BLACK DEMANDS FOR OPEN HOUSING:
THE RESPONSES OF THREE CITY GOVERNMENTS

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.
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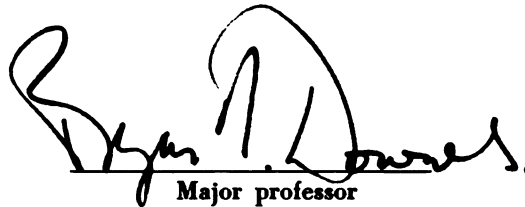KENNETH R. GREENE

This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

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presented by

Kenneth R. Greene

has been accepted towards fulfillment
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ABSTRACT

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by

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The primary focus of this study is the operation and inter-
action of variables in the process of adopting open housing ordinances
in three cities -- Jackson, Lansing, and Flint, Michigan. City coun-
cils in each of the cities adopted an ordinance. Consequently, this
research does not concentrate on the final result of the councils'
deliberations but on the process through which the result was obtained.
Decision process variables chosen for study were: (1) attitudes of
decision makers -- mayors, managers, and councilmen; (2) influence
from decision makers, individuals and groups in the community, and
constituents; (3) extent of cooperation among decision makers; and
(4) a council's decisional style -- whether or not councilmen attempted
to reach agreement before voting at public meetings, and whether or
not the council's decisions were unanimous.

The study also has a second focus -- to suggest the implica-
tions of different processes of adopting ordinances. Specifically,
this involves examination of the effect of process on the stringency
of ordinances. The stringency of an ordinance is determined by the

type of building covered and the penalties assessed for violation of the ordinance.

To examine the decision processes in the cities, structured interviews were conducted with decision makers and informants. Informants were selected because their positions in the community would tend to make them familiar with events surrounding adoption of open housing ordinances.

The data indicates that the process through which city councils reach policy decisions is more complex than the simple translation of attitudes into votes. Not only must the distribution of attitudes among councilmen be considered, but also the intensity with which the attitudes are held. There appeared to be a reciprocal relationship between intensity of attitudes and the potential for effective influence.

In the cities, influence was exerted on decision makers by other decision makers and by community individuals and groups. Constituency pressure was relatively unimportant in the decision process. The data indicates that only when constituents are particularly concerned over an issue and their representative is concerned with re-election will constituency influence be effective.

The extent of cooperation among decision makers and a council's decisional style were related to whether influence came from within the council or from community individuals and groups. Councils which interacted smoothly, and voted unanimously on issues appear to insulate themselves from external influence and enhance possibilities for internal influence.

Although each of the councils in the cities adopted open hous-
ing, the process by which ordinances were adopted differed. The differ-
ence was primarily in the extent to which a decision was the result of
bargaining and compromise among decision makers rather than negotiations
between decision makers and community individuals and groups. The data
suggest that the more adoption of open housing is the result of negoti-
ations among councilmen, the more stringent the ordinance. We cannot
conclude, however, that a stringent ordinance was primarily the result
of insulation of a council from external pressure. Such insulation may
allow decision makers considerable freedom in policy decisions, but it
does not necessarily affect the direction of those decisions. Decision
makers themselves must be willing to adopt a stringent ordinance.

BLACK DEMANDS FOR OPEN HOUSING:

THE RESPONSES OF THREE

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by

Kenneth R. Greene

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PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1

THE PROCESS OF ADOPTING OPEN HOUSING ORDINANCES

The variety of policy responses of cities to similar problems has interested and intrigued political scientists. Only recently, however, have they rigorously attempted to explain this diversity of policy. These attempts have been aimed primarily at determining how a city's revenues are allocated. The choice of expenditure policy as the dependent variable is undoubtedly based on the availability of data and the amenability of municipal expenditures to comparative research. Other studies, however, have examined policies such as fluoridation and school desegregation. Unfortunately, when political scientists have moved from one issue to another they have tended to examine different variables. But when the same variables have been studied on different issues, their impact on the issues has been found to vary. This problem may be particularly acute when we move from expenditure to non-expenditure policy. The range of policy alternatives open to decision makers may be much narrower on fiscal matters than on non-expenditure issues such as open housing because of the constraints imposed on decision makers by the city's available revenues. What is needed, then, are comparative studies of a variety of issues which utilize a common explanatory framework.

The following section presents typical examples of recent comparative research on municipal policy. These studies indicate that

political scientists in attempting to explain municipal policy choices have progressively moved from focusing primarily on environmental variables, to examining political structural variables, and finally to investigating process or interaction variables such as attitudes of decision makers and influence. In this movement, the political actors -- mayors, managers, councilmen -- become increasingly important in the political process. Social and environmental factors are no longer seen as being automatically legislated into policy, but rather are viewed as parameters within which individuals who must make the policy decisions operate.[1] Environmental factors provide the broad outlines, but political decision makers provide the details which give ultimate shape to municipal policy.

Some Examples of Previous Policy Research

Masotti and Bowen in "Communities and Budgets: The Sociology of Municipal Expenditures" studied eighteen cities in Ohio and found that expenditures of the communities varied with the socioeconomic characteristics of their populations. When the authors examined thirty-eight socioeconomic characteristics, they uncovered three underlying factors -- socioeconomic status, age of residents, and population mobility -- which were directly associated with approximately sixty-five per cent of the variance in municipal expenditures.[2] These findings, according to the authors, indicated that policy, at least expenditure

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[1]Michael Aiken and Robert R. Alford, "Comparative Urban Research and Community Decision Making," The New Atlantis, v. 1, no. 2 (Winter, 1970), pp. 85-110.

[2]Louis H. Masotti and Don R. Bowen, "Communities and Budgets: The Sociology of Municipal Expenditures," Urban Affairs Quarterly, v. 1, no. 2 (December, 1965), pp. 44-45.

policy, could be viewed as a response to political pressures or demands arising from the community context.

Lineberry and Fowler, in "Reformism and Public Policies in American Cities," considered the relationship of both community characteristics and formal rules and procedures to municipal policy. They stated, ". . . Our central purpose is to determine the impact of both socio-economic variables and political institutions (structural variables) on outputs of city governments."[3] The authors studied a random sample of the 309 American cities with populations of 50,000 or more in 1960. The outputs considered were measures of the cities' tax and expenditure policies. The authors concluded:

> We found that political institutions 'filter' the process of converting inputs into outputs. Some structures, particularly partisan elections, ward constituencies, mayor-council governments and commission governments, operate to maximize the impact of cleavage indicators on public policy.[4]

This conclusion argues that inputs/demands/pressures from the community context were not transformed directly into policy, but were mediated by the cities' political institutions.

Eyestone and Eulau, in a study of cities in the San Francisco Bay Area, investigated the relationship between decision makers' attitudes and municipal policy. The authors were concerned primarily with the association between community development, which they measured in terms of both planning and amenities expenditures, and attitudes of

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[3] Robert L. Lineberry and Edmund P. Fowler, "Reformism and Public Policies in American Cities," American Political Science Review, v. 61, no. 3 (September, 1967), p. 703.

[4] Ibid., p. 715.

decision makers toward development. Their analysis suggested that re-
gardless of size, growth, or resource capability, the more favorable
decision makers' attitudes toward development, the more developed the
city's policy.[5]

Although Eyestone and Eulau concentrated on decision makers'
attitudes, they also attempted to place the policy predispositions of
councilmen into a broader framework. They noted that:

> . . . the data are interpreted as supporting the general
> validity of a model of city policy development as a re-
> sponse to challenges from a changing city environment.
> Analytically, public policies are responses to city
> growth, problems arising out of city size, and resource
> capability, with the city group life and councilmen's
> policy preferences being the major intervening variables.[6]

Crain, Katz, and Rosenthal attempted to determine the conditions
under which fluoridation would be adopted by action of the executive
and/or legislative branch of the city government. They found that the
conditions were (1) relatively low levels of controversy, (2) experi-
enced leadership of high status in the community on the proponent side,
and (3) active support from the major health organizations and from or-
ganizations not exclusively concerned with health.[7] They concluded,
however, that "of all the actors involved in the governmental decision,
the mayor seems to have the greatest influence," and that "the mayor's
stand is the major determinant of the fate of fluoridation."[8]

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[5]Robert Eyestone and Heinz Eulau, "City Councils and Policy
Outcomes: Developmental Profiles," in James Q. Wilson, ed., City Poli-
tics and Public Policy (New York: Wiley, 1968), pp. 59-60.

[6]Ibid., p. 56.

[7]Robert L. Crain, Elihu Katz, and Donald B. Rosenthal, The
Politics of Community Conflict (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1969),
p. 121.

[8]Ibid., p. 114.

Limitations of this Previous Research

These studies found that socioeconomic characteristics of a community's population, form of government, councilmen's attitudes, and the mayor's stand were related to municipal policy choices. But these attempts to explain policy were unsatisfactory because they either ignore or treat superficially the process through which policy decisions are reached.[9] The linkages between these variables and policy are blurred. For example, Masotti and Bowen stated concerning the relationship between the three factors -- status, age, mobility -- and policy that:

> . . . budget makers, like other decision makers, do not operate in a social vacuum. They respond to the pressures and opportunities they perceive, and when these factors are large and gross, such as the characteristics we have been discussing in this paper, the responses of different decision makers to similar stimuli are likely to be similar.[10]

Masotti and Bowen thus rejected, with little evidence, the notion that decision makers in different cities may have different policy preferences which guide their responses to the pressures and opportunities they perceive.

Lineberry and Fowler omitted the process through which decisions are reached. In their analysis they examined contextual and structural variables. In their article, however, they presented a "causal model" which they hypothesized would explain policy outputs. The causal model:

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[9] These studies have been selected for discussion as examples of recent research on urban policies and not because of unique weaknesses.

[10] Masotti and Bowen, op. cit., p. 56.

. . . would include four classes of variables: socio-
economic cleavages, political variables (including party
registration, structure of party systems, patterns of
aggregation, strength of interest groups, voter turnout,
etc.), political institutions (form of government, type
of elections, and type of constituencies), and political
outputs.[11]

None of these variables, except those the authors did not examine,

would directly tap or measure the interaction of individuals or groups

on policy decisions.

Eyestone and Eulau assumed that if a majority of councilmen

are favorably disposed toward a particular policy, the policy will be

adopted -- an assumption which is open to question. The authors did

not explain how these predispositions might be translated into policy.

We can readily imagine, however, that councilmen could persuade members

of a council who favor one policy to vote for another. It is equally

plausible that the mayor or community individuals might have an impact

on what policies a council adopts. The Eyestone and Eulau study went

beyond the two previous studies because it examined a process variable,

councilmen's attitudes, but it did not consider variables which may

mediate between councilmen's attitudes and a council's decision.

Crain, Katz, and Rosenthal, since they found that the mayor's

stand was the most important determinant of the fate of fluoridation,

attempted to measure the influence of mayors by developing two indi-

cators of influence. The first indicator was a "crude index of mayoral

power; his term of service in office," and the authors argued that a

"mayor's term of office is an indirect correlate of his power."[12]

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[11] Lineberry and Fowler, op. cit., p. 714.

[12] Crain, Katz, and Rosenthal, op. cit., p. 182.

The second, "more direct index of mayoral power" was applied
to mayor-council cities.

> The cities were divided into two groups: those in which
> the mayor has a veto over all council resolutions compared
> to those in which he has no veto or only a partial one.
> . . . Somewhat tautologically we do find that the strong
> mayors are in fact more powerful, for their position is
> a better determinant of the governmental decision than
> is the weak mayor's stand.[13]

Both measures of mayoral power are based on formal aspects of the

mayor's position -- his length of time in office and his veto power.

But Dahl in New Haven and Banfield in Chicago have demonstrated the

importance of informal arrangements which facilitate a mayor's in-

fluence. Consequently, the two indicators employed by Crain, Katz,

and Rosenthal to measure influence are inadequate. In addition,

simply noting the position of a mayor on an issue does not explain

the process by which fluoridation was accepted or rejected, even if

the mayor's position coincided with the final decision. An examin-

ation of interaction between mayor and council is necessary to de-

termine whether or not the mayor exercised influence.

The Decision Process

These studies, then, have attempted to explain policy choices

with static variables -- form of government or mayor's stand -- and

have not dealt systematically with interactions which take place among

individuals and groups in a community, and which result in governmental

decisions. These interactions are normally considered as part of the

"decision process" which is defined as:

> . . . a sequence of activities which results in the
> selection of one course of action, (sometimes) from

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[13]Ibid., p. 183.

a set of socially defined alternative courses of action
which are intended to bring about a particular future
state of affairs.[14]

That these studies have not adequately considered the decision process

does not mean simply that they have not included variables which may

affect policy, but that they have omitted perhaps one or more extremely

important sets of variables. For testimony to the importance of the

decision process in policy formation, consider the vast literature on

decision making.[15] Also, Richard Hofferbert has written that:

> . . . it is reasonable to assert that all public policies
> are, at one point or another, the result of manifestly
> deliberate action by an identifiable group of men with
> formally endowed prerogatives -- a policy making elite.[16]

He also notes that:

> . . . any combination of 'pre-elite' factors may be
> operative on a given policy proposal, but elite re-
> sponse in some formal manner is a sine qua non of
> policy. . . .[17]

In addition, James W. Clarke, in an aggregate study of adoption of

different forms of government found that:

> . . . in general, the relative importance of environ-
> mental variables declined when political process vari-
> ables were considered simultaneously in the analysis
> of referenda outcomes.[18]

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[14]Richard C. Snyder and Glen D. Paige, "The United States' De-
cision to Resist Aggression in Korea: The Application of an Analytic
Scheme," Administrative Science Quarterly, v. 3, no. 4 (December, 1958),
p. 347.

[15]In urban politics see specifically Robert E. Agger, Daniel
Goldrich, and Bert E. Swanson, The Rulers and the Ruled (New York:
Wiley, 1964), Ch. 1.

[16]Richard I. Hofferbert, "Elite Influence in Policy Formation:
A Model for Comparative Inquiry," paper delivered at the 1968 Annual
Meeting of the American Political Science Association, p. 4.

[17]Ibid., p. 11.

[18]James W. Clarke, "Environment, Process and Policy: A Recon-
sideration," American Political Science Review, v. 63, no. 4 (December,
1969), p. 1180.

These statements suggest the importance of process variables for municipal policy making. Unfortunately, our knowledge of variables which compose the decision process, as well as their impact on that process, is limited. Downes has attempted to conceptualize this process, and has posited the following dimensions:

1. Citizen attitudes and opinions
2. Citizen political participation
3. Group activities and the formation of coalitions
4. Political communications
5. Structure of power and influence
6. Nature of political leadership
7. Interaction of the formal, authoritative decision makers.[19]

This listing gives an indication of the variables/components which may be included in an examination of the process through which decisions are reached on open housing ordinances. But considerable research must be conducted before the salient variables which compose the decision process can be accurately measured.

Once the process and its component variables have been adequately conceptualized and studied, political scientists will be able to determine with greater accuracy than at present why specific policy decisions are made.[20] What we may then develop is a model

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[19]Bryan T. Downes, ed., Cities and Suburbs: Selected Readings in Local Politics and Public Policy (Belmont: Wadsworth, 1971), Ch. 1. Downes differentiates between the decision process and the policy making process. For him, the decision process involves only the interaction of formal authoritative decision makers. The policy making process is "that set of interactions taking place between individuals and groups in a community which results in governmental decisions." What is called the decision process in this study corresponds to Downes' policy making process.

[20]Masotti and Bowen found that their three factors explained 65 per cent of the variance in municipal expenditures, and Lineberry and Fowler showed that political structural variables explained a maximum of 71 per cent of the variance in their dependent variable -- a tax/income ratio.

that, with only a few variables, will explain and predict with a high degree of accuracy municipal policy choices.

In order to develop this parsimonious model of municipal policy choices, political scientists must adequately measure variables in the decision process and determine their impact on policy. Aggregate studies are unsuited for this undertaking, however, because they have difficulty explaining how inputs are transformed into outputs.[21] Consequently, in aggregate studies "political variables are usually defined operationally in structural rather than behavioral or interactional terms."[22] Case studies, in contrast, are able to examine in depth the behavior and interaction among individuals participating in the formation of public policy. Case studies, from an examination of the process of adopting specific policies, can develop measures of decision process variables and suggest hypotheses which may be tested in subsequent comparative studies.[23]

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[21]Herbert Jacob and Michael Lipsky, "Outputs, Structure, and Power: An Assessment of Changes in the Study of State and Local Politics," in Marian D. Irish, ed., Political Science: Advance of the Discipline (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1968), pp. 221-229.

[22]Clarke, op. cit., p. 1182.

[23]A research strategy which merges the perspectives of case and aggregate analysis is the intensive study of one or a few issues in a significant number of communities, perhaps twenty-thirty. This strategy would permit examination of the impact of socioeconomic variables as well as the isolation of unique city characteristics which have plagued case studies. It would also allow investigation of behavioral and interactional variables which previous aggregate studies have not been able to measure. Research conducted in this manner would incorporate the strengths of both case and aggregate analysis.

The Decision Process on Open Housing

This study of adoption of open housing ordinances is an attempt to add to existing knowledge of urban policy making by intensively examining the process through which decision makers attempt to alleviate or solve problems (real or perceived) in the community.[24] In a study of this nature it would be difficult to include all variables which may affect the process of reaching a decision on an open housing ordinance. Because the central focus of the study is on the formal political decision makers, only certain variables have been selected for examination. These variables are:

1. Attitudes of decision makers
2. Influence -- from community individuals and groups, from constituents, from administrators, and from decision makers
3. Council interaction

Attitudes of Decision Makers

Most studies of local politics have not intensively studied decision making bodies. Instead, political scientists have considered them primarily as groups which merely ratify proposals of the mayor, administrators, or community influentials. Only recently have they begun to study the members of local legislatures. Crain, in The Politics of School Desegregation, considered the attitudes of school board members and concluded that the liberalism of board members was an important

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[24]These problems may be brought to decision makers' attention either by community individuals and groups or by decision makers themselves. The validity of the model of the decision process is not affected by the way in which decision makers become aware of problems.

[25]In this study decision makers are the mayors, managers, and councilmen in the three cities.

factor contributing to the "acquiescence" of school boards to demands

for desegregation.[26] Also, Eyestone and Eulau, as previously mentioned,

found that decision makers' policy preferences were closely reflected

in the policies the cities pursued.[27] These studies suggest that de-

cision makers' attitudes are an important element in the decision pro-

cess, and that we would expect the more favorable decision makers are

toward open housing, the more likely the council will adopt an open

housing ordinance.

Influence

From Community Individuals and Groups

Any examination of the decision process must consider the im-

pact of influence. According to Dahl, A has influence over B to the

extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise

do.[28] When decision makers are considering an issue, various individ-

uals and groups communicate their preferences to decision makers and

attempt to influence their decision. As Banfield and Wilson note,

"persons not elected to office play very considerable parts in the

making of important decisions."[29] Also, the community power literature

is replete with examples of the impact of "community influentials" on

municipal policy.[30] Analysis of the decision process, then, would be

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[26]Robert L. Crain, The Politics of School Desegregation (Chicago: Aldine, 1968), p. 167.

[27]Eyestone and Eulau, op. cit.

[28]Robert A. Dahl, "The Concept of Power," Behavioral Science, v. 2 (July, 1957), p. 201.

[29]Edward C. Banfield and James Q. Wilson, City Politics (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), p. 243.

[30]See Charles Press, Main Street Politics: Policy Making at the Local Level (East Lansing: Institute for Community Development, 1962).

incomplete without an examination of the effect of community individuals and groups on decision makers' actions.

From Constituents

Constituency influence on municipal decision makers has not been studied systematically. Although political scientists have documented low levels of participation in local elections, they have not investigated the relationship of the local representative to his electors. Miller and Stokes, however, have studied constituency influence in Congress. They found that although constituency pressure varied across issues, when present in any marked degree it was related to the roll call behavior of Congressmen.[31] They also discovered that the issue domain in which the relationship between the Representatives' roll call behavior and constituency pressure was the strongest was civil rights.[32] Applying these findings to the local level, we may assume that constituency pressure will have an impact on the decision process, particularly the decision process on open housing. It is difficult, however, to determine the linkages between constituency pressure and decision makers' actions. Since mayors and councilmen are elected officials, we might expect that their actions would more closely correspond to constituents' wishes the more they feared retribution at subsequent election. Linkages between elections are considerably more difficult to specify.[33]

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[31]Warren E. Miller and Donald E. Stokes, "Constituency Influence in Congress," in Angus Campbell, et al., Elections and the Political Order (New York: Wiley, 1967), p. 359.

[32]Ibid.

[33]See V. O. Key, Jr., Public Opinion and American Democracy (New York: Knopf, 1963), pp. 411-414.

From Administrators

Influence may also be exerted by a city's administrators -- the heads of city departments and commissions. As Banfield and Wilson note, "political administrators . . . may be active and autonomous forces in the city's politics."[34] They also argue that the head of a department may be "a lobbyist on behalf of the department and a mediator or arbiter who decides the terms on which an issue is to be settled."[35] Administrators generally possess expertise on particular issues, and decision makers may defer to this expertise when considering an issue. Salisbury has also argued that "the professional workers in city related programs" are an active grouping in the "new convergence of power."[36] He further states that this new convergence of power -- the mayor, business groups, and the experts -- "actively seeks out solutions to certain problems it regards as critical to the city's growth."[37] Administrators, then, may participate both in the selection of issues which decision makers will consider, and the final resolution of those issues.

From Decision Makers

Decision makers are subject to attempts at influence not only from outside groups and individuals, but also from other decision makers. Numerous studies have reported the influence of the mayor or manager in the decision process. Dahl has shown that Mayor Lee was able to become

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[34]Banfield and Wilson, op. cit., p. 217.

[35]Ibid.

[36]Robert H. Salisbury, "Urban Politics: The New Convergence of Power," in Jay S. Goodman, ed., Perspectives on Urban Politics (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1970), p. 47.

[37]Ibid., p. 53.

head of an "executive centered coalition" and thus become generally influential in New Haven.[38] Adrian, in a study of three communities, found that "the manager and his administration are the principal sources of policy innovation and leadership in council-manager cities."[39] The influence of the mayor or manager, then, may be an important element in the decision process. But mayors and managers are not the only decision makers who may exert influence. Councilmen may also be influential in the decision process. Because of tenure on the council, a committee chairmanship, or presumed expertise, a councilman may be able to affect decision on issues before the council. Consequently, we must allow for possible influence from mayors, managers, and individual councilmen.

Council Interaction

This study will also examine two aspects of council interaction: cooperation among decision makers and the council's decisional style.

Cooperation Among Decision Makers

This refers to the affective relations among decision makers, whether or not they interacted smoothly. In a small decision making body such as a city council, affective relations among members may be extremely important for the ability of the body to perform its functions. In the case of the city council, this notion suggests that the higher the level of affect, the greater may be the ability of the council to consider and respond to problems in the community -- the greater the

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[38] Robert A. Dahl, Who Governs? (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), Ch. 17.

[39] Charles R. Adrian, "A Study of Three Communities," Public Administration Review, v. XVIII (Summer, 1958), p. 208.

task performance of the council.[40] Cooperative interaction may also increase opportunities for decision makers to influence each other to support specific programs.

Decisional Style

Decisional style refers to the way in which issues are handled by the city council and the extent to which the council's handling of issues affects overt issue conflict. Overt issue conflicts are disagreements which arise over issues before the council and result in split votes on council decisions. Downes, in a study of St. Louis suburbs, found that some of the councils attempted to work out differences in private or in committees before taking the final vote at the regular meeting, while others discussed issues more openly with little attempt at overcoming differences before the public meeting.[41] A city council's decisional style, then, has two dimensions:

1. whether or not councilmen attempt to reach agreements before voting at public meetings;
2. whether or not the council's decisions are characterized by overt issue conflicts.

Both dimensions of the decisional style will be examined because when political scientists study only overt issue conflict on city councils they may be missing central aspects of council decision making.

The decisional style of a council is important because whether or not a council makes its decisions in private and achieves unanimity

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[40]Sidney Verba, *Small Groups and Political Behavior* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961).

[41]Bryan T. Downes, "Suburban Differentiation and Municipal Policy Choices: A Comparative Analysis of Suburban Political Systems," in Terry N. Clark, ed., *Community Structure and Decision-Making: Comparative Analyses* (San Francisco: Chandler, 1968), pp. 255-267.

may affect (a) the ability of community individuals and groups to in-
fluence decision makers, and (b) the nature of the policy choices.

Relationships Among the Variables

The primary focus of this research will be on the operation
and interaction of the variables selected for study. Each of the
councils examined adopted an open housing ordinance. The study, how-
ever, will not concentrate on the final result -- adoption of an ordin-
ance -- but on the process through which the result was obtained. In
this process, decision makers are subjected to various pressures which
may affect their decision. In order to reach a decision, they must
weigh the impact of the variables acting upon them. Decision makers'
actions, then, are the results of rational calculations. Following
Salisbury, we assume that in those calculations, decision makers "do
or seek, subject to periodic evaluation and correction, whatever brings
them a positive balance of benefits over costs."[42] Thus, decision
makers will consider carefully the rewards and costs for themselves
of their actions. We will assume in this context that when no other
factors are operating, an action which reflects a decision maker's
attitude toward an issue will give him some reward, while an action
which contradicts his attitude involves some costs to him.[43]

When decision makers are confronted with an issue, however,
other factors normally do operate. Primarily, decision makers are

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[42]Robert H. Salisbury, "An Exchange Theory of Interest Groups,"
in Robert H. Salisbury, ed., Interest Group Politics in America (New
York: Harper and Row, 1970), p. 47.

[43]For a discussion of the relationship between an individual's
attitudes and his behavior see Theodore M. Newcomb, Ralph H. Turner,
and Philip E. Converse, Social Psychology (New York: Holt, Rinehart
and Winston, 1965), pp. 67-73.

subject to influence attempts which either promise rewards or threaten costs to the individual as a result of his actions. Decision makers must determine the relative effects of these possible opposing influences and weigh them against the rewards or costs of acting with or against one's attitudes. (Of course, a decision maker is generally unable to give exact weights to the various possible rewards and costs because he can never be absolutely certain of the possible effects of his action or whether the rewards or costs can actually be imposed on him.[44]) The primary factors which enter into an individual's calculations, then, are his attitudes and influence.

Influence is a variable which may mediate between decision makers' attitudes and a council's decision on an open housing ordinance. But variables are also present which affect the impact of different sources of influence. Cooperative interaction among decision makers may increase the possibilities for compromise and bargaining over issues, and may increase the possibilities for influence to occur among councilmen. In addition, if a council attempts to reach agreement on issues before public meetings, and generally votes unanimously at those meetings, groups and individuals outside the council may have limited ability to influence council decisions. In this way a council may insulate itself from external influence.

In sum, when decision makers are considering an issue, various factors operate simultaneously to affect their decision. Decision making is a continuous process in which decision makers weigh the relative rewards or costs of their actions. In order to study this process, we

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[44]For a discussion of uncertainty in decision making see Anthony Downs, <u>An Economic Theory of Democracy</u> (New York: Harper and Row, 1957), esp. Ch. 5.

must break it down analytically; we must consider the impact of variables in the process separately. Dividing the process analytically involves certain disadvantages: the appearance that decision makers are affected by one variable at a time or that one variable is necessarily the most crucial in the process. We must emphasize, however, that no one variable can account for a council's decision. Each variable has an impact on the final result. But it is difficult to determine the impact of particular variables without arbitrarily dividing the decision process into its component elements. Realizing that the divisions in the process are analytical, we will use the following hypotheses to guide the investigation of the decision process on open housing ordinances.

The more favorable the decision makers' attitudes toward open housing, the more likely a council will adopt an open housing ordinance.

Again, influence may mediate between decision makers' attitudes and a council's decision. This influence may come from community individuals and groups, from constituents, from city administrators, and from decision makers. We hypothesize that

The more cooperation among decision makers, the more likely influence will be exerted by decision makers rather than by community individuals and groups or by constituents.

The more a council attempts to reach agreement on issues before public meetings and votes unanimously at those meetings, the more influence will be exerted by decision makers and the more decision makers will be insulated from the influence of community individuals and groups and constituents.

The study also has a second focus -- to suggest the implications of different processes of adopting ordinances. Specifically, this involves examination of the effect of process on (1) the stringency of ordinances, and (2) the incidence of referenda following council passage

of open housing. The stringency of an ordinance is determined by its scope -- the type of building covered by the ordinance, and severity -- the penalties assessed for violation of the ordinance.

If an open housing ordinance results primarily from interaction among decision makers, compromise may be easier to reach than if the decision resulted from interaction among community groups and decision makers. Since fewer actors would be involved in the bargaining, we might expect that the compromise would produce a stronger ordinance. Thus, we hypothesize that

The more an open housing ordinance is the result of interaction among decision makers as opposed to interaction between community groups and decision makers, the higher the stringency of the ordinance.

If a decision on an open housing ordinance is reached through cooperative interaction among decision makers, and community individuals and groups were not central participants in the decision, the issue would probably not arouse serious controversy in the community. Consequently, the citizenry is more likely to accept the council's decision. From this reasoning, we would expect that

The more an open housing ordinance is the result of interaction among decision makers, the less likely a referendum will follow that decision.

Goals of the Study

In summary, this study has three goals. Two have already been mentioned: (1) to examine the interrelationship of the variables in the decision process and develop hypotheses regarding the impact of these variables which can be tested in subsequent comparative research, and (2) to suggest the implications of different processes of adopting ordinances for the stringency of ordinances and for subsequent referenda.

The third goal is to develop generalizations which relate differences in process to the prospects for policy change. In this regard, open housing may be a particularly important policy for study, important because it may be considered an example of a specific type of policy -- innovative policy. An innovative policy is a policy designed to meet a newly arisen or perceived problem.[45] Other examples of innovative policies are urban renewal, fluoridation, school desegregation, model cities, and community action programs. Consequently, the implications of the process of adopting open housing ordinances may be applicable to the passage of this general category of public policies.

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[45]James G. March and Herbert A. Simon, Organizations (New York: Wiley, 1958), pp. 174-75.

CHAPTER 2

THE METHODOLOGY AND CONTEXT

The preceding chapter has presented variables which may affect

the process of adopting open housing ordinances. The task of this

chapter is to outline the methods used to investigate the variables

and their relationships and to present background information on the

communities studied.

Nature of the Research

Festinger and Katz have noted that:

> . . . empirical research . . . proceeds in a variety
> of settings and contexts. The setting for any research
> project is generally guided by the nature of the questions
> being asked and the degree of control desired.[1]

Since the questions asked in this study concern the political process

in cities, the appropriate research approach is the field study of in-

dividual communities. In a field study, the investigator:

> . . . first looks at a social or institutional sit-
> uation and then studies the relations among the attitudes,
> values, perceptions and behaviors of individuals and
> groups in the situation.[2]

Since the primary goal of this study is to examine the deci-

sion process in local communities and to develop hypotheses, the

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[1]Leon Festinger and Daniel Katz, Research Methods in the Be-
havioral Sciences (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966),
p. 13.

