

**Nonwhite Neighbors and Property  
Prices in Portland, Oregon**

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**Residential Attitudes Toward  
Negroes As Neighbors**

Two Surveys by  
***The Urban League of Portland***



**Affiliate of National Urban League  
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# NONWHITE NEIGHBORS AND RESIDENTIAL PRICES IN PORTLAND, OREGON

## THE PROBLEM

The Portland community has made outstanding progress in a relatively short time toward wiping out racial injustice in a number of important areas. Restrictions upon our minorities in employment and access to places of public accommodation and amusement, for example, have been considerably lessened in the last ten years as a result of enlightened community action. In the matter of eliminating housing discrimination, however, little gain has been realized. To our racial minorities, freedom of selection in the housing market is still a dream that is constantly denied them.

The treatment of Portland's non-Caucasian citizens in the housing field is a matter for shame and disgrace. Nevertheless, it conforms to a pattern typical to American cities. Regardless of wealth, education, occupation, personal tastes or ambitions, these citizens are effectively barred from the newer residential areas and largely confined to older districts specified for them by real estate interests in accordance with a traditional practice.

Census figures for 1950 showed that approximately one-half of the city's 9,528 Negroes were living in Census Tracts 22 and 23, an area 1½ miles long, averaging one mile in width, and located just northeast of the downtown shopping district.<sup>1</sup> This area, generally referred to as Albina or the "Williams Avenue District", is bounded on the north by Fremont Street, on the east by Eighth Avenue, on the south by Sullivan's Gulch and on the west by the Willamette River and Interstate Avenue. Some Negro families were also living in the areas immediately adjacent to Albina on the north and east.

It is significant, however, that the census also showed nonwhite families scattered over the city in all but one of the city's 61 census tracts.

At the time of the 1950 census, two temporary public housing projects, Guilds Lake and University Homes, both located some miles from Tracts 22 and 23, also showed relatively high concentrations of nonwhites. Shortly afterward, however, these projects and others were closed down, and Urban League surveys indicate that these and other retrenchments in public housing since 1950 have resulted in scores of Negro families moving from the projects into the Albina district and vicinity.

Albina is an area of old houses—single family units, rooming houses and apartments—many of which were built before 1900. It is characterized by a high proportion of rental units and a tendency toward the overcrowding of facilities.<sup>2</sup> Much of the area has been zoned for commercial and light industrial use. In 1950 more than half of the dwelling units were occupied by whites, but an overwhelming majority of the families with children were Negro families. The whites were mainly old residents or apartment-house dwellers.

1. U. S. Census of Housing: 1950. Block Statistics, Vol. V, Part 149 (Portland, Ore.)

2. Dwellings in Tract 22 were more than 58 per cent renter-occupied in 1950, as against less than 40 per cent renter-occupancy for the city as a whole. Again, 3.5 per cent of the dwellings here averaged 1.51 or more persons per room, a figure which applied to only 2.4 per cent of the dwellings throughout the city.

## THE PURPOSE

The typical nonwhite homeseeker in Portland almost invariably meets discrimination because of his race, and this is true whether he seeks to rent or buy. The discriminatory action may take any of several forms. E.g., the claim by the real estate agent or rent manager that the owner will not sell or rent to nonwhites; evasive statements or acts, or an uncooperative or indifferent attitude. Some owners and agents are apologetic, placing the blame on neighbors or the Realty Board and, in some cases, even upon the Oregon real estate licensing agency.<sup>3</sup>

Investigations indicate that the assumption most widely used to reinforce the discriminatory residential pattern is the claim that the entry of nonwhites into a neighborhood is destructive to property values. Here, as elsewhere, this notion of property devaluation has persisted in spite of scientific evidence to the contrary.

A survey conducted in San Francisco in 1951, under the auspices of the University of California's Bureau of Business and Economic Research, resulted in a finding that the widespread contention regarding the effects of race upon property values is not supported by facts.<sup>4</sup>

The San Francisco study, examining a series of "test" areas into which nonwhites had moved, not only found that prices were not adversely affected, but found that in some cases sales prices in these areas were somewhat higher than in comparable all-white neighborhoods.

The pattern of procedure adopted in the present survey is similar to that used in the San Francisco study. Basically, the study consists of a comparison of property sales in areas into which nonwhite families have moved (test areas) with sales in like areas in which the occupancy has remained all white (control areas).

While the University of California survey and other similar studies have found the assumption regarding the impact of minority groups on property values to be without valid foundation, it is always possible that findings in other communities might not be entirely applicable to the local situation.<sup>5</sup> It was, therefore, for the purpose of testing this theory locally that this project was undertaken.

## THE SURVEY

In the current study, five test areas and five control areas were selected for comparative study. Sales data used in the study were gathered from county records to cover the ten-year period from 1944 to 1954.

The steps followed in selecting areas for study were:

- (1) determining the distribution of nonwhite dwellings from the U. S. Census and other sources;
- (2) defining the areas of nonwhite concentration and
- (3) selecting test areas (each containing a nonwhite dwelling) outside of the areas of concentration;

3. In 1951, the Oregon Real Estate Department warned real estate salesmen and brokers against making the false statement that selling or offering certain properties for sale to nonwhites would result in loss of real estate license. (Oregon Real Estate News, Vol. V, No. 4, Aug., 1951.)

4. Luigi M. Laurenti, "Effects of Nonwhite Purchases on Market Prices of Residences", *The Appraisal Journal*, July, 1952.

5. For references to other surveys, see bibliography, last page.

- (4) selecting control areas (containing only white-occupied dwellings) to match the test areas, and
- (5) recording and analyzing sales data in these areas. (See appendix for details.)

The test area, in each case, is made up mainly of single-family dwellings surrounding one nonwhite dwelling and consisting of all properties within or touching a 300-foot radius of the nonwhite residence.<sup>6</sup> Among the standard requirements for the test areas were (1) that they represent the average in residential districts, covering a varied price range; and (2) that the nonwhite home should at least be as new and attractive as the average white home in the area.

After visits were made to a number of prospective neighborhoods for the purpose of physical inspection, the five test areas were selected, each in a different part of the city. The selected properties covered price ranges from around \$8,000 (current market value) to \$50,000.

The control areas were chosen to match the test areas as closely as possible in such physical characteristics as size of area, age and type of structures, value range, quality of streets and sidewalks, and general landscaping. In most cases, it was found that the best matching control area was to be found adjacent or very near to the test area.

Findings for the five test and five control areas were as follows:

### TEST AREA ONE

Location: Portsmouth district, about six miles north of downtown shopping district, near city limits. Test property consists of attractive 3-bedroom house built on 50 x 100 lot for \$10,500, including lot, and occupied by family of Negro government clerk in 1950. Majority of houses in area constructed during 1940s; current value range \$6,500 to \$12,750, with estimated average value of \$8,500.



The average market price of homes sold in each year in T-1 rose from \$6,287 in 1945 to \$8,675 in 1952, and showed a slight decline to \$8,350 in 1953.<sup>7</sup> Two homes sold for less after the nonwhites came in than they were sold for before, but one of these homes

was sold again at a higher price than it had drawn in either previous sale.

The following sales show what happened in T-1 after the nonwhite family moved in:

- (1) A house bought for \$7,000 in 1950 was sold for \$8,250 in 1951.
- (2) A house bought for \$5,500 in 1950 was sold again for \$5,500 in 1953.
- (3) A house bought for \$8,950 in 1948 was sold for \$9,250 in 1952.
- (4) A house bought for \$9,500 in 1947 was sold for \$9,400 in 1951.
- (5) A house bought for \$7,500 in 1947 was sold for \$7,950 in 1952.

Five homes were sold in the block during the same year (1950) that the non-white home was completed.

- (6) A house purchased for \$8,500 in 1948 was sold for \$9,000 in 1950.
- (7) A house bought for \$8,550 in 1948 was sold for \$9,200.

6. This distance chosen to conform with Portland city zoning ordinance which recognizes a property zone change as having a possible effect upon other properties within a distance of 300 feet.

