement for desegregation and family housing choices.

Section 8 Rent Assistance

The Section 8 rent assistance program was created by the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974. Under this program, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) pays the difference between what a lower-income household can afford and the fair market rent for an adequate housing unit. Section 8 housing must meet certain standards of safety and sanitation, and rents for these units must fall within the range of fair market rents as determined by HUD. The rental assistance may be used in existing, new or substantially rehabilitated units. Local public housing authorities administer the existing housing program, certifying eligible tenants, inspecting the units the tenants find to rent, and contracting with landlords for payment.

SUBSIDIZED RENTAL HOUSING INVENTORY: MILWAUKEE COUNTY

Community	Total Subsidized Housing	Total Elderly Units	Family Housing					Total Family Housing Units
			Section 8 New	Section 8 Existing	Sec. 236	Public Housing	Sec. 221(d)(3)	
Bayside	0	0	--	--	--	--	--	0
Brown Deer	122	106	16	--	--	--	--	16
Cudahy	106	106	--	--	--	--	--	0
Fox Point	0	0	--	--	--	--	--	0
Franklin	112	112	--	--	--	--	--	0
Glendale	107	67	40	--	--	--	--	40
Greendale	220	220	--	--	--	--	--	0
Greenfield	345	171	--	--	174 *	--	--	174
Hales Corners	56	56	--	--	--	--	--	0
MILWAUKEE	13,256	7,013	355	1,832	1,164 *	2,258	634 *	6,243
Oak Creek	422	318	--	--	104	--	--	104
River Hills	0	0	--	--	--	--	--	0
St. Francis	0	0	--	--	--	--	--	0
Shorewood	430	430	--	--	--	--	--	0
South Milwaukee	203	101	42	--	--	60	--	102
Wauwatosa	210	186	24	--	--	--	--	24
West Allis	601	316	--	534	--	--	--	534
West Milwaukee	0	0	--	--	--	--	--	0
Countywide Programs	850	316	--	534	--	--	--	534
TOTAL Milw. Co.	17,040	9,627	537	2,482	1,442	2,318	634	7,413

*Some of these units received subsidies under other programs as well.

Source: Inventory of Federally Assisted Rental Housing: State of Wisconsin, compiled by the Wisconsin Housing Finance Authority, as of January 1, 1980. The Inventory includes all units completed and/or under construction as of January 1, 1980, and Section 8 existing with executed HAP contract or Annual Contributions Contract as of January 1, 1980.

(Tenants execute separate leases with landlords to pay their share of the rent.)[3]

Section 8 was designed to provide dispersal of housing opportunities for low-income families, including minority families and households headed solely by females. The regulations specify that public housing authorities (PHA's):

> are encouraged to promote greater choice of housing opportunities by:
>
> (1) seeking participation of owners in any area in which the PHA has determined that it is not legally barred from entering into contracts (with the owners of housing)
>
> (2) advising families of their opportunities to lease housing in all such areas,
>
> (3) cooperating with other PHA's by issuing Certificates to families already receiving the benefit of Section 8 housing assistance who wish to move from the operating area of one PHA to another, and
>
> (4) developing administrative arrangements with other PHA's in order to permit Certificate Holders to seek housing in the broadest possible area. In any geographic area established for the purpose of allocating funds, HUD will give the preference in funding to PHA's which provide families the broadest geographical choice of units.[4]

The Housing Authority is responsible for "compliance...with equal opportunity requirements including efforts to provide opportunities for recipients to seek housing outside areas of economic and racial concentration."[5]

In spite of these regulations, HUD has not required development of a coordinated program for Milwaukee County or cooperative efforts to insure that eligible families are provided the "broadest geographical choice of units." In Milwaukee County certificates for Section 8 rent assistance are available from three separate governmental jurisdictions

(Milwaukee County, the City of Milwaukee, and the City of West Allis) and are not transferable among jurisdictions.

