Changing residential patterns in Southwest Atlanta from 1960 to 1970

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ABSTRACT

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Changing Residential Patterns in Southwest Atlanta from 1960 to 1970

Advisor: Professor Hubert B. Ross

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Problem.—Residential areas in Atlanta, Georgia, have undergone many changes since World War I. As a result of the migration of blacks to metropolitan areas, there has been an increase in their percentage of the total population. Many studies have been conducted concerning black expansion from 1940 through 1960. These studies, therefore, are continued in this endeavor to study the changing residential expansion in the Southwest section of Atlanta from 1960 to 1970.

Purpose.—An attempt was made to define and study those residential areas in Southwest Atlanta which were undergoing residential change. It has been a process of residential expansion and involves changes in the racial composition of the neighborhood which mostly turned from white to black. A definite pattern related to previous prevalent residential change in Southwest Atlanta emerges.

Procedure.—Data was collected by several means: newspaper clippings, maps, and other literary sources. From this data, we were able to obtain residential change in Southwest Atlanta.
Newspaper clippings covered the events of SWAP (Southwest Atlant-ans For Progress), an organization formed in an effort to maintain the bi-racial character of Southwest Atlanta. Also, this organization was essential in putting an end to some of the practices of real estate agents in encouraging panic selling of homes.

Results.—A comparison of residential areas of Atlanta for 1966 and 1969 indicated that areas which were transitional in 1966 had become black residential areas by 1969. SWAP has been relatively ineffective in its effort to develop and maintain bi-racial communities in Southwest Atlanta.

Conclusion.—The study shows that after a brief period of transition in which there is a shift in population from white to black, neighborhoods tend to maintain their previously segregated racial patterns. Essential to keeping the residences segregated is public policy on housing as formulated by real estate agents, social agencies, and other white homeowners. The shift of population has created, however, new centers of political power for blacks, and it will be of interest to observe whether or not the election and appointment of black officials will alter or modify this problem.
CHANGING RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS IN SOUTHWEST ATLANTA
FROM 1960 TO 1970

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

BY
CLAUDIA M. TURNER

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

ATLANTA, GEORGIA
JULY 1970
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Residential patterns in most southern cities are characterized by residential segregation. Several types of patterns exist. (1) Backyard residential patterns are typical of some cities. Charleston, South Carolina is a good example. (2) Also some southern cities follow the "isolated community" pattern in which black communities are separated from white by physical or fixed barriers. Of this, Atlanta, Georgia, the city of our study, is an example.

As a result of residential segregation, other social institutions also become segregated.

Residential segregation virtually ensures the segregation of a variety of social institutions. Recreational facilities, grocery, drug, and other convenience-good stores, churches, hospitals, medical and employment service centers, and the full range of locales which bring people together for informal and frequent contact—all are racially segregated as a simple consequence of residential segregation. Schools too are more easily segregated if residential segregation exists, though it must be recognized that some aspects of the neighborhood school system have arisen as a means of instituting and preserving racial separation in the schools rather than a mechanical response to residential patterns. ... 1

Segregation also occurs in employment.

Thus Negro incomes are lower than white incomes in part because Negroes are concentrated in the lower occupational strata and have less steady employment. That these factors do not account for the entire difference is taken as evidence of discrimination in the allocation of wages; Negro workers do not

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receive the same income that white workers do for the same jobs. At each step in the life-cycle the effect of race can similarly be split into that attributable only to discrimination. Moving backward from jobs, difficulties of Negroes in the labor market reflect lower levels of attainment as well as discrimination in employment. ²

Gross differences in income from whites cause many blacks to be concentrated in undesirable areas of the city. For many years, black people in Atlanta were confined to certain wards and segregated units of the city. But during the 1950’s and 1960’s, Atlanta, along with many other American cities, has witnessed great residential expansion among blacks. This expansion has been due to the following factors: increase in the black population, development of better opportunities in employment, and increase in income and education. These factors have created a desire for better living conditions. Because of these factors, blacks began to invade white residential areas of the city. Most of this invasion has been in the Southwest section of Atlanta. Therefore, we shall be concerned with residential expansion from 1960 to 1970. In order to have a better understanding of changing residential patterns, one should be familiar with the early population distribution of Atlanta. Also, of importance is the role which other social institutions played in trying to maintain the early patterns of population distribution.

Information concerning the early development of distinct black districts in Atlanta, Georgia, is taken from an unpublished Master's thesis by Dorothy Slade. From her study, one finds the following changes taking place in the population of Atlanta:

During 1890, Atlanta was divided into six wards. The majority

¹Ibid., p. 105.
of the black population was concentrated in Wards 1, 4, 6. At this time blacks comprised 42.9 per cent of the total population. By 1940, the black population was 33.4 per cent of the total population and 39 per cent of the total black population had shifted from Wards 1 and 4 to Ward 3.

Later these wards were replaced by census tracts. From 1930 to 1940 these census tracts showed that 37.3 per cent of the black population lived in the Southwest section of Atlanta. In the Southwest section which extended to the west of the center of the city, were the tracts which contained the bulk of the black population. These tracts consisted of tracts F-43, F-36, F-37, F-38, F-39, F-26, F-25, F-24, F-22, and F-23.1 A map of the city will show these areas contained in the census tracts.

As the population of the city increased, black people sought to build better housing and expand to other areas of the city. However, prior to 1930, the policies of the Federal government did not favor the disadvantaged. These policies were embedded in the codes of housing agencies and served as a barrier to thwart expansion of the black population and improvement of their housing.

Real estate boards adhered to the following practices which were embodied in their national code. Until the revision of the code in 1950, these policies were executed.

Article 34 of the National code stated that "A realtor should never be instrumental in introducing into a neighbor- hood a character of property or occupancy members of any race or nationality, or any individuals whose presence will clearly be detrimental to property values in the neighborhood."

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As revised, the article now stipulates 'A realtor should never be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood a character of property or use which will clearly be detrimental to property in that neighborhood.'

Even though the article was reworded, realtors guided most of their actions in accordance with previous stated policies until the Federal government prohibited discrimination in housing some ten years later.

But the Federal housing Administration discouraged discrimination in housing. Evidence of this is found in its underwriting manual for 1938, which states the following: "If a neighborhood is to retain stability it is necessary that properties should continue to be by the same racial and social classes."