7. Based upon years in which four or more home sales occurred.

- (8) A house bought for \$8,450 in 1948 was sold for \$8,750 in 1950; this house was sold again in 1953 for \$10,000.
- (9) A house bought for \$7,625 in 1947 was sold for \$7,500 in 1950; it was sold again in 1952 for \$9,000.
- (10) A house bought for \$5,000 in 1944 was sold for \$7,500 in 1950.

A strong tendency to sell was evidenced in T-1 when the Negro family moved into the area. However, no mass panic selling resulted, and the area later tended to stabilize. All houses that were sold after the non-whites came in were bought by white families. An interesting development is the fact that two new homes were built for white occupancy after 1950, one of them next door to the nonwhite residence, the other only two houses away.

### CONTROL AREA ONE

Location: one mile south of T-1, in a neighborhood adjacent to the University of Portland. Majority of houses in area constructed in late 1940s and 1950s; current value range \$6,500 to \$13,500, with estimated average value of \$10,000.

The average market price for homes sold in each year rose gradually from \$6,300 in 1945 to \$7,900 in 1951, then jumped to \$12,900 in 1952, a year in which four new homes were built at an average price of \$13,200 each. One home sold for less on resale than it had in a previous sale.



Resales in the control area were fewer than in the test area, but these sales reflect the general price trend:

- (1) A house bought for \$8,750 in 1946 was sold for \$9,750 in 1948 and sold again for \$11,500 in 1954.
- (2) A house bought for \$7,025 in 1944 was sold for \$7,950 in 1945 and again for \$12,500 in 1951.
- (3) A house bought for \$7,000 in 1949 was sold for \$5,500 in 1951 and again for \$5,875 in same year.

### COMPARISONS — I

A comparison of sales prices in the test and control areas shows an upward trend in both areas corresponding closely to the upward price trend for the city as a whole,<sup>8</sup> with very little variance between the two areas from 1945 through 1951 (the year after the nonwhite family entered T-1). A sharp rise occurred in C-1 sales in 1952, and continued in subsequent years attributable to a late rash of new construction. Sales in T-1 in this later period occurred mainly in older homes.

A comparison of price gains and losses in resales in the two areas reveals a total average gain of 12.5 per cent on resale in T-1 as compared with an average gain of 31.1 per cent in C-1.

### TEST AREA TWO

Location: Northeast Portland (Halsey Street area) four miles east of city center. Test house, built in 1940s on 100x100 corner lot, purchased by

8. Records of the County Assessor show that the average residential sales price in Portland rose from \$4,393 in 1944 to \$9,385 in 1954.

Negro dining car waiter and family in 1951 for \$10,000. Wide variety in age of structures, with a few new homes and some vacant lots. Current value range \$5,500 to \$14,000, with estimated average value of \$9,500.



The average market price for homes sold showed a gradual rise from \$6,000 to \$8,500 over the 10-year

period. Two houses sold for less after the nonwhites came in than they had sold for in a previous year.

These sales were subject to the impact, if any, of the presence of the nonwhites:

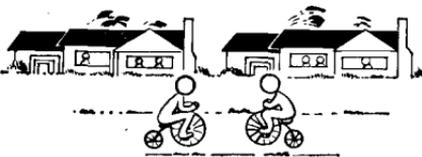
- (1) A house purchased for \$8,000 in 1948 sold for \$10,300 in 1951 and again for \$10,600 in 1953.
- (2) A house bought new for \$8,500 in 1950 was sold for \$10,000 in 1951.
- (3) A house bought for \$8,500 in 1944 was sold for \$8,200 in 1953.
- (4) A house bought for \$8,950 in 1951 was sold for \$10,000 in 1953.
- (5) A house bought for \$7,500 in 1949 was sold for \$9,600 in 1950 and again for \$9,000, in 1953.
- (6) A lot sold for \$1,500 in 1951 and again for \$2,000 in 1953.

There was no evidence of panic selling in T-2 following the entrance of the Negro family, and all other houses purchased were for Caucasian occupancy. A lot on the opposite corner to the nonwhite dwelling was bought for \$1,250 in 1951 and sold for \$1,900 in 1954. It has since become the site of a new home, valued at approximately \$14,000.

## CONTROL AREA TWO

Located in an adjacent neighborhood just southeast of T-2. The age and average value of homes were approximate to those in the test area.

The average market price for homes sold each year showed a steady rise, with minor fluctuations, from \$4,300 in 1944 to \$9,100 in 1954. One house was resold for less in this all-white area than it had sold for previously.



Sales trends comparative to the test area are reflected in the following sales:

- (1) A house bought for \$6,000 in 1947 was sold for \$8,000 in 1953.
- (2) A house bought for \$8,750 in 1949 was sold for \$9,500 in 1951.
- (3) A new home bought for \$14,500 in 1948 was sold for \$16,000 in 1950.
- (4) A new house bought for \$8,950 in 1947 was sold for \$11,000 in 1952.
- (5) A house bought for \$9,950 in 1951 was sold for \$11,500 in 1954.
- (6) A house bought for \$4,500 in 1945 was sold for \$9,000 in 1954.
- (7) A house bought for \$7,450 in 1945 was sold for \$7,000 in 1953.

## COMPARISONS - 2

An examination of price trends in Test and Control Areas Two for the ten-year period shows prices in T-2 beginning slightly above and ending slightly below those in C-2. On resales, homes in the integrated area (T-2) sold for an average of 15.8 per cent more after the nonwhites came in than in previous sales, while homes in the area of continuing all-white occu-

pancy (C-2) sold for an average of 29.1 per cent more than in previous sales.

### TEST AREA THREE

Location: Irvington District, two miles northeast of the city center. The test property was purchased by a Negro physician and family in 1950 for \$18,000. Most of the homes in the area are large, two-story structures, built before 1930. Average market value for single-family dwellings at the time of this study was approximately \$14,000, with some multi-family dwellings in the area.



The average market price for homes sold each year experienced a gradual rise, from \$7,690 in 1944 to \$11,490 in 1953, with no sales recorded in the test area in 1954.

No home in this integrated area was sold for less after the nonwhite family moved in than it had sold for previously.

These home sales were subject to the impact, if any, of the nonwhite entry:

- (1) House A was bought for \$13,500 in 1950 and sold for \$15,500 in 1952.
- (2) House B was bought for \$5,800 in 1950 and sold for \$9,000 in 1951.
- (3) House C was bought for \$12,500 in 1948 and sold for the same price in 1953.
- (4) House D was bought for \$6,500 in 1945 and sold for \$12,500 in 1952.
- (5) House E was bought for \$6,000 in 1944, sold for \$10,500 in 1950 and sold again for \$11,500 in 1953.
- (6) House F was bought for \$9,250 in 1946 and sold for \$10,000 in 1950.
- (7) House G was bought for \$6,500 in 1944 and sold for \$10,607 in 1953.
- (8) House H was bought for \$6,700 in 1948 and sold for 10,500 in 1953.

### CONTROL AREA THREE

Located adjacent to T-3, to the north and west. Average age, value and size of structures is approximately the same as in T-3. Sales activity in C-3 was about the same as in T-3. The average market price of homes sold each year experienced a gradual rise approximate to that of the test area, from \$8,260 in 1944 to \$12,000 in 1953. One home drew less on a resale in this area.



Comparative trends in this all-white area were reflected in resales as follows:

- (1) A house bought for \$9,750 in 1947 was sold for \$12,500 in 1952.
- (2) A house bought for \$6,500 in 1946 was sold for \$9,000 in 1950 and again for \$9,500 in 1951.
- (3) A house bought for \$15,500 in 1949 was sold for \$21,500 in 1954.
- (4) A house bought for \$9,000 in 1946 was sold for \$11,000 in 1953.
- (5) A house bought for \$8,000 in 1948 was sold for \$10,600 in 1953.
- (6) A house bought for \$9,000 in 1949 was sold for \$9,000 in 1953.
- (7) A house bought for \$11,000 in 1950 was sold for \$12,500 in 1951 and sold again for \$10,000 in 1952.