The Section 8 Program in Milwaukee County

Milwaukee County operates a Community Development Block Grant Program as an "urban county" on behalf of 15 suburban municipalities. (Milwaukee, West Allis and Wauwatosa have populations greater than 50,000 and are eligible to receive their own CDBG entitlement grants.[6] River Hills, the wealthiest suburb in the county, has chosen not to participate in the program.) As part of their CBDG applications, the county and its cooperating communities are required to submit a Housing Assistance Plan, which details provisions for lower-income housing in the participating communities. The county has avoided outlining specific affirmative action programs in the HAP by arguing that there are no concentrations of minorities in the communities involved. (In 1979, the County estimated that there were 360 minority households in the participating communities, representing 0.52% of all households. Only 49 of these households were estimated to be in need of housing assistance.[7] At the same time the City of Milwaukee's Housing Assistance Plan identified 16,700 minority households in need of housing assistance, including 15,300 families and 1,400 elderly households.)[8]

Initially the county only served suburban residents, although eligible families could locate anywhere in Milwaukee County including the City of Milwaukee. In 1978 the program was opened up to City of Milwaukee residents.[9] However, the county maintained two waiting lists for applicants and all suburban applicants were served before

lower-income families on the city waiting list were contacted.[10] (In September, 1980 the Metropolitan Milwaukee Fair Housing Council initiated a lawsuit against Milwaukee County and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. In its complaint, the Council charged that the dual waiting lists had been "deliberately maintained in order to give suburban applicants, who are almost exclusively white, preference over the applicants on the other waiting list, a substantial number of whom are minority households."[11] They also charged that the county had refused to affirmatively market its program to city residents by not listing the program number in the telephone directory, not publishing a promotional brochure since 1976 when the program was closed to Milwaukee residents, and making no use of minority media in the promotion of the program.)

We analyzed the locations of families receiving rent assistance subsidies through Milwaukee County for one reporting period--the last half of 1979. Of 331 contracts signed through Milwaukee County, 102 certificates went to families with minors. (Elderly, disabled and handicapped persons were also served under the program.) 89 white families received certificates--75% for suburban housing, 25% for units in the City of Milwaukee. Twelve black families were served -- all for housing in the City of Milwaukee. No Hispanic families with children were served. One Native American family located in a southside suburb.

FAMILIES USING MILWAUKEE COUNTY RENT CERTIFICATE: 12/79[12]

Location of Units	Families With Minors Placed During Reporting Period			
	Total	White	Black	Native American
Cudahy	18	17	--	1
Glendale	1	1	--	--
Greendale	9	9	--	--
Greenfield	7	7	--	--
Hales Corners	1	1	--	--
Oak Creek	1	1	--	--
St. Francis	4	4	--	--
Shorewood	2	2	--	--
South Milwaukee	14	14	--	--
Wauwatosa	6	6	--	--
West Allis	5	5	--	--
Sub-Total SUBURBS	68	67	0	1
City of Milwaukee	34	22	12	--
PROGRAM TOTAL	102	89	12	1

96% of the 89 white families receiving county certificates are located in all-white areas (less than 1% black) and the remaining families are in areas less than 10% black. Half of the 12 black families served are in ghetto areas, while 4 are in emerging neighborhoods and 2 in transitional-majority white areas.

LOCATION OF MILWAUKEE COUNTY FAMILIES RECEIVING RENT ASSISTANCE: 12/79

Racial Status of Neighborhood	Race of Family Occupying Unit		
	White	Black	Native American
Ghetto (over 70% black)	--	6	--
Transition-Majority Black (50-69% BL)	--	--	--
Transition-Majority White (30-49% BL)	--	2	--
Integrating (10-29% Black)	--	--	--
Emerging (1-9% Black)	4	4	--
All-White (less than 1% Black)	85	--	1
TOTAL	89	12	1

Several factors may account for the high level of racial segregation in the county program. Many tenants rent their units in place and their choices represent existing segregative patterns of the community. Because of the dual waiting lists, city families (including minorities) are not encouraged to seek suburban housing as a condition for participation in the program. During an interview for this project, the head of the county's housing program stated that when city families express an interest in suburban housing, he encourages them to look at other neighborhoods within the City of Milwaukee.

The Section 8 Program in the City of Milwaukee

The City of Milwaukee receives Community Development Block Grant funds as an entitlement community. In its Housing Assistance Plan it identified the particular problems of lower-income families in securing adequate housing.