In a report issued by the Metropolitan Atlanta Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing, much information was compiled on housing policies in Atlanta. Black minorities were found to be disadvantaged by these policies. Local policies, economic suppression and personal policies were discussed.

Atlanta adopted the policy of keeping the homes occupied by blacks and whites as far apart as possible. This was achieved by using fixed and natural physical barriers as symbols of separation. Another impediment to open housing for blacks was their displacement as a result of government programs ostensibly undertaken for community projects involving improvement, such as highway construction, urban renewal, public housing and code enforcement. Much resistance in particular on


2Ibid., p. 25.
the part of realtors and housing officials stemmed from early Federal housing policies. Many myths regarding public housing were created which thwarted development of public low cost housing. Builders of private apartments and residences were also faced with similar problems. Nathan Strauss outlines these in his book entitled The Seven Myths of Housing.

These myths are as follows:

1. There are no slums in my town.
2. Public housing does not clean slums.
3. The government should buy up the slums.
4. Public housing is costly and extravagant.
5. Public housing does not relocate families from slums.
6. The slum dweller creates the slums.
7. Public housing injures business and threatens to bankrupt the country.

Through experience, education and changing policies, many of these myths were later overcome by some housing officials.

Other local policies which serve as impediments to the disadvantaged are zoning land which was proposed for housing, for commercial and industrial areas, and the building of physical barriers to maintain segregation.

For example, the proposed Butler Street project, which was to be built in Atlanta, was absorbed by I-75 and I-85. Some uses of the land were for office and motel construction. Road patterns were designed so that few streets traversed the urban community. Also, the names of many streets are changed so that whites will not appear to live on the

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same streets as blacks. To block off areas from possible integration, public housing is constructed. In the area of economics, the system is so designed that black advancement is seriously hampered.

Statistics show that in 1960, seven out of every ten males worked in operatives, services or as laborers. Also, 80 per cent of females worked as maids, in services or in operatives. Further statistics showed that blacks constituted 45 per cent of the unemployed in 1960.

Personal prejudices also prohibited black expansion for a short period. One of the prohibitions was found in the "Gentlemen's Agreement" which stated that Negroes were not to move beyond Westview Drive. However, despite this agreement, westside expansion began in 1940.

Much of this expansion was due to changing policies set forth in President Kennedy's Executive Order of 1962. "Also Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 prohibited discrimination on the sale, rental, or financing of residential housing on the grounds of race, color, religion or national origin."1

In a review of the literature, previous studies will illustrate west side expansion from 1940 to 1960.

Moreover, our study will deal with westward expansion from 1960 to 1970 after the changing policies were initiated.

1Metropolitan Atlanta Conference on Equal Opportunity in Housing, pp. 15-63.
Statement of the problem.--Our study will be focused on the changing residential patterns in Southwest Atlanta from 1960 to 1970. After the erection and removal of the Peyton Road barricade in 1962, blacks began to expand to the outlying areas of the Southwestern section of Atlanta. The series of events which took place during this decade will be described in our study.

Limitations of the study.--At the time of this study, the 1970 census had not been released. Therefore, a demographic study or statistical analysis, which has been used in previous studies, could not be employed.

Methodology.--By use of interviews, newspaper clippings, recent studies, maps, tables, and observations, we were able to secure data which indicated the increase of black expansion into the outlying Southwest Atlanta area.

In organizing the data, we were able to establish a chronology of events from 1960 to 1970 and we were able to employ a descriptive historical study.

Also, I would like to acknowledge the American Friends Service Committee and the Southern Regional Council for the information they provided. Without this information, this study could not have been completed.
CHAPTER II
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Many studies have been conducted concerning housing patterns across the country. An insight into some of these related studies enables one to see that housing problems are not unique to Atlanta.

By means of personal interviews, one such study was conducted in a suburb of Baltimore, Maryland. Ellsworth Rosen and Arnold Nicholson listened to a group of business leaders who were trying to find a solution to that city's problem of changing residential patterns. This group was mainly concerned with establishing and maintaining bi-racial communities. The events involved in the housing problems of this Baltimore suburb are similar to some of the problems which Atlanta encountered.

As residential patterns began to change, Ashburton, a Baltimore suburb, began to experience blockbusting. This method of exciting panic among residents has been used by many realtors.

Blockbusting in its simplest form consists of placing on a street a family whose class or race excites fear or prejudice in the neighbors and the deliberate exploiting of this prejudice to create panic and to depress real estate values. ¹

Originally, Ashburton was built as an exclusive restricted community. After World War II, Jews began to move in this area and in

1956 the first black family, a high school principal, bought a home in the neighborhood. In less than a year, over forty more black families had migrated to this neighborhood. By 1957, residential change was at its peak and "For Sale" signs were seen in all areas of this suburb. Rosen and Nicholson found that real estate agents took advantage of increasing black migration by the following practices:

As soon as one house on a block was sold to a Negro, swarms of agents went on a house to house campaign, spreading the news and warning residents to put their houses up for sale, 'while you can still get the price.' Some brokers, when they got listings refused to show the homes to white prospects. Specialists in Negro housing, obviously aware of the panic value, put up "sold signs" on homes which had not really been sold.

A few speculators purchased homes in strategic areas and moved in low income Negro families on a weekly-rental basis. Black families were persuaded to buy under contract agreement requiring no down payment and monthly installments 'just like rent.'

The ads in the real-estate sections of the newspaper openly proclaimed 'Ashburton colored' even though our neighborhood was still more than 95 per cent white.  

In many cities which experience changing residential patterns, the role of real estate agents is usually notorious. Several studies which we will later review will show evidence of this.

Moreover, many whites wanted to maintain residence in the Ashburton community, so with the help of Sidney Hollander, President of the neighboring Windsor Hills Association, Ashburton was able to solve the problem by soliciting white home buyers. Also they made complaints and brought suits against the practices of the real estate agents.

In order to maintain a bi-racial community, Ashburton established a quota for black and white homeowners.

The practice of establishing quotas brings us to a significant

1Ibid., pp. 139-140.
study of housing problems by L. K. Northwood and L. H. Klein. This study was part of a survey conducted in fifteen cities across the United States. Northwood and Klein examined the quota system used in minority housing and maintaining segregated neighborhood patterns.

It was found that social agencies had knowledge of the fact that residential patterns could be segregated or integrated by the use of quota systems. Of importance is the role of various agencies and organizations in controlling residential patterns.