- (8) A house bought for \$7,200 in 1945 was sold for \$11,500 in 1948 and sold again for \$15,000 in 1951.
- (9) A house bought for \$13,000 in 1950 was sold for \$15,000 in 1952.
- (10) A house bought for \$12,000 in 1948 was sold for \$14,500 in 1951.
- (11) A house bought for \$16,500 in 1950 was sold for \$18,500 in 1952.

### COMPARISONS — 3

Price trends in T-3 and C-3 show close approximation between the two areas from the beginning to the end of the period, with both above price level of city as a whole. On resales, homes in the integrated area (T-3) sold for an average of 42.6 per cent more after the nonwhites came in than they had in previous sales while homes in the area of continued all-white occupancy (C-3) showed an average gain of 28.6 per cent on resale in the same period.

### TEST AREA FOUR

Location: Southeast Portland, in Woodstock District four miles south-east of city center. Estimated average value of homes in area, \$8,000. This is an area of small, older houses, mostly constructed prior to 1930, but With a few scattered, newer homes. Entry by the nonwhites, a Negro couple, was made prior to the 10-year period under study, in 1940, when the house was one year old. Purchase price of the test property in 1940 was \$3,650 (current value around \$8,000).



Nonwhite property at time of study was one of best kept homes in the neighborhood.

The average market price for homes sold in each year fluctuated upward from \$4,400 in 1944 to \$9,100 in 1954. All sales in the test area during the period were made to Caucasians, and only one home was resold for less than its purchase price. The same home was later sold again for more than in either previous sale.

These sales occurred in the neighborhood of this nonwhite home:

- (1) A house bought for \$4,600 in 1944 was sold for \$4,950 in 1946 and again for \$7,500 in 1951.
- (2) A house bought for \$4,000 in 1944 was sold for \$4,450 in 1945 and again for \$5,700 in 1948.
- (3) A house bought for \$3,000 in 1945 was sold for \$5,000 in 1951.
- (4) A house bought for \$4,000 in 1951 was sold for 5,000 in 1954.
- (5) A house bought for \$10,500 in 1946 was sold for \$9,900 in 1949 but sold gain for \$11,750 in 1954.
- (6) A house bought for \$10,500 in 1951 was sold for \$11,250 in 1952.
- (7) A house bought for \$2,692 in 1944 was sold for \$5,200 in 1947 and again for \$5,950 in 1950.
- (8) A house bought for \$4,200 in 1947 was sold for \$7,500 in 1954.
- (9) A house bought for \$11,950 in 1952 was sold for \$12,500 in 1954.

It is also of interest that two new homes were built by white families in the same block with the nonwhite family, one next door, in 1952, and one across the street, in 1954. There was no evidence of panic selling or of rapid turnover due to the presence of nonwhites in T-4.

## CONTROL AREA FOUR

Located adjacent to T-4 to the north. Average age and value approximately the same as in the test area.

In average price for homes sold each year, the control area experienced a somewhat sharper rise than did the test area, from \$4,100 at the beginning of period (44-45) to \$10,650 at the end (53-54), with minor fluctuations.

In this all-white area, one home brought less on a resale than it had sold for formerly.

Comparative sales trends are reflected in the following resales:

- (1) A house bought for \$2,150 in 1944 was sold for \$3,950 in 1947 and for \$7,000 in 1949.
- (2) A house bought for \$6,000 in 1947 was sold for \$6,710 in 1950.
- (3) A house bought for \$12,500 in 1947 was sold for \$15,500 in 1952.
- (4) A house bought for \$6,000 in 1948 was sold for the same price in 1949.
- (5) A house bought for \$4,950 in 1948 was sold for \$8,350 in 1950.
- (6) A house bought for \$9,250 in 1947 was sold for \$11,000 in 1950.
- (7) A house bought for \$9,300 in 1947 was sold for \$10,500 in 1949.
- (8) A house bought for \$5,450 in 1947 was sold for \$6,750 in 1951.
- (9) A house bought for \$9,000 in 1945 was dropped to \$7,000 in 1950.
- (10) A house bought for \$7,100 in 1947 was sold for \$7,400 in 1950.
- (11) A house bought for \$5,500 in 1947 was sold for \$7,000 in 1953.
- (12) A house bought for \$6,800 in 1947 was sold for \$8,900 in 1954.



## COMPARISONS — 4

Price trends in these two areas show that prices in T-4 followed closely the pattern of the city as a whole. Those in C-4 began slightly below and ended slightly above those in T-4 and throughout the city. On resales, however, prices in the integrated area (T-4) showed an average gain of 46.7 per cent and in the area remaining all-white (C-4) an average gain of only 35.4 per cent.

## TEST AREA FIVE

Located in fashionable West Hills, or Washington Park District, in an uphill area one mile west of the city center. It is a neighborhood made up predominantly of large, expensive homes, built mainly during the 1920s. The average estimated value of homes in T-5 is approximately \$40,000. Nearly all dwellings in T-5 are single-family, owner-occupied homes.



The test property is that of a Japanese-American physician and family. Built in 1926, it is one of the largest and finest homes in the area. It was purchased by the family in 1951, for \$50,000. Prior to moving here, the family had lived (within T-5) about two blocks away for eight years in a smaller house which they still own.

A highly stable area, not enough home sales were made during the

ten-year period to establish a valid trend in average market price. However, only one property (a vacant lot) sold for less than its purchase price during the period, and there was no evidence of panic selling due to the presence of the nonwhites.

These sales, reflecting the general upward trend found elsewhere were apparently unaffected by the presence of nonwhites:

- (1) A lot purchased for \$2,250 in 1945, was sold for \$7,500 in 1953.
- (2) A house purchased for \$10,500 in 1944, was sold for \$14,500 in 1945 and sold again for \$15,500 in 1950.
- (3) A house bought for \$11,500 in 1946 was sold for \$13,500 in 1949.
- (4) A lot purchased for \$6,000 in 1948 was sold for \$5,000 in 1949.

### CONTROL AREA FIVE

Located several blocks south of T-5, also in the West Hills district. Average age of homes approximately the same as the test area, with average value slightly less, at about \$35,000. Here also, too few homes were sold during the period to establish a trend based upon each year's sales. Three sales in 1948, however, averaged \$20,300 each, while two sales in 1950 averaged \$28,750. Two homes in all-white C-5 sold for less than they had drawn in a previous sale.



These resales occurred during the period in C-5:

- (1) House A was bought for \$30,000 in 1947 and sold for \$20,000 in 1948.
- (2) House B was bought for \$37,500 in 1950, sold for \$55,000 in 1951 and sold again for \$54,500 in 1952.
- (3) House C was bought for \$17,000 in 1946 and sold for \$19,000 in 1949.

### COMPARISONS — 5

There was little sales activity in either T-5 or C-5 during the 10-year period, thus providing no basis upon which to establish a valid price trend. Two houses which were sold and resold during the period in the integrated area showed an average price gain on resale of 32.4 per cent, while in the non-integrated control area, one house which was resold at a one-third loss over a previous sale brought the average gain in resales for three houses down to 7.9 per cent.

### FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

1. In this study of residential market prices in Portland, a comparison of sales trends in five areas into which nonwhites have moved (test areas) and five areas in which the occupancy has remained all white (control areas) for the period 1944 to 1954 reveals that the average price of homes sold each year followed a general upward trend in both the test and control areas comparable to the upward price trend for the city as a whole, with no significant or lasting variation which could be attributed to the presence or absence of nonwhites.
2. A comparison of sales and resales occurring in the five test and five control areas reveals that in two instances homes in the integrated test areas showed an average percentage gain on resale which was less than the average gain on resales in the all-white control areas, while

- in three instances the average gain in the test areas was greater than that of the control areas. In none of the integrated areas was the average resale figure after the non-whites moved in less than that of previous sales.
3. Considering the test areas as a whole, the total average price gain shown in resales after the entrance of nonwhites was 27.7 per cent. The total price gain in matching control areas averaged 28.7 per cent. This difference of one per cent is accidental and insignificant. The difference in individual sales noted in this study are attributable to a number of variable factors, among which race does not assume major significance.
  4. A study of the sales activity in one test area (T-1) showed some indication of a tendency toward panic selling immediately following the entrance of the nonwhite family, partially accounting for the fact that resales did not show as high a gain in the test area as in the matching control area. However, all but two sales were made at a profit, and one of the two losses was regained in a subsequent resale.
  5. Out of 70 homes involved in resales occurring during the period under study (34 in test areas, 36 in control areas), only ten were resold at a loss. Five of these were in the test areas and five in control areas. Two of the test area losses were regained in subsequent resales. Thus it appears that the factors influencing the degree of gain or loss in housing sales prices were operating mainly independent of the factor of race.
  6. Apparently having greater influence upon selling price than the racial factor are:
    - (1) The age, size and type of house involved.
    - (2) The general attractiveness and desirability of the neighborhood as a housing district.
    - (3) The degree of compulsion, haste or urgency involved in completing a sale.
  7. In conclusion, then, our Portland survey findings support those which have been reported in similar surveys in other communities: the contention that the introduction of nonwhites into a residential area invariably results in a depreciation of property values, or that it necessarily endangers property values, is found by this study to be unsupported by fact and without valid foundation.