> Black households make up a disproportionate share of the households in need of financial assistance. While composing only 15.2% of the total households in the City, Black households represented 37.9 per cent of the households in need. Among the Black households, the need is particularly great for small family and large family rental units. This is indicated by the fact that an estimated 52 percent (11,203 of 21,504) of the

small rental households in need are Black households. Black households make up 53.1 percent of the large family rental households in need (2,515 of 4,740).[13]

State legislation passed in 1969 specifically prevents the City of Milwaukee Housing Authority from operating in other municipalities or cooperating with other housing authorities, although 1937 legislation permits this cooperation for all other housing authorities in the state.[14] This law has prevented Milwaukee from initiating a joint Section 8 rent assistance program with Milwaukee County or from building public housing in the suburbs. As a result, Section 8 housing certificates issued by the City of Milwaukee can only be used for housing within the municipal boundaries. (State law does allow the county government to operate in the City of Milwaukee as well as the suburbs or to contract with the Milwaukee Housing Authority to provide services in the city or county.)

For the last half of 1979, 1,436 families with minors were certified by the City of Milwaukee for Section 8 rent assistance subsidies. 81% of the families served were black, 16% were white, 2% were Hispanic and 1% were Native Americans and Asian Americans.

FAMILIES USING CITY OF MILWAUKEE RENT CERTIFICATES 1/80[15]

Racial Status of Neighborhood	Race of Family Occupying Unit			
	White	Black	Hispanic	Other
Ghetto (over 70% black)	10	482	1	2
Transition-Maj. Black (50-69% Black)	1	41	1	--
Transition-Maj. White (30-49% Black)	5	88	--	1
Integrating (10-29% Black)	27	241	7	3
Emerging (1-9% Black)	60	275	5	2
All-White (less than 1% Black)	132	34	15	3
TOTAL	235	1,161	29	11

More families in the City program made pro-integration housing choices than in the Milwaukee County or West Allis programs. Over half of all black families served located in majority white neighborhoods. However, 82% of all white families located in neighborhoods less than 10% black (with 56% in neighborhoods less than 1% black.)

City housing officials attribute the lack of dispersal of families in the Section 8 program to the unwillingness of households to move to different units. (A survey in June of 1978 showed that 62% of all families receiving Section 8 subsidies remained in the housing unit they had occupied prior to the program.) The program offers no payment for moving costs and provides minimal assistance in locating eligible apartments. Further, minority families seeking housing units may encounter racial discrimination as well as unwillingness of landlords to participate in a government subsidy program.

City of West Allis Section 8 Program

The City of West Allis receives entitlement funds under the Community Development Block Grant Program. Its Housing Assistance Plan, like that of Milwaukee County, does not address the need to correct minority participation in its housing programs because:

> the total minority population in the City of West Allis is only approximately .3% and there is no significant concentration of even this small amount in any given area of the city....There have never been conditions which have limited minority participation or benefits in the past, and, therefore, no actions have been necessary to correct any such conditions.[16]

The City provides a Section 8 rent assistance program for its residents. Of the 134 total certificates reported for West Allis for the semi-annual reporting period as of November, 1979, 52 units went to

families with children. All certificates were used in the all-white neighborhoods of West Allis and all went to white families.[17]

Overview of the Section 8 Rent Assistance Program

When the three governmental programs for Section 8 rent assistance are considered together, the racial impact is negative. Few black families are served by the Milwaukee County program, and West Allis placed no minority applicants in the second half of 1979.

MILWAUKEE COUNTY FAMILIES CERTIFIED FOR RENT ASSISTANCE, 2nd Half of 1979

Administering Govt Unit	Families with Minors Served by Section 8 Programs			
	White	Black	Other Minority	Total
Milwaukee County	89	12	1	102
City of Milwaukee	235	1,161	40	1,436
City of West Allis	52	—	—	52
TOTAL	376	1,173	41	1,590

All white families served by the Milwaukee County and West Allis programs located in segregated white neighborhoods and 89% of white families in the City of Milwaukee program stayed in neighborhoods less than 10% black.

LOCATION OF WHITE FAMILIES SERVED BY SECTION 8 RENT ASSISTANCE, 2nd Half of 1979

Racial Status Of Neighborhood	Number of Families With minors by Administering Govt. Unit			Total Families
	Milwaukee County	Milwaukee	West Allis	
Ghetto (Over 70% black)	—	10	—	10
Transition-Maj. Black	—	1	—	1
Transition-Maj. White	—	5	—	5
Integrating	—	27	—	27
Emerging	4	60	—	64
All-White	85	132	52	269
TOTAL	89	235	52	376

Of the 12 black families served by Milwaukee County, half located in neighborhoods over 70% black; the others were in transitional or emerging areas. In the City of Milwaukee, over half of the black families located in majority white neighborhoods. No black families located suburban housing under the three programs.