[2]Fred N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research (New
York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1964), p. 387.

research is exploratory. The field study is particularly appropriate

for this purpose because, as Katz has argued:

> . . . the great strength of the field type study is
> its inductive procedure, its potentiality for discover-
> ing significant variables and basic relations. . . .[3]

In the area of local politics, Wilson has stated that "real progress

requires the intensive study of a small number of communities."[4] A

field study, then, can provide information and insights regarding the

decision process in municipalities.

A problem encountered in field studies is with the use of

hypotheses. As Katz has noted:

> . . . the difficulty with the use of hypotheses in
> field studies is the inability to determine causal re-
> lationships with any definiteness, since most of the
> measures are not taken with respect to systematic changes
> in some ascertained dependent variable.[5]

Consequently, examination of the variables and relationships presented

in the first chapter must remain tentative.

One method of decreasing the danger of determining causality

in field studies is the investigation of more than one community.

The importance of comparison in research has been noted by Campbell

and Stanley:

> Basic to scientific evidence . . . is the process
> of comparison, of recording, or of contrast. Any ap-
> pearance of absolute knowledge, or intrinsic knowledge
> about singular isolated events, is found to be illusory

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[3]Daniel Katz, "Field Studies," in Festinger and Katz, op. cit.,
p. 75.

[4]James Q. Wilson, "Problems in the Study of Local Politics,"
in Edward H. Buehrig, ed., Essays in Political Science (Bloomington:
Indiana University Press, 1963), p. 140.

[5]Katz, op. cit., p. 78.

upon analysis. Securing scientific evidence involves
making at least one comparison.[6]

Although comparative analysis does not constitute experimental control,
it does permit the isolation of unique factors which might contaminate
a single city study. For this reason, this study will investigate adop-
tion of open housing ordinances in three communities. Despite the value
of comparative analysis, a study of three cities can only suggest the
impact of variables in the open housing decision process on adoption of
ordinances.

Selection of the Cities

Selection of the three cities was dictated by the design of the
study. The criterion for selection was whether a city council had con-
sidered adopting an open housing ordinance. The three cities are in
the same state and thus operate within the same legal framework. But
the cities were not matched according to size, economic base, demo-
graphic character of the population, or formal political institutional
arrangements. Because the cities vary along these dimensions and
adequate control of the effect of these variables is not possible, the
external validity of the study's conclusions is limited.

A brief description of the adoption of open housing ordinances
in the three cities is informative. In September, 1966, the Jackson
city council adopted a city policy of open housing. The ordinance
excluded only single family dwellings, but included a cumbersome en-
forcement procedure. The ordinance was subsequently defeated in a
referendum in April, 1967 by a margin of over 2 to 1. In June, 1968

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[6]Donald T. Campbell and Julian C. Stanley, Experimental and
Quasi-Experimental Designs for Research (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963),
p. 6.

the city council again passed an open housing ordinance. Its pro-
visions excluded one and two family dwellings, but included a $100.00
fine for violations of the ordinance. Referendum petitions were cir-
culated, but the required number of signatures was not obtained, and
after thirty days the ordinance went into effect.

The Flint city council adopted open housing in October, 1967.
The ordinance excluded multiple family dwellings of five or less units,
and assessed a fine of $300.00 for violation of the ordinance's pro-
visions. In February, 1968 petitions were filed and the ordinance was
placed on the ballot. In the referendum open housing was sustained by
30 votes out of over 40,000 cast, the first time open housing was en-
dorsed by a public vote in the United States.

In October, 1967 the Lansing city council unanimously adopted
an open housing ordinance. The ordinance excluded one and two family
dwelling units, and included a $500.00 fine for violations of the or-
dinance. Referendum petitions were never taken out, and the ordinance
quietly went into effect.

At this point it should be explained that the names of deci-
sion makers have been changed. All interviews were prefaced with the
following statement:

> Mr. _____, before we get started I want
> you to feel assured that anything you tell me
> will be treated with strictest confidence. The
> information and opinions you give me today will
> be processed with material from other people in
> _____ and in the other cities studied.
> No names of individuals will be used, and what
> you tell me will be off the record.

While many respondents remarked that they were not concerned with
anonymity, others emphasized that their comments should be treated as
confidential. As to the authenticity of the reporting of respondents'

comments, de Tocqueville's statement in the introduction to Democracy in America is appropriate.

> Here the reader must necessarily rely upon my word.
> I could frequently have cited names which either are
> known to him or deserve to be so in support of my as-
> sertions; but I have carefully abstained from this
> practice. . . . I had rather injure the success of
> my statements than add my name to the list of those
> who repay generous hospitality . . . by subsequent
> chagrin and annoyance.[7]

Selection of Respondents

Structured interviews were conducted with decision makers and informants in the three cities.

The Use of Informants

Selltiz, et al. note that one method which is fruitful in the search for important variables and hypotheses is interviewing respondents who might provide "provocative ideas and useful insights."[8] The authors agree that although a random sample of individuals who might have knowledge of an open housing decision might not be of value,

> . . . it is nevertheless important to select respond-
> ents so as to ensure a representation of different types
> of experience. Wherever there is reason to believe that
> different vantage points may influence the content of ob-
> servation, an effort must be made to include variation in
> point of view and in type of experience.[9]

The Informants

Informants were selected because of their position in the

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[7]Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, quoted in John H. Kessel, The Goldwater Coalition (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1968), p. viii.

[8]Claire Selltiz, Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch, and Stuart W. Cook, Research Methods in Social Relations (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), p. 55.

[9]Ibid., p. 56.

community which would tend to make them familiar with both the events surrounding adoption of the open housing ordinance and the general politics of the city.[10] They were not selected because of their participation in the decision, although some of the informants were involved in the open housing issue. To allow for differences in point of view, five individuals were chosen as informants. They were: (1) the newspaperman who covered the open housing issue; (2) the Executive Vice President of the Chamber of Commerce; (3) the Director of the city's Human Relations Commission; (4) the head of the local NAACP chapter or Urban League, and (5) the Director of the Local Labor Council. The intention was to interview the men who held these positions at the time the city considered open housing. It was not possible in all cases to interview these people. For example, in Flint the Director of the Urban League was on a leave of absence in Washington. Fortunately, the co-chairman, with the Urban League Director, of the most active group supporting the open housing ordinance, was interviewed. In this case, because of the individual substituted, little information was lost. In one instance, however, when the original informant was not available and no suitable replacement could be found, some information might have been lost. The loss was probably minimal because the selection of informants was designed to give a comprehensive account of the adoption of open housing ordinances. Thus, if one informant was not interviewed, the amount of information only he could

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[10] For a similar use of informants see Terry N. Clark, "Community Structure, Decision-Making, Budget Expenditures and Urban Renewal in 51 American Cities," American Sociological Review, v. 33, no. 4 (August, 1968), pp. 576-93.

provide was limited. It should be noted that in two cities all informants were interviewed, while in Jackson four of the five informants were interviewed.

Problems with the Use of Informants

Although the positions of informants were comparable across cities, the informants themselves were not. For example, the newsmen who covered open housing differed greatly in their knowledge of the less obvious aspects of their city's politics. The choice of informants based on position in the community, then, can lead to problems of information acquisition. If, on the other hand, informants were selected on the basis of participation in the decision, information collected might be less comprehensive and objective. The problem of selection of informants appears to have no totally satisfactory solution.

Another problem concerning the informants was also encountered. Originally, the President of the Chamber of Commerce when the city considered open housing was selected as an informant. After some disappointing results, the Executive Vice President of the Chamber was substituted for the President. These men, who were permanent members of the Chamber, had a much greater understanding of their city's politics than did the Presidents who were elected by fellow Chamber members for one year terms of office.

The Decision Makers

Since Chapter 1 emphasized that decision makers are an important element in the decision process, mayors and councilmen in the three cities were interviewed. City managers were not interviewed because

preliminary discussions with informants and councilmen indicated that the managers did not take either public or private stands on open housing and did not attempt to influence votes on the ordinances. Of the thirty-six councilmen and mayors who were in office when open housing ordinances were adopted, twenty-six were interviewed. When these figures are broken down, twenty-three of thirty-two councilmen and three of four mayors were interviewed -- a response rate of approximately 75 per cent for each category of decision maker. Significantly, in no city were less than a majority of the decision makers interviewed. Figure 1 presents the decision makers in the three cities.

Information Collected

In order to explore the variables and relationships presented in Chapter 1, informants and decision makers were asked to provide information on four major aspects of the political process in each city. Respondents were asked:

1. What were the circumstances surrounding the articulation of demands for an open housing ordinance, and who presented these demands to decision makers?

2. What individuals and groups became involved in the issue after decision makers had agreed to consider open housing, and what was their impact on the council's decision?

3. What decision makers attempted to influence council adoption of open housing, and how successful were they?

4. What was the decisional style of the council; did the decision makers attempt to avoid overt issue conflict, and what effect did the style have on adoption of ordinances?

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FIGURE 1

DECISION MAKERS IN THE THREE CITIES

Jackson

	1966	1968
Mayor	Baker*	Thompson*
First Ward	Findley	Riley
Second Ward	Layne*	Dempsey*
Third Ward	Smith*	Smith*
Fourth Ward	Hayes*	Lambert
Fifth Ward	Hall*	Hall*
Sixth Ward	Jankowski	Jankowski
Seventh Ward	Field*	Dean
Eighth Ward	Harper*	Gleason*

Flint

	1967
First Ward	Staley
Second Ward	Martin*
Third Ward (Mayor)	Russell
Fourth Ward	Peters*
Fifth Ward	Mahoney*
Sixth Ward	Cole*
Seventh Ward	Carr*
Eighth Ward	Stevens*
Ninth Ward	Miller*

Lansing

1968

At-large	Brown*	First Ward	Mitchell*
At-large	Franklin*	Second Ward	Price
At-large	Morgan*	Third Ward	Adams*
At-large	Allen*	Fourth Ward	Stewart

Mayor   Morrison*

*Indicates those interviewed

Decision makers, because their attitudes were posited as an important element in the decision process, were asked about their pre-dispositions toward open housing. It is admittedly difficult to link attitudes to behavior, but the councilmen's voting behavior is a matter of public record. It is, therefore, only their responses to questions concerning their attitudes which might be suspect. All decision makers interviewed, however, appeared quite willing to state why they voted for or against an open housing ordinance. The problem of determining the linkages between attitudes and behavior remains, but at least the two points between which the linkages must be made are relatively secure.

Checks on the Validity of the Information

As a check on the information collected, both informants and decision makers were asked to provide information on the same aspects of the political process in their city and on the operation of that process on open housing. There was also a division of information collected from these two groups. Informants were expected to provide an overall view of the open housing question, while decision makers were to provide information on the bargaining and compromise which might have occurred over the issue. By combining information from the two groups of respondents, a more accurate and complete picture of open housing decisions in the three communities could be constructed. Although this division existed, sufficient overlap between information gathered from each group of respondents provided a check on the validity of their answers.

This first check on the validity of the information has relied upon interviewing two sets of respondents. But Katz has observed that

the use of independent measures in a field study should not be confined

to interviews with different subgroups or types of people.

> They should be extended to include behavioral observa-
> tion and existing objective records. The relationships
> that are found between measures that are obtained in these
> different ways are more convincing than if they are all de-
> rived from a single instrument. It is not so much a ques-
> tion of validating interview response against behavior as
> it is a matter of assuring that real relationships exist
> between the factors that are measured.[11]

And Webb, et al., note that

> . . . it is only when we naively place faith in a
> single measure that the massive problems of social re-
> search vitiate the value of our comparisons.[12]

Consequently, this study has employed objective measures.

One objective check was to study the voting records of city

councilmen on open housing and similar issues. If an individual

claimed to be concerned with problems of the Black community, his

record should indicate this orientation. If all councilmen, or at

least a majority, in a city profess to favor policies to better race

relations, yet few such programs have been adopted, interesting ques-

tions arise concerning both their responses and the city's political

process. This check also indicates the extent of voting splits and

on what types of issues the splits occur, which is important in de-

termining a city council's decisional style.

A second check was to read the local newspapers to learn what

individuals and groups were involved in the decision and the actions

of decision makers. This furnishes an important objective measure of

the information provided by respondents.

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[11]Katz, op. cit., p. 82.

[12]Eugene T. Webb, Donald T. Campbell, Richard D. Schwartz, and
Lee Sechrest, Unobtrusive Measures (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966), p. 34.

Problems in the Collection of Valid Data

One valuable tactic for studying the urban political process is observation of city council meetings. This research tactic could provide information on the patterns of interaction and influence among decision makers by revealing whether or not councilmen deferred to other councilmen or to the mayor or manager, and whether this deference depended on the issue under consideration. Unfortunately, in each city a number of councilmen who were on the council at the time the city adopted open housing are no longer in office. Also, only one of the mayors remained in office. Consequently, this valuable objective measure could not be used.

Another problem is that many city councils discuss their disagreements privately and then vote unanimously at public meetings. Because of this, reviewing city council voting records might not be fruitful. When a city council adopts this procedure it is more difficult to learn the details of any policy decision, and the interviewer must probe respondents to gain information concerning disagreements which did not become public. If a council makes policy decisions in private to avoid public disagreement, councilmen may be hesitant to discuss the presence or extent of disagreement with an interviewer. One means of partially overcoming this problem is for one individual to do all the interviewing in a city, as was the case in this study. This allows the interviewer to get a "feel" for the politics of a city and to follow up information received from one person by probing others. After a series of interviews, the investigator can become quite familiar with a policy decision which councilmen might be reluctant to discuss.

A further problem is that newspaper coverage is uneven. In one of the cities, events of the open housing controversy were reported in great detail, while in another the newspaper's references to open housing were minimal.

Despite these problems, the objective measures used should provide checks on the information obtained by interview. Use of both objective and subjective data collection techniques was designed to insure that the information secured was relatively unbiased.

Collection of Information About the Referenda

Since this study is also concerned with referenda which followed the adoption of open housing ordinances by city councils, the methods of collecting data on referenda must also be outlined.

The interview schedules for both informants and decision makers contained questions about the groups involved in the referenda and their activities. Respondents were also asked why their city did or did not have a referendum.

An objective measure of the individuals and groups involved and their actions is provided by newspaper coverage of the campaign. This is, of course, subject to the limitations discussed previously.

An objective measure which checks the effectiveness of the strategy and tactics employed by groups involved in the referenda is the voting results. Fortunately, the referendum in Flint was the only issue on the ballot; and in Jackson only lesser county officials with no relation to open housing were on the ballot. Consequently, voting results are not contaminated by voters who went to the polls primarily to register a preference on another issue and who also voted on the

open housing ordinance. Open housing was the main reason in both cities for citizens to go to the polls.

The three interrelated sources of data provide an adequate means for investigating variables which might affect the outcome of a referendum.

Organization of the Study

The following section of this chapter will provide an introduction to the context of the political process and the formal rules and procedures in the three communities. The next three chapters are concerned with the politics of adoption of open housing ordinances in the cities. These chapters are primarily descriptive and are designed only to provide information about the open housing decisions in each city.

Chapters 6 and 7 will investigate the decision process variables and relationships presented in Chapter 1. Chapter 8 will attempt to relate differences in the processes of adoption of open housing ordinances to stringency of ordinances and the incidence of referenda following adoption of open housing. Based on the conclusions of Chapters 6-8, Chapter 9 will discuss the possibilities of innovative policy change.

Some Aspects of the Context and Formal Rules and Procedures

Contextual Characteristics

Each city in the study is a core city of a standard metropolitan area, as defined by the United States Bureau of the Census. The communities vary in size, economic base, and characteristics of their populations. Table 1 presents some selected contextual characteristics.

As the table indicates, Flint was the largest, most industrialized city with the highest percentage of Blacks, the lowest median

TABLE 1

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CITIES' POPULATIONS*

	Jackson	Flint	Lansing
Population, 1940	49,656	151,543	78,753
Population, 1950	51,088	163,143	92,129
Population, 1960	50,720	196,940	107,807
Growth Rate -- 1940-1950	2.9%	7.7%	16.9%
Growth Rate -- 1950-1960	-0.7%	20.7%	17.0%
Per cent Negro, 1940	3.0%	4.4%	2.1%
Per cent Negro, 1950	5.4%	8.6%	3.3%
Per cent Negro, 1960	9.2%	17.5%	6.3%
Median School Years Completed	11.1	10.9	11.9
Per cent Completed Less than Five Years	4.9%	5.2%	3.4%
Per cent Completed High School or More	43.0%	41.0%	49.4%
Median Income	$6,422	$6,340	$6,477
Per cent Under $3,000	15.6%	12.9%	12.2%
Per cent $10,000 and Over	17.1%	16.7%	17.0%
Median Age	31.1	28.0	28.9
Per cent Under 18	35.2%	36.9%	36.1%
Per cent 65 and Over	12.4%	7.3%	9.0%

Table 1 -- Continued

	Jackson	Flint	Lansing
Total Employed	18,874	73,363	42,562
Per cent in Manufacturing	31.1%	50.5%	27.1%
Per cent in Retail and Wholesale	19.7%	16.2%	20.0%
Per cent in White Collar	43.9%	36.4%	48.0%

*All data are from United States Census Reports -- 1940, 1950, 1960.

income, and the lowest median school years completed. Lansing was the

middle city in size, had the greatest percentage of people in white col-

lar occupations, the smallest percentage of Blacks, the highest median

income, and the highest median school years completed. Jackson was

the smallest city, and held the median position in regard to industri-

alization, percentage of Blacks, median income, and median school years

completed.

In the interviews, an attempt was made to go beyond these

population statistics and discover more informal aspects of the nature

of the cities' populations. Informants and decision makers were asked:

> Is there anything in particular you feel
> I should know about your city which might help
> me to better understand the open housing issue?

Jackson respondents strongly emphasized that the community was

very conservative -- the people did not want change. They noted that

one fire station had been closed and the city was in severe financial

difficulty because citizens would not support the city's pleas for in-

creased revenues. Respondents also noted that the younger people were

moving out of the city to the surrounding townships. To emphasize the

community's conservatism, the respondents stated that the labor unions

were not strong supporters of measures designed to alleviate some of

the city's social problems. Also, according to respondents, few fed-

eral projects were in operation in Jackson. The city, then, was un-

responsive to change.

Respondents in Flint noted that the city was an industrial com-

munity, "a working man's town." They explained that during the Depres-

sion, General Motors hired workers from Arkansas and Missouri to work

in the automobile plants. These workers had settled in the Fourth and

Eighth Wards of the city. The importance of this move of white Southern-
ers into the city for an open housing ordinance is, of course, that
these people might not be receptive to an issue designed to help Blacks.
Flint is almost one-fifth Black, and respondents agreed that the city's
social problems were increasing. Respondents in Lansing replied that
the city was a cosmopolitan community. The city was the capital of the
state, and a major university was located in a neighboring municipality.
Consequently, according to respondents, the city's working class members
blended with state employees and university people. Respondents also
stated that Lansing was a progressive community; the city was engaged in
extensive urban renewal projects and social programs. They explained
that the people who worked for the state and the university tended to
be liberal and receptive to change.

Formal Rules and Procedures

This brief description illustrates the diversity of the com-
munities. But the diversity is not limited to the characteristics of
their populations. The formal rules and procedures also varied across
the cities. Table 2 presents the salient aspects of the rules and pro-
cedures in the three cities.

Jackson has a council-manager form of government with non-
partisan elections. The eight councilmen are nominated by wards but
elected at-large every two years. The mayor is elected for a two-year
term directly by the people, and he votes on all issues. The vote of
the mayor of Jackson is equal to that of any other councilman, and he
has no veto power.

Flint also employs the council-manager form of government with
nonpartisan elections. Councilmen are nominated and elected from wards.

TABLE 2

THE FORMAL RULES AND PROCEDURES IN THE THREE COMMUNITIES

	Jackson	Flint	Lansing
Form of Government	Council-Manager, direct election of mayor	Council-Manager, councilmen elect mayor	Mayor-Council
Type of Election	Ward nomination, at-large election	Ward nomination and election	One-half elected at-large, one-half by district
Form of Ballot	Nonpartisan	Nonpartisan	Nonpartisan

The nine council seats are up for election every two years, and council-men elect the mayor from one of their number. Like the mayor of Jack-son, the mayor of Flint's vote is equal to that of any other councilman, and he has no veto power.

Lansing has a mayor-council form with nonpartisan elections. The city council is composed of eight members -- four are elected from wards and four from districts. The mayor is elected for a four-year term, as are the councilmen. Every two years, two at-large and two district seats are up for election. In case of tie votes on the coun-cil, the mayor may vote to break the tie. The mayor also has a veto power over all ordinances.

PART TWO

OPEN HOUSING DECISIONS IN THE THREE CITIES

The following three chapters present a description and analysis of the transformation of open housing from demands made on city councilmen to public policy in each of the three cities. The chapters are designed primarily to give a brief picture of the campaigns for ordinances and not to systematically examine the variables presented in Chapter 1.

Overview

Jackson's Human Relations Commission and NAACP had, in early 1966, asked the city council to adopt an open housing ordinance. These requests were rebuffed. In September, a councilman removed an ordinance from his pocket and asked that it be voted on. Action was postponed for a week until the ordinance was put in final form, and at the following council meeting an open housing ordinance was passed. Subsequently, the ordinance was challenged and defeated in a referendum in April, 1967. In late 1967, the Human Relations Commission and NAACP asked city council to adopt another ordinance, but were again rebuffed. After Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated, and Jackson experienced mild racial disorder, the city council met and adopted a second open housing ordinance.

In September, 1966, the Flint chapter of the NAACP presented a model open housing ordinance to the city council and urged its adoption. The mayor, a Black, worked for the ordinance with support from the NAACP, Urban League, and Local Labor Council. An ordinance was defeated in August, 1967; but one was subsequently passed in October, 1967. Open housing was challenged in a referendum, but, in contrast to Jackson's

first ordinance, Flint's was sustained by the voters in February,
1968.

The Lansing Human Relations Committee in April, 1967 recom-
mended that the city council adopt an open housing ordinance. Lansing's
Black councilman worked quietly among the councilmen to secure support
for open housing, and in October, 1967 an ordinance was passed
unanimously.

CHAPTER 3

THE OPEN HOUSING DECISIONS IN JACKSON

Background

In the early 1960's Jackson began urban renewal in two areas.
One program involved part of the downtown area, and the other a resi-
dential district in the city's Black section. The latter project was
designed to remove slum housing. Unfortunately, no attempt was made
to relocate those whose houses were in the renewal area, and Blacks had
to look for housing throughout the city. When they did, discrimination
in housing became obvious, and some Black leaders demanded action by
the city council. On October 6, 1964 the Jackson city council unani-
mously adopted a resolution recommended by the Jackson Human Relations
Commission* which stated:

> . . . all persons financially able to purchase or
> rent housing or residential property in the city of
> Jackson shall have freedom of choice in housing and
> shall not be denied the right to purchase, finance,
> or rent housing or residential property because of
> race, color, religion, or national origin.

The resolution contained no penalties for those who failed to abide by
its provisions.

In early 1966, The Human Relations Commission, supported by the
NAACP, asked the city council to pass an open housing ordinance. The

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*The Human Relations Commission is composed of individuals ap-
pointed by the mayor. The members receive no compensation for their
services. The Commission has no formal authority in the city govern-
ment and is only an advisory group.

council refused the first request because councilmen felt that action in the field of discrimination was preempted by the state Civil Rights Commission. In October, 1963, the state Attorney General had ruled that city ordinances designed either to bar racial discrimination in housing or to protect property owners' rights to dispose of property would be illegal under the newly adopted state constitution. As a result of the constitution's provision creating a Civil Rights Commission, the Attorney General said, the state preempts the power to pass laws relating to "regulation and protection of civil rights." Supporters of the ordinance countered that four cities in the state had adopted open housing ordinances with no reaction from the Attorney General.

The Human Relations Commission's second request for an open housing ordinance was also denied. But the city council reaffirmed its resolution adopted October 1964 which they said set forth a city policy opposed to discrimination in the sale or rental of housing. The Human Relations Commission was finding the city council unreceptive to the ideal of open housing.

After the city council had rebuffed the Human Relations Commission, action on open housing shifted to the mayor and state Civil Rights Commission. In 1966, according to informants, the Michigan Civil Rights Commission was attempting to establish itself; it was looking for cities in which to hold hearings on alleged discrimination. In June, the Commission held hearings in Saginaw to delve into the general subject of housing discrimination. This was the first time the Civil Rights Commission had undertaken such a venture. After its hearings, the Commission issued a report which criticized the Saginaw city government for its failure to provide adequate leadership in solving housing

discrimination problems in the community, and recommended that the city council pass an open housing ordinance.

The Civil Rights Commission then looked for other cities in which to hold hearings. Mrs. Baker, who was an active member of the Jackson NAACP before her election as mayor, met with the Commission's director and arranged for hearings in Jackson. She pledged the full cooperation of her office and said the hearings would provide "a worthwhile educational experience for the whole community." The imminent appearance of the Civil Rights Commission prodded the Jackson city council to consider an open housing ordinance.

The 1966 Open Housing Decision

Presentation of Demands to the City Council

After earlier requests for an open housing ordinance had been refused, the NAACP and Human Relations Commission began to prepare an ordinance. Previously, momentum for an ordinance had come primarily from the Human Relations Commission, but now the NAACP, which according to informants was fairly conservative and very middle class, became active. The NAACP's involvement in the drive for open housing indicated the increased interest of Black leaders in an ordinance. The NAACP gathered material from the 1960 census to demonstrate racial segregation in Jackson, and presented this information to the Human Relations Commission.

Action by the Council

The growing agitation by NAACP and Human Relations Commission leaders and the scheduled visit to Jackson of the Michigan Civil Rights Commission prompted the city council to act. But its action was

unorthodox. At the council's September 13th meeting, Sixth Ward Councilman Jankowski removed an open housing ordinance from his pocket and read it. The ordinance could not be voted on, however, because it was not in proper form. Instead, councilmen formally agreed to schedule the ordinance's first reading for the following week. Councilman Hayes made a motion to table the matter for study, which was defeated 5-4 with Field, Jankowski, Harper, Hall, and Mayor Baker voting "no." The proposed ordinance was a copy of that recommended by the state Civil Rights Commission for Saginaw.

On September 20, the city council gave preliminary approval to the ordinance by a voice vote. The following week the ordinance was passed on the second reading by a vote of 5-3 with Smith, Hayes, and Harper voting no and Councilwoman Findlay abstaining.

Analysis of the Council's Action

Jankowski's introduction of an open housing ordinance was unusual because it appears from the interviews that only two other councilmen knew that he would present an ordinance. On September 6, a study session was scheduled after the public meeting. Between these two meetings and over dinner, these three councilmen discussed an open housing ordinance and decided that Jankowski, the councilman from the ward in which most of the city's Blacks lived, should introduce the ordinance. An ordinance was not discussed in the study session that night nor in the pre-formal meeting on the following Tuesday. On September 13, after the council had gone through its agenda in the public meeting, Jankowski introduced the ordinance. Why Jankowski acted in this manner is a matter of speculation. (Jankowski died shortly before this research began.) Consequently, reasons for his action may only be

inferred. One councilman could not understand why Jankowski introduced
an ordinance because, he said, Jankowski had little rapport with his
Black constituents. Layne, who consistently favored progressive action
by the city on social problems, was also surprised. He had asked the
mayor to write for ordinances adopted by other cities in the state be-
cause he favored an education campaign to acquaint the citizens with
any ordinance the city council might consider. Jankowski's abrupt ac-
tion cancelled Layne's plans.

The President of Jackson's chapter of the NAACP offered an ex-
planation for Jankowski's action. He noted that by acting quickly the
city council was able to pass an ordinance it wanted. The adopted ordi-
nance contained no penalty clause and had the same force as a resolution.
This was not the kind of ordinance the NAACP and Human Relations Com-
mission wanted.

Mayor Baker seemed to support this line of reasoning when she
characterized Jankowski's action as "Machiavellian." She noted that
the ordinance was very weak, and it hamstrung councilmen who supported
open housing. They could not vote against the ordinance, especially
Mayor Baker who had strongly worked for open housing, and they could
not table it for fear of criticism. Jankowski's action forced sup-
porters of open housing to vote for an ordinance that was innocuous
and unenforceable.

With this discussion as background, we can examine the vote
on the open housing ordinance which was 5-3 with one abstention.
Miss Findlay abstained because she said she was involved in a conflict
of interest situation. She was a real estate saleswoman who did not
own her own business. Her abstention might have been a way of avoiding

pressure from her constituents and her employer.

The five favorable votes included Baker and Layne. These two consistently favored progressive city programs. The belief of these two decision makers in the ordinance seems genuine since they consistently supported liberal social programs in Jackson. On the open housing question they were joined by Field, Hall, and Jankowski.

The reasons for their support of the ordinance are difficult to determine. One informant remarked that Field wasn't a strong advocate of open housing, but the respondent felt that Field wanted to be fair. Another councilman stated that he was a little surprised at Field's vote. A factor which might have affected Field's decision was his wife's position as chairman of the Jackson County Democratic Party. Since Jackson County encompasses the city of Jackson and the surrounding townships, which tend to be more liberal and Democratic than the city, it would not be wise for the husband of the county chairman to vote against an open housing ordinance. If one wishes to be reelected as a Jackson city councilman, however, one cannot appear too liberal, as the cases of Layne and Baker, who were not reelected, illustrate. Consequently, Field was subjected to conflicting cross pressures.

Councilman Hall was the Director of the Jackson YMCA. One informant stated that Hall's image was that of the community's knight in shining armor, and that he put on a good show of being a liberal. Hall, then, might not have been as liberal as his position would indicate. But the Director of the local YMCA could not be expected to vote against an open housing ordinance. Hall, like Field, was cross-pressured. According to informants, members of the board of the Jackson YMCA are businessmen who are conservative and would not appreciate an extreme

liberal as director. Consequently, any liberal tendencies Hall might have had were tempered by the attitudes of the YMCA board members.

Jankowski, as Sixth Ward Councilman, was also in an unusual position. The Sixth Ward encompasses two opposing minority groups -- Poles and Negroes -- with each accounting for approximately 50 per cent of the ward's population. Other councilmen remarked that Jankowski had never supported civil rights legislation before. As representative of the Polish minority more than the Negro, he was pressured more by his Polish constituents than by Blacks. However, Jankowski could not ignore the Blacks in his ward. Open housing was becoming a salient issue in the Black community as the NAACP joined the Human Relations Commission in the fight for an ordinance. Jankowski, then, was in an increasingly difficult position.

It is, perhaps, no coincidence that these three men who were cross-pressured on open housing were the men who discussed an ordinance at the dinner meeting. Since they felt they had to vote for open housing, they may have sought a compromise solution. The ordinance the Human Relations Commission was preparing was a strong one with a penalty clause, and the presence of the Civil Rights Commission put pressure on the council to pass an ordinance. These factors convinced the three councilmen, as one said, that "an open housing ordinance had to come." The compromise solution was to introduce and adopt a weak ordinance, one without a penalty clause. Perhaps they felt they could appease civil rights advocates by voting for an ordinance, while conservatives would be satisfied the ordinance would cause little if any change in the community. This interpretation seems quite plausible because Baker and Layne, the two strongest supporters of open housing, were not

informed that Jankowski would present an ordinance. Consequently, they had no opportunity to postpone action on the ordinance or to strengthen it.