The quota system operates in the following manner:

1. The size of the quota varies by time and place.
2. The quota most frequently applies to Negroes.
3. Quotas were extended to cover minorities and low income groups of all races.
4. Quotas were used to control occupancy in areas having a wide variation of income and occupation. Quotas exist in projects and neighborhoods where the annual family income was as low as $3,000 or as high as $30,000.
5. Occupations ranged from laborers, unskilled workers and welfare recipients to professionals, businessmen and labor officials.

Devices for enforcing the quotas are as follows:

1. There are long waiting lists.
2. Some were referred to other projects.
3. There were group tenant selection plans.
4. The central housing office in one city was said to make a practice of referring a Negro applicant to the project housing having the lowest percent of that race.

In private housing, enforcement was by means of selling practices of real estate brokers, lending institutions, community pressures of homeowners, and resale agreements among homeowners.

Much difficulty was experienced in determining mechanisms for enforcing the quota because of unwritten agreements and un-official practices.1

However, through a review of the literature, one can see the role of notorious real estate agents and the unofficial actions of many citizens.

Another study was conducted by Charles Abrams, who provides many illustrations of changing residential patterns in various cities of the United States. However, we will refer to two studies made in Detroit and Miami.

Residential expansion in Detroit was marked by violent explosions. Blacks began to migrate to Detroit from many Southern cities. By the end of World War II, the Black population was 16 per cent of the total. Housing problems arose and FHA took the lead in advocating "racial exclusion." When blacks moved into an area adjoining a proposed FHA project, it approved walling them off. The wall in Detroit is now referred to as the "Wailing Wall." Thus blacks were prevented from occupying housing in outlying areas of the city. Therefore, they were concentrated in black districts and slum neighborhoods.

Tension was mounting and in 1925, the moving of Dr. Ossian Sweet, a black doctor, into an all white section, set off the spark for rioting. Dr. Sweet continued to occupy his home and was later accused of killing an innocent bystander while defending his home. His case was taken to court and he won the case.

Other explosions occurred when the Federal Works Agency built the Sojourner Truth Houses for blacks. Several hundred whites bombed the housing project while police and other officials sat idly by.

As housing became a problem, it provided a leading issue for

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politicians. Two candidates ran for Mayor, George Edwards, who favored public housing, and Albert Cobo, an advocate for private homeownership. Much of his support came from the "selfstyled neighborhood improvement association" which is associated with Detroit's history of violence. Its main purpose is to resist every intrusion of minority population into white neighborhoods. Cobo won over Edwards and housing for blacks still remained a problem. As the black population began to increase, they gained more political power. In 1954, housing projects financed by the Federal government began the policy of mixed occupancy. As a result of increased political strength, blacks are gaining more power and more respect. One can note from this Study that housing problems are not restricted to southern cities.

Miami, like other large cities, resisted Black residential expansion. Dynamitings and bombings, during the 1950's, climaxed this resistance.

As a result of black in-migration and an increase in the white population, housing became a problem. This housing problem was a little different from that of other studies. Between 1940 and 1955, Miami's black population rose by less than 10 per cent while the white population more than doubled. The Negroes supplied the unskilled labor, the hotel workers, food handlers and household servants. In the drive of whites for housing the Negroes steadily pushed out into areas eight to twenty miles from their work places. Only about 40,000 remained in Miami proper.

These Negroes were herded into a few dense slums that had no running water or inside toilets and were termite ridden that a gapping hole could be made by pressing a finger against a wall. . . . These older cabins brought upwards of $10 a week, while newer ones of three tiny rooms and a kitchen brought $18.50 a week or more. Four to six of these cabins were

1Thid., p. 97.
jammed onto a single lot. Because of the prohibitive rents, doubling up with other families and taking in lodgers were common practices. While 11 persons to the acre is the normal density in Miami, Negroes were being crowded at the rate of 200.\footnote{Ibid., p. 121.}

Moreover, residential patterns in Miami are new since the population consists of migrants from all parts of the country. The combined fears and prejudices of northerners, westerners and southerners are evident in housing patterns. When two Miami builders decided to build a 400 unit FHA private project for whites on one side of the wall and projects for blacks on the other side, several explosions occurred. Carver Village, a housing project, was dynamited. This was done as a warning to try to keep blacks out of the housing project.

After this incident, tension began to mount and several other bombings of black homeowners occurred. Police and city officials did not interfere with the dynamitings. Bombings and explosions were characteristic of many southern cities which wished to thwart black residential expansion.

Charles Abrams, in these two studies, worked from the theoretical framework of the role of homeowners, homebuilders, and mortgage lenders who were convinced that people should live only with their own kind. Also these persons held fears that minority groups destroy property values. These fears and prejudices became embodied in Federal policy and public powers were also enforcing the discriminatory practices.\footnote{Ibid., pp. ix-9.} Emphasis is placed on the interplay of public and private concerns in controlling residential patterns.
Of the many studies conducted on changing residential patterns, that of Philadelphia done by Chester Rapkin and William G. Grigsby provides much useful information.

Embody in this study was the theory that the "nature and state of the market itself—the quality of housing, types of structures, tenure and vacancy rates have a considerable bearing on the ease with which Negroes enters a white market and the response which this entry evokes."\(^1\)

For this study, the theoretical framework advocates that the real estate market plays the most important role in residential transition. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to examine several sections of Philadelphia and the way in which the real estate market has fostered changing residential patterns.

In the entire city of Philadelphia, the population shift has been dynamic for many years. One of the largest racial minorities of any northern city is found in Philadelphia. "In 1950, its 379,000 non-whites comprised more than 18 per cent of the total population."\(^2\) However, the black population has increased since 1950 and comprises approximately 25 per cent of the total.

Historically, non-whites have comprised over 9 per cent of the total population. From 1910 to 1930 there was a three-fold increase in black expansion but the increase in 1940 was greater.

Economically, the position of non-whites has improved which is

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\(^2\)Ibid., p. 4.
evident by a rise in home ownership. However, home purchases of blacks have been concentrated in predominantly black areas. Rapkin and Grigsby list the inability of blacks to afford new housing as one of the reasons.

For over a 100 year span a limited number of blacks have moved into all white neighborhoods. Because the percentage was very low, serious attention was not given to this invasion. The ecology of Philadelphia provides one with a better understanding of residential patterns.