Traditional Public Housing in Milwaukee County

The City of Milwaukee is the only governmental unit to offer HUD-subsidized public housing for lower-income familes.[18] This program continues to be the largest housing program operated in the central city for lower-income households with children. By state statute all of these units are located within the municipal boundaries of the city.

The Milwaukee Housing Authority operates 5 apartment complexes

with family housing as well as 246 units of individual single family and duplex homes scattered throughout the city. Three of the large projects are located in ghetto areas (over 70% black): Highland Park, Hillside and Lapham. All are racially segregated.[19]

Two projects are located in integrating neighborhoods on the northwest side of the city. These projects have housed an increasing number of black families since 1975.

MILWAUKEE HOUSING PROJECTS IN INTEGRATING NEIGHBORHOODS[20]

Project	Number of Units	Black Families as % of Total 1975	1979
Parklawn	518	42.1%	69.9%
Westlawn	726	37.4	53.3

The school desegregation plan may have had an effect on housing interest for at least one of these projects since the elementary school serving Westlawn draws black students from innercity neighborhoods. The change in racial composition of the apartment complexes may also result from several non-school factors:

1. A general increase in black family migration to the northwest side of Milwaukee.
2. An increase in the proportion of black families seeking subsidized housing assistance in the city.
3. A change in housing authority policy from a tenant selection policy which asked housing applicants to select a specific project waiting list to a system which required the housing authority to offer an applicant the next available unit regardless of stated locational preference.[21]

Impact of School Desegregation on Children in Public Housing Apartments

Families residing in Hillside and Lapham housing projects must send their children to racially segregated neighborhood schools or bus them to outlying facilites. The Highland Park project is served by a segregated black attendance area school. MacDowell, a Montessori specialty school, is also in the neighborhood but serves a citywide population. This school draws most of its students from outside the neighborhood and accommodates only 6% of the neighborhood black children and 5 of the 56 white children living in the area.

The schools serving Parklawn (Congress Elementary) and Westlawn (Lancaster Elementary) are both racially balanced. Congress serves mostly neighborhood children, including youngsters from the Parklawn apartments. Lancaster receives about half of its total students from minority neighborhoods.

Milwaukee's Scattered Site Housing Program

The City of Milwaukee's scattered site housing program has been in existence since 1968, with the Authority's purchases supported by a combination of HUD subsidies and Milwaukee Housing Authority funds. Officials initiated the program in order to get away from concentrating families in one or more areas of the city and to avoid the stigma associated with some large public housing projects. By 1979 the Milwaukee Housing Authority had 246 units scattered throughout 55 of the city's 218 census tracts. About one-half of the units were located in black neighborhoods, one-fourth in integrating and emerging areas, and one-fourth in segregated white areas.

LOCATION OF MILWAUKEE SCATTERED SITE PUBLIC HOUSING: 1979

Racial Status of Neighborhood	Number of Units	Per Cent of Total
Ghetto (Over 70% black)	108	44%
Transition-Majority Black (50-69% black)	5	2
Transition-Majority White (30-49% black)	2	1
Integrating (10-29% black)	37	15
Emerging (1 - 9% black)	33	14
All-White (Less than 1% black)	61	24
TOTAL	246	100%

In 1975 prior to the school desegregation court order 68% of black families in scattered site housing lived in ghetto neighborhoods and 63% of white families lived in segregated white (less than 1% black) areas. In fact, of all black and white families in scattered site units, only 22% of the tenants (N=43) contributed to racial balance in the neighborhoods in which they resided. 78% of the housing locations of black and white tenants reflected the segregated housing patterns of the private market.

We analyzed housing patterns after the court order was implemented to see if family locations changed as a result of the school desegregation experience. They did not.

Only about 1/3 of the units changed occupants in the period from 1976 to 1979. Of these the majority (68%) were occupied by tenants of the same race as the prior occupants. In 32% (N=24) of the units the race of the tenants changed. Half of these changes furthered racial segregation in the private market (N=12), 4 were race neutral, and 8 enhanced racial balance of the surrounding neighborhoods. As a result of these moves and occupants for new units, the number of white families in segregated white areas increased, as did the number of black families in ghetto areas.