The Survey Team:

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**Typical: Negro residences in Albina section, Portland**



**Non-typical: A recently-built Negro residence in Portland.**

## RESIDENTIAL ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGROES AS NEIGHBORS

A survey to explore the attitudes of Portland white residents toward Negroes as neighbors was undertaken in the same five test areas into which nonwhites had moved and the five all-white control areas used in the study of property values. A schedule containing 25 questions was used, and an attempt was made to contact the occupants of every home in the designated areas. Portland college students and other volunteer workers were used as interviewers.

Out of a total of 691 dwelling units, (335 in the test and 356 in the control areas) the occupants of 616 houses were contacted and interviews were successfully completed in 451, of which 226 were in the test and 225 in the control areas.

The schedule was designed to obtain (1) facts about the respondent, such as occupation, general age group, region of origin; (2) attitude of the respondent toward his neighborhood and neighbors in general, and (3) the reaction of the respondent toward Negroes as neighbors.

The occupational spread was found to be fairly evenly distributed, with close proximity on this between test and control areas. The largest occupational group, 21 per cent, was found in the professional and semi-professional class, with craftsmen, foremen, etc. next at 17 per cent. The retired, pensioned and widowed also accounted for 17 per cent. (See appendix, page 19.)

The ages of respondents were about the same in test and control areas. Among all respondents, 23 per cent were in the ages 20 to 35, 37 per cent were 36 to 50, and 40 per cent were 51 or over. Only adult members of households were interviewed.

In terms of the largest percentage groupings, 57 per cent of respondents had occupied their present homes more than five years; 89 per cent were born in the U.S. and 62 per cent had spent most of their lives in western states.

Reasons for selecting the present house and location were widely varied, with the largest group, 22 per cent, simply stating they "liked district." An 89 per cent expressed satisfaction with their present house and location.

Responses showed 55 per cent of the families with minor children, 29 per cent with both boys and girls, 13 per cent with boys only and 13 per cent with girls only.

An overwhelming 93 per cent considered their neighborhoods friendly, with 43 per cent stating they chatted over the fence with neighbors and 34 per cent frequently visiting in neighbors' homes. When asked if most of their friends lived in the neighborhood, 83 per cent said no.

On all the foregoing questions, percentages were about the same in the test and in the control areas.



On the question "Are there Negro families in the neighborhood?", 60 per cent of those in the test areas answered yes, 30 per cent said no and 10 per cent answered "don't know." In the control areas, 16 per cent said yes, 71 per cent said no and 13 per cent said "don't know."<sup>1</sup>

## INTEGRATION VS. SEGREGATION

Asked where they thought Negroes ought to live in the city (Q. 13), 50 per cent of all respondents answered "anywhere they please", 46 per cent said "in separate neighborhoods" and 4 per cent answered "don't know". The attitude in test areas, where 51 per cent favored integration, was only slightly more favorable than in the control areas, where 49 per cent favored integration. In a cross-breakdown based upon proximity to the nonwhite dwelling, however, the difference of opinion was more marked, with 68 per cent of those living in close proximity to nonwhites favoring integration.<sup>2</sup>

For the purpose of testing the consistency of replies, the answers to nine succeeding questions were broken down in the tabulation to show the comparisons between the respondents whose answers to the above questions indicated that they favored integration, and those indicating they favored segregation.

As a follow-up to the above question, respondents were asked "Would most of your neighbors agree with your opinion?" In reply, 25 per cent of those who had said Negroes ought to be able to live anywhere they pleased said "yes", 24 per cent said "no" and 51 per cent said "don't know." Of those who said they believed Negroes ought to live in separate neighborhoods, 64 per cent thought most of their neighbors would agree, only 6 per cent thought their neighbors would not agree, and 30 per cent said they didn't know.

## "HOW CLOSE WOULD YOU ALLOW NEGROES?"

On the question "If you could control sales in your neighborhood, how close to you would you allow a Negro family to move?", respondents were given a choice of four alternative answers. (1) "Next door", (2) "Out of sight of my property", (3) "Any place they could find," and (4) "Wouldn't allow them in the neighborhood".

In the test areas, 26 per cent of those responding to this question chose "Next door", 17 per cent said "Out of sight", 25 per cent chose "Any place", and 23 per cent said "Wouldn't allow them in the neighborhood."

In the control areas, 17 per cent answered "Next door", 14 per cent "Out of sight", 25 per cent "Any place" and 38 per cent "Wouldn't allow them in the neighborhood."

Thus a total of 51 per cent of respondents in the test areas and 42 per cent of those in the control areas expressed a favorable attitude toward Negroes as neighbors, while 40 per cent of those in test areas and 52 per cent in the control areas expressed negative attitudes. Nine per cent in the test areas and 6 per cent in the control areas gave a "don't know" answer on this.

Again on this question, a cross-breakdown of test area replies based upon proximity to the nonwhites showed a higher degree of favorability

1. The term "neighborhood", which was not defined in this question, should not be considered as limited to the control area.

2. See Appendix, p. 22.

on the part of those living in close propinquity to the nonwhite families.<sup>3</sup>

Among those favoring integration on question 13, a total of 79 per cent would allow Negroes a freedom of location in their (the respondents') neighborhoods, while among those opposing integration on the earlier question, only 13 per cent would allow Negroes to move "next door" or "any place they could find".

### ON REACTION TO NEGROES MOVING IN

Only 17 per cent of the respondents in test areas and 14 per cent of those in control areas stated they would try to keep Negroes from moving into their neighborhoods. An additional 28 per cent of those in test areas and 34 per cent of those in control areas stated with reference to a Negro family moving in that they "wouldn't like it, but wouldn't do anything." On the other hand, 11 per cent of all test area respondents and 13 per cent of those in control areas said they would welcome a Negro family, and would help them if anyone caused trouble, and an additional 43 per cent in test areas and 37 per cent in control areas would have no objection to a Negro family moving in, but would remain inactive.

Among those favoring integration on the earlier question, the largest group (42 per cent) stated they wouldn't care and wouldn't try to help or hinder a Negro family moving in. Among those opposing integration, the majority (53 per cent) said they wouldn't like it if a Negro family moved in but wouldn't take any action. An inclination to act was expressed by 24 per cent of those favoring integration, who said they would welcome a Negro family and would help if anyone caused trouble, and 32 per cent of those opposing integration, who indicated they would act to prevent a Negro family from moving in.



Some inconsistency appeared here, in that 2 per cent of those favoring integration earlier said they would try to keep Negroes from moving into their neighborhoods, while 1 per cent of those opposing integration stated they would welcome a Negro family and would help if anyone caused trouble.

### ASSOCIATIONS AND CONTACTS

The percentages of those who stated they regularly came in contact with Negroes in their work was about the same in both the test and the control areas (around 35 per cent). The percentages having contact with Negroes in church or community activities were also nearly the same in both types of areas (17 per cent in test, 20 per cent in control areas).