The three who opposed the ordinance all claimed to have voted against it because the city did not need an open housing ordinance since the state had preempted action by cities on civil rights. But both informants and other councilmen remarked that Smith, Hayes, and Harper were conservative and the latter two were not concerned with minority group problems. Informants also said the three were afraid of their constituents. Hayes' and Harper's wards bordered on the Negro area, and informants said the people feared Black migration. Smith was the vice president of a local bank. One councilman said that since property values generally decrease as Blacks move into an area, and since the bank held much property in Jackson, Smith viewed an open housing ordinance negatively.

There is other evidence that Smith was concerned with his con- stituents. After referendum petitions had been filed and accepted, he recommended to the council that the referendum be held on the following year's November city council general election. The ordinance would then be a campaign issue. If Smith were not sure of his constituents' atti- tudes toward open housing, he would not have suggested that candidates run, in part, on their position on open housing. Smith, Hayes, and Harper seemed ideologically and politically comfortable with a stance opposing open housing.

Conclusions

Although discussion of an open housing ordinance in Jackson extended over many years, adoption came quickly. Because the Michigan Civil Rights Commission could embarrass Jackson, as it had Saginaw, by publishing a report critical of Jackson's inaction in the area of housing discrimination, the city council was pressured into action. But the method of adoption was unusual. The three councilmen who discussed open housing knew that Baker and Layne would vote for an ordinance and they were thus assured of a favorable majority. The method the three councilmen employed prevented any in-depth discussion of the ordinance. The Jackson city council's adoption of an open housing ordinance in 1966, then, was quickly and rather quietly accomplished; but the issue was not settled.

The Referendum

Within days after the Jackson city council had adopted the open housing ordinance, a realtor, F. K. Arnold, began to circulate referendum petitions because, he said, the ordinance violated the property rights of home owners. On October 7, the Jackson Human Relations Commission announced it was beginning a community education program in human relations -- with special emphasis on the open housing ordinance. As part of its program, the Commission, on October 15, asked the city's churches to support the ordinance. The churches took no formal action in response to the Human Relations Commission's request, but four days later an advertisement appeared in the city newspaper signed by forty-four clergymen which asked citizens not to sign referendum petitions. These clergymen emphasized that they acted as individuals and not as representatives of their churches. Despite these efforts to discourage

people from signing petitions, Arnold was easily able to gain the requi-
site signatures. On October 25, Arnold presented the city clerk with
petitions containing more than 3,400 signatures, nearly twice the number
required. On December 10, the city clerk declared the petitions valid,
and the city council was forced again to consider the open housing ordi-
nance. The council was required either to rescind its approval of open
housing or to reaffirm its stand and put the ordinance on the ballot.
It chose to place the issue before the people. Of course, this removed
the burden of adopting or rejecting the ordinance from the council's
shoulders. The council also decided to hold the referendum on April 11
to coincide with the county-wide vote to select two probate judges.
Once the city council had restated its approval of the ordinance and
set the election date, the battle shifted to the community and the in-
tensity of the discussions increased.

After the petitions were validated, Porter, recently elected
President of the Jackson NAACP, said "we warn those that seek to take
away our human rights that we will not sit idly by." Porter also
stated:

> Let no one underestimate the will and determination
> of the Negro community. Let no one think we are weak and
> divided. Let those that seek to keep us second class
> citizens realize that they are dealing with the 'new
> Negro' of the 1960's. One that becomes nauseated when
> he is told that a vote is required to determine whether
> or not he can purchase or rent real estate in the neigh-
> borhood of his choice.

Porter, however, was not speaking for the Negro community (or for many
members of the NAACP), and the circumstances surrounding his remarks
were extremely important for the outcome of the referendum.

Late in 1966, the moderate NAACP president chose not to run
for reelection. Two candidates sought the office: a Black militant

and a white Marxian. The Black militant, Porter, won. His first goal was to get all whites and middle class Negroes out of the Jackson chapter; to make the NAACP all Black. Since the NAACP in Jackson was primarily composed of whites and middle class Negroes, Porter's action resulted in a membership drop from over 500 to about 80 and in the loss of whatever influence the NAACP had in Jackson politics. Middle class Blacks worked against Porter, and in a few months he resigned and control of the Jackson NAACP returned to moderate, if not conservative, Blacks.

The importance of this split for open housing is that it occurred during the referendum campaign. The NAACP had planned to organize a voter registration drive and get out the vote drive in the Black precincts, but because of the split within the NAACP the drives were never held. Thus, the Black community, which could have provided a base of support for the open housing ordinance was divided and the division undercut the campaign for open housing.

Another potential source of support, the churches, also failed to materialize. After the advertisement signed by forty-four clergymen appeared in October, little was heard from the churches until March 31. On that day, the Executive Board of the Jackson County Council of Churches adopted a resolution endorsing the open housing ordinance. But the newspaper quoted some ministers as not wanting to become involved in politics. One informant noted that the large middle class Protestant churches and the Roman Catholic churches were favorable to open housing, while the smaller but numerous fundamentalist churches considered the ordinance a political question and saw no moral reason for taking a position on the issue. The action of Jackson's churches, then, was late and weak. Since the Council of Churches did not pass its resolution until less

than two weeks before the election, no concentrated effort to influence parishioners was possible. If the resolution had been passed earlier, the clergy's division may still have prevented a strong role for the churches in the open housing campaign.

In January, the Human Relations Commission created an ad hoc committee to campaign for open housing. The committee, headed by a Roman Catholic priest, decided on January 18 to operate as an independent unit, Citizens for Fair Housing. The group published and distributed pamphlets and organized a speakers' bureau. On March 30, the Citizens for Fair Housing announced it had provided speakers at twenty-five meetings during the campaign, and had reached over 1,000 people at these meetings. The meetings, however, also included speakers opposed to the ordinance; and foremost among these was Arnold.

Of the people involved in the open housing question, Arnold expended the greatest effort. He appeared at meetings and paid for numerous newspaper advertisements. He was volatile, and as one councilman noted, "a good showman." Unfortunately for the Citizens for Fair Housing, much of the information Arnold disseminated was inaccurate and aimed at the fears of whites. The newspaper quoted Arnold as saying he thought a man "has a right to discriminate." He felt that the open housing ordinance was:

> . . . a viciously and deceptively drawn ordinance that
> can provide severe penalties up to a jail term by the in-
> direct method used to bring you before the state Civil Rights
> Commission. It is the sugar-coated poison pill that will
> permit harassment, persecution, and prosecution by subsidized
> city and state officials while you are forced to defend your-
> self at your own expense. You can be hauled before the
> Jackson city council and tried without due process of law.

The hypoerbole of this statement is obvious, and the jail term Arnold spoke of could result if the Michigan Civil Rights Commission was able

to obtain a circuit court order to force a property owner to sell or rent to a Negro against whom he had been accused of discriminating. Violation of the court order would be contempt of court, an offense which is punishable by a jail term. The fact that Arnold's charges were overstated, if not false, was irrelevant. His bombastic tactics played on the fears of white citizens and placed the Citizens for Fair Housing on the defensive.

Arnold's behavior corresponds closely to Coleman's presentation in Community Conflict. Coleman notes that:

> . . . in many types of community conflict, there are no existing organizations to form the nuclei of the two sides. But as the controversy develops, organizations form.[1]

Coleman argues that as these organizations are formed, new leaders take over the dispute. These new leaders are "seldom moderates; the situation calls for extremists."[2] To emphasize the impact of Arnold's extremism, a Black NAACP leader said during an interview that he would not have voted for the open housing ordinance if it said what Arnold claimed it did. Another effect of Arnold's exaggerated statements was that on April 4, the city council amended the penalty section of the city code to make clear that the city council did not intend the code to be used to punish violators of the open housing ordinance. The amendment passed unanimously.

Each of the factors discussed led to the ordinance's defeat. The Black community did not mobilize a vote campaign to insure strong support for the ordinance in the Black precincts; the churches acted

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[1] James S. Coleman, Community Conflict (New York: The Free Press, 1957), p. 12.

[2] Ibid.

tardily and ineffectively; and the Citizens for Fair Housing acting
alone was not able to convince citizens of the value of open housing.
Also, the city council's abrupt passage of the ordinance did not allow
city officials to educate people concerning the scope and provisions
of the ordinance as Layne had planned. Arnold's remarks were dramatic,
and supporters of open housing were not able to overcome their impact.
The remarks were particularly injurious because of Jackson's tradition
of conservatism.

The result of this convergence of factors was that on April 11,
the ordinance was defeated 5,826 to 2,886. Only three precincts out of
twenty-four favored open housing, and these were in the Black area.
Only one ward, the Sixth, cast a majority of its votes for the ordinance
-- 401-256. The campaign for open housing never moved forward, and its
supporters expended most of their effort conducting an orderly retreat.

The 1968 Open Housing Decision

Background

After the defeat of open housing in the April referendum which,
according to informants, Black leaders received bitterly, little action
was taken on the issue. The city councilmen claimed they had a mandate
from the people.

In November, 1967 city council elections were held and Mayor
Baker, Layne, and Field were defeated. Findlay and Hayes did not seek
reelection, and Harper had been appointed City Treasurer. Jankowski,
Smith, and Hall were reelected. The positions on open housing of Baker,
Layne, and Field contributed to their defeat, but in interviews they
did not consider this the sole reason for their failure to be reelected.

The city council, then, had a considerable number of new members, including a new mayor -- Thompson.

Presentation of Demands to the Council

In early 1968, the NAACP and Human Relations Commission again made demands for an open housing ordinance, but the city council refused to listen. Then on April 6, Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated and Jackson experienced some mild racial disturbances. After King's assassination, representatives of the Southeast Jackson Ministerial Association and lay members of the Black community presented a ten point program to a hastily called meeting of the city council. One point included in the program was that "the mayor and city council should take a positive stand on open housing and aggressively promote a fair housing ordinance." The ministers and lay people stated:

> . . . there is much tension in the city and in the
> Negro community. The hour is already late, gentlemen.
> We do not want excuses, we want action -- We want the
> Negro community to feel and to trust it has a part in
> Jackson.

This new militancy on the part of established Black groups and fear of riots and racial disturbances which other cities in Michigan, particularly Detroit, experienced the previous year seemed to prompt the city council to act. The action was typical of Jackson.

Action by the City Council

On April 7, 1968, the city council unanimously endorsed the proposed statewide open housing law. The Jackson NAACP president announced, however, that this resolution did not meet the demands of Blacks, and he emphasized that a local ordinance was needed. On May 3, the Human Relations Commission stated it planned to present an open

housing ordinance to the council and ask that it be placed on the council's agenda. The ordinance was based on Flint's, but it had a $500 fine instead of $300 for violations. (When adopted, the ordinance provided for a $100 fine.) In a study session on May 20, representatives of the NAACP and Human Relations Commission met with councilmen to set a date for the council to consider open housing. The date set was June 4. The two week delay would give the city attorney and Human Relations Commission sufficient time to draft a formal proposal.

Smith, Jankowski, and Dean did not attend the study session. At the meeting, Thompson said he wanted a unanimous decision because he wanted to avoid further controversy. In an interview, a Black leader said that the reaction of councilmen at the meeting indicated that the decision would be unanimous.

At the June 4 council meeting, Thompson noted that state and federal open housing laws were about to go into effect, and he urged the city council to adopt a local ordinance. Smith announced that he had changed his mind and would support open housing. He then offered a motion to advance the ordinance to first reading. The ordinance was then adopted, 6-3, with Thompson, Smith, Jankowski, Hall, Dempsey, and Gleason in favor, and Riley, Lambert, and Dean opposed.

Analysis of the Council's Action

Despite the imminent approval of state and federal open housing laws, the Black community's growing militance, and the mayor's support of the ordinance, three councilmen refused to vote for open housing. Riley was a conservative from a conservative ward. One informant noted that Riley was "an old man with old ideas of white supremacy."

Lambert had defeated Layne in the previous election, and his position on open housing was more in line with his constituents' than was Layne's. One informant stated that Lambert was anti-Black and reflected opinion in his district. Dean represented the Seventh Ward which voted heavily against open housing in the 1967 referendum. Dean himself was characterized by an informant as "all-white." These three negative votes were the result, then, of both individual attitudes and constituency sentiment, and it is difficult to determine which was more important because the two are closely related and probably mutually supportive.

Hall and Jankowski voted for open housing for the same reasons they did in 1966. Gleason voted for the ordinance because, he said, he felt it was right. In an interview, he admitted that three or four years before he probably would have voted against the ordinance, but since then he had known Blacks as friends and this personal contact had changed his mind. Gleason also noted that at this time there was "much hell-raising going on" and Black leaders were pressuring the council to pass an ordinance. Smith stated publicly that he had changed his mind. When asked in an interview about this change, he mentioned the state and federal laws. But other councilmen and informants suggested that Smith was influenced by pressure from the Black community. They noted that as vice-president of a bank which owned property in the community he feared racial violence and rioting.

The sixth affirmative vote was Thompson's. He said he originally opposed an ordinance because a voluntary approach was better, but three events changed his mind. First, passage of state and federal laws; second, his election as mayor compelled him to take a broader view of problems, although he said he already had some sympathy for

the people concerned; and third, the assassination of King. In the interview, Thompson said he delivered a speech at a memorial service for Dr. King in which he discussed some of the problems of the Black community. He said he felt the Blacks recognized his sympathy with their position.

Conclusions

The passage of Jackson's 1968 open housing ordinance resulted from a confluence of events, the most important of which was the assassination of King which presented Jackson with a real threat of collective racial violence.

The circumstances surrounding adoption of open housing ordinances differed greatly in 1966 and 1968. In 1968 there was considerable discussion among councilmen, while in 1966 discussion was minimal. In 1968 the NAACP and Human Relations Commission were more active in attempting to influence the council's decision. These groups prodded the council to act, and the prodding was effective because it took place against a background of potential racial violence.

CHAPTER 4

THE OPEN HOUSING DECISION IN FLINT

Background

Open housing was first discussed in Flint in March, 1966 when

the Urban League recommended that the Flint Board of Education and the

city council take stands in support of open occupancy in housing. The

NAACP followed this lead and asked the two governmental bodies to adopt

such a resolution. In May, the Board of Education did pass a resolution

in which the Board stated it "recognizes and supports the right of any-

body to live anywhere in Flint." On June 6, 1966 Mayor Cole introduced

a resolution supporting open housing which passed 7 to 1 with councilman

Peters opposed. The resolution stated that the city council "recognizes

and supports the right of all citizens of the city of Flint to be free

from discrimination due to religion, race, color, or national origin."

The council pledged its "moral commitment to the ideal of freedom in

the selection of housing by every race, creed, or color." Mayor Cole

noted that the resolution was a "moral document," and Peters asserted

that he was "not down here to legislate morals, but ordinances for the

city."

Various community groups commended the city council for adopt-

ing the resolution, but they emphasized that an ordinance was neces-

sary. In early September, 1966 the president of the Flint Chapter

of the NAACP appeared before the city council and presented copies

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of a model open housing ordinance. He noted that urban renewal and freeway construction projects were forcing many families to relocate, and an ordinance was necessary to enable these families, primarily Black, to find new homes. On the motion of Russell, the proposed ordinance was referred to the Legislative Committee.

Since the November city council election was near, the NAACP and Urban League agreed not to increase pressure for open housing until after the election. They did, however, privately contact several candidates and incumbent councilmen to determine their feelings on the issue. Also, the AFL-CIO Labor Council, which usually endorsed candidates for council, based its support in 1966 in part on an individual's position on open housing. Consequently, although open housing was not discussed publicly, candidates were aware of the issue's importance for their election.

After the election, Russell was chosen mayor by the councilmen -- the first Black mayor of a major American city. Supporters now not only had men on the council favorable to open housing, but the mayor could serve as a shepherd for a proposed ordinance.

These two factors -- individuals on the council who owed their positions in part to help from groups that supported open housing, and a Black mayor strongly in favor of an ordinance -- made the time propitious for adoption of an open housing ordinance. Shortly after Russell's election, supporters increased their drive for an ordinance.

The Decision on Open Housing

Presentation of Demands to the Council

On February 13, the president of the Flint AFL-CIO Labor Council appeared before the city council and presented an open housing

ordinance. He stated the Labor Council unanimously agreed such an ordinance was necessary because urban renewal and highway construction projects were displacing many Black families, and these Black families needed freedom of movement in the city. The proposed ordinance was referred to the Legislative Committee.

Preliminary Council Action

The Committee took no action until its March 3 meeting when the city attorney stated that in his opinion "the city does not have the right to pass laws in the area of civil rights." He felt the Michigan Attorney General's ruling preempted city regulations. When questioned, the city attorney said the Attorney General had written him a letter supporting a memorandum from the Civil Rights Commission that stated cities "may operate in the area of imposing sanctions on discriminatory practices." The city attorney said that he could not "fit the statements together," but that he must abide by the "formal opinion."

Councilman Martin then moved that the open housing ordinance be dropped from the Legislative Committee's agenda. He was supported by Peters. Mayor Russell then moved to table the matter until the Attorney General's "conflicting statements" could be explained, and this motion passed. This action by Russell effectively saved the ordinance because it was early in the battle for open housing, and Martin's motion had a strong chance of passage.

From March to June the council did not take action, although a number of individuals appeared before the council urging it to adopt an open housing ordinance. In June, the city attorney told a meeting of the Flint Human Relations Commission that the city council could not pass an open housing ordinance. Shortly thereafter, the Greater Flint

Council of Churches announced it would write the Attorney General to get a clarification of his ruling.

On July 27, Mayor Russell called an informal city council meeting at which many individuals, including the director of the Flint Labor Council, spoke in favor of a city policy of open housing. At the close of the meeting Russell said that the council could not take action because it was an informal meeting, but he indicated that the ordinance would be brought before the council at a regular meeting as soon as possible.

On July 30, Flint experienced racial disorder which added further pressure to the drive for an open housing ordinance.

On August 7, 1967, the Legislative Committee held a special meeting to consider open housing. At the meeting, the Committee voted 3 to 2 to direct the city attorney to prepare a final draft of an open housing ordinance. Voting for were Russell, Miller, and Mahoney, while Peters and Martin were opposed. On August 11, the Legislative Committee approved a draft of the proposed ordinance 3 to 1 with Peters opposed and Martin absent. On this day also, fifty clergymen of all denominations signed petitions favoring open housing.

The Council's Decision

The ordinance was placed on the agenda of the August 14 meeting although supporters were not sure they had sufficient votes for passage. On the afternoon of the meeting, Councilman Mahoney telephoned the city clerk and reported he would not be present at the evening meeting because of automobile trouble. At the meeting, when open housing came up for discussion, Miller moved that the council table action on the ordinance because Mahoney was absent. He knew that the vote would be close and

that Mahoney would probably favor the ordinance. His motion was defeated 6 to 2 with Russell voting against. Stevens then moved that the council ask for an "advisory vote" of the people. This motion was also defeated with only Stevens and Cole voting "yes." Russell announced that the council could not wait any longer, and Miller moved that the city adopt the open housing ordinance. The motion was seconded by Carr just as Russell was about to declare the motion dead because of lack of support. When the vote was taken, open housing was defeated 5 to 3 with Martin, Peters, Staley, Cole, and Stevens opposed, and Russell, Miller, and Carr in favor. Russell then said:

> Last November this city council saw fit to make me
> mayor and that was fine all over the country, very won-
> derful. I thought that here at last we have a local
> government willing to accept people on the basis of
> their ability and not because of race. And I have held
> with this and preached this to my community. Tonight,
> however, I have changed my mind. I am not going to sit
> up here any longer and live an equal opportunity lie.

Russell then announced he would resign from the council.

Stevens made a motion asking the mayor to rescind his resigna-
tion, which passed with only Russell and Miller opposed. Miller, the second strongest supporter of open housing, said he thought "the mayor made a wise decision." After six months of work, open housing had been defeated. But supporters did not give up.

The next day Black leaders, including representatives of the NAACP and Urban League, met to plan a rally. Also, all Black members of the Human Relations Commission indicated that if Russell resigned they would resign as well. The president of Flint's NAACP chapter as-
serted that "it wasn't Russell taking abuse, it was every Negro man, woman, and child in Flint taking abuse." These events strongly suggest

that Flint's middle class Blacks were nudged into a more militant stance by the rejection of the open housing ordinance and Russell's dramatic resignation.

On August 16, Russell entered the hospital because of exhaustion and stomach problems and could not be reached.

On August 18, Flint's Blacks began a sleep-in on the city hall grounds.

Sunday, August 20, the rally to protest the city council's action was held and over 4,000 people attended. The rally was highlighted by a surprise visit from the Governor who, in his typically flamboyant style, declared he admired Russell "for not letting them keep using him as a stooge." The "them" were not identified, although the Governor seemed to mean the councilmen who opposed the ordinance. The Michigan Attorney General also spoke and declared that the state constitution did not prevent a city from enacting an effective open housing ordinance.

On August 21, at the next council meeting, the council voted 4 to 4 to return the open housing ordinance to committee. Stevens switched and voted for the motion while the others restated their previous position. Since Russell was absent, the motion did not pass, and the ordinance remained in limbo. The next week Russell announced he would remain as mayor and vowed to push for open housing.

Supporters felt that the fifth vote for the ordinance would come from either Cole or Stevens. Cole, as was mentioned earlier, had introduced the 1966 resolution favoring open housing, and supporters felt he might be convinced to act again. But Cole had stated he would not act under pressure, so the sleep-in and demonstrations on the city hall lawn were ended. On September 5, 1967 Cole initiated motions to reconsider

the open housing ordinance and to refer it to committee. Both motions passed 6 to 3 with Martin, Peters, and Staley opposed. But on October 17, Cole told Russell he would not support the ordinance because there was not enough support for it in the community.

On October 19, the Legislative Committee voted to place the open housing ordinance on the agenda of the October 23 council meeting by a 3 to 2 margin with Russell, Miller, and Mahoney for and Peters and Martin against. Russell, however, was not sure he had the five votes for adoption.

At the council meeting, Stevens announced he had changed his mind and said:

> There is no doubt that the future public service of some councilmen depends on whether they support the past or look to the future. I do not believe our personal hopes for future public service should influence our decision.

He said he previously opposed the ordinance because he felt the voters would defeat it. Now, he said, "I do not find the wild, widespread opposition that I found last summer. I am proud and happy in conscience to have a part in this action." When the vote was taken, open housing was adopted by a 5 to 4 vote. On October 30, the ordinance passed its second reading by a similar 5 to 4 margin.

Analysis of the Council's Action

Peters, Martin and Staley were consistent in their opposition to open housing. The three were characterized by informants as conservative, if not anti-Black. The positions of Martin and Peters were supported by their wards. Martin's ward, an informant said, was Flint's most conservative ward. Peters' ward was composed largely of blue

collar workers who had moved there from Missouri in the 1930's to seek work, and who now owned their own homes. These people, an informant noted, felt most threatened by Blacks, since this was a ward into which many Blacks would likely move. Staley, who had been supported by the Labor Council, refused to vote for open housing because, informants stated, of his own anti-Black attitude. These three, Peters, Martin, and Staley, were staunchly and consistently opposed to open housing.

Russell, Miller, Carr, and Mahoney were consistent supporters of the ordinance. Russell led the drive, but his tactics were very shrewd. He was not a vociferous supporter, but he made astute moves, such as tabling Martin's motion to drop open housing from the Legislative Committee's agenda. Miller was characterized by informants as "a real liberal, honest and sincere," who believed in open housing. He said in an interview that a person was entitled to what his money could purchase. Carr also said he thought open housing was morally right, but informants noted he had the added incentive of a ward with a growing Black population. Also, a coalition of liberals worked for Carr's election in 1966, and he made a commitment to open housing, which he honored. Mahoney's position was similar to Carr's. He said he favored the ordinance because it was right. However, his ward was also becoming heavily populated with Blacks, and in 1968 he was defeated for the city council by a Black.

Cole and Stevens wavered during the drive for open housing. In an interview Cole said he favored the ordinance but he did not vote for it because of economic reasons. As an insurance man with a primarily white clientele he was afraid a favorable vote would hurt his business. Informants noted that Cole had been injured economically

by some of his previous votes on racial matters, and that he did not run for council in 1968 because of this. Cole noted that he had made the motions to reconsider open housing and refer it to committee. He said these actions helped get the ordinance passed, but they were not so obvious as to arouse his constituents or his clients. He did feel that this was as far as he could go. He mentioned that he was contacted by several supporters of open housing, but economic considerations prevented his voting favorably. His favorable attitude toward the ordinance explains supporters' attempts at persuasion, including ending the sleep-in when Cole, they felt, could be convinced to overcome his hesitancy. However, when they learned he would not vote for open housing, their attention turned to Stevens.

In an interview, Stevens said he "favored the principle of open housing" but that he wanted "open housing as a social fact not just as a law." He felt that if an ordinance were passed in August, it would have gone to the polls and been defeated. In October an ordinance had a better chance of survival.

An examination of the forces acting on Stevens is informative. First, he had constituency problems. The "red-necks" of his district were well known in Flint, and an admittedly ambitious politician such as Stevens could not vote against their wishes with impunity. But Stevens was supported by the AFL-CIO Labor Council in 1966, and he had made an agreement to vote for open housing in return for their support. In Flint, union-backed candidates, because of monetary and organizational support, are often successful and Stevens appreciated this. A dilemma arose: union support could help him gain reelection, but a vote for open housing would alienate people in his ward. Stevens' final decision

seems to have been based on his attitude toward open housing, because when a white leader of the open housing forces thanked him after the council meeting, Stevens said he had just "cut my political throat." Stevens seemed to realize that despite union support, his chances for future public office were greatly diminished because of his open housing vote. His fears proved correct because in 1968 he was defeated for the county board of supervisors by the man he defeated for the city council seat in 1966. (The districts for each office were identical.) Evidently, Stevens needed prodding by the Labor Council and supporters of open housing before he could vote for the ordinance. His statement about being "happy in conscience" about his vote indicated the nature of his decision.

Conclusions

The Flint city council's consideration of an open housing ordinance created much controversy, and supporters were required to overcome great resistance before an ordinance could be adopted. Few cities in the state had such ordinances, and Jackson had recently defeated its ordinance in a referendum. Flint was one of the first large cities to attempt to pass an open housing ordinance.

Although passage of an ordinance was difficult, the tactics of the supporters, particularly Russell, were effective. Russell realized he could not force an ordinance through the council, but had to rely on astute moves. His refusal to table the issue at the August 14 city council meeting when Mahoney was absent and the ordinance lacked the necessary votes for adoption caused a confrontation which began the conflict in earnest. His resignation following defeat of the ordinance

dramatized the issue so that favorable moderates, both Black and white, grew more militant in their demands for open housing. His resignation also dragged Flint's problem before a nationwide audience which embarrassed the city. Russell's tactics, particularly his stay in the hospital when he could not be reached, forced others to take action. He never isolated himself as the supporter of open housing, and he did not become the center of a drive for an ordinance. Even though he was extremely important and an ordinance could not have been passed without his actions, he made it difficult for opponents of open housing to single him out for attack. In effect, he forced other members of the city council to take action to preserve the ordinance. After city council adoption, however, the open housing ordinance had to survive another battle.

The Referendum

On October 30, when the ordinance passed its second reading, Thomas Springer, a section leader of the John Birch Society, announced he would circulate petitions to force a referendum. In response, the Greater Flint Council of Churches developed an advertisement entitled "Myths and Facts" which discussed provisions of the ordinance. The President of the Council of Churches stated that "as fair housing comes to a referendum, the real task of developing attitudes in favor of it lies with each local church." However, on November 24, petitions carrying 5,754 signatures, almost double the 3,025 required, were filed with the city clerk. At this time, Springer said the issue:

> . . . is not the issue of white against Black, but whether the government, right or wrong, has the power to tell a person how and to whom he must dispose of his property. It appears that the advocates of forced housing

will attempt to turn the citizens of Flint away from
the real issue of "a man's home is his castle," and
redirect it toward racial bigotry.

At the city council's next meeting, Springer, representing the
Committee to Repeal Forced Housing Legislation asked the council to re-
peal the ordinance rather than have a referendum. This action, he said,
would save the city money. The next week the council received the cer-
tified petitions from the city clerk, and a motion to repeal the ordi-
nance was defeated 6 to 3 with Martin, Peters, and Staley voting for
repeal. At the meeting, council decided to hold the election on Febru-
ary 20, 1968. Peters and Staley resisted, feeling the city shouldn't
pay for a special election. They pointed out that the Board of Educa-
tion was to hold an election on a millage about the same time. But the
council decided they would set the date for the referendum, and the
school board could hold its election on the same day if it wanted. The
Board subsequently set a different date for its millage vote.

On January 4, thirty-five people met at the YMCA to develop a
coordinated strategy to assure passage of the ordinance and formed the
Friends of Fair Housing. Mayor Russell became general chairman, and
the President of the Greater Flint Council of Churches and the Director
of the Flint Urban League became co-chairmen. The coalition included
Blacks and whites, all religious denominations, and labor leaders and
businessmen. Informants noted that businessmen who joined the coalition
were afraid of racial violence which might have hurt them economically.

The tactics adopted by the Friends of Fair Housing were crucial.
The first was an armchair registration drive which the AFL-CIO Labor
Council financed. The city council voted 5 to 4, the same line-up as
the vote on the ordinance, to allow the drive, which produced over

2,500 new registrations, primarily from the Black wards. The Labor Coun-
cil provided not only money but also manpower to conduct the drive.

The second tactic was the all-out use of the churches. The
Friends of Fair Housing realized that the typical door-to-door campaign
wouldn't work in the white community. "We didn't know the audience;
we didn't want to stir up the anti-Negro vote." Emphasis was placed on
the churches to reach the whites, and they responded. The Greater
Flint Ministerial Association voted unanimously to support the open
housing ordinance. The Churches reproduced the "Myths and Facts" sheet
and mailed it to parishioners and, more important, supported open hous-
ing from the pulpit. Negro churches raised $5,000, more than one-fourth
of the budget of the Friends of Fair Housing. One informant noted that
this was the first time the Black churches had ever been united and able
to raise a substantial amount of money. The coordination worked well,
all informants and councilmen interviewed felt that the united front
made the difference.

On election day, the Friends of Fair Housing watched the Black
wards carefully. If a ward was voting between 50-70 per cent, telephone
calls were made to encourage voting. If the ward was voting at a rate
of 30-50 per cent, a sound truck was sent into the ward to remind the
people to vote. If a ward was voting less than 30 per cent, teams were
sent out to knock on doors and transport people to the polls. One coun-
cilman opposed to the ordinance noted that of those people who were en-
rolled in the armchair registration drive 78 per cent went to the polls
in the open housing referendum. This is probably exaggerated, but it
does indicate the efficiency and effectiveness of the Friends of Fair
Housing. These tactics and organization were necessary, however,

because the ordinance passed by only thirty votes out of over 40,000 cast. The margin was provided by the high turnout in the Black wards, while the white wards had a low turnout. In Russell's ward, which is overwhelmingly Black, 58.4 per cent of the registered voters went to the polls, while in Peters' "little Missouri" 45.2 per cent of those registered voted. The turnout rate for the entire city was 51.3 per cent. In an interview, Peters said he told his constituents they were to blame for passage of the ordinance because if thirty-one more had voted the ordinance would have been defeated. Even though councilmen opposed to open housing did not approve of the supporters' tactics -- "the churches were waving the cross," "they practically forced people to vote" -- they did credit victory to the organization and coordination of the supporters of open housing.