FAMILIES IN SCATTERED SITE HOUSING: 1975 and 1979[22]

Racial Status of Neighborhood	Black Families 1975	Black Families 1979	White Families 1975	White Families 1979
Ghetto	86	92	3	3
Transition-Maj. Black	4	4	1	1
Transition-Maj. White	--	--	1	1
Integrating	23	28	6	6
Emerging	12	13	16	17
All-White	3	3	45	49
TOTAL*	128	140	72	77

*Scattered site projects were also occupied by 20 Hispanic families (21 in 1979), 2 Native American (1 in 1979), 1 Oriental family and 1 other minority family.

The scattered site housing program has a high potential for promoting racial balance since units are distributed throughout the city. Several policies appear to hinder racial mixing, however:

1. Two-thirds of the housing units are located in segregated rather than racially mixed neighborhoods. Therefore, most families are asked to consider a racial move into segregated neighborhoods. Such choices may be far more difficult for families than options into racially mixed areas.
2. The "freedom of choice" plan used by the Milwaukee Housing Authority until 1980 allowed applicants to list their choices of housing locations, rather than requiring the Housing Authority to notify eligible families of the next available unit. Few units have changed tenants since the Housing Authority revised its tenant selection plan.
3. The low turnover in scattered site housing is due in part to the high number of families who are overincome who have been allowed to remain in subsidized units. In 1979, 88 of

the housing units were occupied by families whose income exceeded the income limits established by HUD. This represented 36% of the occupied units. If these units were made available to eligible low-income families on a first come first serve basis, substantial integration might be achieved over a relatively short period of time.

Relationship Between Scattered Site Housing and School Desegregation

In 1975, 77% (N=185) of the families living in scattered site public housing did not contribute to racial balance in their neighborhood schools. 17% of the families (N=41) did contribute to racial integration. (Most of these families were Hispanic.) 6% (N=15) of the families had a neutral impact.

Twenty-four scattered site units changed race since the federal court order of 1976. Ten of these changes (42%) had a positive impact on racial balance in the neighborhood school, 14 (58%) did not.

What is the potential for school integration under the scattered site housing program? Many black tenants are now living in segregated black neighborhoods where 50% of black children are bused out under the Milwaukee Plan. In several cases, new white tenants occupying these units could remain in area schools and enhance racial balance. Several school alternative programs might offer an attractive option for white and black families. For example,

- 46 scattered site housing units are located near the MacDowell Montessori School, a citywide specialty program. Presently, 36 tenants are black, 7 are Hispanic, 1 is Native American and only 1 is a white family. New white tenants

could be given first preference into the Montessori school, a program that is oversubscribed by black children.23

- 16 scattered site units (all with black tenants) are located in the Philipp school attendance area. Philipp, a fundamental school with one of the highest academic achievement records in the city, is presently 76% black and needs additional white students. (The majority of the 66 white children attending the school bus in from southside locations about 6 miles away.) New white tenants could be offered a top-notch school with an integrating student body.

- 13 units are located in the Hopkins attendance area, which also draws students for the new 21st Street Pupil-Teacher Learning Center specialty, a racially balanced citywide specialty school which continues to need white students.

- 64 units are located in various segregated white neighborhoods which receive hundreds of black students. At present only 5 black families live in these units. Other black families might be encouraged to consider these homes, for the opportunities they afford for integrated education without lengthy busing.

Footnotes

[1]Ted Seaver, Strategy for Balanced Communities, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1976. (Mimeographed)

[2]Wisconsin Housing Finance Authority, Inventory of Federally Assisted Rental Housing, State of Wisconsin, as of January 1, 1980. (Madison, Wisconsin, 1980.)

[3]U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, "HUD Fact Sheet: Lower Income Housing Assistance Payments (Section 8)" Legislative Changes as of November,, 1977.

[4]United States, Code of Federal Regulations, Title 24, Paragraph 880.103(c).

[5]Code of Federal Regulations, Title 24, Paragraph 880.116(r).

[6]Wauwatosa's CDBG funding was cut off by HUD in 1978 after the municipality refused to construct 24 units of low-income family housing.

[7]Milwaukee County, Second Year Milwaukee County Urban County Community Development Block Grant Application: 1979, Milwaukee County Real Estate & Housing Division, Milwaukee, February, 1979.