The relationship between such contacts and a favorable attitude toward integration, however, appears evident in the cross-breakdown on questions 17 and 18 (p. 21). Although the majority of those favoring and opposing integration indicated no contact with Negroes in work or community activities, it is significant that 42 per cent of those favoring integration said they came in contact with Negroes in their work while only 25 per cent of those opposing integration indicated such contact, and that 24 per cent of those favoring integration said they had contact with Negroes in community activities while only 14 per cent of those opposing integration indicated such contacts.

3. See p. 22.

To the question "Do you think you would associate with a Negro neighbor more, less or about the same as with your present white neighbors?" the answers followed a similar pattern in the test and in the control areas. In the test areas, 51 per cent said "less", 47 per cent said "same" and 2 per cent were undecided. In the control areas, 2 per cent said "more", 50 per cent said "less", 43 per cent said "same" and 5 per cent were undecided.

Among those favoring integration, however, 65 per cent said "same" and 31 per cent said "less". Of those opposing integration, 20 per cent said "same" and 76 per cent said "less".

### PREFERENCES IN NEIGHBORS

Question 20 asked the respondents to "Please choose, in order of preference, which of these kinds of families would you select to live next to you." It gave as choices, respectively, Negro, Jewish, Oriental, white Catholic, American Indian and white Protestant.

Among the 374 persons who responded to this question, 274 expressed choices and 100 indicated that they had no such preferences.

Among those expressing such preferences, 224 claimed "white protestant" families as their number one choice for next door neighbors.<sup>4</sup> The predominant second choice was "white Catholic", in 152 responses, and "Jewish" was a predominant third choice in 89 responses. "Negro" was ranked sixth place in 79 responses, and in first place in only two.

The following table shows how many times each "kind of family" appeared in each ranking:

|                    | 1st | 2nd | 3rd | 4th | 5th | 6th |
|--------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| <b>Negro</b>       | 2   | 7   | 17  | 41  | 41  | 79  |
| <b>Jewish</b>      | 12  | 21  | 89  | 45  | 24  | 7   |
| <b>Oriental</b>    | 1   | 9   | 37  | 53  | 61  | 18  |
| <b>White Cath.</b> | 69  | 152 | 22  | 8   | 2   | 4   |
| <b>Amer. Ind.</b>  | 6   | 17  | 42  | 48  | 49  | 21  |
| <b>White Prot.</b> | 224 | 43  | 3   | 3   | 0   | 1   |

Of greater significance, however, were the percentages expressing and refusing to express a preference of this kind (73 per cent choosing, 27 per cent refusing). Obviously, any selection on the basis of group identification is an expression of prejudice, regardless of which groups are rated highest.

Among those favoring integration in question 13, only 58 per cent ex-

4. Some individuals indicated two or more "first" choices, thus accounting for a higher total of first choices than there were respondents. Six first choices amounted to a rejection of the question.

pressed preferences, while among those opposing integration, 90 per cent expressed choices as to next-door neighbors.

When asked to choose between the following statements. (1) "I would like to get to know some Negroes better" and (2) "I would really rather just leave Negroes alone and have them leave me alone," 27 per cent of all respondents chose "Would like to know some better" and 67 per cent said they would rather leave Negroes alone and be left alone. The reactions from the test and the control areas differed only slightly. Those favoring integration were about equally divided, with 47 per cent choosing statement one and 45 per cent choosing statement two. Among segregationists, however, only 7 per cent chose statement one and 90 per cent chose statement two. The differences in responses based upon zones of proximity to nonwhites were insignificant.

### PREJUDICE RATINGS

Based upon their responses to key questions in the schedule, (and their general comment, if any) respondents were divided into three classifications according to the degree of prejudice expressed: (1) Showing little or no prejudice, (2) moderate prejudice, (3) extreme prejudice. It is notable that division on this basis resulted in three fairly equal groups. This was true for the test areas and for the control areas.

Among those living in close proximity to nonwhite families (Zone 1), however, 53 per cent showed little or no prejudice, 31 per cent showed moderate prejudice and only 16 per cent showed extreme prejudice. Since in the majority of cases the white families were already there when the nonwhites moved in, a comparative analysis gives basis to the assumption that proximity to the nonwhites resulted in a more favorable racial attitude.

An analysis based upon age groups (appendix, p. 23) found the younger respondents somewhat more favorable, proportionably, toward integration than the older ones. Among the youngest group, aged 25 to 35, 62 per cent favored integration, with 32 per cent opposing and 6 per cent undecided. Among the 36 to 50 age group, 50 per cent favored integration, 44 per cent opposed and 6 per cent were undecided. In the oldest group, 51 and over, only 43 per cent favored integration, 55 per cent were opposed and 2 per cent were undecided.



### PARENTS VS. NON-PARENTS

Do the attitudes of the parents of minor children differ from those of non-parents on the matter of housing integration? One Caucasian mother, living near Negroes, expressed apprehension about intermarriage in connection with her pre-school-aged daughter when interviewed. However, such fears apparently were not predominant. This survey found parents slightly more favorable toward residential integration than non-parents.

Among all parents, 52 per cent favored integration, 42 per cent opposed and 6 per cent were undecided. The highest proportion of "undecided" were found among parents with girls only. Among non-parents, 48 per cent favored integration, 50 per cent opposed and 2 per cent were undecided. This difference may easily be more related to age than to parenthood,

since the parents of minor children were of a younger average age than non-parents, and younger respondents generally were found to be more favorable toward integration. On the prejudice rating scale, the parents of minor children showed up as slightly less prejudiced than persons without minor children.

## CONCLUSIONS

In summary, the principal findings of the attitude survey may be stated as follows:

1. Respondents were about equally divided between those who favored and those who opposed integration in housing.
2. In the test (integrated) areas, a slight majority favored integration; in the control (all-white) areas, a slight majority was found opposing integration. Among those living in close proximity to nonwhites, however, more than two-thirds were in favor of integration.
3. A majority of those opposing integration believed their neighbors would back up their position. Only a small minority of those favoring integration felt that their neighbors would agree with them, with the majority uncertain.
4. Only about one-fourth of the respondents favoring integration indicated they would act in defense of a Negro family moving into their neighborhood if anyone caused trouble; about one-third of those opposing integration indicated they would act to prevent Negroes from moving into their neighborhoods.
5. Persons who indicated they came in contact with Negroes in their work or their church or community activities expressed, proportionally, a more favorable attitude toward housing integration than those who had no such contacts.
6. Approximately three-fourths of all respondents expressed racial or group preferences as to next-door neighbors, with "white protestant" the number one choice of over 80 per cent of those expressing such preference. Only 27 per cent of the respondents rejected the preference question.
7. The younger respondents were found to be, proportionally, more favorable toward housing integration than the older ones.
8. The parents of minor children, who tended on the whole to be younger than non-parents, were more favorable toward integration than were the non-parents.
9. Rating respondents on the basis of prejudice expressed, the survey team found three nearly equal groups, with 35 per cent showing little or no prejudice, 32 per cent moderately prejudiced and 33 per cent extremely prejudiced.
10. On the whole, prejudice rating differences between test and control areas were slight. On the basis of proximity, however, more than half (53 per cent) of those living in properties adjoining nonwhites showed little or no prejudice.
11. On the basis of age, 46 per cent of persons between 20 and 35 showed little or no prejudice, while 40 per cent of persons 51 and over showed extreme prejudice.

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# APPENDIX I

## Nonwhite Neighbors and Residential Prices in Portland

### SURVEY METHOD

Steps taken in this survey were substantially as follows:

1. **Determining the locations of nonwhite dwellings.** Information on nonwhite dwellings in portland was obtained from the 1950 U. S. Census report, Portland, Oregon Block Statistics. Figures representing the number of nonwhite dwellings in each block were entered on a large map of the city. Each block containing nonwhites was marked to show the number of nonwhite dwellings and the total number of dwellings. Data on new blocks into which nonwhite families had moved since 1950 were obtained from Urban League files and from lists furnished to the League by several organizations. These new entries were also entered on the map.