In contrast to Jackson, supporters of open housing in Flint developed a viable coalition. The coalition in Jackson never became effective because the Black community was split and the churches were passive. In Flint the Black community was more united, the churches actively supported open housing, and the Labor Council backed the ordinance with men and money. Despite this active array of individuals and groups favorable to open housing, the ordinance carried only narrowly.

CHAPTER 5

THE OPEN HOUSING DECISION IN LANSING

Background

The most serious problem in Lansing has been housing. Industrial plants have been expanding into residential areas causing relocation problems. The problems were heightened when the state began its capitol development project which bought up large residential areas and replaced the houses with state office buildings. At this time also, construction was begun on a highway which was to bisect the city. The highway plans called for the removal of four hundred homes, many of which were in Black neighborhoods. These three factors -- industrial expansion, capitol development program, and highway construction -- meant that many families, primarily Black, had to look for new places to live.

In Lansing, six out of ten Blacks own their own homes. Thus, when their homes were taken many Negroes looked for houses to buy rather than to rent. When they attempted to buy, however, they were rebuffed by both realtors and home owners. Since more Negroes were involved, discrimination, which was relatively unknown because it affected only a few Blacks, now became obvious. This inability of Blacks to buy homes they could afford convinced some that the city had to act to insure Blacks the right to purchase homes of their choice. It was against this background that action on an open housing ordinance began.

The Decision on Open Housing

Presentation of Demands to the Council

The action commenced in April, 1967 when the Lansing Human Relations Committee approved an open housing ordinance and recommended that the city council adopt it. The Human Relations Committee, which was established by ordinance in 1963, consists of twelve members who are appointed by the mayor with approval of the council. Its membership is intended to be representative, as nearly as possible, of all segments of the community interested in human relations. Each member serves a four year term without compensation. Since its establishment the Committee has acquired an executive director, an assistant director, and a secretary who are full-time city employees, and an office in city hall. One duty of the Committee is to study and examine problems arising among groups living in the city which may result in tension. The Committee had studied the housing problem in Lansing and had concluded that an open housing ordinance was necessary to insure that Blacks could purchase homes in the community. Accordingly, the Human Relations Committee made its recommendation to the city council.

Action by the Council

The recommendation was referred to the Ordinances and Contracts Committee; the committee to which all recommendations pertaining to ordinances were referred. The chairman of the Committee, Stewart, was appointed to the Committee by Mayor Morrison because he was a lawyer. Stewart was fairly conservative, and one councilman remarked that Stewart "worked on technicalities; he was a nitpicker, and very little that was constructive came out of the committee." Other members of the

Committee were Price and Miss Brown. Price, according to councilmen and informants, was also conservative and "against any kind of action by the council on public housing." Miss Brown, in contrast to the other members of the Committee, was liberal and a strong supporter of open housing. After the Human Relations Committee's proposed ordinance was received by the Ordinances and Contracts Committee no action was taken.

In May, June, and July, the city council received letters from the Lansing NAACP, the League of Women Voters, Community Services Council, and Greater Lansing Interfaith Council on Religion and Race. These groups supported open housing, although none actively attempted to influence passage of an ordinance. The letters were referred to the Ordinances and Contracts Committee, but still no action was taken.

Since action was not forthcoming on the Human Relations Committee's recommendations, Councilman Franklin, the only Black member of the city council, formally introduced an open housing ordinance on August 14, 1967. Again the council referred the ordinance to Stewart's committee. At the August 21 council meeting Stewart announced that an eight week delay was due on the ordinance because the committee was collecting ordinances from other communities and had sent out letters to various community organizations in Lansing to ask their comments on an open housing ordinance.

At the meeting, Allen, a realtor, said that the city "shouldn't box itself in; open housing should proceed on a voluntary basis." Franklin countered that working on a voluntary basis had not worked in Lansing, and that "although the city could eliminate prejudice, it could legislate against discrimination."

At the September 25 meeting of the city council, Stewart stated
that his committee was not sitting on the open housing ordinance, but
was trying to put it in proper form. Previously, however, the executive
director and members of the Human Relations Committee met with Stewart
to revise the terminology of the ordinance and some agreement was reached.
But the ordinance remained in committee.

During the October 2, 1967 city council meeting, Councilman
Franklin moved that the open housing ordinance be withdrawn from the
Ordinances and Contracts Committee. Miss Brown seconded, and the
motion carried unanimously. Councilman Franklin then moved that the
council resolve itself into a committee of the whole to consider the
open housing ordinance. Mitchell seconded, and the motion passed.
After a short discussion, Franklin moved that the ordinance be adopted.
The resulting vote was 6 to 0 with two councilmen absent. The minutes
of the meeting state that "the council then resumed regular session."
But the adoption of open housing was not as simple as the public record
indicates.

Analysis of the Council's Action

When the ordinance was first proposed in April, three council-
men favored it, Franklin, Brown, and Morgan, while councilman Allen
was firmly opposed. Two other councilmen, Mitchell and Adams, did not
have strong opinions on the issue. Price and Stewart were slightly op-
posed. Supporters felt the time was not right for bringing up the or-
dinance because Allen might have been able to gain more negative votes.
Therefore, Franklin was content to have the ordinance remain in committee.
The time, however, was becoming more favorable because other cities were
considering similar ordinances, and the state legislature, located across

the street from city hall, was also discussing the possibility of a state open housing law. As the time became more propitious for passage of open housing, Franklin formally introduced an ordinance. After introducing it, Franklin, along with Brown and Morgan, worked quietly to collect votes for the ordinance. Adams and Mitchell decided to support open housing, and Price and Stewart told Franklin they would vote in favor of an ordinance if the others did. Allen became the problem. Since he was firmly opposed to open housing, if the issue was discussed openly the possibility existed that he might be able to persuade others to vote against an ordinance. Consequently, supporters did not wish to discuss the matter in the committee of the whole which met the afternoon before the public meeting. Instead, they awaited the time when they would have the votes for adoption. The time came when Franklin learned that Allen would be absent from the October 2, 1967 city council meeting. Franklin, Brown, and Morgan agreed the time had come to act. They decided not to bring the issue up at the committee of the whole meeting in the afternoon, even though Allen would not be present, because it would give opponents an opportunity to talk to councilmen and possibly influence their votes. Therefore, Franklin's motion to bring the open housing ordinance out of committee was a mild surprise to other members of the council. Neither Stewart nor Price opposed the motion because it removed from them the initiative of reporting out the ordinance. Little discussion ensued, and the council voted on the ordinance.

In an analysis of the vote, the Lansing council's procedure of members voting alphabetically according to last names becomes an important factor. Adams was the first to vote. In an interview, Adams

said he was originally opposed to an open housing ordinance, but Franklin had talked to him, as had members of the Human Relations Committee. He also said that a member of the board of realtors, who Adams felt knew the situation, talked to him about voting for the ordinance. Adams admitted that these people had caused him to change his mind. Another city councilman added a further dimension to Adams' vote. He noted that Adams had voted against public housing and that a "yes" vote on open housing would show that his vote on public housing was not racially motivated. Also, since Adams was the first to vote and there had been no previous discussion of the ordinance, he could not be sure of the final outcome. He could surmise that supporters probably had the votes or they would not have brought the ordinance out of committee. If he voted "no" he might be a member of the minority. Adams, then, had no reference point for his decision except his slightly favorable predisposition toward open housing. In this situation, Adams voted "yes."

Since Allen was absent, the next person to vote was Miss Brown. In an interview she said she favored an ordinance because "it was unfair to discriminate against Negroes." Informants also noted that Miss Brown owned a shop which bordered on a Black neighborhood and would be endangered by any racial disorder. The next to vote was Franklin, and the count stood 3 to 0. Mitchell followed. He also favored open housing, although not heartily, and he voted for the ordinance. Morgan was absent. When it was Price's turn to vote, the tally was 4 to 0 in favor. Since the ordinance had already passed, he voted "yes" as did Stewart. Thus, the seemingly routine decision presented in the Proceedings of the council actually entailed months of private discussions among councilmen. The formal record also conceals the strategy employed by Franklin,

Brown, and Morgan to achieve a unanimous decision.

As this presentation of the open housing decision reveals, organized groups were almost totally absent. Participation by interested groups, except the Human Relations Committee, was limited to writing letters to the council. In an interview, one councilman pointed out that the ordinance was passed before battle lines formed between supporters and opponents. He said that controversy was brewing; the church groups and NAACP were becoming organized to fight for open housing. Thus, the time for the open housing decision was right for two reasons: Allen's absence and the opportunity to avoid serious controversy. Supporters did not want a prolonged discussion because they feared the development of opposition. Franklin noted the Flint situation and said that in that city "more heat was created than light." Supporters wanted the ordinance passed quietly to avoid controversy; they hoped this would still any public protest.

As the studies of Jackson and Flint indicated, overt opposition to open housing is usually slight, but constituency pressure against an ordinance can arise. Supporters of open housing also wanted a unanimous vote because they did not want opponents to have any councilmen to go to. When asked why Lansing did not have a referendum on its ordinance as did Flint and Jackson, councilmen replied that the key factor was the way in which the issue was handled -- quietly and with no negative votes. Few people in the city realized that an ordinance had been passed, and those who did and were in opposition had no organization or potential organization to raise sufficient signatures to put the issue on the ballot. After the necessary thirty-day waiting period, the open housing ordinance went into effect with little stirring in the community.

Another aspect of the open housing decision is that the three most active proponents of an ordinance were elected at-large, while the councilmen who favored it less strongly and those who went along with the majority decision were elected from wards. Allen was elected at-large. None of the councilmen interviewed said they had received any constituency pressure either for or against the open housing ordinance. The ward councilmen, however, might have feared repercussions from their constituents. Mayor Morrison noted that because of the way in which the issue was handled it was difficult for councilmen to gauge popular sentiment on the issue. Without public sentiment for reference, he felt councilmen based their votes on their own attitudes. Consequently, those slightly favoring open housing voted for an ordinance.

An important consideration is that in no ward in the city are Blacks a majority, or even a considerable minority. They were, therefore, unable to use votes as a wedge to influence city councilmen. In fact, most of Lansing's Blacks lived in Stewart's ward. The councilmen had to fear white reaction more than Black pressure. Negro minority status throughout the city removed the possibility of Blacks threatening the reelection of those who might have voted against an ordinance. Only whites could have mounted sufficient community pressure to influence votes of councilmen, and the white community was silent.

Absence of a Referendum

After the ordinance was adopted, thirty days had to elapse before it went into effect. During this time petitions could be filed to force a referendum. But in contrast to both Jackson and Flint, no referendum petitions were circulated. Two factors have already been mentioned which inhibited referendum petitions -- the quietness of the

decision and its unanimity -- but it is important to look at the characteristics of Lansing's population. Of the three cities under study, Lansing has the highest median income and the highest median school years completed. It also has the highest percentage of people who have completed high school or more. These statistics can be attributed primarily to the state government and university people living in Lansing. Informants and councilmen interviewed emphasized that Lansing was becoming a cosmopolitan city; the people were more receptive to change and were more understanding of problems facing the city. Informants and councilmen felt that the state government people contributed to the more liberal climate of the city.

Conclusions

Lansing provides an example of how a potentially controversial issue can be adopted by a city council without overt conflict. The Lansing council's decision, in contrast to Jackson and Flint, was characterized by considerable active cooperation among councilmen and little outside group involvement. The result of these factors was a noncontroversial decision which precluded subsequent opposition.

PART THREE

ANALYSIS OF OPEN HOUSING DECISIONS

IN THE THREE CITIES

Part Two has described the events which surrounded adoption of open housing ordinances in Jackson, Flint, and Lansing. Part Three will examine the decision process variables and relationships presented in Chapter 1 and attempt to relate differences in the processes of adoption to stringency or ordinances and incidence of referenda following adoption of open housing. Chapter 9 will discuss the possibilities of innovative policy change.

CHAPTER 6

THE PROCESS OF ADOPTING OPEN HOUSING ORDINANCES:

ATTITUDES OF DECISION MAKERS AND INFLUENCE

This chapter will (1) present a discussion of the source of

demands for open housing; (2) investigate decision makers' willingness

to consider these demands; and (3) examine two variables in the decision

process -- decision makers' attitudes and influence.

Source of Initial Demands

In the three cities initial demands for open housing arose be-

cause of a need, particularly among Black residents, for more and bet-

ter housing. In 1966, the Jackson Human Relations Commission cited

the city's urban renewal projects, which had removed many low income

housing units without replacing them and which did not provide for

the relocation of people whose homes had been razed, as the reasons

for its demands for an open housing ordinance. In 1968, similar de-

mands arose because of the unmet need for homes for Blacks. In Flint,

urban renewal and highway construction had a similar displacing effect

on the Black residents and were emphasized by the chairman of the NAACP

chapter as the primary reasons for their demand for an open housing or-

dinance. In Lansing, the Human Relations Committee had studied the

problem of housing and had concluded that an open housing ordinance was

necessary because industrial expansion, capital development, and highway

construction were forcing Blacks to look for new homes -- homes which whites were not willing to sell or rent to minorities.

In the cities, then, highway construction, urban renewal, etc. forced large numbers of Blacks to find new housing. When they were refused, their perception of discrimination increased as well as their perception of the need for housing. Blacks had come to expect that government action should be taken to meet this need.

Black leaders believed that one way to meet the need for more housing was through positive action by their city councils on open housing. As a result, supporters of open housing attended council meetings and presented recommendations or model ordinances for consideration and action. Demands for open housing, then, arose because of the perception in the Black community of a need for housing and were communicated initially by leaders of established Black groups to governmental decision makers through normal political channels.

Acceptance of Demands*

After demands were presented to the city councils, the Flint and Lansing councils readily agreed to consider an open housing ordinance, while the Jackson council was hesitant. When the president of the Flint NAACP presented a model ordinance to the city council, Russell moved that it be sent to the Legislative Committee for consideration. When the Director of the Lansing Human Relations Committee presented demands for open housing, Franklin moved that the Ordinances and Contracts Committee begin work on an ordinance. The Jackson city council

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*Decision makers accept demands when they either place the demands in committee or on the council's agenda.

in both 1966 and 1968 was initially unwilling to consider the demands
of the Human Relations Commission. In the three cities, then, differ-
ences existed in decision makers' willingness to consider demands for
open housing ordinances.

One possible reason for these differences is the presence or
absence of individuals sympathetic to the demands. This, however, does
not appear to be the case in the three cities. The Flint and Lansing
councils each included a Black who was sympathetic. Although the Jack-
son council in either 1966 or 1968 did not include a Black, the mayor
in 1966, who had been a NAACP official before her election, strongly
supported open housing. Thus three of the four councils included an
individual who was sympathetic to demands for an ordinance. Minority
groups were represented, in a sense, on these three councils, but two
councils accepted demands while the other did not. The presence of a
sympathetic councilman, then, may be a necessary but not a sufficient
condition for acceptance of demands. Whether or not a council includes
a Black seems to be strongly associated with acceptance of demands.
The Flint and Lansing councils readily agreed to consider open housing,
while the Jackson council in 1966 and 1968 initially rejected demands.
We may conclude that a Black may have more impact on his fellow council-
men on issues specifically related to Blacks than a white who is sympa-
thetic to demands made by Blacks. This conclusion must be tentative,
and we should search for other reasons why a city council might accept
or reject demands for an open housing ordinance. One reason may be
whether or not a council employs a committee system.

Use of a Committee System

The Flint and Lansing councils use committees, the Jackson council does not. The relationship of this factor to acceptance of demands can be readily explained. If a council uses a committee system, it can accept demands, refer them to committee, and then delay or cancel action on them. Acceptance of demands may be merely a symbolic response. Or, if a council is unsure whether or not it will eventually adopt open housing as city policy, it may place the demands in committee until it has reached a decision. Referral to committee does not commit a council to action on demands. Referral of demands to committee may be good public relations for a council, and it may also serve to delay action on an issue until concern and controversy generated by the issue have subsided so that the council can act under less public scrutiny.

If a council does not have a committee system, as was the case in Jackson, when demands are accepted the issue is immediately placed on the agenda and the council must make a public decision. Options open to councils which use committees are thus not open to those that do not. For example, if councilmen on a council which does not have committees are unsure of their eventual decision on an issue, or fear controversy, they will tend to refuse to consider the demand. This council action may be interpreted by individuals supporting the demands as rejection.

Whether or not a council uses a committee system, then, may have implications for (1) acceptance of demands by decision makers, and (2) the process through which demands will be converted into policy. The first implication is that councils with a committee system may be more responsive to demands than councils which have no committees. Referral of demands to committee provides an opportunity to study those

demands and then support or reject them. We may hypothesize, then, that councils which use committees will accept and consider demands from a wider range of individuals and groups than councils which have no committees. Final council action on these demands, of course, depends on the nature of the formal decision process.

The second implication of the use of committees is that councils with committees may initially avoid conflict over demands presented to them. In Flint and Lansing, the councils, without committing themselves, had made neutral if not favorable responses to demands. Supporters of open housing saw councilmen as at least receptive to their demands, and discussion generated a low level of controversy. But in Jackson in both 1966 and 1968 a conflict situation had immediately arisen; demands had been initially rejected and antagonisms between supporters of open housing and councilmen had developed.

In sum, in Lansing and Flint -- until the Flint council defeated open housing in August -- interactions between supporters of open housing and the councils were only slightly antagonistic. In Jackson, discussions between open housing advocates and councilmen were immediately conflictual. While the presence or absence of a committee system cannot alone explain the degree of controversy surrounding a council's deliberations, initial council action on demands may set the tone for those deliberations.[1]

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[1] For a discussion of the effect of initial rejection of demands on supporters later actions which closely conforms to the present analysis see Robert L. Crain, The Politics of School Desegregation (Chicago: Aldine, 1968), pp. 138-41.

Decision Maker Attitudes and Influence

This section is an attempt to consider the impact of specific
variables in the decision process. The process will be divided analyt-
ically to permit examination of individual variables. Each variable
alone cannot account for a council's action. Some councilmen's votes
were determined by their attitudes, while others' votes, perhaps the
most crucial ones, were affected by influence. After we have examined
the variables separately, we can combine them into a more complete pic-
ture of the decision process.

Decision Maker Attitudes

As Chapter 1 noted, Crain, in The Politics of School Desegrega-
tion, considered the attitudes of school board members and concluded
that the liberalism of these board members was an important factor con-
tributing to the "acquiescence" of school boards to demands for school
desegregation.[2] Also, Eyestone and Eulau found that decision makers'
policy preferences were closely reflected in the policies the cities
pursued.[3] These studies suggest that we must consider the impact of
decision makers' attitudes in the decision process on open housing or-
dinances. Decision makers' attitudes* toward an ordinance were determ-
ined through their public statements, interviews with them, and inter-
views with informants.

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[2]Ibid., p. 167.

[3]Robert Eyestone and Heinz Eulau, "City Councils and Policy Out-
comes: Developmental Profiles," in James Q. Wilson, ed., City Politics
and Public Policy (New York: Wiley, 1968), pp. 59-60.

*The attitudes of the mayor of Lansing and the managers of Jack-
son and Flint are not included in the analysis because they did not vote
on the ordinances. In Flint and Jackson the mayors are members of the
city council and are considered councilmen in this analysis.

Influence

  Influence is a general concept and operates throughout the process of converting demands into policy. This section is concerned only with influence directed at mayors and councilmen to affect their votes on open housing ordinances.

  According to Dahl, A has influence over B to the extent that he can get B to do something he would not otherwise do.[4] Banfield has argued that:

> . . . to concert activity for any purpose -- to arrange
> a picnic, build a building, pass an ordinance, for example
> -- a more or less elaborate system of influence must be cre-
> ated: the appropriate people must be persuaded, deceived,
> coerced, inveighed, or otherwise induced to do what is re-
> quired of them.[5]

In this study we must examine the ability of individuals or groups to influence decision makers' votes on open housing ordinances. The objects of influence are specific; they are the mayors and councilmen who will make the authoritative decision on open housing.

  The concept "influence" is difficult to operationally define. One means of operationalizing influence is that instead of examining influence directly, we can examine two other related concepts: influence attempts and capability of influence. As Gamson notes:

> If we understand the process of influence attempts and
> can then combine it with some measure of capability, we may
> move far toward inferring influence without measuring it.
> . . . The influence attempt approach involved making one
> central assumption: the possession of resources plus the
> existence of influence attempts implies influence. . . .
> If [this assumption] is accepted as reasonable or established

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  [4]Robert A. Dahl, "The Concept of Power," Behavioral Science, v. 2 (July, 1957), p. 201.

  [5]Edward C. Banfield, Political Influence (New York: The Free Press, 1961), p. 3.

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by evidence, one can then proceed to study influence by
measuring influence attempts and the distribution of re-
sources without ever attempting to assess influence
directly.[6]

The assumption, of course, is difficult to validate. But Dahl has pro-

vided a way of examining the assumption. He has noted that two con-

ditions are necessary for an influence relationship to exist: (1) there

must be a time lag, however small, between the actions of the actor who

is said to exert influence and the response of the respondent, and (2)

unless there is some "connection" between the two actors an influence

relationship cannot exist.[7] If an influence attempt is made, and these

two conditions are fulfilled, and the attitudes or behavior of the influ-

ence object is altered, the assumption that the possession of resources

plus influence attempts implies influence becomes more tenable. The as-

sumption cannot be accepted absolutely, however, because other factors

may have intervened to alter the behavior; factors of which we are not

aware.

Sources of Influence

Dahl, in Who Governs?, and Banfield, in Political Influence,

have demonstrated the influence of the mayor in the decision process.[8]

But little attention has been focused on the role of the city council

in the process of converting demands into policy. The city council has

generally been considered an unimportant element in the decision process.[9]

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[6]William A. Gamson, Power and Discontent (Homewood: Dorsey
Press, 1968), p. 67.

[7]Dahl, op. cit., p. 204.

[8]Robert A. Dahl, Who Governs? (New Haven: Yale University
Press, 1961) and Banfield, op. cit.

[9]For example see Wallace S. Sayre and Herbert Kaufmann, Govern-
ing New York City (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1960).

Consequently, little effort has been expended in examining whether or not individual city councilmen exert influence in policy formation. This study will examine the influence of both mayors and councilmen.

Community "influentials" have also been found to affect policy decisions of local governmental officials.[10] As Banfield and Wilson note, "Persons not elected to office play very considerable parts in the making of important decisions."[11] An analysis of adoption of open housing ordinances, then, would be incomplete if the impact of community individuals and groups on decisions was not examined.

Two possible sources of influence on decision makers are other decision makers or individuals and groups in the community. For purposes of analysis these sources will be called internal and external influence, respectively.

Attitudes and Influence in the Three Cities

We may now examine the interaction of decision makers' attitudes and influence in the three cities.

Jackson, 1966

When the Jackson Human Relations Commission initially presented demands for an open housing ordinance to the city council, two councilmen supported the demands, three were opposed, and four leaned toward opposition. Mayor Baker attempted to persuade councilmen to adopt an ordinance, but Councilman Smith opposed open housing and the council supported him.

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[10]See Charles Press, Main Street Politics: Policy Making at the Local Level (East Lansing: Institute for Community Development, 1962).

[11]Edward C. Banfield and James Q. Wilson, City Politics (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), p. 243.

The president of the Jackson NAACP then talked to Smith about an ordinance, but Smith stated that he would not vote for one. After Smith refused to support open housing, the attempts of the Human Relations Commission and NAACP to influence the city council to pass an ordinance decreased. Mayor Baker then invited the Michigan Civil Rights Commission to visit Jackson and hold hearings on residential segregation. The councilmen knew the Commission had recommended an open housing ordinance for the city it had previously visited and would probably recommend one for Jackson. In order to avoid embarrassment, the city council acted before the Civil Rights Commission's appearance and adopted open housing by a vote of 5 to 3 with one abstention. The five votes for passage came from the two councilmen who originally favored open housing plus three of the councilmen who leaned toward opposition. The fourth slightly unfavorable councilman abstained. Councilman Smith voted against the ordinance.

Jackson, 1968

In 1968, the Jackson Human Relations Commission again presented demands for open housing and again the city council refused to consider them. At this time, one councilman favored open housing, four were strongly opposed, including Smith, and four were slightly opposed. Then on April 6, Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated and Jackson experienced some mild civil disturbances. After these incidents Blacks in Jackson became more militant, participating in demonstrations and protests. One Black informant noted that "the lack of a Black councilman hurt; there was no communication between councilmen and the Blacks in the wards; we couldn't get our point across. Since we didn't have a councilman we went through the Human Relations Commission. Later we

began direct action, and the council started listening." He also noted
that demonstrations before city hall in 1968 had some effect on the open
housing ordinance. "The councilmen realized the Black community was con-
cerned, and we got some movement." But, the informant noted, in order
for "demonstrations and protests to be effective and valuable you have
to be careful; you can't let them get out of hand." He also said he be-
lieved "demonstrations and protests can provide a crutch for some people
who aren't really opposed." These pressure tactics appear successful be-
cause Thompson noted in the interview that some councilmen were concerned
about potential violence. He said the "Blacks' positions and demands
after King's death had some effect because of the fear of violence."
To further convey the Black community's concern over open housing,
Blacks heavily attended meetings of the city council. These tactics of
demonstrations, protests, and insistent demands, coupled with strong at-
tendance at council meetings were designed to pressure the council to act.

Supporters also attempted to use persuasion by personally con-
tacting members of the city council. A Black informant noted that "per-
sonal contact is usually the best method for getting what you want."
They again approached Smith, who said he would vote for an ordinance.
This assured supporters of at least the possibility of influence with-
in the council. They also approached Thompson who agreed to call a
study meeting between city councilmen and representatives of the Black
community. At the meeting, Blacks outlined their proposed ordinance,
and Thompson requested a unanimous decision. On June 4, 1968 an ordi-
nance was adopted by a vote of 6 to 3. The four leaning members of
the council and Smith joined the councilman who initially favored open
housing to produce the final vote.

Flint

When the Flint city council accepted the proposed open housing ordinance and referred it to the Legislative Committee for study, six councilmen favored open housing and three were opposed. However, two of the men who favored open housing, Cole and Stevens, were under pressure to vote against an ordinance. Cole knew that his insurance business would suffer if he supported open housing because some of his clients would move their accounts. Stevens knew that his ward was overwhelmingly against an ordinance and a vote for open housing would seriously endanger his chances for reelection -- and Stevens was a politically ambitious man. Before open housing came to a vote in August, supporters of an ordinance were active. Mayor Russell attempted to persuade councilmen to support open housing. In addition, the director of the local Labor Council and members of the NAACP and Urban League appeared before the city council and urged adoption of an ordinance.

On July 30, Flint encountered the racial violence that occurred throughout the state that summer, and the drive for open housing gained momentum. Russell then pushed for a vote on the ordinance which came at the August 14, 1967 council meeting. The ordinance was defeated 5-3 with one favorable councilman absent. Neither Cole nor Stevens voted for open housing.

Russell then resigned and Blacks and their allies organized the rally, which the Governor and State Attorney General attended, and the sleep-in on the city hall steps. As an informant noted, "the emphasis shifted from the conference table to the streets." Informants also noted that Russell's resignation was significant. Because of his resignation there was an increased feeling of tension in the city, and some

members of the city council became concerned with "keeping the lid on."
While these pressure tactics were being used, supporters did not abandon
attempts at rather calm persuasion. Mayor Russell, the Director of the
Urban League, and the President of the Flint Council of Churches talked
to Cole to convince him to vote for the ordinance. In these talks sup-
porters learned that Cole's reaction to both the rally and the sleep-in
was negative. He didn't like "people sleeping on the lawn, breaking
windows, and he didn't want to act under pressure." Consequently, the
sleep-in was terminated, and Cole was allowed to consider changing his
vote in relative peace.

A few weeks later Cole told Russell he would not vote for open
housing. Attention then switched to Stevens. Stevens was approached
by the President of the Council of Churches who, in an interview, said
he told Stevens a vote for the ordinance was "morally and ethically the
only choice." The Director of the Labor Council also contacted Stevens
and reminded him of his campaign pledge for open housing and promised
future support. Stevens, after considerable thought, provided the fifth
vote for the adoption of an open housing ordinance.

Lansing

When the Lansing city council began to consider an open housing
ordinance, three councilmen were favorable, three were opposed, and two
were neutral. When the council was considering an ordinance, few indiv-
iduals or groups in the community attempted to influence decision makers
to adopt open housing. The city council received letters from various
community groups, including the NAACP, but none of these groups actively
supported an ordinance. The only group which was active was the Human
Relations Committee. Its Executive Director said he talked to different

members of the city council, and he, Franklin, and other members of the
Human Relations Committee met with Stewart in September to revise the
ordinance's terminology. But, as several councilmen noted, "there was
little pressure on the council from outside groups."

The primary source of influence on open housing was Councilman
Franklin, who worked within the council to gain votes for an ordinance.
He learned that the major obstacle to council adoption of open housing
was Councilman Allen, a realtor. Franklin feared that if the ordinance
were discussed openly among the councilmen, Allen could persuade the
two neutral men to oppose open housing. An opportunity to adopt an or-
dinance occurred when Allen was absent from the October 2, 1967 council
meeting. At that meeting, the ordinance was brought out of committee
and adopted 6-0 with two councilmen absent. The two opposed councilmen
voted with the majority to make the decision unanimous.

Conclusions

1. This discussion of the relationship between attitudes and
influence suggests that the process through which city councils reach
policy decisions is more complex than the simple translation of attitudes
into votes which Eyestone and Eulau assume.[12] Not only must the distri-
bution of attitudes among councilmen be considered, but also the intensity
with which they hold these attitudes. If a majority of a council in-
tensely favors a particular policy, their predispositions may be trans-
lated directly into policy. If a majority only weakly favors a policy,
the assumption that attitudes are converted into policy may be less ten-
able. In the three cities, individuals who were influenced to vote for

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[12]Eyestone and Eulau, op. cit., pp. 37-65.

open housing ordinances were primarily those who were initially neutral or only slightly opposed. Only Smith in Jackson in 1968 and Price and Stewart in Lansing voted for an ordinance although they were firmly opposed to open housing. The latter two voted for an ordinance to make the decision unanimous. Table 3 presents the attitudes of decision makers and their votes.

There appears, then, to be a reciprocal relationship between intensity of attitudes and the potential for effective influence. A possible hypothesis which can be developed from the data is that as the intensity with which decision makers hold attitudes toward a particular policy increases, the possibility of individual's influencing a council's decision decreases. The costs to the individual of voting against his attitudes increases, which reduces the possible effectiveness of influence.[13]

2. The data also indicates that the process through which councils reach policy decision is more complex that the model in Chapter 1 suggested. The model omitted an important factor in the decision process -- the interests of councilmen. The model posited that influence may mediate between decision makers' attitudes and votes, but did not specify how influence intervened. The data suggests that influence may be effective in changing decision makers' votes either by altering their attitudes or by threatening or rewarding their interests. Gamson has presented three general means of influence -- persuasion, constraints, and inducements.