In the southeast section of Philadelphia, which was laid out by William Penn, is found 6th and Lombard, the historic center of black settlement in Philadelphia. Instead of Blacks being concentrated in a "black-belt" they are dispersed throughout the city in fifteen wards which comprise about 80 per cent of the black population. The 1950 census shows that "there are fewer than one hundred non-whites." Unlike Atlanta, this factor accounts for great concentration of black expansion in all sections of the city. Moreover, five areas were selected as the basis for this study. They are as follows: West Philadelphia, Strawberry Mansion, Tasker and Old City.

In this study the following variables were used: (1) rate of racial transition and (2) the quality of housing. In West Philadelphia and Strawberry Mansion the rate of transition was rapid and it was slow in Tucker and Old City. However, the quality of housing in West Philadelphia and Tasker was good. In Strawberry Mansion and Old City it was poor. Rapkin and Grigsby based these variables on the 1950

\[1\text{Ibid., p. 6.}\]
census.

In the studies conducted the social characteristics of the area were described.

West Philadelphia is a residential area with a population of over 80,000. Light industry, large commercial centers, 250,000 homes, churches, colleges, a library and a hospital are found in this area. An elevated railroad on Market Street separates this area from the black section. Row type homes are found in West Philadelphia and the median value of homes according to the 1950 census was approximately $7,900. Most of the adults had a high school education and an average income of $4,000.

Several ethnic transitions have been witnessed in the neighborhood. Irish and English, Germans and Russian Jews, followed by Greeks and Armenians have occupied this area. Black people began to settle in this area in 1920 but they were few in number and did not upset the stability of the section. However, by 1930, when increasing numbers of blacks sought residence in the area, they were rejected. By 1955, a large number of blacks had entered the area.

Strawberry Mansion has limited social institutions. Private investment is limited and the only new construction is two public housing projects, school and community buildings. All of these are financed by public funds.

The ethnic composition consists of Germans who were replaced by Jewish immigrants. During the 1900's Blacks began to settle there and reside in every block in that section. With this huge influx of blacks, landlords began to divide these houses into several apartments of substandard quality. Although the housing standard is below
average, the rent is quite high.

Tasker is an area of working class homes located near swamps, gasworks and garbage dumps. Later the government constructed housing units. Also the Catholic Church built other structures. Irish, Italians, Russians, and Poles comprise the majority of the population.

Black people have been located near the railroad and in established "Negro districts," Since World War II, blacks have increased their occupancy in the all white areas.

Old City is one of the earliest settlement areas in Philadelphia. The northern portion is famous for Independence Hall and other historical monuments. During colonial times, aristocrats occupied this area and developed "backyard residence" patterns for blacks. Old City was the first center of the black population in Philadelphia. Today much of the land is zoned for commercial and industrial use. Since Rapkin and Grigsby based this study on the theory that the real estate market plays a great role in residential transition, we shall look at some ways of financing and some rates for house occupancy.

Rapkin and Grigsby state the following:

Although many social and demographic factors provide the setting for the racial transition of neighborhoods the focal point of the process is to be found in the real estate market. Price levels, price trends, mortgage terms, mortgage lending policies all have a significant impact on white and non white demand and therefore in determining what happens to the racial characteristics of an area.¹

In the financing of homes the market depends on credit. Especially in racially changing areas, the rate and direction of transition

¹Ibid., p. 81.
and mortgage lending policies play an important role in regulating black and white demand.

From the four areas studied, it was found that there was little or no difference in the lending policies for blacks and whites. However, whites made more use of savings and loan associations.

Savings and loan associations furnished almost three-fourths of the financing for Negroes, 57 per cent for white and 56 per cent for absentees. Mortgage service companies provided funds for 13 per cent of the Negro, 16 per cent of the white and only 3 per cent of the absentee buyers...

The lending was heavily concentrated among a few institutions. In West Philadelphia for example, almost 200 transactions were financed by a single company and the eight most active lenders accounted for 52 per cent of the loans...

The highest priced units were transferred in West Philadelphia, where the average acquisition costs for Negroes and whites alike was $8,300. Home prices were considerably lower in both Strawberry Mansion and Tasker, where the averages were $6,000 and $4,880, respectively. In Strawberry Mansion, Negroes paid considerably more on the average than did whites. The mean price for Negro purchases was $6,315 as compared with only $5,110 for white acquisitions. In Tasker the reverse was true. Whites $5,600 on the average as contrasted with $4,820 for Negroes.

... It was reported that attempts were made to prevent Negroes from acquiring homes in portions of Zones 4 and 5 where prices appear to be the most attractive. In addition it is known that many Negroes in West Philadelphia and in the rest of the city were victims of unconscionable charges at settlement. 1

Even though racial transition has been easier in Philadelphia than in some other cities, blacks still encounter discriminatory practices and policies.

Robert A. Thompson, Hylan Lewis and Davis McEntire have conducted a study of housing in Atlanta and Birmingham. At this point the Birmingham study will be reviewed and the study on housing will be reviewed later in this paper.

1 Ibid., pp. 83-95.
By means of observation, interviews, statistics and other research this information was gathered. Theoretically, the study is based on the interplay of social agencies and private concerns in controlling residential patterns.

The 1950 census shows that Birmingham, Alabama, had a population of 559,000. Blacks comprised 209,000 of the total.

Residential patterns in Birmingham have been constant for over twenty years. Black residential areas are surrounded by white residences and buffer zones which have repressed expansion. Violence, terror and racial zoning have been used to thwart black expansion.

Historically, as early as 1939 blacks were confined to thirty-seven small areas. This confinement was validated by zoning laws.

In September of 1949, these racial zoning ordinances were declared unconstitutional and blacks began to build homes in other areas of the city. In the case of public housing, 4,300 units were built for blacks between 1945 and 1956. Investigations show that less than 100 new homes were built during this period.

Financial institutions which are black owned are limited. This among other factors accounts for the lack of residential expansion in Birmingham.1

Numerous studies have been conducted on housing in Atlanta. One of them is an unpublished thesis by James Walter Whitehead, which was completed in 1958. His primary emphasis was on black residential succession by use of the invasion-succession theory and statistical analysis. From 1900 to 1950 the population grew rapidly. By 1930

the residential pattern was set and little change took place. Blacks were confined to specific areas. During this period, 70 per cent of the white population lived outside the old 35 mile area, which prior to 1952 was the city of Atlanta. Seventy-three per cent of the black population lived within that central area. The largest increase of the black population occurred between 1920 and 1930. The increase was 31 per cent, twice that of any decade.