2. **Defining the areas of nonwhite concentration.** The prepared map clearly showed the nonwhite concentration in and around Census Tracts 22 and 23 in the Northeast district, other concentrations in Southeast Portland and concentrations in the public housing areas. But in order to obtain a consensus of real estate brokers as to what they consider the boundaries of the "nonwhite" districts, those areas in which they would sell homes freely to nonwhites, interviews were conducted by a volunteer interviewer with representatives of a number of real estate firms in various parts of the city. When the boundaries of these districts were established, the survey team was then able to select test area properties which were at least ten blocks from the areas of concentration.

3. **Selection of test and control areas.** A test area, as defined for this survey, comprises a residential sector with a single-family nonwhite dwelling as its hub, and otherwise made up of dwellings occupied by Caucasians. In accordance with a Portland city zoning ordinance which recognizes an "affected area", for purposes of zoning reclassification, as all property within 300 feet of the property for which a zone change is proposed it was decided the test area should include all properties within 300 feet of the nonwhite dwelling and all properties touched by the 300-foot radius.

A number of prospective areas were considered in various sections of the city. A quarter-section (a map covering a quarter-mile square area) was obtained for each prospective test area. Visits were then made to these areas for the purposes of physical examination and recording locations. These areas were examined for such qualifications as (1) representing typical residential districts, (2) consisting mainly of single-family dwellings, and (3) containing a nonwhite dwelling at least as new and attractive as the average white home in the area. The exact location of each house and lot was noted on the map for that section.

When the boundaries of each test area had been determined, matching control areas were sought outside these boundaries.

4. **Recording and analyzing sales data.** Sales data covering the 10-year period of 1944-1954 were obtained from county records and recorded on the maps covering the test and control areas. Information on assessed valuations was also recorded and compared for the test and control areas. All information was tabulated, by block and lot number, for each property within the subject areas. From these tables the average market price for homes sold in each year was determined and comparisons between sales and resales of individual properties were studied.

## APPENDIX II

### Residential Attitudes Toward Negroes as Neighbors

#### SECTION I — GENERAL ANALYSIS

##### 1. OCCUPATIONS OF PRINCIPAL WAGE EARNERS

|                                     | T       | C     | All   |
|-------------------------------------|---------|-------|-------|
|                                     | (219) § | (209) | (428) |
| Professional or semi-prof. ....     | 18%     | 23%   | 21%   |
| Mgrs. owners and officials .....    | 17      | 10    | 14    |
| Clerical and Kindred workers .....  | 7       | 9     | 8     |
| Craftsmen, foremen, etc. ....       | 17      | 17    | 17    |
| Operative and Kindred workers ..... | 12      | 8     | 10    |
| Service workers .....               | 10      | 7     | 8     |
| Farmers and farm laborers .....     | 0       | 0     | 0     |
| Unskilled laborers .....            | 3       | 5     | 4     |
| Transient laborers .....            | 0       | 0     | 0     |
| Other occupations .....             | 1       | 1     | 1     |
| Retired, pensioned, widowed .....   | 15      | 20    | 17    |

##### 2. LENGTH OF TIME IN PRESENT HOUSE?

|                          | T     | C     | All   |
|--------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
|                          | (226) | (224) | (450) |
| Less than 1 year .....   | 10%   | 10%   | 10%   |
| 1-3 years .....          | 21    | 17    | 19    |
| 3-5 years .....          | 13    | 15    | 14    |
| 5-10 years .....         | 19    | 19    | 20    |
| More than 10 years ..... | 37    | 39    | 37    |

##### 3. BORN IN UNITED STATES?

|           | T     | C     | All   |
|-----------|-------|-------|-------|
|           | (224) | (223) | (447) |
| Yes ..... | 91%   | 89%   | 89%   |
| No .....  | 9     | 11    | 11    |

##### 4 WHERE DID YOU SPEND MOST OF LIFE BEFORE AGE 17?

|                               | T     | C     | All   |
|-------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
|                               | (222) | (221) | (443) |
| Western States .....          | 65%   | 60%   | 62%   |
| Midwest .....                 | 22    | 23    | 23    |
| Northeastern U. S. ....       | 5     | 5     | 5     |
| South and border states ..... | 1     | 2     | 2     |
| Foreign country .....         | 7     | 10    | 8     |

##### 5 HOW DID YOU HAPPEN TO SELECT THIS HOME?

|                                 | T     | C     | All   |
|---------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
|                                 | (219) | (213) | (432) |
| Near friends or relatives ..... | 5%    | 7%    | 6%    |
| Family home .....               | 5     | 6     | 6     |
| "Good buy," etc. ....           | 16    | 10    | 13    |
| Liked district .....            | 19    | 26    | 22    |
| Convenient location .....       | 12    | 20    | 16    |
| Liked house or lot .....        | 12    | 12    | 12    |
| Liked "certain facility" .....  | 3     | 0     | 1     |
| Availability .....              | 11    | 8     | 10    |
| Good place for children .....   | 1     | 0     | 1     |
| Other replies .....             | 13    | 9     | 11    |
| No reason .....                 | 3     | 2     | 2     |

##### 6 ARE YOU SATISFIED WITH HOUSE AND LOCATION?

|           | T     | C     | All   |
|-----------|-------|-------|-------|
|           | (226) | (224) | (450) |
| Yes ..... | 86%   | 92%   | 89%   |
| No .....  | 14    | 8     | 11    |

§ Figures in parenthesis represent base, or number of respondents answering question.

**7. IF NOT SATISFIED, DO YOU PLAN TO MOVE AS SOON AS YOU CAN?**

|           | T     | C     | All   |
|-----------|-------|-------|-------|
| Yes ..... | (226) | (224) | (450) |
|           | 8%    | 6%    | 7%    |
| No .....  | 6     | 2     | 4     |

**8. MINOR CHILDREN**

|                               | T     | C     | All   |
|-------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| Boy(s) only .....             | (221) | (215) | (436) |
|                               | 15%   | 11%   | 13%   |
| Girl(s) only .....            | 15    | 11    | 13    |
| Both boy(s) and girl(s) ..... | 26    | 32    | 29    |
| Total with children .....     | 56    | 54    | 55    |
| No children .....             | 44    | 46    | 45    |

**9. IS NEIGHBORHOOD FRIENDLY?**

|                  | T     | C     | All   |
|------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| Yes .....        | (222) | (221) | (443) |
|                  | 92%   | 94%   | 93%   |
| No .....         | 6     | 4     | 5     |
| Don't know ..... | 2     | 2     | 2     |

**10. RELATIONSHIPS WITH NEIGHBORS?**

|                                  | T     | C     | All   |
|----------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| No association .....             | (219) | (221) | (440) |
|                                  | 3%    | 3%    | 3%    |
| Speak only .....                 | 22    | 18    | 20    |
| Chat over fence or in yard ..... | 40    | 45    | 43    |
| Frequent visits .....            | 34    | 34    | 34    |
| Don't know .....                 | 1     | 0     | 0     |

**11. DO MOST OF YOUR FRIENDS LIVE IN THIS NEIGHBORHOOD?**

|           | T     | C     | All   |
|-----------|-------|-------|-------|
| Yes ..... | (221) | (220) | (441) |
|           | 15%   | 19%   | 17%   |
| No .....  | 85    | 81    | 83    |

**12. ARE THERE NEGRO FAMILIES IN NEIGHBORHOOD?**

|                  | T     | C     | All   |
|------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| Yes .....        | (224) | (221) | (445) |
|                  | 60%   | 16%   | 38%   |
| No .....         | 30    | 71    | 50    |
| Don't know ..... | 10    | 13    | 12    |

**13. WHERE DO YOU THINK NEGROES OUGHT TO LIVE IN THE CITY?**

|                                 | T     | C     | All   |
|---------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| Anywhere they please .....      | (213) | (216) | (429) |
|                                 | 51%   | 49%   | 50%   |
| In separate neighborhoods ..... | 42    | 49    | 46    |
| Don't know .....                | 7     | 2     | 4     |