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[13] See Theodore M. Newcomb, Ralph H. Turner, and Philip E. Converse, Social Psychology (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965), pp. 68-69.

TABLE 3

COUNCILMEN'S ATTITUDES, VOTES, AND REASONS FOR VOTES

Councilman	Attitude toward Open Housing	Vote		Reasons for Vote
Jackson, 1966				
Findlay	Slightly Unfavorable	Abstain		Business
Hayes	Unfavorable	No		Attitude
Harper	Unfavorable	No		Attitude
Smith	Unfavorable	No		Attitude
Baker	Favorable	Yes		Attitude
Layne	Favorable	Yes		Attitude
Hall	Slightly Unfavorable	Yes		Visit of
Field	Slightly Unfavorable	Yes		Michigan
Jankowski	Slightly Unfavorable	Yes		CRC
Jackson, 1968				
Riley	Unfavorable	No		Attitude
Lambert	Unfavorable	No		Attitude
Dean	Unfavorable	No		Attitude
Dempsey	Favorable	Yes		Attitude
Smith	Unfavorable	Yes		Violence
Thompson	Slightly Unfavorable	Yes		Violence
Griffin	Slightly Unfavorable	Yes		Violence and
Hall	Slightly Unfavorable	Yes		Smith-Thompson
Jankowski	Slightly Unfavorable	Yes		persuasion
Flint, 1967		**Aug.**	**Sept.**	
Staley	Unfavorable	No	No	Attitude
Peters	Unfavorable	No	No	Attitude
Martin	Unfavorable	No	No	Attitude
Russell	Favorable	Yes	Yes	Attitude
Carr	Favorable	Yes	Yes	Attitude
Miller	Favorable	Yes	Yes	Attitude
Mahoney	Favorable	Abs.	Yes	Attitude
Cole	Favorable	No	No	Business
Stevens	Favorable	No	Yes	Constituency-Labor Council

Table 3 -- Continued

Councilman	Attitude toward Open Housing	Vote	Reasons for Vote
Allen	Unfavorable	Absent	
Morgan	Favorable	Absent	
Franklin	Favorable	Yes	Attitude
Brown	Favorable	Yes	Attitude
Adams	Neutral	Yes	Franklin's
Mitchell	Neutral	Yes	persuasion
Price	Unfavorable	Yes	Unanimity
Stewart	Unfavorable	Yes	Unanimity

Persuasion involves some change in the minds of individuals without adding anything new to the situation. It involves making them prefer the same outcomes that the influencer prefers.

Constraints are the addition of new disadvantages to the situation, or the threat to do so, regardless of the particular resource used.

Inducements are the addition of new advantages to the situation, or the promise to do so, regardless of the particular resource used.[14]

The data suggests that persuasion may be an effective means of influence when decision makers are either neutral or only slightly favorable or unfavorable toward a policy. If decision makers' attitudes are more intense, they will tend to act according to these attitudes because of the costs involved in acting against them. These costs can be overcome by adding new advantages or disadvantages to the situation. However, as Nuttal, Scheuch, and Gordon note, in order for influence to be effective, the means must be appropriate for the situation.[15] The inducements or constraints which groups or individuals may levy against decision makers must affect certain interests of decision makers. These interests may be either personal or public. Personal interests may include a desire for reelection[16] or a desire to enhance one's business through participation in public life.[17] Public interests may include a desire to promote the economic growth of a community or a desire to maintain

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[14]Gamson, op. cit., pp. 73-81.

[15]Ronald L. Nuttal, Erwin K. Scheuch, and Chad Gordon, "On the Structure of Influence," in Terry N. Clark, ed., Community Structure and Decision-Making: Comparative Analyses (San Francisco: Chandler, 1968), pp. 356-57.

[16]See Joseph A. Schlesinger, Ambition in Politics (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966).

[17]The state politics literature often notes that lawyers and insurance men may enter state politics as an advertisement for their businesses.

harmony within a community.[18] If individuals or groups are able to

threaten or enhance these interests of decision makers, they may exert

effective influence.

With these considerations in mind, we may examine the exercise

of influence in the three cities. In Jackson in 1966, a majority of the

councilmen opposed open housing. Mayor Baker attempted to persuade the

council to adopt an ordinance. But councilman Smith was able to rein-

force the predispositions of the councilmen and they refused to consider

open housing. The mayor then attempted another means of influence -- she

invited the Michigan Civil Rights Commission to visit the city. The risk

of possible embarrassment for the city influenced three of the slightly

opposed councilmen to vote for open housing. In the calculations which

preceded the votes of these men, the possible embarrassment appears to

have affected an interest of the councilmen. The costs of voting against

their attitudes appear to have been overcome by the costs of an action

which might harm the reputation of the city. This influence attempt by

the mayor did not affect Smith, however, because as a bank vice-president

he feared that if Blacks moved into previously all-white neighborhoods

property values would decline -- values of property which the bank owned.

In his calculations, the potential benefits to his interests as bank vice-

president if open housing were rejected were considerably stronger than

the costs of embarrassment to the city.

In 1968 four councilmen strongly opposed open housing and four

were slightly opposed, while only one was favorable. Smith was again

able to reinforce the predispositions of the leaning councilmen so that

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[18]See Oliver P. Williams and Charles R. Adrian, Four Cities
(Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963), Ch. 1.

the council would not consider an ordinance. The racial demonstrations and disturbances in the spring influenced Smith and four mild opponents, including the mayor, to vote for open housing. The potential costs to the city if the councilmen did not adopt open housing appear to have overcome the tendency of the mild opponents to resist an ordinance. The violence in 1968 also influenced Smith because it threatened the bank's property and the costs of not adopting open housing appeared to be greater than the costs of adopting an ordinance. Proponents of open housing in 1966 were unable to influence Smith to favor an ordinance because they had not threatened the interest which primarily guided Smith's vote. The violence in 1968 did threaten this interest. After Smith and the Mayor were influenced to support open housing, they attempted to persuade other councilmen to adopt an ordinance.

The decision process in Flint also demonstrates the importance of specific means of influence. After Cole and Stevens voted against open housing in August, 1967, a variety of influence attempts were employed by supporters of an ordinance. None of these attempts were successful, however, because they would not grant sufficient benefits to Cole to overcome his fear of economic loss from a favorable vote. Also, although supporters attempted persuasion and demonstrations, Steven's opposition continued -- primarily because he feared defeat in a subsequent election since his constituents were firmly opposed to open housing. Stevens' main interest as a councilman was to be reelected. A favorable vote on open housing would endanger this interest. Consequently, open housing advocates attempts at persuasion and even demonstrations would not counteract the reasons for Stevens' opposition. Only after the Labor Council pledged continuing support, a pledge which

directly supported Stevens' interest in reelection and counteracted his fear of retribution at the polls did Stevens follow his attitudes and vote for open housing.

In Lansing, Franklin was able to persuade the neutral councilmen to support open housing and the two opposed men voted to make the decision unanimous.

These illustrations indicate that an individual's interests tend to be latent, general guides for action. An individual's interests enter into the calculations which will determine his action when they are either threatened or enhanced. For example, if an individual is extremely interested in reelection, and if he is required to act on an issue which does not affect the interests of his constituents he may have considerable latitude for action. If, in contrast, the issue does affect the interests of his constituents, his freedom of action is limited because a vote against his constituents' desires could endanger his chances for reelection. (We are assuming, of course, that the councilman is aware of his constituents' preferences, and that they will be aware of his vote.) When a decision maker's interests are not involved in an issue, his vote will tend to correspond with his attitude which is related to a specific issue and thus is a specific guide for action.

This discussion suggests that in order to better understand the general concept of "influence," more attention should be given to means of influence and to the relationship of the effectiveness of various means to particular situations. This necessarily indicates closer attention to (1) the attitudes of decision makers and the strength with which they hold these attitudes, and (2) the interests of decision makers which may dictate which means of influence will be effective.

When a decision maker undertakes the calculations which may determine
his vote, his attitudes and their intensity, his interests, and the
nature of the influence attempts directed at him are each included in
those calculations.

3. This discussion also suggests that when decision makers
"do or seek, subject to periodic evaluation and correction, whatever
brings them a positive balance of benefits over costs,"[19] they are not
necessarily concerned only with what will benefit or cost them person-
ally. The interests of the city may enter their calculations. As an
example, Mayor Baker's invitation to the Civil Rights Commission to
visit Jackson in 1966 and the violence in Jackson in 1968 forced some
decision makers to consider the effect of their decision on the reputa-
tion and peace of their city. These conclusions indicate the complex
web of factors which lead to particular policy decisions.

4. This examination of influence in the three cities indicates
that constituency pressure was relatively unimportant in the decision
process. In the cities, no councilman stated he received many letters
or telephone calls concerning open housing, and only Stevens appears
to have been greatly influenced by constituency opinion. Perhaps con-
stituency pressure was unnecessary because the councilmen were attitud-
inally aligned with their constituents. An alternate explanation for
the lack of constituency influence is provided by Prewitt. He notes
that most councilmen are initially appointed to office and retire volun-
tarily. Also, the reelection rates of local legislators are extremely

[19]Robert H. Salisbury, "An Exchange Theory of Interest Groups,"
in Robert H. Salisbury, ed., Interest Group Politics in America (New
York: Harper and Row, 1970), p. 47.

high.[20] Consequently, councilmen may not be accountable to constituents, which reduces their impact on decision made by councilmen. The data in the three cities suggest that the wishes of councilmen's constituents are not an important variable in the decision process. Only when constituents are particularly concerned with an issue and their representative is concerned with reelection may constituency pressure be effective.

5. The data also give some indication of the value of protest as a means of influence. In Flint, protest activity was ineffective, while in Jackson in 1968 protests were effective. Protest was successful in Jackson, in part, because Smith changed his position and attempted to persuade councilmen to adopt an open housing ordinance. But other decision makers, including the mayor, were influenced by the protest activity. The difference in the impact of protest in the two cities may be related to the frequency of protest in the cities. Flint councilmen had been exposed to frequent serious conflict and protest from community groups, while the Jackson councilmen had not. Lipsky in his study of protest as a political resource found that city agencies develop means to deflect protests so that policy innovations demanded by groups need not be granted.[21] Lipsky's analysis, however, is based primarily on large cities which have frequently experienced extremely conflictual political activity. The data from the cities he studied suggest that municipal agencies which frequently encounter conflict and protests develop means to cope with protest activity. But agencies in cities which

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[20]Kenneth Prewitt, "Political Ambitions, Volunteerism, and Electoral Accountability," American Political Science Review, v. 64, no. 1 (March, 1970), pp. 5-17.

[21]Michael Lipsky, "Protest as a Political Resource," American Political Science Review, v. 62, no. 4 (December, 1968), pp. 1144-58.

have not experienced serious conflict or protest may have not established guidelines on which to base their response. Consequently, they may yield to protest groups' demands. As agencies become more experienced in dealing with protest activity, their responses may become more routinized and they may develop procedures described by Lipsky. A hypothesis to be tested in future research is that the effectiveness of protest will be inversely related to the frequency of such activity in a city.

6. This discussion of influence also illustrates the problems in research such as that conducted by Crain, Katz, and Rosenthal in their study of fluoridation decisions.[22] The authors mailed questionnaires to the municipal clerk, publisher of the leading newspaper, and local health officer to learn the dynamics of the community's decision. From the information generated by the questionnaires, which were not detailed, the authors concluded that "the mayor's stand is the major determinant of the fate of fluoridation."[23] If the research for the present study were conducted by mailed questionnaires similar to those used by Crain, Katz, and Rosenthal, the correlation between mayor's stand and adoption of open housing ordinances is 1.0. But this type of analysis would not permit careful consideration of the decision process in the three cities. It would, for example, prohibit the discovery and discussion of the various means of influence used by mayors and councilmen. It would attribute passage of open housing in Flint to Mayor Russell who we have seen was unable to influence councilmen to vote for an ordinance, and in Lansing

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[22]Robert L. Crain, Elihu Katz, and Donald B. Rosenthal, The Politics of Community Conflict (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1969).

[23]Ibid., p. 114.

to Mayor Morrison who took no action on the issue. As a result of these problems, the type of analysis employed by Crain, Katz, and Rosenthal contributes very little to the study of municipal politics and may hinder the understanding of the urban political process.

Crain, Katz, and Rosenthal's concern with and emphasis on the role of the mayor is probably based on the studies of Banfield and Dahl which described the impact of the mayors of Chicago and New Haven in the decision process of their cities. But it is plausible to assume that Daley and Lee are atypical of mayors of American cities. The average mayor probably does not have the political acumen of these two, and it is certain he does not have the base of influence supplied Daley by his control of the Cook County Democratic Party. These studies of Daley and Lee have led to the conclusion that the mayor is clearly the predominant actor in the decision process. Crain, Katz, and Rosenthal appear to have accepted that conclusion and built it into their research design. The present study also began with an acceptance of the notion of the mayor as the key influential in local politics. But the in-depth nature of the research led to the discovery that the influence of the mayor over other decision makers varies. While the mayors in the three cities under study may be atypical, as may Daley and Lee, the variability in the mayors' influence in the three cities should lead us to conclude that political scientists do not fully understand the variables which determine the relative influence of the mayor in the urban political process. This research indicates that strong mayoral influence cannot be assumed.

CHAPTER 7

THE PROCESS OF ADOPTING OPEN HOUSING ORDINANCES:

INTERACTION AMONG DECISION MAKERS

The previous chapter indicated that influence which may affect

whether or not a council adopts an open housing ordinance may come either

from within the council or from community individuals and groups. This

chapter will examine two variables which appear to be related to whether

internal or external influence was used to gain adoption of open housing:

(1) the extent of cooperation among decision makers, and (2) the council's

decisional style. The chapter will then discuss the implications of

whether internal or external influence was employed.

Cooperation Among Decision Makers

Jackson

During Mayor Baker's term of office she took stands on many is-

sues and presented programs to the council. But she was a Democrat in a

primarily Republican city, and a progressive liberal in a city noted for

its conservatism. These factors combined to make mayor-council relations

somewhat less than harmonious. Mayor Baker, however, did not attempt to

create harmony. A common criticism that councilmen leveled at the mayor

was that she did not consider the council. One councilman remarked that

the mayor often "presented things cold to the council, and some council-

men were embarrassed when asked questions on proposals they had not had

an opportunity to consider." This activity by the mayor quickly alienated councilmen.

Mayor Baker also had a habit of discussing her proposals with newspapermen before presenting them to the city council. Councilmen then read about proposed city policy in the newspaper, and their reaction was often negative. Consequently, interaction among decision makers was often conflictual, and the mayor's influence on the council was therefore limited. Because she presented proposals to the councilmen with little or no previous discussion, she was often unable to influence councilmen to adopt these proposals. During her incumbency, the council consistently voted against her programs, 7 to 2. The councilman who voted with the mayor, Layne, did so because of ideological inclination rather than because of influence. Mrs. Baker, then, as mayor directly elected by the people, had resources for influence, but she was unable to use persuasion as a means of influence because she did not enjoy good working relations with the councilmen.

The manager also exerted little influence in Jackson. He did not present issues and take stands on them; he did not attempt to exercise influence. Perhaps since he served at the pleasure of the majority of the council, he might have feared repercussions from any attempts at influence. But Adrian has shown that managers may and do go beyond their charter positions.[1] Because Mayor Baker was not generally influential, the manager might have become an important individual in Jackson's decision process, but informants indicated that he did not.

Since the council in Jackson did not use a committee system, a committee chairmanship could not be used as a base for influence. The

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[1]Charles R. Adrian, "A Study of Three Communities," Public Administration Review, v. XVIII (Summer, 1958), pp. 208-13.

councilmen agreed, however, that Smith was influential on the council. They noted that he had been a councilman for many years and was familiar with both council business and community problems. Councilmen often asked for his advice and recommendations on issues.

From 1966 to 1968, the pattern of interaction within the Jackson council changed radically. In November, 1967, Mayor Baker was defeated by Thompson. Informants noted that Thompson was much more closely aligned ideologically with the majority of councilmen than was Mrs. Baker. Consequently, he was more successful in persuading councilmen to favor his proposals. But Thompson's methods aided his influence. In discussing his role as mayor, Thompson noted that a mayor has "no power except persuasion." He said the other councilmen are not impressed by the mayor, and in order to gain support for a proposal he favored he tried to work on a cooperative basis with the council. He noted the experience of Mrs. Baker and remarked that to obtain passage of programs he lobbied the other councilmen. These tactics were generally successful, for informants noted that during Thompson's term of office he was the most influential person in Jackson's decision process.

Smith was reelected in 1967, but because his policy goals were similar to Thompson's the two generally cooperated. Thompson said that Smith was "a levelling influence on the council; he kept the ship afloat." He also noted he enjoyed good working relations with Smith.

Flint

In contrast to Jackson, the mayor of Flint is not independently elected. Rather, he is chosen by a majority of the nine councilmen. This election by a bloc, which is normally quite cohesive, could provide for

both cooperative interaction and mayoral influence. But the circum-
stances surrounding Russell's election limited cooperation and influence
within the bloc that elected him. City council elections are held on the
regular November state or national election day. Once elected, the coun-
cilmen bargain among themselves to select a mayor for the following Mon-
day's council meeting. The bargaining was particularly intense following
the 1966 election. Two three-member blocs formed immediately. Mahoney,
Stevens, and Peters made up one, while Martin, Miller, and Cole consti-
tuted the other. Peters and Cole were the candidates for mayor. Carr,
Staley, and Russell were not aligned. The AFL-CIO Labor Council had en-
dorsed five of the councilmen -- Mahoney, Stevens, Peters, Staley, and
Russell -- and the Director of the Labor Council called the men together
on the Sunday following the election. He told the councilmen that the
Labor Council thought it would be a good idea if Flint had a Black mayor.

In the Flint city council there are three committee chairmanships,
a mayor, and a vice-mayor. At the meeting with the Labor Council Direc-
tor it was decided, not without difficulty, that Russell would become
mayor; Staley, who was involved in real estate, the Planning Committee
chairman; Stevens the Finance Committee chairman; and Mahoney, chairman
of the Legislative Committee. Peters became vice-mayor with the knowl-
edge he would represent the city in Hawaii the following summer. In
this way, Flint became the first major city in the United States to have
a Black mayor. But the five-man bloc that supported Russell was too
diverse to hold together and it quickly disintegrated. The men were not
similar ideologically, and on matters not related to labor the bloc could
not be maintained. Russell was not selected because he offered a compre-
hensive plan of action for the city, but because he was black.

The circumstances surrounding Russell's election, then, did not provide him with a solid base for influence within the council. He had no inherent support for proposals he might submit. Councilmen also noted that Russell did not attempt to persuade them to adopt his position on issues. One of them noted that Russell "was not aggressive, not a hard sell individual." These two factors, the lack of cohesion within the bloc that elected him and his own limited attempts at persuasion, severely restricted Russell's influence over other councilmen.

Since the mayor was not influential, the councilmen turned to the manager for guidance. They seemed to have an ambivalent attitude toward the manager; they felt he was efficient and capable, "one of the better city managers in the country in city administration," but they also agreed that "he had more power than he should." One councilman emphasized that "when Russell was mayor, the city manager ran the city." The councilmen recognized their dependence on the manager, but they disliked the concomitant influence he gained. Because of his presumed expertise in city administration, the manager was able to persuade councilmen to follow his recommendations on many issues. But these issues were primarily administrative; and he carefully avoided taking stands on controversial or "political" issues such as open housing.

The Flint city council, according to respondents, was badly fragmented. Consequently, no councilman was able to exert overriding influence. The problem which confronted the mayor when he attempted influence -- the ideological diversity of the councilmen -- also prevented individual councilmen from becoming influential. Although the city council used a committee system, committee chairmanships did not provide any councilman with a base of influence because each member of the majority bloc

was either mayor, vice-mayor, or chairman of a committee. In sum, no individual was generally influential in Flint's decision process.

Lansing

Lansing has a weak mayor-council form of government. The mayor votes in case of ties on the council, and he can veto ordinances adopted by the council. The council, however, can override his veto. Although the mayor does have these formal powers, his influence must be based primarily on persuasion. The councilmen interviewed emphasized that Lansing has a weak mayor, strong council form of government. When asked what the role of the mayor should be, they responded that he should work closely with the council and bring his programs to the council. Councilmen, then, were jealous of their prerogatives. Mayor Morrison, as a former councilman, understood that he could exercise influence if he avoided clashes with councilmen. As one councilman noted, "Morrison played a strong role in a weak position." His position was similar to Thompson's in Jackson, and like Thompson, Morrison relied on lobbying councilmen for his policies. His strategy of influence appeared successful because his proposals for model cities, urban renewal, and public housing were accepted by the council. Morrison, then, was generally influential in Lansing's decision process.

Within the council, cooperation among the councilmen prevailed which provided opportunity for internal influence. One member of the council, Morgan was identified by other councilmen and informants as influential in the decision process. He was vice-mayor, but his influence did not depend on that position. Rather, his considerable length of time on the council and the amount of effort he devoted to city council business gained him the resource position of advisor to other councilmen.

Hence he was able to persuade them to adopt his position on many issues. He consistently supported Morrison's proposals which helped smooth council acceptance of the mayor's programs.

On open housing, Morrison supported the ordinance, but did not exert influence on councilmen to adopt open housing. He told councilmen he favored an ordinance, but he did not actively attempt to persuade them to vote for one. Influence on open housing came from within the council. Because of the cooperation between councilmen, Franklin was able to persuade others to adopt an ordinance. He did have the support of Morgan, however, which reduced some of the friction his exertion of influence might have created.

Decisional Style

A second variable which may be related to the effective use of internal as opposed to external influence is the decisional style of a city council. A city council's decisional style has two components: (1) whether or not councilmen attempt to reach agreement before voting at regular meetings, and (2) whether the council's decisions are characterized by overt issue conflict or consensus.

Political scientists have examined overt issue conflict on city councils. Huckshorn and Young in a study of voting splits on city councils found that:

> . . . those issues which were seen as pressing
> problems within the city were also likely to be those
> which brought about controversy within the confines of
> the city council.[2]

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[2]Robert J. Huckshorn and Charles E. Young, "The Study of Voting Splits on City Councils in Los Angeles County," Western Political Quarterly, v. 12, no. 2 (June, 1960), p. 485.

The authors explain, however, that "controversies within the community, no matter how bitter they may have been, were not included unless they caused a division on the council itself."[3] An interesting question is, Why did controversies which were bitter within the community not give rise to overt issue conflict on the council? To answer the question, information must be collected on the methods councils use to reach decisions. When political scientists study only overt issue conflicts on city councils they may be missing central aspects of council decision making. Consequently, we must examine both the public votes of councilmen and their attempts to reach consensus prior to public meetings.

Decisional Styles of the Councils

This discussion of the cities will not follow the usual order so that differences in decisional styles may be highlighted.

Flint

The Flint city council provides an excellent example of a decision making body which made no attempt to reach consensus prior to public votes and whose decisions were often split.

All demands or problems which were brought to the attention of the council by individuals, groups, the manager, mayor, or councilmen and which councilmen agreed to consider were initially referred to committee. The committee then considered the issue and reported it out for action by the entire council. The Flint council conducted a pre-formal or committee of the whole meeting before its public meeting to go over the evening's agenda. This meeting, according to respondents, was not used to seek agreement or reach unanimity, and bargaining and compromise

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[3]Ibid., p. 484.

seldom occurred. Rather, the meeting provided councilmen with information. Councilmen interviewed felt that only "sometimes" did they talk over issues and try to reach agreement or try to iron out differences in private before the issue came up in open session. One councilman remarked that he had entered politics because he thought he would enjoy the discussions and bargaining which he believed took place before decisions were made. He said he was disappointed because not much of this occurred on the Flint council. Committee of the whole meetings, then, were primarily used to prepare councilmen for the public meeting. Although committees reported on issues and the manager explained administrative problems, councilmen did not make decisions or attempt to reach consensus at these meetings. Consequently, the city council experienced considerable overt issue conflict at its public meetings.

Some councilmen were not enamored with the decisional style of the council. They said they thought closed executive sessions were important if the council was to work effectively. They noted that early in Russell's term the council had met occasionally in executive sessions. Councilmen remarked that these closed sessions provided "a real chance to make points and to make your position known." They agreed that in these sessions "you could talk more freely; you could say what you wanted and didn't have to worry about being misquoted." Councilmen stated that despite the opportunities these executive sessions offered for reaching agreement, the meetings seldom produced unanimity. In Flint, then, decisions, which were accompanied with spirited debate, were made on the council floor with few attempts to reach consensus. The votes, except on routine administrative matters, were generally split.

Lansing

The Lansing city council, in contrast to the Flint council, attempted to reach consensus before voting at public meetings, and its public votes were generally unanimous.

In Lansing, as in Flint, most of the city council's work took place in standing committees. Demands or problems which the council agreed to consider were immediately referred to the relevant committee for study. After a committee had considered an issue, it was placed on the council's agenda. In contrast to Flint, before an issue was acted upon by the Lansing council at the public meeting, it was discussed in a committee of the whole meeting on the afternoon of the public meeting. Participants in these meetings were the mayor and councilmen as well as department heads. Although the meetings were open to the public and news media, few citizens attended and press coverage was minimal. (The council met in closed executive sessions only to discuss personnel questions and to avoid "honest graft.") At the committee of the whole meetings the standing committees submitted their reports and the department heads presented information on their requests. Since most of the business was routine, the administrators' recommendations were accepted and the committees' actions were endorsed by the entire council.

Controversial issues were also discussed in the committee of the whole. It was in this meeting that compromises were made and decision reached. If, during this meeting, it was found that an issue would be defeated, it was not put on the agenda. The issue would remain in committee until sufficient votes for passage were collected or until the council wanted to defeat it unanimously.

Consequently, the Lansing city council, almost without exception, adopted measures unanimously. When asked about these unanimous decisions, the councilmen responded that there was often no disagreement on issues, but on controversial issues they usually talked them over and tried to reach agreement. They also explained that they ironed out differences in private before an issue came up for discussion at the public meeting. The reasons city councilmen gave for these committee of the whole meetings were that the councilmen were better informed on issues and the evening meetings ran more smoothly.

In contrast to Flint, the Lansing councilmen attempted and usually succeeded in reaching consensus before public meetings and therefore avoided overt issue conflicts.

Jackson

The Jackson city council illustrates how a small decision making group attempted to eliminate overt issue conflict, but had little success. The council's agenda was prepared by the city clerk who received communications from individuals, groups, the manager, mayor, and councilmen. Councilmen received the agenda by mail on Friday. (The council met every Tuesday.) From Friday until Tuesday considerable communication took place between councilmen. Because the council did not use a committee system to examine issues, two informal meetings took place on Tuesday night.

For many years the council had met at five o'clock on Tuesday to go over the agenda. At this "pre-formal" meeting the manager and other administrators were present to explain the agenda and answer technical questions. The meeting provided background information for councilmen and removed some of the dangers of being caught uninformed at public

meetings. Mayor Baker continued the practice of the five o'clock pre-
formal meeting in the first year and a half of her term. Near the end
of her term, however, council agreed to meet at seven o'clock instead
of five because three councilmen had difficulty attending earlier meet-
ings. When Thompson became mayor, the pre-formal meeting continued to
be held at seven o'clock.

The second informal meeting which often took place was the study
session. When the council was faced with a complex or controversial is-
sue, councilmen held a study session after the regular public meeting.
Study sessions differed from pre-formal meetings in two important ways.
First, study sessions were usually called to consider specific issues,
and second, straw votes were often taken to determine the fate of a pro-
posal. These study sessions were held during both Baker's and Thompson's
terms.

Because of these two informal meetings and the communications
between Friday and Tuesday, the formal council meeting was, as one coun-
cilman remarked, "pretty cut and dried." Most of the routine matters on
the agenda were explained in the pre-formal meeting by the manager and
administrators so that councilmen might understand the action the city
must or should take. Controversial issues were discussed in study ses-
sions. When asked if they actively sought agreement, councilmen on both
the 1966 and 1968 councils indicated they usually talked an issue over
and tried to iron out differences in private before the issue came up in
open discussion. The councilmen noted, however, that attempts to reach
unanimity on controversial issues were generally unsuccessful.

In terms of the two components of decisional style, the Jackson
city council did attempt to reach consensus on issues prior to public

meetings, but these attempts did not eliminate overt issue conflicts. Controversy among councilmen was reflected in split votes at public meetings.

Conclusions

The data suggests that whether internal influence as opposed to external influence was effective in the three cities was related to the extent of cooperation among councilmen and the councils' decisional styles.

The Flint city council made no attempt to reach agreement before public meetings and its decisions were often split. In addition, cooperation among councilmen was limited. Since no attempt was made to reach consensus on an issue before it was voted on at a public meeting, there was little opportunity for internal influence. These two conditions meant that external influence became important on many decisions. On open housing, since no one within the council could persuade others to vote for an ordinance, influence had to come from individuals and groups in the community. External groups, particularly the Labor Council, had to carry the burden in order for open housing to be adopted.

The Lansing city council attempted to reach agreement before voting at public meetings, and votes at these meetings were generally unanimous. Interaction among councilmen was extremely cooperative. As a result, compromise and bargaining occurred in committee of the whole meetings. This tended to eliminate external influence and enhance opportunities for internal influence. Franklin was thus able to work quietly to build support for open housing. Conditions within the Lansing council, then, were conducive to internal influence.

Jackson city councilmen in 1966 and 1968 attempted to reach agree-ment before public meetings but were unsuccessful and overt issue conflict occurred frequently. Apparently, achievement of unanimity did not become a norm or "rule of the game" in Jackson as it did in Lansing. These at-tempts to reach agreement, however, provided an opportunity for internal influence to operate. But in 1966 Baker was unable to exert internal in-fluence because of her strained relations with councilmen. Consequently she adopted an unusual strategy of influence. In 1968 cooperative inter-action among councilmen prevailed, and after Smith and Thompson had been influenced to support open housing by racial violence, they persuaded other councilmen to vote for an ordinance. This attempt at internal in-fluence was effective.

In summary, although each of the four councils adopted an open housing ordinance, the process of adoption differed across the councils. The differences were primarily in the extent to which the decision was the result of bargaining and compromise among decision makers rather than between community groups and decision makers. In Lansing the decision was reached through bargaining among councilmen. The Flint decision, in contrast, was reached through negotiations between community groups and decision makers. Many community individuals and groups were also involved in the Jackson 1968 decision. The Jackson 1966 decision was anomalous because it resulted from neither bargaining among councilmen nor negoti-ations between community groups and councilmen. Mayor Baker, realizing she could not persuade the council to adopt open housing and realizing that community groups would also be ineffective, successfully prodded the council to adopt an ordinance by inviting the Civil Rights Commission to the city. We may, then, rank the cities according to the extent to which

the open housing ordinance was the result of bargaining among decision makers. The Lansing decision was entirely the result of negotiations among councilmen. The Jackson 1966 decision was almost totally lacking in bargaining among councilmen. In a middle position are the Flint and Jackson 1968 decisions which included some discussions among councilmen but also included interaction between decision makers and community groups.