[8]City of Milwaukee, 1979 Community Development Block Grant Application, 1979.

[9]The City of Milwaukee staff routinely suggests that City Section 8 applicants also apply for the county program because of the city's long waiting list. In October, 1980, the City reported that a total of 12,845 households (family and elderly) were waiting for vacancies in the 2,944 Section 8 units authorized by HUD. ("Applicants Have Long Wait for Housing Subsidy," Milwaukee Journal, October 24, 1980.)

[10]In the summer of 1980 suburban residents applying for Section 8 subsidized units were given housing certificates as soon as three weeks after they first applied, as contrasted with the city experience cited above.

[11]Marilyn Holland et al v. Milwaukee County, Wisconsin and Moon Landrieu, Civil Action No. ---.

[12]U.S. Department of Housing & Urban Development, "Section 8 Housing Assistance Payments Program Report on Family Characteristics," Milwaukee County, Report Date, December, 1979.

[13]City of Milwaukee Community Development Agency, City of Milwaukee 1980 Community Development Block Grant Program Application, March 18, 1980.

[14]Wisconsin Statutes, 66.40(3)(e) and 66.30(2g)(a) and (b).

[15]U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, "Section 8 Housing Assistance Payments Program Report on Family Characteristics," Housing Authority of the City of Milwaukee, Report Date, January, 1980.

[16]City of West Allis, Housing Assistance Plan, West Allis, Wisconsin, 1978.

[17]U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, "Section 8 Housing Assistance Payments Program report on Family Characteristics," City of West Allis Housing Authority, Report Date November, 1979.

[18]The City of South Milwaukee operates 60 units of public housing for families which are owned by the city housing authority and no longer under HUD supervision. The Milwaukee Housing Authority also operates 3 veterans' housing projects with 968 family units, which are not under federal supervision.

[19]Milwaukee Housing Authority, "Report on Regular Reexamination of Families in Low-Rent Housing," 1975 and 1979. Only families with minor children are included in our analysis.

[20]Ibid.

[21]Since 1969 HUD has charged that Milwaukee's tenant selection plan was contributing to racial segregation in public housing. The plan was finally changed in 1980.

[22]Milwaukee Housing Authority, "Report on Regular Reexamination of Families in Low-Rent Housing," 1975 and 1979.

[23]Under the present Milwaukee Plan, neighborhood children receive preference over transfer students for enrollment at most schools. However, for citywide specialty schools (such as the MacDowell Montessori) no preference is currently given for neighborhood children, and white families moving to the MacDowell area must compete with families from throughout the city for spaces in the school.

Chapter 6

SUMMARY

This pilot study of racial trends in Milwaukee County focused on government policies in schools and housing. The implementation of two school desegregation programs was examined: a court-imposed city school desegregation plan and a state-initiated city-suburban pupil exchange program. The study also examined the two largest federally-operated rental assistance programs operating in Milwaukee Coun[redacted] their impact on racial balance in schools. While these inve[redacted]tions required nine months of exhaustive analysis of data as well as interviews with key policymakers, they provide insights on only a small portion of the Milwaukee housing market. It is hoped, however, that this study will provide the beginning foundations for a larger investigation of school-housing interaction in major urban areas. The findings, while tentative, suggest policy implications of importance to both school officials and housing planners.

Attitudinal Survey of Minority Families Participating in City-Suburban School Desegregation

An attitudinal survey was conducted of 78 minority families participating in the Chapter 220 city-suburban pupil exchange program in Milwaukee County. The sample was representative of the total 690 families participating in the program in 1979-80 and provides new information on the characteristics and attitudes of this group of educational "pioneers" who have volunteered their children for schools in 12 predominantly white suburban school districts in Milwaukee County.

Nearly all of the families participating in the Chapter 220 program transferring students to suburban schools were black. Families were usually small (1-2 children) and had moderate incomes. Most (72%) owned their own homes; 41% were participating in government housing programs, primarily FHA or VA mortgages.

Participants ascribed their motivation for enrolling in the Chapter 220 program to obtain a better education for their children or to get away from the neighborhood school. (Relatively few families suggested the desire for racial integration as a major factor.) Families expressed high satisfaction with the program; most had no complaints. Most families busing their children to the suburbs had frequent or occasional contact with the schools. 60% of the city children had visited in suburban children's homes, and 40% had entertained suburban children in their homes. However, few parents (15%) reported getting to know any of the suburban parents well through the program.