Those tracts in which blacks were concentrated in 1930 were still heavily filled with blacks in 1950. Very little change took place between 1930 and 1950.

Tracts with 70 per cent black population and over are as follows: D-6, 70.9 per cent; F-18, 89.4 per cent; F-22, 99.6 per cent; F-23, 96.9 per cent; F-24, 99.9 per cent; F-25, 99.9 per cent; F-26, 99.8 per cent; F-28, 99.5 per cent; F-29, 99.2 per cent; F-36, 99.6 per cent; F-34, 73.9 per cent; F-37, 99.9 per cent; F-38, 99.8 per cent; F-39, 88.2 per cent; F-43, 95.6 per cent; F-44, 85.4 per cent; F-57, 88.2 per cent; and F-63, 88.4 per cent.¹ (See map.)

By the use of demographic analysis, Gloriastene Thompson, in 1959 analyzed the pattern of residential segregation in Atlanta. Great use is made of the theory of residential succession which was employed by Otis and Beverly Duncan in their study of "The Negro Population of Chicago."

From 1850 to 1930, the bulk of the population of Atlanta was concentrated in the "Fourth Ward." Many black business enterprises were in the eastern section of Atlanta.

In 1910 Negroes were practically found in all areas of the city. The 1950 census shows a decrease in the concentration of Negroes on the eastside and a greater concentration on the westside. A more definable change in the location of Negroes can be observed in 1950. There are almost no Negroes living beyond the Fulton County line within the city limits. The Negro community now extends westward from the business district to the Atlanta Standard Metropolitan Area limits.¹

Analyzing the problem from census tracts one finds the following:

The number of mixed tracts have decreased tremendously since 1910. Those tracts having from 60 to 70 per cent Negro in 1910 increased to the 80-100 per cent level by 1958. . . . Tracts showing 20 to 39 per cent Negroes in 1910 showed more of a decrease in percentage in 1958. . . . A total of sixty-five tracts over the past eighteen years showed a specific change in the percentage of the total population of the specific tract.²

Moreover, from this change in the population composition of the census tracts, one can denote a shift in the location of the black population of Atlanta.

One of the most extensive studies of housing for blacks in Atlanta was conducted by Robert A. Thompson, Hylan Lewis and Davis Mcentire. This study was completed in 1960.³ Many of the studies performed by other individuals have been influenced by this study.

From the nature of the economy, the social climate of each community and the interplay of key social agencies, financial institutions and individual concerns, a theoretical guide was developed.

The economic and social setting of the black community is essential for this study. In 1950, it was found that although blacks

¹Gloriastene Thompson, "The Expansion of the Negro Community in Atlanta, Georgia, From 1910 to 1958" (unpublished M. A. thesis, Atlanta University, 1959), pp. 11-12.

²Ibid., p. 19.

comprised one-fourth of the population they received less than one-eighth of the income of the Atlanta area. Also, in 1950, two-fifths of the white population lived within the metropolitan area as compared to three-fourths of the black population.

Historically, Atlanta was a railroad city and this affected street and residential patterns. Blacks lived near the railroads for various reasons. The land was cheaper. Many blacks worked for the railroads. These railroads also served as residential barriers. Before and after World War I, blacks began to expand eastward and a few tried to expand to the northern section of Atlanta. When this attempt was made, whites applied pressure to prevent this and blacks began to expand to the west.

Responsibility for a large number of blacks migrating to the west rested on Heman Perry. He sold to the city the land tract for Booker T. Washington school for blacks and his companies also handled real estate operations building and financing.

During 1940, blacks began to move toward the inner city and whites began to move to the outside of the city. At this time whites were able to prevent expansion of blacks into the Mozley Park area.

Also on the westside of Atlanta there were both quality and slum housing for blacks. Quality housing was a row termed "Ph.D. row" on Beckett Street which consisted of faculty homes of the Atlanta University Center. Also there was a slum area near the University known as the Beaverslide slums. Later these slums were demolished and the first public housing for blacks in the United States was developed.

As more public housing was built for blacks, there was
dissension among the black community because the housing projects were built in established black communities. Therefore public housing was used as a factor to circumscribe if not to prevent residential proximity of blacks and whites. Public housing for whites has also been used to thwart black residential expansion. In 1950 when black expansion was crowding white residential and business areas, efforts were made to prevent black advancement by the erection of the Joel Chandler Harris Housing Project for whites.

While the black community was preparing for expansion, problems arose over land sites. To investigate this controversy, a Temporary Co-ordinating Committee on Housing was formed. This committee later organized the Atlanta Housing Council to conduct further investigations. After careful study and negotiations, Chenault Incorporation was formed in May, 1948. They purchased a large tract of land as a building site. The project to be built was the "Fair Haven Subdivision." Financing the project was the white owned Life Insurance Company of Georgia and J. R. Williams Realty Co., a black owned company was appointed the official representative.

Another problem concerning land sites was related to that tract of land chosen for the development of the "High Point" Apartments. Opposition centered about the following issues:

...getting the proposed express highway shifted, getting the land rezoned for apartment house use by the Fulton County Commissioner; submitting an application to FHA in time for processing before expiration of section 608 Title VI (March 1, 1950) and overcoming the objections of white residents who did not want Negroes on their property. . . . It was alleged by Housing, Inc., that the express highway had been shifted to its original position onto the property proposed for the project at the instance of white real estate developers. When efforts to restore the highway to its original position failed, a delegation
went to Washington, D. C. to seek assistance from the Federal Bureau of Public Roads. ¹

Finally these obstacles were overcome and the project was approved, but when blacks attempted to expand into the Mozley Park Area, "A Klan-like group calling itself the Columbians was active in during the period of greatest tension; bombings, burnings, and other forms of coercion were used to keep Negroes from moving in."² Along with purchasing housing, blacks wanted the adjacent school and park. Whites forcibly attempted to prevent this. However by 1954, blacks possessed both the park and the school.

During the period following World War II, when black expansion was rising, white residents designated West View Drive as a limit of black expansion. "The white residents did not allow Negro builders to build within one hundred yards of West View Drive; the paving of streets feeding from the new Negro development into West View Drive stopped one hundred feet short of that thoroughfare. This was the situation in 1948."

However when blacks began to secure permits to build in Mozely Place, whites tried to have their permits revoked. They succeeded in revoking the broker's license of a black real estate broker whom they charged with misrepresentation of clients.