**14. WOULD MOST NEIGHBORS AGREE WITH YOUR OPINION?**

|                  | Favoring Int. |      |       | Opposing Int. |       |       |
|------------------|---------------|------|-------|---------------|-------|-------|
|                  | T             | C    | All   | T             | C     | All   |
| Yes .....        | (106)         | (99) | (205) | (185)         | (101) | (186) |
|                  | 30%           | 20%  | 25%   | 61%           | 67%   | 64%   |
| No .....         | 23            | 24   | 24    | 8             | 4     | 6     |
| Don't know ..... | 47            | 56   | 51    | 31            | 29    | 30    |

**15. HOW CLOSE WOULD YOU ALLOW NEGROES TO MOVE?**

|                      | All   |       | Favoring Int. |      |       | Opposing Int. |      |       |
|----------------------|-------|-------|---------------|------|-------|---------------|------|-------|
|                      | T     | C     | T             | C    | All   | T             | C    | All   |
|                      | (202) | (205) | (103)         | (98) | (201) | (82)          | (99) | (181) |
| Next door .....      | 26%   | 17%   | 47%           | 33%  | 40%   | 5%            | 3%   | 4%    |
| Out of sight .....   | 17    | 14    | 9             | 6    | 8     | 22            | 22   | 22    |
| Any place .....      | 25    | 25    | 35            | 44   | 39    | 13            | 5    | 9     |
| Wouldn't Allow ..... | 23    | 38    | 5             | 9    | 7     | 50            | 67   | 59    |
| Don't know .....     | 9     | 6     | 4             | 8    | 6     | 10            | 3    | 6     |

**16. REACTION TO NEGROES MOVING INTO NEIGHBORHOOD?**

|                                                       | All        | All        | Favoring Int. |            |              | Opposing Int. |           |              |
|-------------------------------------------------------|------------|------------|---------------|------------|--------------|---------------|-----------|--------------|
|                                                       | T<br>(209) | C<br>(216) | T<br>(106)    | C<br>(105) | All<br>(211) | T<br>(85)     | C<br>(99) | All<br>(184) |
| Would try to preve                                    | 17%        | 14%        | 3%            | 1%         | 2%           | 35%           | 30%       | 32%          |
| Wouldn't like, do<br>nothing .....                    | 28         | 34         | 10            | 11         | 11           | 48            | 57        | 53           |
| Wouldn't care,<br>wouldn't act .....                  | 30         | 25         | 41            | 42         | 42           | 14            | 7         | 10           |
| Think it would be<br>fine, but wouldn't<br>help ..... | 13         | 12         | 21            | 19         | 20           | 3             | 4         | 3            |
| Would welcome,<br>would help .....                    | 11         | 13         | 4             | 25         | 24           | 0             | 0         | 1            |
| Don't know .....                                      | 1          | 2          | 1             | 2          | 1            | 0             | 1         | 1            |

**17. DO YOU COME IN CONTACT WITH NEGROES ON THE JOB?**

|                  | All        | All        | Favoring Int. |            |              | Opposing Int. |            |              |
|------------------|------------|------------|---------------|------------|--------------|---------------|------------|--------------|
|                  | T<br>(218) | C<br>(217) | T<br>(107)    | C<br>(102) | All<br>(209) | T<br>(87)     | C<br>(102) | All<br>(189) |
| Yes .....        | 33%        | 35%        | 37%           | 46%        | 42%          | 25%           | 25%        | 25%          |
| No .....         | 67         | 65         | 62            | 53         | 57           | 75            | 75         | 75           |
| Don't know ..... | 0          | 1          | 1             | 1          | 1            | 0             | 0          | 0            |

**18. CONTACT IN CHURCH OR COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES?**

|           | All        | All        | Favoring Int. |           |              | Opposing Int. |            |              |
|-----------|------------|------------|---------------|-----------|--------------|---------------|------------|--------------|
|           | T<br>(222) | C<br>(214) | T<br>(109)    | C<br>(98) | All<br>(207) | T<br>(88)     | C<br>(103) | All<br>(191) |
| Yes ..... | 17%        | 20%        | 21%           | 27%       | 24%          | 13%           | 15%        | 14%          |
| No .....  | 83         | 80         | 89            | 73        | 76           | 87            | 85         | 86           |

**19. WOULD YOU ASSOCIATE WITH A NEGRO NEIGHBOR MORE, LESS OR SAME?**

|                  | All        | All        | Favoring Int. |            |              | Opposing Int. |           |              |
|------------------|------------|------------|---------------|------------|--------------|---------------|-----------|--------------|
|                  | T<br>(210) | C<br>(213) | T<br>(106)    | C<br>(101) | All<br>(207) | T<br>(84)     | C<br>(99) | All<br>(183) |
| More .....       | 0%         | 2%         | 0%            | 4%         | 2%           | 0%            | 0%        | 0%           |
| Less .....       | 51         | 50         | 34            | 29         | 31           | 73            | 77        | 76           |
| Same .....       | 47         | 43         | 65            | 64         | 65           | 24            | 17        | 20           |
| Don't know ..... | 2          | 5          | 1             | 3          | 2            | 3             | 6         | 4            |

**20. NEIGHBOR PREFERENCES—INTEGRATIONISTS VS. SEGREGATIONISTS, ETC.**

|                          | Int.  | Seg.  | T     | C     | All   |
|--------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
|                          | (182) | (165) | (188) | (186) | (374) |
| Showed preference .....  | 58%   | 90%   | 76%   | 70%   | 73%   |
| Refused preference ..... | 42    | 10    | 24    | 30    | 27    |

**21. AGE GROUPS**

|                  | T     | C     | All   |
|------------------|-------|-------|-------|
|                  | (223) | (220) | (443) |
| 20-25 .....      | 26%   | 20%   | 23%   |
| 36-45 .....      | 29    | 22    | 25    |
| 46-50 .....      | 9     | 14    | 12    |
| 51 or over ..... | 36    | 44    | 40    |

**22. WHICH IS HOW YOU FEEL ABOUT NEGROES?**

|                                             | T     | C     | All   |
|---------------------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
|                                             | (201) | (192) | (393) |
| Would like to know some .....               | 25%   | 28%   | 27%   |
| Would leave them alone, be left alone ..... | 68    | 67    | 67    |
| Don't know .....                            | 7     | 5     | 6     |

**23. PREJUDICE RATING**

|                              | T     | C     | All   |
|------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
|                              | (223) | (216) | (439) |
| Little or no prejudice ..... | 37%   | 33%   | 35%   |
| Moderately prejudiced .....  | 32    | 31    | 32    |
| Extremely prejudiced .....   | 31    | 36    | 33    |

24. PROXIMITY TO NONWHITE DWELLING (applies to T areas only)

|                                                        | T<br>(223) |
|--------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Zone 1 (in close proximity)§ .....                     | 9%         |
| Zone 2 (in same block, but not in close prox.) .....   | 13         |
| Zone 3 (outside the block, but within test area) ..... | 78         |

SECTION 2 — ANALYSIS BASED ON PROXIMITY TO NONWHITES

Q. 13: WHERE SHOULD NEGROES LIVE?

|                                 | Zone 1<br>(19) | Zone 2<br>(29) | Zone 3<br>(163) |
|---------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Any where they please .....     | 68%            | 34%            | 52%             |
| In separate neighborhoods ..... | 21             | 59             | 42              |
| Don't know .....                | 11             | 7              | 6               |

Q. 15: HOW CLOSE WOULD ALLOW A NEGRO FAMILY TO MOVE?

|                                       | Zone 1<br>(17) | Zone 2<br>(27) | Zone 3<br>(154) |
|---------------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Next door .....                       | 35%            | 26%            | 26%             |
| Out of sight of property .....        | 6              | 7              | 19              |
| Any place they could find .....       | 29             | 18             | 25              |
| Would not allow in neighborhood ..... | 12             | 33             | 23              |
| Don't know .....                      | 18             | 15             | 7               |

Q. 16: REACTION TO NEGROES MOVING INTO NEIGHBORHOOD?

|                                         | Zone 1<br>(18) | Zone 2<br>(29) | Zone 3<br>(160) |
|-----------------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Would try to prevent .....              | 11%            | 24%            | 16%             |
| Wouldn't like it but wouldn't act ..... | 11             | 35             | 28              |
| Wouldn't care, wouldn't act .....       | 33             | 21             | 31              |
| Fine, but wouldn't take action .....    | 28             | 10             | 13              |
| Welcome it and would help .....         | 17             | 10             | 11              |
| Don't know .....                        | 0              | 0              | 1               |