Reported attitudes toward possible housing moves must be viewed with caution as predictors of future behavior. They do suggest an interest in housing in segregated white areas and raise concerns about perceived barriers to such housing.

About half of the families in the survey said they would be willing to consider housing moves to the suburbs where their children are attending school. (Fourteen families, 18% of the total, had already looked for housing in these communities.) By contrast of ten families who are also busing other children in the family to racially segregated southside Milwaukee neighborhoods, none were willing to consider housing moves to that part of the city. This unexpected

finding may require further research on differences in school experiences under the city and metropolitan desegregation programs.

While 95% of the families expressed a preference for housing in racially integrated areas, 92% said they would be willing to move into a neighborhood in which there were only a few black families. This self-reported willingness to pioneer is consistent with the housing patterns of the families. 36 families (46% of the total) had made "pioneering" moves into neighborhoods which were less than 10% black during the last ten years.

72% of the families surveyed indicated that cost of housing was the major barrier to moving to the suburbs. Nearly 60% of the sample indicated that they would be interested in moving to suburban areas if lower-interest mortgage rates were made available. 64% of the families eligible for Milwaukee County's Section 8 rent assistance program said they would be interested in utilizing that program to relocate in the suburb where their child(ren) attend school. The survey findings appear to suggest that the total Chapter 220 family population in Milwaukee could include about 80 minority families who would be interested in using Milwaukee County's Section 8 rent assistance certificates for housing in the suburbs. In addition, an estimated 300 families in the Chapter 220 program might be willing to consider use of a lower-interest government mortgage program to move into suburban areas with small minority populations.

Impact of School Desegregation Programs on Housing Patterns

In the Milwaukee school desegregation case, Federal Judge John Reynolds emphasized the impact of school board actions on segregated

housing patterns in the city. This study analyzed the strategies used to implement school desegregation in Milwaukee for potential impacts on housing patterns. Two programs were assessed: the Chapter 220 city-suburban pupil transfer program between Milwaukee Public Schools and 12 participating suburban districts in Milwaukee County, and the city school desegregation plan implemented by the Milwaukee Public Schools.

While the Chapter 220 city-suburban pupil transfer program has nearly doubled the number of minority students attending school in the 12 participating suburban districts in Milwaukee County, minority enrollments in these districts still average less than 7% of the total suburban student population. The program in 1979-80 accommodated 916 minority students, out of a city school population with 48,500 minority youngsters. Contrary to early hopes for the program, the city-suburban pupil exchange program appears to have reached a plateau in numbers of minority children accepted and is failing to address the growing racial disparity between city schools (52% minority in 1979-80) and suburban districts (2-13% minority). Unless the Chapter 220 program is increased significantly, preliminary data suggests that the potential for "white flight" to suburban districts may continue. Preliminary figures from the Milwaukee Public Schools indicated that net out-migration to suburban and exurban schools totalled over 800 students in 1978-79, down from larger numbers of transfers immediately following the court order. Further study is needed of this phenomenon, when 1980 census data becomes available.

The "freedom of choice" plan used by Milwaukee Public Schools may encourage residential integration by exposing black families to

schools in neighborhoods throughout the city. Critics of the plan charge that the largely one-way busing and failure to mandatorily reassign white students to schools in black neighborhoods conveys a message to white white families that the quality of schools (absent a new specialty program) can be judged by the racial make-up of the neighborhood in which the building in located.

An analysis of student movement suggests that Milwaukee's school desegregation plan may also have a negative impact on the stability of integrated neighborhoods. The highest percentages of children are bused from schools in residentially integrated neighborhoods under Milwaukee's voluntary plan. One third of all white children and 63% of all black elementary school children living in residential neighborhoods that are only 10-29% black are busing from these neighborhoods to other schools. By contrast, in residentially segregated all-white neighborhoods, only 22% of white children are leaving the neighborhood school and about 8% of the children are busing to enhance racial balance.

The Milwaukee Plan, which allows a number of segregated black schools under the present court order, has also appeared to seriously affect neighborhoods in racial transition. Four of the 5 elementary schools in neighborhoods which are 30-99% black were allowed to "tip" to predominantly black due to a lack of white student volunteers. "Some white families residing in these areas seized the opportunity to leave the neighborhood school, often for school in whiter areas and few other white children volunteered for these buildings. Black children who remained in the neighborhood school attend a segregated black facility. (A more complete assessment of housing changes in these

neighborhoods will be possible when the 1980 census data becomes available.)