Blacks also faced problems in financing. However, Citizens Trust Company was important, working with other Mortgage Firms to provide loans for black home builders.


²Ibid., pp. 26-27.
Other land purchases were made by blacks as expansion increased. Western Land Inc. bought 85 acres on Fairburn Road. The Chenault family purchased 126 acres including a 20 acre lake. Dr. J. B. Harris purchased 52 acres of land in the southwestern section. "The latter purchase played an important role in the 'negotiated' transition of Collier Heights, a white residential area, to Negro occupancy."¹

Financial institutions owned by blacks which have aided in loans to nonwhites are Atlanta Life Insurance Company, Citizens Trust Company, and the Mutual Federal Savings and Loan Association.

L. Blumberg also conducted a study on housing in Atlanta. His emphasis was on segregated housing which was viewed from a political aspect. Segregated housing in Atlanta is influenced by the political community. Socially, Atlanta is divided in an upper and upper middle class which has inhabited the northern and eastern sections from the Central Business District.

From 1930 to 1950, the Mayor of Atlanta, William B. Hartsfield, based his political campaigns on a coalition between the black voters and the middle and upper class whites of the northside.

Segregation in housing under Mayor Hartsfield was fostered by buffer zones and de facto planning and zoning. Streets were zoned for commercial use to function as planned barriers to population movement. In some cases building permits could not be secured for residential development. It was said that the land could not be politically cleared.

In the early 1950's black real estate brokers and financial

¹Ibid., p. 28.
agencies took advantage of the opportunities created by white residential expansion. By careful negotiations, they secured land tracts to the west of Atlanta University. This area consisted of the Hunter Street Complex and areas beyond the existing white subdivisions.

Also in 1952, Mayor Hartsfield created a channel through which whites and blacks could work out land concessions. This channel was the Westside Mutual Development Committee. Resulting from the work of this committee, a sector for black residential areas to the west was purchased. However black leaders had to compromise in that they agreed not to expand beyond the recognized boundary areas. Black and white financial institutions agreed to finance black residential development. For the whites who had decided to move, arrangements were made for them to do so without suffering financial loss from panic selling. Also it was arranged for blacks to purchase homes at prices which were not inflated as a result of the heavy influx of black buyers. However, after 1958, the Westside Mutual Development Committee ceased to function for the buffer zones no longer served as barriers to black expansion.

By 1962, all barriers had been crossed except the pine woods buffer tract. Beyond this area there was a development owned by whites called the Peyton Forest. This tract was in the $20,000 to $30,000 price range. Also, there was a builder who owned a home and twenty acres. Because he was unable to sell his last four acres he had to offer his own Peyton Forest home for sale. To prevent black expansion into the Peyton Forest area, white residents were able to get the Peyton-Houston Road throughway closed by aldermanic ordinance. Also they had the road barricaded. Here one can observe how the
political factor operated to prevent black residential expansion.

Moreover, a white homebuilder was unable to sell his home to a white buyer and he signed an agreement to sell to a black surgeon. When the white residents heard of this agreement, they made another offer. The contractor also signed another agreement of sale with the white residents. At the closing of the sale the contractor did not appear and the surgeon registered the agreement of the sale. After much difficulty the property was sold to the black surgeon. Also at this time the court ordered the city to remove the Peyton Forest barricade.¹

After reviewing the literature, one is able through the numerous studies conducted on Atlanta, to define the shift in residential patterns from 1940 to 1960. Also one is able to observe the role that the Federal and local governments, and various social agencies played in the attempt to restrict black expansion.

CHAPTER III

CHANGING RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS IN SOUTHWEST ATLANTA

FROM 1960 TO 1970

During the decade of the '60's, Atlanta witnessed an increase in black home building. Much of this was due to the assets of the Atlanta Life Insurance Company, which enabled blacks to secure loans and credit for home building. The foresight of Alonzo Herndon, President of Atlanta Life, and E. H. Martin, Vice-president, in opening up sources of credit can be deemed as one of the contributing factors of black residential expansion. In addition, the foresight of Mr. Milton, President of Citizens and Trust Company, was essential to the financing of black homebuilders.

Another factor which aided in an added source of income for blacks was the employment of many wives by the Atlanta Public School System. This additional family income added to the capital blacks were able to obtain for the building of new homes and residential expansion.

As blacks desired better living conditions, the only area for relocating and expansion was outside the established black communities.

This desire to relocate caused a lot of racial tension and friction. Also it caused an increase in residential segregation in Atlanta.
did not handle property for Negroes...

I remember more vividly sometimes more than I wish—my family's experiences as a single Negro family on an otherwise all-white street in a Southwest Atlanta neighborhood. I remember the first night—the sound of gunshots fired above the house, the sight of cherry bombs and Molotov cocktails tossed on the lawn. I remember returning home with my wife and two children after a short trip to the city to find windows broken and streams of toilet paper decorating the front yard. I remember the sight of my trembling teenage daughter telling her mother and me of an attempt by a white teenage motorist to run her down as she walked along the road from school. I remember the words of my six-year old son telling us of being chased by white boys. 'I wish I was white so they wouldn't do it.' It is not possible to erase such memories.

By 1966, a wave of black migration was observed in Southwest Atlanta. Blacks occupied much of the Southwest section beyond Peyton Road. A map of Atlanta residential patterns, compiled by Samuel L. Adams indicates this expansion. (See map on following page.)

Black residential expansion extended Southwest of Peyton Road to the outlying areas of Gordon Road. Also black residents advanced into the Collier Drive area, Hightower Road, and the area along the West Expressway. The map of residential Atlanta for 1966 indicates that these areas were designated as Negro areas.

Also there were transitional areas located along Lincoln Park Cemetery, Lynhurst Drive, some of the area beyond the West Expressway an extension of Bankhead Highway and Fairburn Road.

By 1967 Cascade Heights, Sewell Road and Lynn Circle were also transitional areas. Many attempts were made to keep these transitional areas bi-racial. The formation of SWAP (Southwest Atlanta Alliance For Progress) was an attempt on the part of blacks and whites to stabilize their integrated neighborhoods. Some of the events

\[1\text{Ibid.}, \text{pp. 73-74.}\]
Samuel L. Adams in his study of Atlanta housing found that explosives were planted near several newly purchased fringe area homes as Negro migration threatened the Edgewood and Bankhead areas in the eastern and western portions of the city. The blasts came frequently in the first half of the 1950's tapering off for several years and increased again in the early 1960's. Bombings have represented only part of the intimidation and harassment meted out to Negro families who jump racial barriers in Atlanta. Cross-burnings and telephone threats have been used to keep boundaries intact.