We may now consider some implications of these different pro-cesses of adopting open housing ordinances.

1. If a decision is reached through discussions between communi-ty groups and decision makers, the decision will tend to be surrounded with controversy.[4] Informants noted that in Flint and Jackson 1968, when community groups were involved in the decision, conflict in the community was high. The rally and sleep-in were held in Flint and sup-porters of open housing in Jackson held demonstrations and protests. Lansing informants stated that conflict in the city over open housing was virtually non-existent. In Jackson in 1966, according to informants,

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[4]This conclusion may apply only to particular kinds of communi-ties. William A. Gamson in "Rancorous Conflict in Community Politics" (in Terry N. Clark, ed., Community Structure and Decision Making, San Francisco: Chandler, 1968, pp. 197-214.) examined the contextual dif-ferences between communities which experienced rancorous conflict and those that did not. He found (1) the greater the degree of friendship among proponents and opponents of an issue, the greater the resistance to rancorous conflict, and (2) the more proponents and opponents tended to have different backgrounds in terms of length of residence, national-ity, education and religion, the less was the resistance to rancorous conflict. (pp. 208-212) In the three cities of the present study friendships between proponents and opponents of open housing were mini-mal and the two groups tended to have different backgrounds. In hetero-geneous cities such as Flint, Jackson, and Lansing, when the decision on a potentially conflictual issue which will have a differential im-pact on individuals and groups in the city is reached through interac-tion between community groups and individuals and decisionmakers, the issue will tend to arouse controversy.

community conflict was limited because of the abrupt passage of an ordinance.

The importance of the degree of controversy surrounding a decision is that when community groups become involved a decision may be more difficult to reach and the final result, because it must be acceptable to many groups, may fall short of the desires of supporters of the issue. We may hypothesize, then, that the more individuals and groups participating in a decision, the lower will be the level of output. This conclusion is consistent with Clark's finding that for "fragile" issues -- new and potentially controversial issues -- the greater the number of participants, the lower the level of outputs.[5]

In addition, if community groups are consistent participants in decisions, and the decision process is consistently engulfed in conflict, decision makers may be reluctant to consider issues which are potentially conflictual; decision making may be confined to relatively noncontroversial issues. If council decisions result from bargaining between community groups and decision makers, councilmen may hesitate to consider certain types of issues, and on issues they agree to consider, their decisions may involve low policy outputs. These, of course, are hypotheses which may be examined in further research.

2. If, in contrast, decisions are reached through discussions among decision makers, the decision makers may be insulated from pressure and influence from community individuals and groups. Responses from informants in the three cities support this contention. Lansing respondents noted that councilmen were not greatly influenced by

[5]Terry N. Clark, "Community Structure, Decision-Making, Budget Expenditures and Urban Renewal in 51 American Communities," American Sociological Review, v. 33, no. 4 (August, 1968), pp. 587-88.

community individuals and groups. In contrast, Flint informants stated that city councilmen "were close to the people," and were influenced by them. Jackson respondents said individuals and groups in the community had some influence over their councilmen. Consequently, the more decisions are reached within the council, the less councilmen appear to be influenced by community individuals and groups.

This insulation from community groups may allow decision makers considerable freedom of action. In Dahl's terms, this insulation may create "slack" in the system.[6] Since community groups are not involved in decision making, we might expect that the council would be able to consider and adopt potentially conflictual issues as public policy. Compromise may be more readily achieved within the council than among conflicting community groups. We may hypothesize, then, that the outputs of councils which reach decisions internally will be higher than the outputs of councils whose decision process includes community groups.

3. An additional consequence of whether or not councils reach decisions internally is that the means of influence may differ. The primary means of internal influence is persuasion to change attitudes because threats between councilmen may inhibit the continued interaction of the councilmen and thus reduce the council's capability to handle issues. If external groups become involved in the decision process, they may resort to inducements or constraints to affect the interests of decision makers. For example, in 1966 Mayor Baker, unable to persuade councilmen to vote for an ordinance, invited the Civil Rights Commission to hold hearings on discrimination in the city. This strategy added

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[6]Robert A. Dahl, Who Governs (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), p. 305.

constraints to the situation. In Flint, supporters of open housing held a rally and sleep-in, and in Jackson in 1968 they protested and demonstrated.

The importance of the use of inducements or constraints in the decision process is that their use tends to further exacerbate controversy surrrounding an issue. Battle lines are drawn; and antagonisms may develop into sharp conflicts.

The following chapter will attempt to examine the relationship between differences in the decision process and the level of policy outputs. Specifically, the chapter will consider the relationship between the extent to which open housing decisions were the result of bargaining among councilmen rather than negotiations between community groups and decision makers and the stringency of open housing ordinances.

CHAPTER 8

IMPLICATIONS OF THE PROCESSES FOR THE STRINGENCY

OF ORDINANCES AND INCIDENCE OF REFERENDA

The previous two chapters have demonstrated that although the
four councils under study adopted open housing ordinances, the process
by which the ordinances were adopted differed. The difference was pri-
marily the extent to which a decision was the result of bargaining and
compromise among decision makers rather than negotiations between de-
cision makers and community groups. The Lansing decision was almost en-
tirely the result of bargaining among councilmen. The Jackson 1966 de-
cision, in contrast, was almost totally lacking in negotiations among
councilmen. In a middle position are the Flint and Jackson 1968 deci-
sions which included some discussion among councilmen, but which were
primarily the result of interaction between decision makers and external
groups.

This chapter will attempt to determine the implications of these
differences in process for (1) the stringency of the open housing ordi-
nances, and (2) the incidence of referenda following adoption of ordinances.

Stringency of the Ordinances

The stringency of an ordinance is determined by (a) its scope
-- the type of buildings covered by the ordinance, and (b) its severity
-- the penalties assessed for violation of the ordinance.

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Each of the ordinances contains a general statement prohibiting

discrimination in housing.

Lansing:

No [person] shall discriminate against any other person
because of the religion, race, color, national origin or sec-
tional origin, of such other person or because of the re-
ligion, race, color, national or sectional origin of the
friends or associates of such other person in regards to
the sale, rental of, or dealings concerning, real property
located in the City of Lansing.

Jackson, 1966:

No [person] shall discriminate against any other person
because of the religion, race, color, or national origin of
such other person or because of the religion, race, color,
or national origin of the friends or associates of such
other person, in regard to the sale or rental of, or deal-
ings concerning, real property located in the city of
Jackson.

Jackson, 1968:

It shall be unlawful for any [person] to refuse to sell,
exchange, rent or lease any housing accommodation or living
quarters of any sort within the City of Jackson, because of
race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

Flint:

It shall be unlawful for any [person] to refuse to sell,
exchange, rent or lease any housing accommodation, or living
quarters of any sort within the City of Flint, because of
race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

Despite these similar general statements, the scope and severity

of the ordinances differed.

Scope

The scope of an ordinance is determined by the type of housing

covered. This can be most easily measured by the exemptions to the or-

dinance's general prohibition of discrimination. The Lansing ordinance

provides that:

The provisions of this ordinance shall not apply to the rental of a room or rooms to three or less persons in a single dwelling or two family unit, the remainder of which dwelling unit is occupied by (1) the owner or members of his immediate family, or (2) a lessee of the entire dwelling unit or members of his immediate family.

Similarly, the Jackson 1968 ordinance stipulates that its provisions do not apply:

. . . to the rental of a housing accommodation in a building which contains housing accommodations for not more than two families living independently of each other, if the owner or lessor or a member of his family resides in one of the housing accommodations.

The Jackson 1966 ordinance excluded:

. . . the rental of a room or rooms to three or less persons in a single family dwelling unit, the remainder of which dwelling unit is occupied by (1) the owner or member of his immediate family, or (2) the lessee of the entire dwelling unit or members of his immediate family.

The Flint ordinance states:

The provisions of this ordinance shall not apply to the owner of a dwelling house, apartment, building, or multiple housing facility of any sort in which said owner or members of his immediate family resides, who rents or leases five or less housing units in said dwelling house, apartment, building or multiple housing facility.

The scope, then, of the Jackson 1966 ordinance is the broadest, while the Flint ordinance's scope is the narrowest. The scope of the Lansing and Jackson 1968 ordinances lies between the other two, although closer to the earlier Jackson ordinance.

Severity

Severity refers to the penalties imposed for violation of an ordinance. The Jackson 1966 ordinance, although it had the broadest scope, was by far the least severe. Enforcement of the ordinance was primarily the responsibility of the Jackson Human Relations Commission. The ordinance provided that:

. . . if the Commission by a majority vote of its mem-
bers determines that a violation of this ordinance has oc-
curred, it shall attempt to eliminate or adjust the unlaw-
ful housing practice by conciliation and persuasion.

If the Commission failed in its conciliation attempts it could forward

its reports and recommendations to the city council which would:

. . . review the proceedings and determine either to
dismiss the complaint, pursue further conciliation pro-
cedures, or refer the same to the Michigan Civil Rights
Commission for appropriate legal action under state law.

The ordinance, then, did not provide either for penalties or

local enforcement of its provisions.

The Jackson 1968 ordinance states:

Any person, persons, firms or corporation violating
any of the provisions of this ordinance shall, upon con-
viction thereof, be sentenced to pay a fine of not ex-
ceeding One Hundred Dollars or by imprisonment for not
more than Ninety Days in the County Jail, or by both such
fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the Court.

The Flint ordinance provides that:

Any person, persons, firm or corporation violating
any of the provisions of this ordinance shall, upon
conviction thereof, be sentenced to pay a fine of not
exceeding three hundred dollars of by imprisonment for
not more than ninety days in the City or County Jail,
or by both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion
of the Court.

The Lansing ordinance states:

Violations of this ordinance shall be deemed a
misdemeanor. Every person convicted of a violation
of this ordinance may be punished by a fine not to
exceed $500.00 and/or by imprisonment of not more
than 90 days in the discretion of the Court.

In sum, the Lansing ordinance is the most severe, next the

Flint ordinance, next Jackson 1968, and finally Jackson 1966, the

least severe.

Stringency

To determine the relative stringency of the ordinances, we can develop a ranking based on both the scope and severity of the ordinances. From the previous discussion it appears that the Lansing ordinance is the most stringent due to its scope -- excluding only one- and two-family dwelling units, and severity -- $500 fine and/or ninety days in jail. The Jackson 1966 ordinance seems least severe because of its particularly weak penalty clause. The Flint and Jackson 1968 ordinances hold a middle position. Although the penalty clause is more severe in the Flint law, a $300 fine as opposed to $100, it is narrower in scope, dwelling units of five or less families are excluded as opposed to one or two family dwellings in Jackson. Thus it is difficult to precisely rank these two ordinances, and they will be considered approximately equal in stringency and placed between the Lansing and Jackson 1966 ordinances.

The Decision Process and Stringency

Having determined the relative stringency of the four open housing ordinances, we may now relate stringency to the extent to which the open housing decision was the result of bargaining among decision makers. Table 4 presents the relationship between bargaining among decision makers and stringency.

As the table indicates, there is a strong relationship between internal decision making and the stringency of ordinances. The Lansing ordinance which was the result of negotiations among councilmen was the most stringent. The Jackson 1966 decision which was reached with minimal bargaining among councilmen was the least stringent. As Chapter 7 noted,

TABLE 4

EXTENT OF BARGAINING AMONG DECISION

MAKERS AND STRINGENCY

City	Extent of Bargaining Among Decision Makers	Stringency of the Ordinances
Lansing	High	High
Flint	Moderate	Moderate
Jackson 1968	Moderate	Moderate
Jackson 1966	Low	Low

Mayor Baker did not interact smoothly with her councilmen. She and the councilmen differed ideologically, and her methods of handling council business exacerbated the differences. Consequently, when she attempted to persuade the council to adopt an open housing ordinance she was unsuccessful. She then invited the Civil Rights Commission to hold hearings in the city. This action was an escalation of her conflict with councilmen, but it resulted in an ordinance. Since the councilmen were almost forced to adopt open housing, they passed an innocuous ordinance -- one which had a cumbersome enforcement procedure and limited penalties. The decision process for the Flint and Jackson 1968 ordinances, which were moderately stringent, involved attempted bargaining and influence among decision makers. But the final decision was primarily the result of interaction between decision makers and community groups.

Conclusions

This discussion of the relationship between bargaining among councilmen and the stringency of open housing ordinances indicates that the more adoption of an ordinance is the result of negotiations among councilmen, the more stringent the ordinance. The findings suggest that when internal influence is not effective as in Flint and Jackson, competing community individuals and groups become mobilized and a compromise solution is reached. In Lansing, in contrast, internal influence was effective, and the open housing ordinance was the most stringent. We must not conclude, however, that a stringent ordinance was a result primarily of the insulation of the council from external pressure. Such insulation may allow decision makers considerable freedom in policy decisions, but it does not necessarily affect the direction of those decisions. If councilmen in Lansing were vehemently opposed to open

housing, they may have been able to reject an ordinance with as little
public interference as occurred over their adoption of an ordinance.
A decision process which insulates decision makers from influence from
community individuals and groups may be a necessary condition for a
stringent ordinance, but it is certainly not sufficient. Decision
makers themselves must be willing to adopt a strong ordinance.

A second conclusion which follows from an examination of the
stringency of open housing ordinances adopted by the four councils is
that the conceptualization of non-expenditure policies is inadequate.
Although each city adopted a formal policy of open housing, that policy
differed in each of the cities. In addition to whether a city does or
does not have an open housing ordinance, we need to know the stringency
of its policy. Some policies may involve either-or situations. For
example, a city either fluoridates its water or it does not. But many
policies are similar to open housing in that they may involve differences
in output levels. It may not be sufficient to know that a city has a
model cities program, or has desegregated its schools, or has begun an
urban renewal program. In addition, we require information on the breadth
of the model cities program, the extent of the desegregation, and the
extent of urban renewal. What is necessary, then, is a conceptualization
of these policies which is similar to that which is used for expenditure
issues: that is, we need measures of these policies which allow us to
differentiate them according to their breadth, extent, or stringency.
We should be able to locate these policies on continua rather than
simply dichotomizing them. The ranking of open housing ordinances ac-
cording to their stringency was an attempt at such a conceptualization
of non-expenditure policy. Of necessity, it is only preliminary, but

it does indicate a possible approach to the conceptualization of non-
expenditure policy.

Incidence of Referenda

Whether or not a city has a referendum following adoption of
an open housing ordinance may depend, in part, on the manner in which
decision makers processed the demands for an ordinance. Crain, Katz,
and Rosenthal concluded from their study of fluoridation decisions that
a high level of controversy caused the scheduling of referenda to in-
crease.[1] In their study, the authors were considering whether decision
makers would act or allow the citizenry to make the decision on fluori-
dation. This relationship between controversy and occurrence of refer-
enda would seem to hold even if a city council had made a decision.
Since we noted in Chapter 7 that the more an open housing decision was
the result of bargaining between decision makers and community groups,
the higher the level of controversy in the community, we would expect
that referenda would follow decisions reached through interaction be-
tween decision makers and external groups.

Before examining the data, however, we must consider the anom-
alous situation in Jackson in 1968. In that year, while the Jackson
city council was considering an ordinance, the Michigan state legislature
passed an open housing law which was awaiting the Governor's expected
signature. Also, Congress was considering a federal open housing statute.
Following the city council's action, referendum petitions were circulated
but the requisite number of signatures was not obtained. Informants

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[1] Robert L. Crain, Elihu Katz, and Donald B. Rosenthal, The
Politics of Community Conflict (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1969),
p. 101.

noted that the people felt open housing had become "a fact of life."
Consequently, the citizens could not be aroused again to defeat open
housing in a referendum.

If we eliminate the Jackson 1968 decision from this analysis
because action at other levels of government affected the public's
response to the ordinance, we find only a weak relationship between
extent to which a decision on open housing was reached through bar-
gaining among decision makers and the incidence of referenda. Table 5
presents the relationship. The table shows that only the Lansing de-
cision, which resulted from internal council interaction, was not fol-
lowed by a referendum. What may be operating is a threshhold effect.
If decision makers are not able to reach a compromise on an issue among
themselves and community groups become involved, regardless of the ex-
tent of involvement, a referendum will be held. But closer analysis
of the Jackson 1966 decision does not support this contention. Although
interaction among decision makers was minimal on the 1966 open housing
ordinance, bargaining between community groups and decision makers was
also absent. Community groups did not become active, controversy did
not develop in the community, yet a referendum was held. In the three
cities, then, incidence of referenda does not appear to be related to
the extent of bargaining among decision makers. We must search for other
factors which may be associated with incidence of referenda.

One factor may be whether a council's decision was unanimous
or split. Crain, in his study of school desegregation, found that if
a school board is unable "to put up a 'united front' each dissenting
board member will air his public position. This means that the
most conservative board member will become a symbolic leader for

TABLE 5

EXTENT OF BARGAINING AMONG DECISION MAKERS

AND INCIDENCE OF REFERENDA

City	Extent of Bargaining Among Decision Makers	Incidence of Referenda
Lansing	High	No
Flint	Moderate	Yes
Jackson 1966	Low	Yes
Jackson 1968	Moderate	No

the segregationists."[2] If a decision on open housing is split, revealing disagreement among decision makers, opponents of an ordinance have someone to rally around and continue the fight against open housing. We might expect, then, that referenda would not follow unanimous decisions, but would be held after split decisions. Table 6 presents the relationship in the three cities.

The table indicates a very strong relationship between whether a council's decision was unanimous or split an occurrence of referenda. In Jackson in 1966 when the council's abrupt action precluded initial public controversy, the split vote may have suggested disagreement among councilmen over the policy. This may have provided community individuals with a base for opposition to open housing. In Lansing, on the other hand, the decision indicated that councilmen were in agreement on open housing. Opponents were unable to use individual councilmen as focal points for their opposition. In the three cities, whether the open housing decision was unanimous or split appears to be closely related to the incidence of referenda.

Conclusions

This examination of the incidence of referenda indicates that a referendum may be considered an extension of the decision process. If a council's decision suggests disagreement among decision makers, citizens who oppose the policy may feel that a final decision has not been reached and that the battle should be continued in a referendum. The data suggests that when the decision on open housing, and perhaps potentially conflictual issues in general, is reached through bargaining

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[2]Robert L. Crain, The Politics of School Desegregation (Chicago: Aldine, 1968), p. 165.

TABLE 6

UNANIMOUS OR SPLIT COUNCIL DECISION

AND INCIDENCE OF REFERENDA

City	Council Decision	Incidence of Referenda
Lansing	Unanimous	No
Flint	Split	Yes
Jackson 1966	Split	Yes
Jackson 1968	Split	No

among decision makers and results in a unanimous public decision, the less likely a referendum will follow that decision.

Variables Affecting the Outcome of Referenda

The previous section has considered the incidence of referenda. We may now digress slightly and examine variables which may affect whether an open housing ordinance is accepted or rejected in a referendum.

One variable, according to Crain, Katz, and Rosenthal, is whether or not an issue is "legitimized;" that is, "presented in terms of the commonweal."[3] They note that if civic leaders will not perform this legitimization, city officials must. On controversial issues, however, decision makers may remain neutral. Open housing is an issue which often needs legitimization, but because of its controversial nature decision makers are reluctant to take part in the referendum campaign. A variable, then, which may affect the outcome of a referendum on open housing would be the extent to which civic and political leaders defend or support open housing during the referendum campaign.

Casstevens, studying the defeat of Berkeley's open housing ordinance, has examined other variables which may influence the outcome of referenda on open housing ordinances. He notes that the manner in which the campaign for an ordinance is conducted affects the outcome. He states that observers of the Berkeley referendum concluded that the ordinance's defeat was due in part to (1) the failure of Blacks to mount an adequate registration drive and/or get out the vote drive, and (2) the failure of the city's clergy to make a sufficiently vigorous moral appeal

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[3]Crain, Katz, and Rosenthal, op. cit., p. 67.

for support of the ordinance.[4] Since numerical support for an open housing ordinance must be based in the Black community, that community must be induced to vote heavily. The churches represent a means by which supporters may reach a large number of white voters without necessarily alienating them. Support of the churches may be essential for acceptance of an ordinance in a referendum.

The following section will examine the effect of the extent to which open housing is defended by political and civic leaders and the extent to which the Black community and the churches actively supported open housing on the outcome of referenda.

Support for Open Housing by Civic and Political Leaders

In the two cities which held referenda after an open housing ordinance was adopted, Jackson in 1966 and Flint, the only political leaders who supported the policy during the referendum campaign were the two mayors, Baker and Russell. Their support was merely a continuation of their previous action. Jackson informants noted that Mayor Baker debated Arnold at public meetings. A Jackson informant said, "councilmen sat still and weathered the storm; they argued that the decision was taken out of their hands." Informants in Flint noted that Russell played a coordinating role; he held the coalition -- Friends of Fair Housing -- together. In the two cities, no other councilman who voted for an ordinance actively supported open housing during the referendum campaigns. Informants in both cities emphasized that city councilmen

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[4]Thomas W. Casstevens, "The Defeat of Berkeley's Fair Housing Ordinance," in Lynn W. Eley and Thomas Casstevens, eds., The Politics of Fair Housing Legislation (San Francisco: Chandler, 1968), p. 232.

kept out of the campaigns because an ordinance was "too hot to fool with." Councilmen, then, sought refuge in silence during the referendum campaigns.

In Jackson, the civic elite also did not support open housing, but remained silent on the issue. In contrast, Flint's civic leaders did support the open housing ordinance. As noted in Chapter 4, the Friends of Fair Housing included many businessmen. The racial disturbances of the previous summer were, in great measure, responsible for the businessmen's participation in the coalition. They feared damage to their property from similar or more extensive disorders and saw open housing as a policy which might ameliorate conditions which led to disturbances.

In summary, in neither city did the political leaders, except the mayors, support open housing. In Jackson, civic leaders also did not support the ordinance, while Flint businessmen and community groups campaigned for open housing and joined the Friends of Fair Housing coalition. The data suggests, then, that whether or not open housing was supported by civic leaders is related to the outcome of referenda. In Jackson civic leaders did not defend open housing and the ordinance was defeated in April, 1967 -- 5,823 to 2,886. In Flint civic leaders supported open housing and the ordinance was sustained in the February, 1968 referendum 20,170 to 20,140.

Crain has presented a negative aspect of support. He noted that when a school board was divided over desegregation, and when members of the board openly opposed integration, the position of the segregationists in the community:

> . . . will gain legitimacy from the support of a pub-
> lic official. Thus the segregationists not only have

more opportunity to organize, they also have a more
legitimate position to organize around.[5]

Applying this idea to open housing referenda, existence of members of
the city council who overtly opposed an ordinance gives support to the
opposition. This is important because the councilmen who voted against
open housing based their opposition on arguments such as the need for
state or county action, or on the rights of property owners. One could
claim that he voted aginst the ordinance in the referendum not because
of prejudice, but because of the need for state rather than local action.
Opposition consequently could be both overt and vocal. In the two
cities, support may have been given to opponents of open housing by
split votes on the city councils.

Support of Blacks and the Churches

In Flint, after the date for the referendum had been set, the
Friends of Fair Housing was formed. Mayor Russell became general chair-
man and the President of the Greater Flint Council of Churches and the
Director of the Urban League became co-chairmen. This indicates the
early support of the churches and Black leaders. The Friends of Fair
Housing adopted two tactics. The first was the armchair voter regis-
tration drive which produced 2,518 new registrations, primarily from the
Black wards. On election day, the Friends of Fair Housing watched the
polls in the Black wards carefully in order to get out the maximum vote.
The AFL-CIO Labor Council financed both the armchair registration and
get out the vote drives. The second tactic was the extensive use of
the churches; emphasis was placed on the churches to reach whites.
The Greater Flint Ministerial Association voted unanimously to support

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[5]Crain, op. cit., p. 165.

the ordinance. The form which this support took was crucial; ministers supported the ordinance from the pulpit. The Black churches themselves raised over $5,000, the first time, according to informants, they had been able to raise a substantial amount of money. In Flint, then, the Black community and the churches strongly supported the open housing ordinance during the referendum campaign.

The Black community and the churches in Jackson, in contrast, did not actively support open housing. The NAACP, which planned a voter registration drive and get-out-the-vote drive in Black precincts, en-countered conflict between its newly elected militant president and its middle class membership and was unable to act during the referendum cam-paign. The churches also were not a source of support for the ordinance. After the advertisement signed by forty-four clergymen asking citizens not to sign referendum petitions appeared, the clergy was inactive until March 31. On that day, the Executive Board of the Jackson County Council of Churches adopted a resolution endorsing the open housing ordinance. Some ministers announced, however, that the ordinance was a political is-sue and they would not become involved. Consequently, the ordinance did not receive widespread support from the pulpits. The action of Jackson's churches, then, was late and weak. Since the Council of Churches did not pass its resolution until less than two weeks before the election, no con-centrated effort to influence parishioners was possible. Even if the resolution had been passed earlier, however, the division of the clergy might have prevented a strong role for the churches.

In Jackson, one group, the Citizens for Fair Housing, was organ-ized to support the ordinance. The group, which was headed by a Roman Catholic priest, published and distributed pamphlets and organized a

speakers' bureau. The Citizens for Fair Housing was only moderately successful, and it lost the initiative to Arnold.

It is unfortunate that the efforts of the churches and the Black leaders cannot be analyzed more rigorously. About all that can be said is that in Jackson and Flint the precincts which were primarily Black also voted heavily in favor of the ordinance. But it is dangerous to infer the behavior of individuals from voting returns of precincts.[6]

The data, however, does tend to support the contention that the support of the Black community and the churches will be related to the outcome of the referenda. In Flint, the churches and Black community actively supported open housing and the ordinance was sustained, while in Jackson the support of both groups was weak and ineffectual, and the ordinance was defeated.

Conclusions

In both cities, the extent to which open housing was supported by civic leaders and the extent to which the Black community and the churches actively supported the ordinance were related to the outcome of the referenda. Support of the issue by civic leaders was probably not sufficient for an ordinance to pass. Rather, what was needed was for Blacks to have a high turnout rate and for the churches to convince whites, if not to vote for open housing at least not to vote at all.

Summary

This chapter has examined the relationship between the extent to which open housing decisions were the result of bargaining among

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[6]See W. S. Robinson, "Ecological Correlations and the Behavior of Individuals," American Sociological Review, v. 15 (June, 1950), pp. 351-57.

decision makers rather than discussions between decision makers and community groups and (1) the stringency of open housing ordinances, and (2) the incidence of referenda following the councils' decisions.

The data suggests that the more a decision was the result of internal council interaction, the higher the stringency of the ordinance. The data indicated that whether or not the open housing decision was reached within the council was not related to the incidence of referenda. Rather, occurrence of referenda was associated with whether a council's decision was unanimous or split -- referenda tended to follow split decisions.

These conclusions are, of course, tentative. First, because they are based on only four decisions and second, because the relative stringency of the ordinances is difficult to determine. For example, the Flint and Jackson 1968 ordinances were ranked as equal because of the problems involved in comparing the scope and severity of the two ordinances. Also, the variation in stringency of the ordinances was not great -- from 5 to 1 family dwellings, and from no fine to a $500 fine -- and this leads to problems in constructing a ranking based on stringency. This, however, only emphasizes the need for better conceptualization of non-expenditure policies.

Although the findings must remain tentative, the implications of the extent of interaction among decision makers are suggestive.

CHAPTER 9

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR

INNOVATIVE POLICY CHANGE

Chapters 6 through 8 have examined the decision process on open housing of four city councils. This chapter will (1) summarize the findings of those chapters, (2) develop a general model of the municipal decision process, and (3) present the implications of differences in process for innovative policy change.

Summary of the Findings

The data indicates that after demands are presented to decision makers, four variables -- attitudes, influence, cooperation among decision makers, and decisional style -- affect the nature and outcome of the decision process. We found that as the intensity with which councilmen hold attitudes toward a particular policy increases, the more likely their attitudes will be translated into votes and the less likely individuals and groups will be able to influence a council's decision. Also, the more intensely decision makers hold their attitudes, the less persuasion is an effective means of influence, and the more groups or individuals must reward or threaten the interests of decision makers to affect the council's decision. In addition, constituency pressure appeared to be relatively unimportant in the decision process. Only when constituents were particularly concerned with

open housing and their representative was concerned with reelection did constituency influence have an impact in the process.

After demands for open housing had been communicated to decision makers, influence in support of an ordinance was exerted both from within the council and from individuals and groups in the community. The data suggests that the successful use of internal influence in securing open housing was dependent upon cooperation among decision makers and successful attempts by councilmen to reach consensus.

Whether a decision on open housing was reached through bargaining and compromise among decision makers or through negotiations between decision makers and community groups was found to be related to the stringency of open housing ordinances. The data suggests that in the three cities the more a decision was the result of internal interaction, the higher the stringency of the ordinance. Internal council interaction insulates decision makers from external influence. This insulation may allow decision makers considerable freedom of action, but it may not affect the direction of that action. When a council is insulated from external pressure the policy preferences of the decision makers may be the critical factor in the decision process. Whether or not an open housing decision was reached within the council was not related to the incidence of referenda. Rather, referenda tended to follow split council decisions on open housing ordinances.

Because of the small number of decisions under study, these conclusions must be considered hypotheses to be tested in further research.

General Model of the Decision Process

From these findings concerning the decision process on open

housing, we can develop a general model of that process. After deci-

sion makers have begun to consider demands for a particular policy, re-

gardless of whether the demands were presented by external groups or

decision makers who perceived a problem in the community, the demands

have entered the decision process. The effect and interaction of four

variables -- attitude, influence, cooperation among decision makers,

and decisional style -- in the decision process can be conceptualized

in terms similar to the "normal vote" introduced by Campbell, Converse,

Miller, and Stokes. The normal vote concept:

> . . . suggests a means of splitting the actual vote
> cast by any part of the electorate into two components:
> (1) the normal or "baseline" vote division to be expected
> from a group, other things being equal; and (2) the cur-
> rent deviation from that norm, which occurs as a function
> of the immediate circumstances of the specific election.[1]

In a general model of the decision process of city councils, the normal

vote concept may be applied to individual councilmen. The aggregate of

councilmen's normal votes and deviations is the council's decision. The

normal vote for a councilman would be a vote based on his attitude toward

a policy when no other forces are operating. The more intensely a coun-

cilman holds his attitude, the more likely his vote will be "normal."

Deviations from a normal vote result from constituency pressure, influ-

ence from community individuals and groups, and influence from other

decision makers. Interaction among councilmen is related to the use

of internal or external influence. If councilmen cooperate with each

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[1]Angus Campbell, Phillip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes, <u>Elections and the Political Order</u> (New York: Wiley, 1966), Ch. 2.

other and vote unanimously, (a) internal influence will tend to be successful, (b) conflict surrounding the decision will be limited, and (c) councilmen will be insulated from external pressure. If councilmen do not cooperate, and their vote is split, (a) internal influence will not be successful, (b) conflict will be present in the community, and (c) external individuals and groups will have an opportunity to affect the council's decision.