Impact of Federally Subsidized Rental Programs on Racial Balance

While representing a very small portion of the total housing market, government subsidized housing can play an important role in shaping or reinforcing public attitudes toward racial integration and encouraging (or discouraging) pioneering moves by families into segregated neighborhoods. Several government housing programs have potential for complementing school desegregation plans, particularly given the stronger commitment to expanding housing opportunities for minorities and lower-income families under the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974. Our study analyzed the racial impact of two major rental programs operating in Milwaukee County--the section 8 rent assistance program and traditional public housing.

The Section 8 rent assistance program, which provides subsidies to eligible lower-income families for housing in private rental units, is administered by three governmental units in Milwauee County: Milwaukee County government, the City of Milwaukee Housing Authority, and the City of West Allis Housing Authority. City certificates may be used only for housing within municipal boundaries; county certificates may be used in city and suburban areas. When the three governernmental programs are considered together, their racial impact appears to to be negative.

MILWAUKEE COUNTY FAMILIES CERTIFIED FOR RENT ASSISTANCE,
2nd half of 1979

Administering Govt. Unit	Families with Children Served by Section 8 Programs			
	White	Black	Other Minority	Total
Milwaukee	89	12	1	102
City of Milwaukee	235	1,161	40	1,436
City of West Allis	52	0	0	52

In the last half of 1979, Milwaukee County served 12 black families out of 102 families with children given rent certificates. All were given certificates for City of Milwaukee neighborhoods. Equal opportunity through the Milwaukee County program may have been limited by the county's use of two waiting lists (all suburban applicants are served before City of Milwaukee residents), failure to develop a cooperative program with the City of Milwaukee, and failure to encourage or assist minority families in locating suburban housing. The City of West Allis program did not serve any minority families with children.

All white families served by the Milwaukee County and City of West Allis programs located in sergregated white neighborhoods, and 89% of white families in the City of Milwaukee program stayed in neighborhoods less than 10% black.

LOCATION OF WHITE FAMILIES IN SECTION 8 PROGRAM, 2nd Half of 1979

Racial Status Of Neighborhoods	Number of Families with Children Served by: Milwaukee County	City of Milwaukee	City of West Allis	Total
Ghetto (over 70% Black)	--	10	--	10
Transition-Maj. Black (50-69% Black)	--	1	--	1
Transition-Maj. White (30-49% Black)	--	5	--	5
Integrating (10-29% Black)	--	27	--	27
Emerging (1-9% Black)	4	60	--	64
All-White (Less than 1% Black)	85	132	52	269
TOTAL	89	235	52	376

99% of all minority families with children receiving Section 8 rent assistance in the last half of 1979 were served through the City of Milwaukee. Because the Milwaukee Housing Authority is prohibited by 1969 state legislation from operating in suburban areas or cooperating with other housing authorities in the state, these families were all required to remain in the city under the program. (Unlike the Milwaukee Housing Authority, the county can operate in both city and suburban areas.) Like the county, the city provides minimal services to families who desire to relocate in nonimpacted areas, and most families remain in their existing units.

The City of Milwaukee's scattered site public housing program has potential for promoting racial integration, with 246 housing units located throughout the city. This potential does not appear to have realized. Since the 1976 court order desegregating Milwaukee Public Schools, the number of white families living in scattered site housing in segregated white areas has increased, as has the number of black families locating in units in ghetto areas. Several policies hinder racial integration of these units: location of 2/3 of the units in

racially segregated, rather than integrated, neighborhoods; use of a tenant selection plan (until recently) based on preferred locations rather than a first-come-first-serve policy or a policy promoting pro-integrative moves; and low turnover in the scattered sites units due to the high number (36%) of over-income tenants.

Conclusion

It is hoped that these research findings provide assistance to school and housing officials charged with developing policies for racial integration. In particular the Milwaukee case study suggests the need to examine closely the impact of "freedom of choice" desegregation plans on the neighborhoods of the city. Where possible, coordinated efforts by school officials and local governments charged with administering federal housing programs may result in more successful integration of metropolitan areas.

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