Blacks encountered additional problems in securing capital from white financial institutions. According to a black attorney who sought money in the early 1960's to build a $40,000 home, a limit of $20,000 was placed on the money lent to blacks.

As a result of black residential expansion, the index of segregation in housing increased from 87.4 per cent in 1950 to 93.6 per cent in 1960, and by 1964 over half of the black housing units were located in tracts which were 95 per cent or more occupied by blacks.

After the removal of the Peyton Road barricade in 1962, blacks began to expand in areas beyond Peyton Forest.

Samuel L. Adams recounts his experiences as he attempted to purchase a home in the outlying Southwest Atlanta area.

When I first sought a home in Atlanta in the summer of 1965, I talked by telephone with white real estate agents, sometimes asking them about specific houses I knew were vacant. Not knowing that they were talking to a Negro, some of the agents advised me against considering homes in certain so-called "fringe" areas because, as they put it, "the niggers have started to move in there." After seeing me, these realtors would either refer me to Negro real estate firms or to white firms which sold or rented property in Negro areas. Often white agents candidly told me that they


2 Ibid., p. 78

3 Ibid., p. 74.
connected with this organization will be discussed. 

SWAP was organized in January of 1967, having as its function 
"... a forum where people can talk." According to Robert Haver, a 
science teacher at Southwest High School, who was also the co-chairman 
of SWAP, the organization evolved "because ours is a community that 
tries to solve its problems not run away from them."¹

Another Southwest Atlanta citizen, Mrs. Xernona B. Clayton, 
also former secretary of SWAP, stated the following:

Whites and Negroes in the area joined together in a 
common effort to seek to break the historic pattern of ra-
cial change and officially organized and called themselves 
SWAP (Southwest Atlantans for Progress). We have a white 
and Negro as co-chairman and a racially balanced Executive 
Planning Committee. This group of citizens are standing 
together to calm people who are inclined to assure the re-
tention of the quality of the neighborhood. 

SWAP meets regularly and provides a forum for expres-
sing fears, animosities and anxieties. The idea for the 
name came as a result of the analysis of objectives and 
purpose... whites and Negroes could meet and exchange 
ideas and/or even houses.²

As blacks began to expand into the predominantly all-white 
neighborhoods, real estate agents began to advance the sale of homes. 
Many of the Southwest Atlanta citizens received letters and phone 
calls from realtors and realtists waiting to assist them in the sale 
of homes. (See letters on following pages.) Also many real estate 
agents encouraged sales.

As the situation became more crucial, steps were taken to ban 
the use of "For Sale" signs. An editorial in the Atlanta Journal 
notes the following:

¹Editorial, The Atlanta Journal and Constitution, May 14, 
1967.

As home owner in the Sewell-Cascade area, no doubt you are wondering what the future of your property holds for you. First, may we say this is NOT advice from us to induce you to sell, rent or retain your property. NEITHER is this letter a solicitation for you to sell or rent through this firm.

We would like to point out that after due deliberation we undertook to be of service to property owners of your area when others declined to do so. Where others feared to tread we faced the problem and concluded we could market real estate in your area. Our faith in ourselves has been more than justified as evidenced by the sale and closing of the following properties since July 1, 1966. (Others sold, awaiting closing date.)

3203 West Manor Cir. 3316 Pamlico Dr. 3383 Annelaine Dr.
3370 Lynfield Dr. 3399 Pamlico Dr. 700 Lynn Circle
3382 Lynfield Dr. 512 Hiawassee Dr. 3389 Sewell Road
3343 Cedar Island Dr. 974 Veltre Circle

We recognize this is not setting the world on fire, but in view of the past tight money market, we believe this is better than anyone else has done in your area. We are happy to report the supply of money is becoming available again and we are anticipating a great year in real estate sales.

The above information is given for your consideration in the event you are planning to sell now or at a future date. If so, we would appreciate the opportunity of discussing the matter with you. For a consultation without any obligation on your part, call 766-5656.

Very truly yours,

STOVALL REALTY & INSURANCE, INC.

Sid Stovall, President
Broker
SS:as

Fig. 3--Letter from Stovall Realty & Insurance Company
Mrs. Blanche D. Nolan  
1687 South Gordon Street, S.W.  
Atlanta, Georgia  

Dear Mrs. Nolan:

While passing through your neighborhood we saw your beautiful property and admired it very much.

This letter is in the nature of a plea – we desperately need property of the class of yours for the many prospective buyers we have on file. We are interested in knowing if you would like to sell or trade your property or have other property that is for sale.

Should you decide to sell or trade, we would consider it a privilege to be given the opportunity of discussing and listing your property with our company.

/s/ Thomas J. Perry

Respectfully yours,
Advance and Associates

Fig. 4--Letter from Advance & Associates
Usually, the first Negro family's arrival in an all-white neighborhood is the signal for panic. "For Sale" signs pop up like toadstools after a rain, and there is selling at distress prices. . . .

The neighborhood becomes totally Negro, the schools are resegregated and everybody loses. Nearby sections become transitional and the process goes on, and on, and on. . . .

They deserve the sympathetic understanding of the city in their efforts. They ask and deserve the help of the Board of Aldermen in their attempt to prevent panic selling by barring "For Sale" signs. 1

By July of 1967, the Campbellton Road area was in a state of transition. These homes were purchased by many of the Atlanta Braves. Among them was the superstar, Hank Aaron, who purchased a home in that section. "A lot of the Atlanta Braves, have moved into Southwest Atlanta," stated an article in the Weekly Star. "Evidently, they find the section attractive as well as convenient to the stadium and airport. Several have moved into apartment houses on Campbellton Road and some have bought homes in Cascade Heights." 2

Other institutions, moreover, are affected by the change in residential areas. Here are some examples of how transition affected educational, religious, and economic institutions.

Claude C. Wins, principal of Southwest High School since its opening in 1950, stated the following: "During the school year of 1965-1966, we had about 25 Negro students. This year we had about 230." 3 This change in the number of black students indicates the influx of blacks into that area.

Some church leaders also indicated that "their white membership

had slowed and that there is no policy for seating or not seating Negroes.  

Most of the economic institutions have witnessed an increase in business due to the transition of residents.