Of course, the validity of the general model and the implications of different decision processes for level of output is preliminary and must be refined and elaborated in further research.

Innovative Policy Change

Although political scientists have attempted to study what they have called innovative policies, they have only recently attempted to develop criteria to differentiate between innovative and non-innovative policies. Crain, Katz, and Rosenthal, in The Politics of Community Conflict, describe fluoridation as a "highly technical innovation which comes highly recommended."[2] The authors make no attempt to define innovative policy, nor do they explain what policies might be innovative. They state only that fluoridation is an innovative policy. Wilson, in City Politics and Public Policy, discussed the "dilemma of democratic government generally -- that of coping with the trade-off between power and responsiveness, between a capacity for innovation and a sensitivity to citizen interests."[3] Unfortunately, Wilson does not define innovation,

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[2]Robert L. Crain, Elihu Katz, and Donald B. Rosenthal, The Politics of Community Conflict (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1969), p. 139.

[3]James Q. Wilson, ed., City Politics and Public Policy (New York: Wiley, 1968), p. 13.

but he seems to consider fluoridation, school desegregation, and "getting

money for the poor" innovative policies.[4]   The suggestion is that innova-

tive policy is a new policy. Crain, Katz, and Rosenthal and Wilson would

thus tend to agree with March and Simon who, examining innovation in or-

ganizations, concluded that an innovative policy is a policy designed to

meet a newly arisen or perceived problem.[5]

If we adopt this definition of an innovative policy, we can

readily determine that open housing is such a policy. An open housing

ordinance is intended to meet the newly arisen or perceived problem that

Blacks cannot buy or rent housing of their choice. Since open housing

can be considered an innovative policy, we can attempt to develop gener-

alizations for this type of policy based on the findings of this study.

Mohr, in "Determinants of Innovation in Organizations," argues

that innovative change is a:

> . . . function of an interaction among the motivation
> to innovate, the strength of obstacles against innovation,
> and the availability of resources for overcoming such
> obstacles.[6]

Mohr was concerned with innovation in local health departments, and moti-

vation to innovate refers to the willingness of public health profession-

als to adopt innovative policies. Downes, discussing change in municipal

public policy, has presented three independent variables -- impetus to

change, obstacles/impediments to change, and facilitators to change --

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[4]Ibid.

[5]James G. March and Herbert A. Simon, Organizations (New York, 1958), pp. 174-75.

[6]Lawrence B. Mohr, "Determinants of Innovation in Organizations," American Political Science Review, v. 63, no. 1 (March, 1969), p. 111.

which he argues may help explain changes in public policy.[7] By combining the two approaches, we can develop a more complete conceptualization of the process of innovative policy change. Figure 2 presents the model.

Innovative policy change can be viewed largely as a response to some degree of strain, tension, or disorganization within the local community.[8] The impetus for such change can come either from individuals or groups in the community who are concerned about a particular problem or from decision makers who perceive a problem in the community. These individuals then present demands to the decision makers, which provide the impetus for change.

After the impetus has been provided, an obstacle to innovation may be the prevailing "mobilization of bias" within the community. According to Bachrach and Baratz,

> . . . political systems and subsystems develop a 'mobilization of bias,' a set of predominant values, beliefs, rituals, and institutional procedures, ('rules of the game') that operate systematically and consistently to the benefit of certain persons and groups at the expense of others. Those who benefit are placed in a preferred position to defend and promote their vested interests.[9]

The authors also note:

> . . . It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that . . . this bias strongly favors those currently defending the status quo.[10]

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[7]Bryan T. Downes and Timothy M. Hennessey, "Theory and Concept Formation in the Comparative Study of Urban Politics Problems of Process and Change," paper delivered at the 1969 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Part II, pp. 8-10.

[8]Ibid., p. 23.

[9]Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz, Power and Poverty (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 43.

[10]Ibid., p. 58.

FIGURE 2

A MODEL FOR THE ANALYSIS OF INNOVATIVE POLICY CHANGE
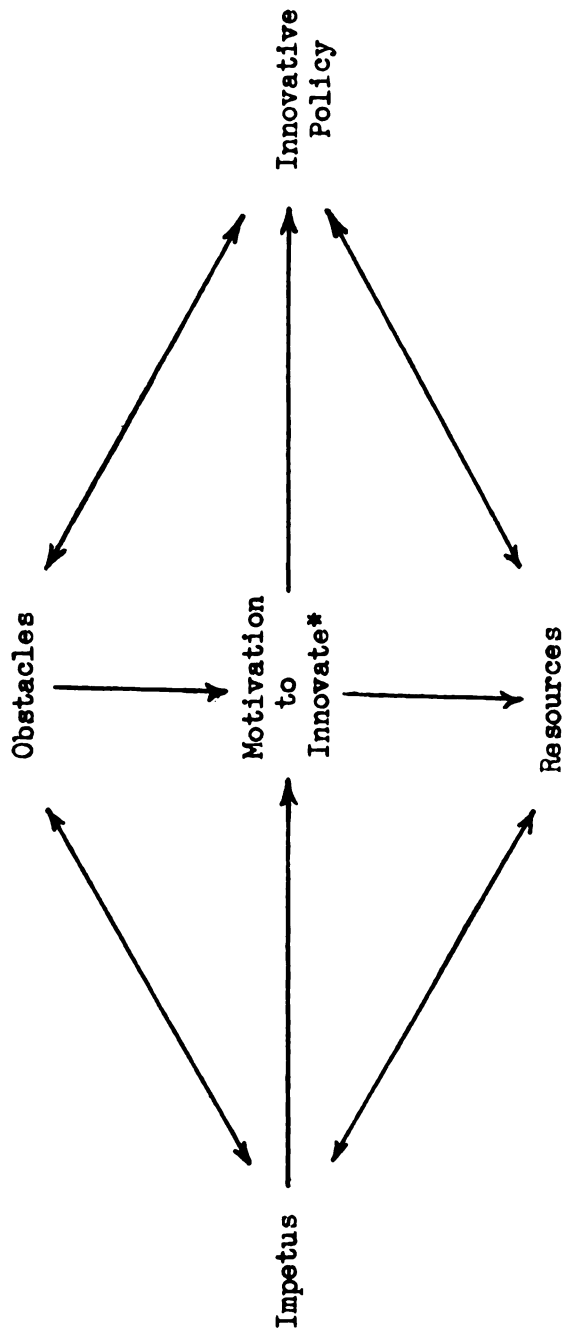
*The model assumes decision makers have the ability/capacity to innovate.

Thus, a resistance to innovation appears built into the political
system.

A second obstacle to innovation may be the lack of motivation
on the part of decision makers to innovate. Salisbury has argued that
the "new convergence of power" actively "seeks" out solutions to certain
problems it regards as critical to the city's growth.[11] He also states
that:

> . . . the bulk of the city's working agenda is made
> up of proposals drawn up by the city's own technicians
> to meet problems identified by them or their allies in
> the problem-oriented sectors of the community.[12]

The indication is, however, that this activity on the part of the new
convergence is confined to relatively "safe" or non-controversial is-
sues. For, as Salisbury notes:

> . . . some issues are forced 'from the outside,'
> of course. Things which city leaders would prefer not
> to have to deal with may be pressed in this fashion. . . .
> Race relations issues generally come under this category.
> Almost every large city mayor has been compelled to take
> action, not because he or his coalition particularly
> wanted to, but because they were forced to by external
> pressure.[13]

Advocates of innovative change, then, may encounter resistance from gen-
eral predispositions against change in the community, the "mobilization
of bias," and/or from decision makers who are unwilling to consider or
effect such policies.

Given this generally unfavorable climate for innovation, we may
ask what resources supporters of innovative change may employ to gain

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[11]Robert H. Salisbury, "Urban Politics: The New Convergence of
Power," in Jay S. Goodman, ed., Perspectives on Urban Politics (Boston:
Allyn and Bacon, 1970), p. 53.

[12]Ibid., p. 55.

[13]Ibid.

their objectives. Political scientists have discussed four means by which groups may obtain desired programs: (1) direct influence on decision makers, (2) voting,[14] (3) community organization,[15] and (4) protest.[16] The findings of this study of open housing may help determine the relative effectiveness of each method for attaining innovative policy change.

Earlier it was stated that the motivation to innovate could be considered an obstacle to change. This study of open housing has indicated that motivation on the part of decision makers may be a resource for change. Franklin in Lansing, Russell in Flint, and Baker in Jackson, each were receptive to innovation and pressed for open housing ordinances in their cities. Two, Franklin and Baker, were successful, although they employed markedly different means of influence. From this we can conclude that decision makers with a motivation to innovate are an important resource for policy change. An additional conclusion is that if demands are presented to a city council by decision makers rather than by external individuals or groups, the probability of innovation is greater. A qualification to this statement is that the intensity of the attitudes of decision makers toward an innovative policy change must be considered. Again, influence will be less effective the more decision makers are opposed to change.

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[14]William R. Keech, The Impact of Negro Voting (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1968).

[15]Michael Lipsky and Margaret Levi, "Community Organization as a Political Resource: The Case of Housing," paper delivered at the 1970 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

[16]Michael Lipsky, "Protest as a Political Resource," American Political Science Review, v. 62, no. 4 (December, 1968), pp. 1144-58.

Influence for innovation may also come from community individuals and groups. But, as the adoption of open housing ordinances indicates, such influence often leads to conflict in the decision process and lower outputs. Innovation which was primarily the result of external influence would tend to be limited in scope or extent.

To this point, the discussion of external influence has been devoted primarily to groups which have bases for influence -- money, prestige, organization, status, etc. But demands for innovative policies may also come from "relatively powerless groups." Relatively powerless groups, according to Lipsky, are "those groups which, relatively speaking, are lacking on conventional political resources."[17] What resources may these groups use to overcome resistance to policies which would benefit them? Carmichael and Hamilton have emphasized the importance of voting by Blacks to achieve favorable policy decisions.[18] But Keech in his study of Durham and Tuskeegee found that "the role of the vote in the quest for equality" was limited.[19] The data on adoption of open housing ordinances also indicates that voting is, as Prewitt argued, not an effective means of control over local representatives. Local decision makers tend to have discrete rather than progressive ambition;[20] that is, they want a particular office for a specified term and then choose to withdraw from public office. Consequently, councilmen may act with little regard for

[17]Ibid., p. 1144.

[18]Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, Black Power (New York: Random House, 1967), Ch. 5.

[19]Keech, op. cit.

[20]Joseph A. Schlesinger, Ambition and Politics (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966), p. 10.

their constituents' wishes. Another factor which limits a councilman's accountability is that participation and interest in local issues by the citizenry is extremely limited. Councilmen on each of the four councils remarked that interest in terms of letter, telephone calls, and council meeting attendance was minimal. If constituents were to become interested in local issues, councilmen might become more responsible to them, but the lack of progressive ambition establishes limits on a councilman's accountability to constituents.

Community organization is also offered as a means for relatively powerless groups to gain influence over decision makers. As the previous discussion suggested, such organization when it encourages interest and participation in local issues may have an impact on innovative policy change by bringing pressure on councilmen. However, organization of these relatively powerless groups may lead to counter-organizations or mobilization of existing hostile groups, and these groups may have conventional political resources and thus a potential for direct influence on decision makers. Community organization, then, may lead to intense community conflict. With this increasing conflict, the influence of community organizations may be weakened or negated. Again, if an innovative policy is adopted, but considerable controversy surrounded its adoption, the extent of the new policy may be circumscribed.

A third resource, suggested by Lipsky,[21] which relatively powerless groups may use to obtain innovative policy change is protest. As the examination of open housing ordinances indicated, protest activity may be effective only when it is relatively novel to the decision process. As decision makers become accustomed to protest, their responses

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[21]Lipsky, op. cit.

may become more sophisticated and less ameliorative. But other factors may also affect the impact of protest. First, counter groups may mobilize which raises the level of conflict and may weaken the effect of the protest. Also, protest activity may have an adverse effect on decision makers and cause their resistance to stiffen. Councilmen in Flint noted that if they "hadn't already made up their minds to do so, the violence would have caused them to vote against open housing." While this may be primarily a rationalization for their opposition to open housing, it does indicate that protest may have a negative effect on councilmen.

In sum, although bloc voting, community organization, and protest have been suggested as viable means for effecting innovative policy change, their impact is limited. Most urban political systems have a built-in conservative bias, which is difficult to alter. Perhaps the most effective means of altering that bias is through action by a decision maker who is receptive to change. Working within the council, he may be able to bring about innovative policy change which, if vociferously pressed by external groups, might be dismissed. If, however, such sympathetic councilmen are absent, innovative policy change will be extremely difficult to accomplish. This study of open housing ordinances suggests that municipal policy change will continue to be incremental.

Conclusions

Previous studies of adoption of municipal policy have either ignored or placed limited emphasis on formal decision makers, particularly city councilmen. Only the mayor has been considered an important actor in local politics. This study suggests that councilmen are

central actors in the decision process because their attitudes, their
interaction, and their ability to influence each other have important
implications for the adoption of innovative policies.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

ORDINANCES ADOPTED IN THE THREE CITIES

JACKSON 1966

ORDINANCE NO. 66-18

AN ORDINANCE TO AMEND THE CODE OF THE CITY OF JACKSON
BY ADDING A NEW CHAPTER TO BE DESIGNATED, CHAPTER 103,
OF TITLE IX, OF SAID CODE.

THE CITY OF JACKSON ORDAINS:

That the Code of the City of Jackson be and the same hereby is amended,
by adding a new Chapter, designated Chapter 103, Title IX, of the Code
of the City of Jackson, to read as follows:

DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING

Civil Rights. No person shall be denied the equal protection of the
laws; nor shall any person be denied the enjoyment of his civil or
political rights or be discriminated against in the exercise thereof
because of religion, race, color, or national origin.

Policy. It is hereby found that discrimination in housing violates
the public policy of the City, and that such discrimination in housing
is injurious to the public health, safety and general welfare of the
City of Jackson and the people thereof.

Discrimination Prohibited. No owner of real property, lessee, sub-
lessee, real estate broker or salesman, lender, financial institution,
advertiser, or agent of any of the foregoing, shall discriminate against
any other person because of the religion, race, color or national origin
of such other person or because of the religion, race, color, or national
origin of the friends or associates of such other person, in regard to
the sale or rental of, or dealings concerning real property located in
the City of Jackson. Any such discrimination shall be considered an
unlawful housing practice.

Exemption. The provisions of this ordinance shall not apply to the
rental of a room or rooms to three or less persons in a single dwelling
unit, the remainder of which dwelling unit is occupied by (1) the owner
or member of his immediate family, or (2) a lessee of the entire dwelling
unit or members of his immediate family.

Limitation. Nothing in this ordinance shall require an owner to offer
property to the public at large before selling or renting it, nor shall
this ordinance be deemed to prohibit owners from giving preference to
prospective tenants or buyers for any reason other than religion, race,
color or national origin.

Enforcement Procedure.

(1) Any person claiming an unlawful housing practice in violation of this ordinance shall file a written complaint with the Jackson Human Relations Commission, setting forth therein the details including location of property, names, dates, witnesses and other factual matter. The complaint shall be signed and the truth of the allegations shall be sworn to under oath given before a notary public. The wilful filing of a false complaint shall be deemed a violation of this ordinance.

(2) Thereupon the Commission or its agent shall make a prompt and full investigation of the claimed unlawful housing practice. If, after such investigation, the Commission by a majority vote of its members determines that a violation of this ordinance has occurred, it shall attempt to eliminate or adjust the unlawful housing practice by conciliation and persuasion.

(3) If the Commission finds a false complaint or fails in conciliation proceedings, it may forward all papers and reports relating to the matter to the City Commission together with its findings and recommendations. The complaint, investigation and conciliation proceedings of the Commission shall be confidential and shall not be made public until they are forwarded to the City Commission. The City Commission shall thereupon review the proceedings and determine either to dismiss the complaint, pursue further conciliation procedures, or refer the same to the Michigan Civil Rights Commission for appropriate legal action under state law.

Severability.
This ordinance is declared to be severable. If any provision, section or clause of this ordinance is held invalid, such invalidity shall not affect any remaining portion thereof. If this ordinance is declared invalid in its application to any transaction or transactions, it shall remain in force as regards all other transactions.

This ordinance shall take effect Thirty (30) Days from date of adoption.

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Adopted: 9/27/1966

JACKSON 1968

ORDINANCE NO. 68-12

AN ORDINANCE TO AMEND THE CODE OF THE CITY OF
JACKSON BY ADDING A NEW CHAPTER TO BE DESIGNATED
CHAPTER 105, OF TITLE IX, OF SAID CODE.

THE CITY OF JACKSON ORDAINS:

That the Code of the City of Jackson be and the same hereby is amended
by adding a new Chapter, designated Chapter 105, Title IX, of the Code
of the City of Jackson, to read as follows:

FAIR HOUSING

Discrimination in Sale, Lease or Rental Prohibited. It shall be unlaw-
ful for an owner, lessee or sub-lessee of real property, or any agent
or representative thereof, to refuse to sell, exchange, rent or lease
any housing accommodation or living quarters of any sort within the
City of Jackson, because of race, color, religion, national origin or
ancestry.

Discrimination in Lending Prohibited. It shall be unlawful for any
person, firm, or corporation to discriminate in the lending of money,
guaranteeing of loans, accepting of mortgages or otherwise making avail-
able funds for the purchase, acquisition, construction, rehabilitation,
repair or maintenance of any housing accommodations or living quarters
of any sort within the City of Jackson because of race, color, religion,
national origin or ancestry.

Discrimination by Real Estate Broker or Salesman Prohibited. It shall
be unlawful for any real estate broker or salesman to refuse to make
available for inspection or to refuse to accept offers to purchase,
offers to lease or any other proposed agreements with reference to the
sale, exchange or lease of real property because of race, color, re-
ligion, national origin or ancestry.

Discrimination in Terms and Privileges Prohibited. It shall be unlawful
for any owner, lessee, or sub-lessee of real property or any other person
concerned with transactions in real property to discriminate because of
race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry with reference to the
terms, conditions or privileges of the sale, rental or lease of any hous-
ing accommodations or living quarters of any sort within the City of
Jackson or in the furnishing of facilities or services in connection
therewith.

Publication Indicating Certain Preferences Prohibited. It shall be unlawful for any person, firm or corporation to publish, circulate, issue or display or cause to be published, circulated, issued or displayed, any communication, notice, advertisement or any sign of any kind relating to the sale, rental or lease of real property within the City of Jackson indicating exclusion of or preference for any person or group of persons based upon race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

False or Substantially Misleading Statements Prohibited. It shall be unlawful for any person, firm or corporation to knowingly or intentionally present false or substantially misleading statements to the authorities charged with enforcement of this ordinance or to sign a complaint for violation of this ordinance based upon false or substantially misleading information.

Exclusions. The foregoing sections shall not apply:

(a) To the rental of a housing accommodation in a building which contains housing accommodations for not more than two families living independently of each other, if the owner or lessor or a member of his family resides in one of the housing accommodations.

(b) To the rental of a room or rooms in a single family dwelling by the owner or lessor if he or a member of his family resides therein.

(c) To the sale or rental by the owner or lessor of a housing accommodation in a building which contains housing accommodations for not more than two families living independently of each other which was not in any manner listed or publicly advertised for sale or rental.

(d) To the rental of a housing accommodation for not to exceed twelve months by the owner or lessor where it was occupied by him and maintained as his home for at least three months immediately preceding occupancy by the tenant and is temporarily vacated while maintaining legal residence.

Permissible Transactions. Nothing in this ordinance shall be construed as prohibiting any person, firm or corporation from imposing any and all conditions and requirements relative to any of the transactions hereinabove described, provided such conditions do not concern race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry and provided such conditions are imposed uniformly regardless of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry. Nothing in this ordinance shall be construed as prohibiting the owner, lessee or sub-lessee of real property, or any person, firm or corporation concerned in real estate transactions, from exercising absolute discretion in establishing the terms and conditions of the sale, exchange, lease or rental of real property or in any transactions involving real property, provided such terms and conditions do not concern race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry. Nothing in this ordinance shall be construed as requiring an owner, lessee or sub-lessee of real property to offer said property to the public at large before selling or renting same.

Penalties. Any person, persons, firms or corporation violating any of the provisions of this ordinance shall, upon conviction thereof, be sentenced to pay a fine of not exceeding One Hundred ($100.00) Dollars or by imprisonment for not more than Ninety (90) Days in the County Jail, or by both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the Court.

Severability. If any section, sentence, clause or phrase of this ordinance is for any reason held to be unconstitutional, such decision shall not affect the validity of the remaining sections, sentences, clauses and phrases of this ordinance as an entirety, it being the legislative intent that this ordinance shall stand notwithstanding the invalidity of such section, sentence, clause or phrase.

This ordinance shall take effect Thirty (30) Days from the date of adoption.

Adopted: 6/18/1968.

FLINT

ORDINANCE NO. 20008

An Ordinance prohibiting discrimination in the sale, rental or lease of
housing accommodations or living quarters of any sort within the City of
Flint; prohibiting discrimination in lending transactions; prohibiting
discrimination by real estate brokers or salesmen; prohibiting discrimin-
ation in the terms and privileges of such transactions; providing certain
exceptions with reference thereto; prohibiting the making of false or
substantially misleading statements to the authority charged with en-
forcement of this ordinance, and providing penalties for the violation
hereof.

THE CITY OF FLINT ORDAINS:

Discrimination in Sale, Lease or Rental Prohibited. It shall be unlawful
for an owner, lessee or sub-lessee of real property, or any agent or
representative thereof, to refuse to sell, exchange, rent or lease any
housing accommodation or living quarters of any sort, within the City of
Flint, because of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

Discrimination in Lending Prohibited. It shall be unlawful for any
person, firm or corporation to discriminate in the lending of money,
guaranteeing of loans, accepting of mortgages or otherwise making avail-
able funds for the purchase, acquisition, construction, rehabilitation,
repair or maintenance of any housing accommodations or living quarters
of any sort within the City of Flint because of race, color, religion,
national origin or ancestry.

Discrimination by Real Estate Broker or Salesman Prohibited. It shall
be unlawful for any real estate broker or salesman to refuse to make
available for inspection or to refuse to accept offers to purchase,
offers to lease or any other proposed agreements with reference to the
sale, exchange or lease of real property because of race, color, re-
ligion, national origin or ancestry.

Discrimination in Terms and Privileges Prohibited. It shall be unlawful
for any owner, lessee or sub-lessee of real property or any other person
concerned with transactions in real property to discriminate because of
race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry with reference to
the terms, conditions or privileges of the sale, rental or lease of any
housing accommodations or living quarters of any sort within the City
of Flint or in the furnishing of facilities or services in connection
therewith.

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Publication Indicating Certain Preferences Prohibited. It shall be unlawful for any person, firm or corporation to publish, circulate, issue or display or cause to be published, circulated, issued or displayed, any communication, notice, advertisement or sign of any kind relating to the sale, rental or lease of real property within the City of Flint indicating exclusion of or preference for any person or group of persons based upon race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

False or Substantially Misleading Statements Prohibited. It shall be unlawful for any person, firm or corporation to knowingly or intentionally present false or substantially misleading statements to the authorities charged with enforcement of this ordinance or to sign a complaint for violation of this ordinance based upon false or substantially misleading information.

It shall be unlawful for any person, firm or corporation, by threats, intimidation, coercion, extortion or conspiracy, to induce or attempt to induce any person owning an interest in real property in the City of Flint, to violate the provisions of this ordinance.

Exceptions.

This ordinance shall not be construed as barring any religious or denominational institution or organization, or any charitable or educational organization which is operated, supervised or controlled by or in connection with a religious organization, from limiting admission to or giving preference to persons of the same religion or denomination, or from making selections for the purpose of promoting the religious principles for which it is established or maintained.

The provisions of this ordinance shall not apply to the owner of a dwelling house, apartment building, or multiple housing facility of any sort in which said owner or members of his immediate family resides, who rents or leases five or less housing units in said dwelling house, apartment building or multiple housing facility.

Permissible Transactions. Nothing in this ordinance shall be construed as prohibiting any person, firm or corporation from imposing any and all conditions and requirements relative to any of the transactions hereinabove described, provided such conditions do not concern race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, and provided such conditions are imposed uniformly, regardless of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry. Nothing in this ordinance shall be construed as prohibiting the owner, lessee or sub-lessee of real property, or any person firm or corporation concerned in real estate transactions, from exercising absolute discretion in establishing the terms and conditions of the sale, exchange, lease or rental of real property or in any transactions involving real property, provided such terms and conditions do not concern race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry. Nothing in this ordinance shall be construed as requiring an owner, lessee or sub-lessee of real property to offer said property to the public at large before selling or renting same.

Penalties. Any person, persons, firm or corporation violating any of the provisions of this ordinance shall, upon conviction thereof, be sentenced to pay a fine of not exceeding three hundred dollars ($300.00) or by imprisonment for not more than ninety (90) days in the City or County Jail, or by both such fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the Court.

Severability. If any section, sentence, clause or phrase of this ordinance is for any reason held to be unconstitutional, such decision shall not affect the validity of the remaining sections, sentences, clauses and phrases of this ordinance as an entirety, it being the legislative intent that this ordinance shall stand notwithstanding the invalidity of such section, sentence, clause or phrase.

Effective Date. This ordinance shall take effect on the 10th day of November A.D. 1967.

Approved this 30 day of October A.D. 1967.

LANSING

AMENDED ORDINANCE

ORDINANCE NO. 139

(OPEN HOUSING)

An Ordinance of the City of Lansing, Michigan, providing that the Code
of Ordinances, City of Lansing, Michigan, be amended by adding a new
chapter to be numbered 17C.

The City of Lansing Ordains:

Preamble. It is hereby found that discrimination in housing adversely
affects the continued development, renewal, growth and progress of the
people of the City of Lansing and of the City of Lansing and that such
discrimination is injurious to the public health, safety and general
welfare of the City of Lansing and the people thereof.

Discrimination Prohibited. No owner of real property, lessee, lessor,
sub-lessee, sub-lessor, real estate broker or salesman, lender, financial
institution, advertiser or agent of any of the foregoing shall discrimin-
ate against any other person because of the religion, race, color, nation-
al origin or sectional origin, of such other person or because of the re-
ligion, race, color, national or sectional origin of the friends or as-
sociates of such other person in regards to the sale, rental of, or deal-
ings concerning, real property located in the City of Lansing.

Definitions. As used in this ordinance, unless a different meaning
appears clearly from the context, the following terms shall have the
meanings prescribed in this section.

(a) Discriminate or discrimination: The term includes any differ-
ence in treatment of individuals or groups in the sale, lease, rental
or financing of housing units or real estate or housing accommodations
because of race, color, creed, religion, ancestry, national or sec-
tional origin.

(b) Owner: Includes the lessee, lessor, sub-lessee, sub-lessor,
assignee, assignor, managing agent or other person having the right
of ownership or possession or the right to sell, rent, lease any housing
accommodation or any part thereof.

(c) Financial Institution: The term means any person regularly
engaged in the business of lending money or guaranteeing loans on real
property.

(d) Person: Includes an association, partnership or corporation as well as a natural person. The term is applied to partnerships or associations whose members as applied to corporation includes their officers.

(e) Real estate broker and agent: The term means any natural person, partnership, association or corporation who, for a fee or other valuable considerations, sells, purchases, exchanges, rents, negotiates or attempts to negotiate the sale, purchase, exchange or rental of real property or holds himself out as licensed in the business of selling, purchasing, exchanging or renting the real property of another or collects rental for the use of real property of another.

(f) Transfer: Means to sell, rent, lease, sub-lease, or assign real property.

Exemptions.

(a) Nothing in this chapter shall require an owner to offer property to the public at large before selling or renting it, nor shall this chapter be deemed to prohibit owners from giving preference to prospective tenants or their buyers for any reasons other than religion, race, color, or national or sectional origin.

(b) Nothing in this Ordinance shall be construed as to limit the rights of access by an individual to remedies before the Civil Rights Commission of this State or before the courts of this State on an individual basis, or to prohibit the co-operation between the City of Lansing and the Civil Rights Commission of this State.

(c) Nothing in this chapter shall be interpreted as repealing the existing powers of the Human Relations Commission to work through conciliation and education to eliminate such discrimination in the sale and rental of real property or in other transactions related to the subject matter of this ordinance.

(d) The provisions of this ordinance shall not apply to the rental of a room or rooms to three or less persons in a single dwelling or two family unit, the remainder of which dwelling unit is occupied by (1) the owner or member of his immediate family, or (2) a lessee of the entire dwelling unit or members of his immediate family.

Penalty. Violation of this ordinance shall be deemed a misdemeanor. Every person convicted of a violation of this ordinance may be punished by a fine not to exceed $500.00 and/or by imprisonment of not more than 90 days in the discretion of the court.

Adopted October 2, 1967

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR INFORMANTS

OPEN HOUSING LEGISLATION

RESEARCH PROJECT

Mr. _____, before we get started I want you to feel assured that anything you tell me will be treated with strictest confidence. The information and opinions you give me today will be processed with material from other people here in _____ and in the other cities studied. No names of individuals or cities will be used, and what you tell me will be off the record.

The purpose of this study is to learn how policy is made here in _____. In particular, to learn how the decision on open housing was reached.

In the first part of the interview, I am primarily interested in the actions of individuals and groups prior to the decision on open housing by the city officials. Later in the interview I will ask you about the people involved in the referendum campaign.

I would like to begin the interview by asking you some general questions about issues which might be important in _____.

1. Here is a list of subjects which sometimes pose problems for cities in the United States. (HAND RESPONDENT LIST 1.) Would you tell me which of these have been very serious problems in _____, which have been fairly serious problems in _____, and which have not been serious problems in _____?

	Very Serious	Fairly Serious	Not Serious
(1) Industrial and economic development (new plants, electrification, employment, labor supply, etc.)	1	2	3
(2) Housing and building (slum clearance, blight and deterioration, zoning, etc.) . . .	1	2	3
(3) Race and ethnic relations (school desegregation, housing segregation, racial violence, etc.)	1	2	3
(4) Public improvements, services, and utilities (transportation, roads, streets, sewage, etc.)	1	2	3
(5) Health (public & private hospitals, sanitation, etc.) . .	1	2	3
(6) Culture (libraries, clubs, theaters, etc.)	1	2	3
(7) Education (including school construction, curriculum problems, reorganizations, etc.)	1	2	3
(8) Social improvement and welfare (child welfare, crime, delinquency, poverty, care for the aged, handicapped, etc.). . .	1	2	3
(9) Air pollution (the regulation of industrial and private emissions)	1	2	3
(10) Recruitment of capable public servants	1	2	3

2. (LET RESPONDENT KEEP LIST 1.) Would you now tell me whether each of these subjects has provoked a great deal of controversy in _____ during the years since 1960, has provoked a moderate amount of controversy, or has provoked little or no controversy?