Q. 17: DO YOU CONTACT NEGROES ON JOB?

|                  | Zone 1<br>(19) | Zone 2<br>(29) | Zone 3<br>(168) |
|------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Yes .....        | 32%            | 41%            | 31%             |
| No .....         | 68             | 55             | 69              |
| Don't know ..... | 0              | 4              | 0               |

Q. 18: CONTACT IN CHURCH OR COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES?

|                  | Zone 1<br>(18) | Zone 2<br>(30) | Zone 3<br>(172) |
|------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Yes .....        | 22%            | 20%            | 16%             |
| No .....         | 78             | 80             | 83              |
| Don't know ..... | 0              | 0              | 1               |

Q. 19: DEGREE OF ASSOCIATION WITH NEGRO NEIGHBOR

|                  | Zone 1<br>(17) | Zone 2<br>(27) | Zone 3<br>(165) |
|------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| More .....       | 0%             | 0%             | 0%              |
| Less .....       | 59             | 56             | 50              |
| Same .....       | 41             | 40             | 48              |
| Don't know ..... | 0              | 4              | 2               |

Q. 22: WHICH IS HOW YOU FEEL ABOUT NEGROES?

|                                         | Zone 1<br>(18) | Zone 2<br>(27) | Zone 3<br>(156) |
|-----------------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Would like to know Negroes better ..... | 28%            | 22%            | 25%             |
| Would leave alone, be left alone .....  | 67             | 78             | 66              |
| Don't know .....                        | 5              | 0              | 9               |

PREJUDICE RATINGS

|                              | Zone 1<br>(19) | Zone 2<br>(30) | Zone 3<br>(173) |
|------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Little or no prejudice ..... | 53%            | 27%            | 37%             |
| Moderately prejudiced .....  | 31             | 43             | 31              |
| Extremely prejudiced .....   | 16             | 30             | 32              |

§Applies to properties adjoining or directly across the street from nonwhite dwelling.

**PREFERENCES IN NEIGHBORS**

|                          | Zone 1      | Zone 2      | Zone 3       |
|--------------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| Shown preference .....   | (15)<br>73% | (24)<br>80% | (145)<br>76% |
| Refused preference ..... | 27          | 20          | 24           |

**SECTION 3 — ANALYSIS ACCORDING TO AGE GROUPS**

**Q. 13: WHERE DO YOU THINK NEGROES OUGHT TO LIVE?**

|                                 | Ages | 20-35 | 36-50 | 51 & Over |
|---------------------------------|------|-------|-------|-----------|
|                                 |      | (94)  | (156) | (172)     |
| Anywhere they please .....      | 62%  | 50%   | 43%   |           |
| In separate neighborhoods ..... | 32   | 44    | 55    |           |
| Don't know .....                | 6    | 6     | 2     |           |

**Q. 15: HOW CLOSE WOULD YOU ALLOW NEGROES TO MOVE?**

|                                | Ages | 20-35 | 36-50 | 51 & Over |
|--------------------------------|------|-------|-------|-----------|
|                                |      | (95)  | (152) | (154)     |
| Next door .....                | 22%  | 25%   | 18%   |           |
| Out of sight of property ..... | 18   | 16    | 14    |           |
| Any place .....                | 33   | 27    | 23    |           |
| Wouldn't allow .....           | 19   | 26    | 41    |           |
| Don't know .....               | 8    | 9     | 4     |           |

**Q. 16: REACTIONS TO NEGROES MOVING IN?**

|                                                 | Ages | 20-35 | 36-50 | 51 & Over |
|-------------------------------------------------|------|-------|-------|-----------|
|                                                 |      | (96)  | (156) | (170)     |
| Would try to prevent .....                      | 6%   | 15%   | 20%   |           |
| Wouldn't like it but wouldn't do anything ..... | 26   | 30    | 35    |           |
| Wouldn't care, wouldn't act .....               | 33   | 30    | 22    |           |
| Fine, but no action .....                       | 15   | 12    | 12    |           |
| Welcome it and would help .....                 | 17   | 12    | 10    |           |
| Don't know .....                                | 3    | 1     | 1     |           |

**Q. 19: DEGREE OF ASSOCIATION WITH NEGRO NEIGHBOR**

|                  | Ages | 20-35 | 36-50 | 51 & Over |
|------------------|------|-------|-------|-----------|
|                  |      | (98)  | (154) | (168)     |
| More .....       | 0%   | 1%    | 2%    |           |
| Less .....       | 48   | 47    | 55    |           |
| Same .....       | 49   | 49    | 38    |           |
| Don't know ..... | 3    | 3     | 5     |           |

**PREFERENCES IN NEIGHBORS**

|                          | Ages | 20-35 | 36-50 | 51 & Over |
|--------------------------|------|-------|-------|-----------|
|                          |      | (83)  | (140) | (149)     |
| Shown preference .....   | 76%  | 70%   | 75%   |           |
| Refused preference ..... | 24   | 30    | 25    |           |

**Q. 22: WHICH IS HOW YOU FEEL ABOUT NEGROES?**

|                                      | Ages | 20-35 | 36-50 | 51 & Over |
|--------------------------------------|------|-------|-------|-----------|
|                                      |      | (90)  | (143) | (159)     |
| Like to know Negroes better .....    | 31%  | 25%   | 25%   |           |
| Leave them alone, be let alone ..... | 59   | 69    | 71    |           |
| Don't know .....                     | 10   | 6     | 4     |           |

**PREJUDICE RATINGS**

|                              | Ages | 20-35 | 36-50 | 51 & Over |
|------------------------------|------|-------|-------|-----------|
|                              |      | (98)  | (159) | (177)     |
| Little or no prejudice ..... | 46%  | 28%   | 32%   |           |
| Moderately prejudiced .....  | 29   | 36    | 28    |           |
| Extremely prejudiced .....   | 25   | 36    | 40    |           |

## SECTION 4 — ANALYSIS OF RESPONSES OF PARENTS VS. NON-PARENTS

### Q. 13: WHERE DO YOU THINK NEGROES OUGHT TO LIVE?

Respondents with minor children (241):

|                                 | All<br>parents<br>(227) | With<br>boys only<br>(54) | With<br>girls only<br>(55) | With<br>both<br>(118) |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| Anywhere they please .....      | 52%                     | 54%                       | 47%                        | 53%                   |
| In separate neighborhoods ..... | 42                      | 43                        | 40                         | 43                    |
| Don't know .....                | 6                       | 3                         | 13                         | 4                     |

Respondents without minor children (194):

|                              |     |
|------------------------------|-----|
| Anywhere they please .....   | 48% |
| Separate neighborhoods ..... | 50  |
| Don't know .....             | 2   |

### PREJUDICE RATINGS

|                              | Parents | Non-Parent |
|------------------------------|---------|------------|
| Little or no prejudice ..... | 35%     | 34%        |
| Moderately prejudiced .....  | 34      | 28         |
| Extremely prejudiced .....   | 30      | 36         |
| No basis for rating .....    | 1       | 2          |

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**A Final Word . . .**

## **THE CHALLENGE IS YOURS**

**Herein are the facts. These facts debunk the myth of the devaluation of property by race in our community. They also present a picture in racial attitudes that is far from perfect. They throw new light on the problem of racial segregation in housing in Portland. The business of meeting this problem is up to you, and you—and all of us. Whether you are a builder, a businessman, a clergyman, a civic leader, a real estate broker, a public official or a private homeowner, you have a responsibility to help eliminate the false notions, prejudice, discrimination and injustice which plague our minorities in their quest for adequate, modern, non-segregated housing. You can work earnestly and honestly in your own field of activity to remove this blotch from the escutcheon of democracy, and you can join with the Urban League in its community-wide educational campaign to make Portland the nation's best city in race relations.**

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Survey Text by John S. Holley,  
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