Cascade Heights shopping district, a four block shopping section of the residential area that separates West Manor and Cascade Heights is showing signs of continued growth.

One of the pharmacies there is in the process of remodeling while the other was just recently improved. In addition, two major chain food stores are doing a volume of business. . . .

As pressure from the real estate agencies increased, SWAP, along with other city officials was able to get a sign regulation passed. This bill was proposed by Alderman John Flanigen and was called Flanigen's ordinance. It states the following:

A sign regulation ordinance, proposed by Alderman John Flanigen was recently signed into law by Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen. . . .

Flanigen's ordinance says that a temporary sign pertaining to the lease, sale or rental of a building or premises shall not exceed four square feet in area and shall not be located a distance no nearer than 10-feet to the proposed property line.

Flanigen's ordinance in effect, limits the tactics of certain real estate companies which have been using signs in an attempt to "blockbust" neighborhoods undergoing racial change or other transition.

The second Ward Alderman said that the penalty for regulating the new ordinance would be a misdemeanor. . . .

As blacks move into residential areas of the city, there is an attempt to rezone the area for low income housing units. Such was the case in Southwest Atlanta. SWAP urged its members and citizens to

1 Ibid., p. 6.

2 Ibid., p. 6.

... oppose the proposal of the Atlanta Fulton County Planning Board, the day before, to place moderately 1,200 low to moderate income housing units in the area between Boulder Park and Cascade Heights. 1

Judging from the activities in which SWAP was engaged, one is able to observe the role of residents, real estate agents, city officials and other social agencies in attempting to maintain traditional patterns of residential segregation.

However by 1969, the efforts of SWAP proved futile. Most of the transitional areas had become predominantly black residential neighborhoods.

An interview with a Southwest Atlanta resident and a map of the city will show evidence of this.

An Atlanta University Professor, and a resident of Veltre Circle in Southwest Atlanta for over seven years noted that when his family first moved into this neighborhood, there were only one or two other black families. However, by the following year, the number of black families began to increase. Now there are only about 25 per cent white families living in that neighborhood.

Also, he has witnessed a change in the racial composition of the streets and neighborhoods which surround his neighborhood. They are changing at an accelerating rate each year from all-white to all-black. 2

A 1969 map of Atlanta compiled by the Atlanta-Fulton County Joint Planning Board indicates the following sections as black

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2 An interview with Dr. Ross, chairman of the Department of Sociology, Atlanta University.
residential areas: The entire Collier Heights area, the entire Gordon Road area, the northern section of Fairburn Road, north Utoy Creek, the entire area southwest of the West Expressway and the area between the southeastern section of Avon Avenue and Beecher (see map on following page).

Transitional areas as of 1969 include the area extending from the far Southwest section of Beecher Circle, extreme southwest portions of Cascade Road, the area surrounding the Greenwood Cemetery, the extreme southwest section of Avon Avenue extending down to Venetian Drive (see map on following page).

Summary.—From the data collected, one is able to note that after 1960 and the removal of the Peyton Road barricade in 1962, black residents began to penetrate into the far Southwestern section of Atlanta. However, as blacks began to occupy all-white residential areas, one can observe an invasion-succession process in operation. However, there was a brief transitional period. Blacks now occupy all areas west of Mozley Park, extending west to Gordon Road and moving to North Utoy Creek in the extreme Southwestern section of Atlanta. Blacks also occupy a small tract around Hillacres Road with an adjacent transitional area between the extreme southwestern section of Fairburn Road and Glenview Drive.

Findings and Conclusions.—After completing the study, one can make the following observations:

1. Comparing the map of black residential area for 1966 with that of 1969, one observes that those areas which were in a state of transition in 1966 had become black residential areas by 1969.
Examples are as follows:

a) The West Expressway area completely changed its racial composition from 1960 to 1969.

b) The outlying areas of Gordon Road were black residential areas by 1969.

c) The northern area of Fairburn Road and the entire Lynhurst Drive area were all-black in racial composition in 1969 as compared to 1966.

Studies by the Atlanta Regional Metroplanning Commission show the racial characteristics in a number of Census tracts have reversed between 1960 and 1969.

In the Southwest Atlanta census tract bordered on the north roughly by Gordon Road as far west as the Perimeter Highway, and South to a line formed by North Utoy Creek and east to South Gordon Street, the number of non-white housing units rose from 533 in 1960 to 2,058 in 1969. White housing units, which started out the decade about the same time as blacks—621—declined to 104 nine years later.

In one year, from April 1, 1968 the number of white housing units declined by 257 while the number of nonwhite units in this rapidly growing area increased from 1,203 in 1969. Units referred to, of course, include both houses and apartments.

As a consequence of the shift in the population, this has become an area with a high concentration of black residents in high positions and public life. Also, the political power and the influence of the black community has increased.

Residing in this area are many black professional persons who are doctors, lawyers, engineers and college presidents. Among them is Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, former president of Morehouse College.

In the political area, noted blacks such as Q. V. Williamson and Ira Jackson are citizens of Southwest Atlanta. Concentration of blacks in Southwest Atlanta has resulted in the following political positions: Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, as chairman of the School Board,

1Editorial, The Atlanta Constitution, June 1, 1970.
William Alexander to the State Legislature, and Maynard Jackson as vice-Mayor of Atlanta. Some of these political figures are also residents of Southwest Atlanta.

As a result of these persons in public life and the shift in population, changes in black residential areas will be eminent which would not be possible if the city government had remained all-white.

Protest of many Southwest Atlanta Citizens is in the following areas:

a) In the area of education, stabilization of the community will improve the quality of the schools.

b) There is an effort on the part of new residents to resist the rezoning of land for multiple family dwellings, public housing and commercial use. One specific example of protest was the opposition raised by the citizens when the city wanted to construct public housing units near Holy Family Hospital.

Moreover, efforts to stabilize integrated communities have proved futile. Even though concerned citizens attempt to maintain bi-racial neighborhoods, as was evident in the formation of SWAP, the majority of white residents engage in panic selling, which gives rise to the changing racial character of the neighborhood. While this panic selling is taking place, the majority of city officials, real estate agents, and various social agencies stand idly by and/or encourage this process.

As far as the future outlook for the racial composition of residential areas in Atlanta, one can ascertain that they will probably always maintain their homogeneous racial character after brief periods of transition.

However, the outlook may be more conducive to residential
integration if government officials, real estate agents and other social agencies cease to condone homogeneous residential units.
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