	A Great Deal of Controversy	A Moderate Amount of Controversy	Little or No Controversy
A. Industrial and economic development (new plants, electrification, employment, labor supply, etc.)	1	2	3
B. Housing and building (slum clearance, blight and deterioration, zoning, etc.) . . .	1	2	3
C. Race and ethnic relations (school desegregation, housing segregation, racial violence, etc.)	1	2	3
D. Public improvements, services, and utilities (transportation, roads, streets, sewage, etc.)	1	2	3
E. Health (public and private hospitals, sanitation) . . .	1	2	3
F. Culture, recreation, sports (libraries, clubs, theaters, etc.)	1	2	3
G. Education (including school construction, curriculum problems, reorganizations, etc.).	1	2	3
H. Social improvement and welfare (child welfare, crime, delinquency, poverty, care for the aged, handicapped, etc.). . .	1	2	3
I. Air pollution (the regulation of industrial and private emissions)	1	2	3
J. Recruitment of capable public servants	1	2	3

3. Today, many American cities are facing new problems. Very often, these problems are so new that the public at large is not immediately aware of them. Some individual or group must bring these matters to the attention of civic leaders and the public.

Are there any particular individuals or groups in _____ who normally initiate action on new issues or problems?

Yes ( )   No ( )   Depends on the issue ( )

PROBE: What person or groups?

4. Who initiated action on the open housing question?

PROBE: Why did he (the group) initiate the action?

5. In some cases, city officials might bring problems to the attention of interested groups or individuals who then might initiate action on the problem. Do you know if such a process occurs in _____?

Yes ( )   No ( )   DK ( )

IF YES: How Often?

PROBE: Does it occur over specific types of issues?

PROBE: What issues?

PROBE: Why do you think this occurs?

6. Do you know if this occurred in the case of open housing?

Yes ( )   No ( )   DK ( )

IF YES: What city official was involved?

PROBE: Why would he do this?

7. When an issue develops, what groups generally become involved? That is, are there any groups in _____ that generally participate in public policy decisions?

Yes ( )   No ( )   Depends on the issue ( )

PROBE: What groups?

8. In your city is there any individual or group that is extremely influential over policy making?

Yes ( )   No ( )

PROBE: What individual group?

PROBE: Why is this individual or group influential?

9. What was its (his) position on open housing?

   PROBE: Why did it (he) take this position?

10. Do Negro groups often participate in public policy decisions?

   Yes ( )   No ( )   Depends on the issue ( )

   PROBE: What groups?

   PROBE: Are they generally very influential?

   Yes ( )   No ( )   Depends on the issue ( )

   PROBE: Why or why not?

11. After open housing became an issue, what were the most important groups that supported the proposal?

   PROBE: Why did these groups support the proposal?

   PROBE: What did those groups do to influence the decision of the city officials?

12. Are these groups generally influential on other policy questions?

13. What city officials were most vigorous in their support of open housing?

   PROBE: Why did they support open housing?

   PROBE: What did they do in support of open housing?

14. Were the Negroes strong in their support of the open housing ordinance?

15. Was the Black community united in favor of open housing?

   Yes ( )   No ( )

   IF NO: Why not?

16. What Black leaders were important in the open housing issue?

   PROBE: Why were they important?

   PROBE: What did they do to influence the adoption of open housing?

17. Were whites or Blacks more important in bringing the question of open housing to the attention of the city officials?

   Whites ( )   Blacks ( )

   PROBE: Why?

18. After open housing became an issue, what were the most important groups that opposed the proposal?

PROBE: Why did these groups oppose open housing?

PROBE: What did they do to influence the decision:

19. Are these groups generally influential on other policy decisions?

20. What city officials were most vigorous in their opposition to open housing?

PROBE: Why?

PROBE: What did they do?

21. Does the local press usually take a stand on political issues?

Yes ( )   No ( )   Depends on the issue ( )

22. Did the local press take a stand on open housing?

Yes ( )   No ( )

23. What was that stand?

24. What effect did the support (opposition) of the press have?
RECORD ANY COMMENTS

25. Do the city officials in _____ tend to take the lead in proposing and enacting policy within the community, or do they tend to ratify agreements which the civic leaders or interested groups have reached?

PROBE: Why do you think this is the case?

26. In the case of open housing, did the city officials take the lead in proposing and enacting the policy, or did they ratify an agreement which was reached by the interested groups?

PROBE: Why?

27. When the city officials are making policy decisions concerning community affairs, to what group's opinions do they give the greatest weight?   RECORD VERBATIM: THEN CIRCLE APPROPRIATE CODE.
            Local business men 1
            Neighborhood groups 2
            Ethnic groups (SPECIFY) 3
            Labor unions 4
            Heads of municipal agencies 5
            Local newspapers 6
            City and county employees 7
            Negroes 8
            Other (SPECIFY) 9

28. In the case of open housing, to what group's opinions did the city officials give the greatest weight?
RECORD VERBATIM: THEN CIRCLE APPROPRIATE CODE.

       Local businessmen 1
       Neighborhood groups 2
       Ethnic groups (SPECIFY) 3
       Labor unions 4
       Heads of municipal agencies 5
       Local newspapers 6
       City and county employees 7
       Negroes   8
       Other (SPECIFY) 9

29. In general, how responsive is the mayor to the problems of minority groups?
RECORD ANY COMMENTS.

30. How responsive is the council to the problems of minority groups?
RECORD ANY COMMENTS.

Thank you; now I'd like to ask some questions about the city officials in your city.

31. What is the normal relationship between the mayor and the city council/commission? Is it one of conflict or cooperation?

PROBE: Who usually exercises leadership in the city?

PROBE: Why is this?

32. What was the relationship between the mayor and the council on open housing? Conflict or cooperation?
RECORD ANY COMMENTS.

33. What is the normal relationship of the manager and the city council/commission? Conflict or cooperation?

PROBE: Who usually exercises leadership?

Why?

34. What was the relationship between the manager and council/commission on open housing? Conflict or cooperation?

Thank you.

35. Now I would like you to tell me, if you could, why the city officials took the stands they did?

36. Was any city official particularly important in the decision on open housing?

              Yes ( )   No ( )

IF YES: Who?

PROBE: Why was he so important?

37. Was there any particular action which was extremely important for the decision on open housing?

              Yes ( )   No ( )

PROBE: What action?

PROBE: Why was it so important?

Now some questions on how issues are handled in _____.

38. When the Council/Commission is in disagreement on an issue, would you say that there is more or less the same lineup here in _____? I mean, do some members seem to vote together on controversial issues?

              Yes ( )   No ( )

IF YES: Who seems to be voting with whom?

IF YES: How do you account for the fact that the Council/Commission divides as it does?

39. Did this division operate on open housing?

              Yes ( )   No ( )

IF NO: What caused the different division?

40. In _____ are issues usually surrounded by controversy or are most issues handled rather routinely with little discussion or conflict?

PROBE: Why is this?

41. Was open housing issue surrounded by controversy or was it handled rather routinely with little discussion or conflict?

PROBE: Why was this?

42. When the city government in _____ is inaugurating a new project -- such as an urban renewal project, a new welfare program, a new capital improvements program -- is it the normal practice to hold a number of public meetings on the proposal, or doesn't the government usually hold public meetings on the proposal?

   A number of public meetings are usually held (ASK A) 1

   One or two public meetings are usually held (ASK A) 2

   Usually no public meetings are held   (GO TO Q. 43)   3

   A. IF PUBLIC MEETINGS HELD: Do a large number of citizens attend these meetings, do very few citizens attend these meetings, or do almost no citizens attend these meetings?

   A large number . . 1

   Very few 2

   Almost none 3

43. Are proposed projects of the city government very often altered because of the testimony or suggestions made by citizens either in public meetings or in other ways, or are proposed projects rarely altered, or are proposed projects never altered because of suggestions of citizens?

   Often 1

   Rarely 2

   Never 3

44. When the city government in your city considered open housing were a number of public meetings held, were one or two meetings held, or were no public meetings held?

   A number of public meetings were held   (ASK A) 1

   One or two meetings were held   (ASK A) 2

   No public meetings were held (GO TO Q. 45) 3

45. Was the fate of the proposed open housing ordinance altered because of the testimony or suggestions made by citizens either in public meetings or in other ways?

   Yes it was altered ( )   No ( )

   IF YES: How or why was it allowed?

46. How would you rate citizen interest in the government and politics of the city? Is it high, moderate, low, or non-existent? Or does it <u>depend on the issue?</u>

                                                  RECORD ANY COMMENTS

    ____ High

    ____ Moderate

    ____ Low

    ____ Non-existent

    ____ It depends on the issue

PROBE: What kinds of issues do the citizens seem most interested in?

47. How would you rate citizen influence in the government and politics of the city? Is it high, moderate, low, non-existent? Or does it <u>depend on the issue?</u>

                                                    RECORD ANY COMMENTS

    ____ High

    ____ Moderate

    ____ Low

    ____ Non-existent

    ____ It depends on the issue

PROBE: On what kinds of issues are the citizens most influential?

48. How interested was the general public in open housing?

    High ( )   Moderate ( )   Low ( )   Non-existent ( )

PROBE: Why?

49. How influential was the general public in the open housing decision?

    High ( )   Moderate ( )   Low ( )   Non-existent ( )

PROBE: Why?

Now a few final questions on the Council's/Commission's decision on open housing.

50. Was there any particular individual or group who was extremely influential in the final decision on open housing?

PROBE: Why were they influential?

PROBE: What did he (it) do?

51. How important were Negro groups or individuals in the final outcome?

    PROBE: Why were they influential?

52. Were there any events either within the community or outside the community which influenced the Council's/Commission's decision on open housing?

    PROBE: What were they?

    Thank You.

    Now I would like to ask you some questions about the referendum held in your city.

53. Why do you think the city did (or did not) have a referendum on open housing?

54. What individual or group initiated the referendum?

    PROBE: Why was the referendum initiated?

55. What were the most important individuals or groups who supported open housing in the referendum campaign? Any new groups?

    PROBE: How effective were these groups?

    PROBE: Why were they effective?

56. What were the most important individuals or groups who opposed open housing in the referendum campaign? Any new groups?

    PROBE: How effective were these groups?

    PROBE: Why were they effective?

57. During the referendum campaign, were any new issues brought in?

                    Yes ( )   No ( )

    IF YES: What were the issues that were brought in?

    IF YES: Why were these issues brought in?

58. What Negro groups or individuals were active in the campaign?

59. What effect did these groups have?

    PROBE: Why?

60. Now I would like you to tell me if any of the city officials were particularly important or effective either for or against open housing during the referendum campaign?

   PROBE: Reason for importance or effectiveness?

61. What position did the local press take during the campaign?

62. What effect do you think this had? RECORD ANY COMMENTS.

63. How much interest was generated by the referendum campaign?

64. How much controversy was generated? RECORD ANY COMMENTS.

65. What do you think determined the outcome of the vote on the referendum? What factors were most important?

   Now I'd like to ask some questions about elections in _____.

66. Are there in your city any organized groups, such as a civic league, good government association, or labor union, that regularly put forward or endorse candidates for mayor or city council, prepare and circulate campaign literature, or engage in similar public political activities?

          Yes ( )   No ( )

   IF YES: Group 1

       a. What is the name of the group _____

       b. From what groups in the city (merchants, union labor, veterans, etc.) do the members come _____

       c. Are the candidates of this group successful?

       Frequently ( )   Sometimes ( )   Rarely ( )
       WHY?

   Group 2

       a. What is the name of the group _____

       b. From what groups in the city do the members come _____

       c. Are the candidates of this group successful?

       Frequently ( )   Sometimes ( )   Rarely ( )
       WHY?

67. Are there in your city any _informal_ groups of citizens that _regularly_ get together before each city election to recruit candidates, donate money for campaigns, provide personal support, or the like?

    Yes ( )   No ( )

IF YES: Group 1

    a. From what groups in the city (merchants, union labor, veterans, etc.) do the members come _____

    b. Are the candidates of this group successful?

        Frequently ( )   Sometimes ( )   Rarely ( )
        WHY?

    Group 2

    a. From what groups in the city do the members come _____

    b. Are the candidates of this group successful?

        Frequently ( )   Sometimes ( )   Rarely ( )
        WHY?

68. Do the incumbents usually plan an important role in _recruiting_ new candidates for public office? RECORD ANY COMMENTS.

    Yes ( )   No ( )

69. Are political parties active in the elections?

    Yes ( )   No ( )

    IF YES: What sort of things do they do?

70. Does the local press support or endorse candidates for city office?

    Yes ( )   No ( )

71. Do candidates supported by the press generally win?

    Yes ( )   No ( )

72. Is there anything else you think we should consider in this study of open housing legislation?

73. Is there anything particular you feel we should know about the situation here in _____ which might help me to understand the open housing issue?

    END OF INTERVIEW: Thank you very much for the time you have given us. We really appreciate it. If you have any questions about the study, please feel free to contact Mr. Kenneth Greene, Department of Political Science, Michigan State University.

THESE PAGES ARE TO BE COMPLETED BY THE INTERVIEWER IMMEDIATELY AFTER
THE INTERVIEW.

1. Were there other persons present or   Yes, throughout   ( )
   within earshot during the interview?   Yes, at times   ( )
                                           No   ( )

2. Interviewer's estimate of frankness/   Very frank   ( )
   sincereity of respondent's replies.   Frank   ( )
                                           Not very frank   ( )
                                           Very evasive   ( )

3. Interviewer's estimate of general   Very cooperative   ( )
   cooperativeness of respondent   Cooperative   ( )
   throughout the interview?   Not very cooperative   ( )
                                           Very uncooperative   ( )

4. Interviewer's estimate of respondent's Very receptive   ( )
   general receptivity to the interview.   Receptive   ( )
                                           Not very receptive   ( )
                                           Very unreceptive   ( )

5. Interviewer's impressions of the re-
   spondent (and his responses):

   (1) Sincerity?   Very sincere   ( )
                                           Sincere   ( )
                                           Not very sincere   ( )
                                           Very sincere   ( )

   (2) Congenial/Congeniality?   Very congenial   ( )
                                           Congenial   ( )
                                           Not very congenial   ( )
                                           Very uncongenial   ( )

   (3) Well informed   Very well informed   ( )
                                           Well informed   ( )
                                           Not very well informed ( )
                                           Very uninformed   ( )

   (4) Aggressive?   Very aggressive   ( )
                                           Aggressive   ( )
                                           Not very aggressive   ( )
                                           Very unaggressive   ( )

   (5) Open-Minded?   Very open-minded   ( )
                                           Open-minded   ( )
                                           Not very open-minded   ( )
                                           Closed-minded   ( )

No. _____

(6) Dogmatic?

Very dogmatic ( )
Dogmatic ( )
Not very dogmatic ( )
Very non-dogmatic ( )

(7) Fluency?

Very fluent ( )
Fluent ( )
Not very fluent ( )
Not at all fluent ( )

(8) Resentment or resistance?

Very resentful ( )
Resentful ( )
Not very resentful ( )
Not at all resentful ( )

(9) Cynical?

Very cynical ( )
Cynical ( )
Not very cynical ( )
Not at all cynical ( )

(10) Reliability?

Very reliable ( )
Reliable ( )
Not very reliable ( )
Very unreliable ( )

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR DECISION MAKERS

OPEN HOUSING LEGISLATION

RESEARCH PROJECT

Mr. _____, before we get started I want you to feel

assured that anything you tell me will be treated with strictest con-

fidence. The information and opinions you give me today will be pro-

cessed with material from other people here in _____ and

in the other cities studied. No names of individuals or cities will

be used, and what you tell me will be off the record.

The purpose of this study is to learn how policy is made

here in _____. In particular, to learn how the

decision on open housing was reached.

In the first part of the interview, I am primarily interested

in the actions of individuals and groups prior to the decision on open

housing by the city officials. Later in the interview I will ask you

about the people involved in the referendum campaign.

I'd like to begin the interview by asking some questions about

general policy making in _____.

1. Previous studies of local governments have shown that most City Councils/Commissions tend to emphasize at least one of the following general policies. Would you please indicate which one of these policies you feel is emphasized most here in _____?

   INTERVIEWER: HAND RESPONDENT LIST 1, AND ASK HIM TO RANK THESE POLICIES (1,2,3,4) ACCORDING TO THEIR IMPORTANCE HERE IN _____.

   1. _____ Encouraging economic growth - commercial and industrial development.
   2. _____ Providing and securing increasing services.
   3. _____ Maintaining existing services only.
   4. _____ Maintaining the existing social character of the city.
   5. _____ Other (SPECIFY)

2. Are there any particular groups or individuals here in _____ who normally bring new issues or problems to the attention of the public or the city officials?

   Yes ( )   No ( )   depends on the issue ( )

   PROBE: Who does this?

3. What individual or group initiated the action on open housing?

   PROBE: Why?

4. After open housing became an issue, what were the most important groups or individuals that supported the proposal?

   PROBE: Why did these groups support open housing?

   PROBE: What did these groups do?

5. Are these groups generally influential on other issues?

6. Were the Negroes strongly in favor of open housing?

   Yes ( )   No ( )

7. Was the Negro community united in favor of the policy?

   Yes ( )   No ( )

   IF NOT: Why weren't they united?

8. What Negro leaders were important in the open housing question?

   PROBE: Why were they important?

   PROBE: What did they do?

9. After open housing became an issue, what were the most important groups or individuals that <u>opposed</u> the proposal?

   <u>PROBE</u>: Why did these groups oppose open housing?

   <u>PROBE</u>: What did these groups do?

10. Are these groups generally influential on other issues?

11. What individual(s) or group(s) do you think were most important in the Council's/Commission's decision on open housing?

    <u>PROBE</u>: Why were these individuals or groups important?

    Now I would like to ask you some questions about how the Council/Commission operates.

12. Apart from routine matters, how do things <u>get on the agenda</u> of the Council/Commission here? Is it mostly the city's administrative officers, Councilmen/Commissioners themselves, or outside groups who bring things to the attention of the Council/Commission?

    1. _____ Mayor
    2. _____ City clerk, manager, etc.
    3. _____ Councilmen/Commissioners
    4. _____ Outside groups
    5. _____ Other

    <u>INTERVIEWER</u>: FOR "OUTSIDE GROUPS" OR "OTHER," SPECIFY

13. What about open housing, how did it get on the agenda of the Council/Commission?

14. In most City Councils/Commissions there is usually a member who gives the whole Council/Commission leadership and direction. From your experience here in _____, who would you say is the most influential member of the Council/Commission?

    <u>INTERVIEWER</u>: RECORD NAME BELOW. IF NO ONE LEADER, SKIP ITEMS 15 AND 16, AND PROCEED TO ITEM 17.

    Mr. _____   There is no one leader ( )

    <u>PROBE</u>: Just what is it, in your opinion, that makes him a leader?

15. Would you say that his leadership pertains to all matters that come up, or how does it work?

              all matters ( )   some matters ( )   OTHER (SPECIFY)

16. What was his position on open housing?

17. IF NO ONE LEADER IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION 14:
    Just what makes the Council/Commission tick? I mean, who decides
    what the Council/Commission should do, and how does it work?

18. Thank you. Now, does the Council/Commission ever meet in closed
    executive sessions?

    Yes ( )   No ( )

    INTERVIEWER: IF NO, SKIP TO QUESTION 22.

19. Do you think closed executive sessions are important if the Coun-
    cil/Commission is to work effectively, or not so important?
        important ( )   not so important ( )

    PROBE: What makes you think so?

20. In general, how do executive sessions differ from the Council's/
    Commission's public sessions?

21. Where would you say that most Council/Commission work takes place?
        at public meetings ( )   in committee meetings ( )
        at special meetings or executive sessions ( )   other (SPECIFY)

    PROBE: Why is this?

    Thank you. Now I would like to ask you about the various jobs in
    the City Council/Commission.

22. What role ought the Mayor play in his relations with Councilmen/
    Commissioners -- that is, how should the mayor act toward the
    other Council/Commission members?

23. Now, just how did Mayor _____ make out in terms of
    the requirements you just set? Would you say you were very satis-
    fied, satisfied, not very satisfied, or not satisfied at all with
    the way he/she acted toward the other Council/Commission members?

    1. _____ Very satisfied   INTERVIEWER: RECORD ANY COMMENTS
    2. _____ Satisfied
    3. _____ Not very satisfied
    4. _____ Not at all satisfied

24. In terms of these same requirements how satisfied were you with
    Mayor _____ on the open housing question? Were you very
    satisfied, satisfied, not very satisfied, or not satisfied at all
    with the way he/she acted toward the other Council/Commission members?

    1. _____ Very satisfied
    2. _____ Satisfied
    3. _____ Not very satisfied
    4. _____ Not at all satisfied

    PROBE: Why is this?

INTERVIEWER: ASK QUESTIONS ON THIS PAGE IN FLINT AND JACKSON ONLY

25. Now, what about the City Manager? How should he act toward the Commission?

26. Just how did/does Manager _____ make out in terms of the requirements you just set? Would you say you are very satisfied, satisfied, not very satisfied, or not satisfied at all with the way he acts toward the Commission?

    1. _____ Very satisfied   INTERVIEWER: RECORD ANY COMMENTS
    2. _____ Satisfied
    3. _____ Not very satisfied
    4. _____ Not at all satisfied

27. In terms of these requirements, how satisfied were you with Manager _____ on the open housing question? Were you very satisfied, satisfied, not very satisfied, or not satisfied at all with the way he acted toward the Commission?

    1. _____ Very satisfied
    2. _____ Satisfied
    3. _____ Not very satisfied
    4. _____ Not at all satisfied

    PROBE: Why is this?

    Thank you. Now I would like to ask you some questions about how issues are handled by the Council/Commission here in _____.

28. How does the Council/Commission handle issues which are brought before it by individuals or groups? Does it . . .

    1. _____ Discuss the issues before the public,
    2. _____ Discuss the issue in private, or
    3. _____ Refer the issue to the relevant committee immediately.
    4. _____ OTHER (SPECIFY)

29. Does this process vary according to the type of issue or question which is brought before the Council/Commission?

         Yes ( )   No ( )

    IF YES: How does it vary?

30. What was the process in the case of open housing?
    1. _____ Discuss before the public
    2. _____ Discuss in private
    3. _____ Refer to relevant committee immediately
    4. _____ OTHER (SPECIFY)

    INTERVIEWER: IF PROCESS DIFFERENT FROM NORMAL PROCEDURE ASK
    Why was open housing handled this way?

31. How does the Council/Commission work out disagreements which may arise between members over a particular issue?

32. Was there any disagreement over open housing?

       Yes ( )   No ( )

   IF YES: How was the disagreement worked out?

33. When the Council/Commission is in disagreement on an issue, would you say that there is more or less the same line-up here in _____? I mean, do some members seem to vote together on controversial issues?

       Yes ( )   No ( )

   IF YES: Who seems to be voting with whom?

FIRST GROUP   SECOND GROUP   THIRD GROUP

Mr. _____   Mr. _____   Mr. _____

Mr. _____   Mr. _____   Mr. _____

Mr. _____   Mr. _____   Mr. _____

Mr. _____   Mr. _____   Mr. _____

Mr. _____   Mr. _____   Mr. _____

   IF YES: How do you account for the fact that the Council/Commission divides as it does?

34. Did the disagreement over open housing correspond to this line-up?

       Yes ( )   No ( )

   PROBE: Why or why not?

35. If the Council/Commission ever splits over an issue, is it ever along political party lines? I mean, do members of the same party vote together?

       Yes ( )   No ( )

   IF YES: Would you say that this happens often, occasionally, rarely, or what?

   Often ( )   Occasionally ( )   Rarely ( )   OTHER (SPECIFY)

   IF YES: On what kinds of issues is the Council/Commission likely to split along party lines?

   IF YES: Was the vote on open housing along party lines?
        INTERVIEWER: RECORD ANY COMMENTS

36. In spite of splits or differences of opinion that may occur, it has been found that many City Councils/Commissions vote unanimously on many issues. What is your impression here in _____? Would you say unanimity occurs very often, often, only sometimes, or rarely?

1. _____ Very often
2. _____ often
3. _____ Sometimes
4. _____ Rarely

PROBE: On what kinds of issues is the Council/Commission most likely to vote unanimously?

37. Here is a list of statements which have been made about why unanimity occurs in legislative bodies. Would you please indicate how relevant, in your opinion, these reasons are here in _____?

INTERVIEWER: HAND RESPONDENT LIST 37 AND ASK HIM TO CHECK EACH ITEM AS HE SEES FIT.

	Often Relevant	Sometimes Relevant	Never Relevant
1. There is simply no disagreement on many issues	( )	( )	( )
2. We usually talk an issue over and try to reach agreement	( )	( )	( )
3. We just don't like to disagree whenever possible	( )	( )	( )
4. We go along with the others to get support for our own proposals	( )	( )	( )
5. You go along with the others even if you disagree a bit because it's uncomfortable to be in the minority	( )	( )	( )
6. We try to iron differences out in private, before the issue comes up in open session	( )	( )	( )
7. There is an unwritten rule that it is better to agree than to disagree	( )	( )	( )

Thank you. I would like to ask you some questions about your re-
lations with the people here in _____.

38. In general, how would you rate citizen interest in what the Coun-
cil/Commission is doing in _____? Is it high, mod-
erate, low, or non-existent? Or does it <u>depend on the issue</u>?

1. _____ High   <u>INTERVIEWER</u>: RECORD ANY COMMENTS
2. _____ Moderate
3. _____ Low
4. _____ Non-existent
5. _____ It depends/issue

<u>PROBE</u>: How do you evaluate citizen interest? What sort of things
do you take into account -- is it attendance at Council/
Commission meetings or what?

<u>PROBE</u>: What kinds of issues do citizens seem to be most inter-
ested in?

39. Is it mostly the same people you hear from, or different people
from one issue to the next?

same people ( )   different people ( )

40. Do the people who contact you usually speak for themselves, or
as representatives of some group in the community?

as individuals ( )   as representatives ( )

41. How interested were the citizens in the open housing issue?

high ( )   moderate ( )   low ( )   non-existent ( )

42. What effect do you think the general public had on the Coun-
cil's Commission's decision on open housing?

43. Here is a list of two main points of view of how a representative
should act when he has to make up his mind.

<u>INTERVIEWER</u>: HAND RESPONDENT LIST 43, AND ASK -- I'm wondering
how you feel about these different points of view.

1. One view is that he should always use his own judgment or
follow his convictions and principles, regardless of what
others want him to do.

2. The other view is that, being elected, he should always do
what the voters want him to, even if it is counter to his
own judgment or principles.

Thank you. Now I would like to ask you some questions about your
own position on the open housing issue.

44. Did you originally favor or oppose the open housing ordinance?

   favor ( )   oppose ( )

PROBE: Would you tell me why you supported/opposed it?

45. Did you change your mind?

   yes ( )   no ( )

PROBE: Why did you change your mind?

46. What do you think were the most important or convincing arguments
   for open housing?

PROBE: Why do you think those arguments were important or convincing?

47. What do you think were the most important or convincing arguments
   against open housing?

PROBE: Why do you think these arguments were important or convincing?

48. Was there any particular individual or group who convinced or per-
   suaded you to think the way you did?

   yes ( )   no ( )

IF YES: What individual or group?

PROBE: How was this individual or group able to convince or per-
       suade you?

49. Did any Negro groups have any impact on your thinking or actions?
   yes ( )   no ( )

IF YES: Which one(s)?

PROBE: Why did they have an impact?

50. Were there any events either within or outside the community
   which had an impact on your thinking or actions?

   yes ( )   no ( )

IF YES: What were they?

PROBE: Why did they have an impact?

Thank you.

Now I would like to ask you some questions about the referendum held in your city.

51. Why do you think the city did (or did not) have a referendum on open housing?

52. What individual or group initiated the referendum?

   PROBE: Why was the referendum initiated?

53. What were the most important individuals or groups who supported open housing in the referendum campaign? Any new groups?

   PROBE: How effective were these groups?

   PROBE: Why were they effective?

54. What were the most important individuals or groups who opposed open housing in the referendum campaign? Any new groups?

   PROBE: How effective were these groups?

   PROBE: Why were they effective?

55. During the referendum campaign, were any new issues brought in?

   Yes ( )   No ( )

   IF YES: What were the issues that were brought in?

   IF YES: Why were these issues brought in?

56. What Negro groups or individuals were active in the campaign?

57. What effect did these groups have?

   PROBE: Why?

58. Now I would like you to tell me if any of the city officials were particularly important or effective either for or against open housing during the referendum campaign?

   PROBE: Reason for importance or effectiveness?

59. What position did the local press take during the campaign?

60. What effect do you think this had? RECORD ANY COMMENTS.

61. How much interest was generated by the referendum campaign?

62. How much controversy was generated? RECORD ANY COMMENTS.

63. What do you think determined the outcome of the vote on the referendum? What factors were most important?

Thank you. Now I have a few questions about some of the political aspects of the job of Councilman/Commissioner.

64. Would you say there is much campaigning for the Council/Commission here in _____ or not much campaigning?

much ( )   not much ( )

65. How about the people here in _____? Would you say there is much interest in Council/Commission elections, some interest, little interest, or no interest at all?

1. _____ Much interest   INTERVIEWER: RECORD ANY COMMENTS
2. _____ Some interest
3. _____ Little interest
4. _____ No interest

66. Here is a list of the kinds of things campaigning may involve. Would you please tell me the things you are likely to do in a campaign here in _____?

INTERVIEWER: HAND RESPONDENT LIST

1. _____ Make telephone calls
2. _____ Run advertisements in newspapers
3. _____ Speak to large audience
4. _____ Do door to door campaigning
5. _____ Speak to small informal groups
6. _____ Print cards or posters
7. _____ Ask others to campaign

PROBE: Is there anything else not on the list that you do?

67. In general, about how much would you say a campaign for the City Council/Commission costs here in _____?

$_____

68. How are these expenses paid for -- mostly by yourself or how?

self ( )   INTERVIEWER: RECORD ANY COMMENTS
OTHER ( )   BUT DO NOT PRESS
   (SPECIFY IF POSSIBLE)

69. In your last campaign for the council/commission, were there any community groups or organizations which supported you?

Yes ( )   No ( )

IF YES: PROBE FOR NAMES OF GROUPS -- Just which groups were they?

IF YES: What kinds of things did they do?

70. In the last campaign, did you run with some others on a slate?

        Yes ( )   No ( )

IF YES: Who were they?

IF YES, PROBE: Were all of you elected, or were some defeated?

        All elected ( )   Some defeated ( )   RECORD ANY COMMENTS

71. We know that elections to the City Council/Commission are non-partisan, but we are wondering whether the political parties are at all active in Council/Board elections here in _____.

        Yes, active ( )   Sometimes active ( )   No, not active ( )

IF PARTIES ARE ACTIVE OR SOMETIMES ACTIVE: What sort of things do parties do?

IF PARTIES ACTIVE OR SOMETIMES ACTIVE: Would you say this party activity in the local elections is open or disguised?

        Open ( )   Disguised ( )

Thank you.

72. Is there anything else you think I should consider in this study of open housing legislation?

73. Is there anything in particular you feel I should know about the situation here in _____ which might help me to better understand the open housing issue?

END OF INTERVIEW: Thank you very much for the time you have given me. I really appreciate it. If you have any questions about the study, please feel free to contact Mr. Kenneth Greene, Department of Political Science, Michigan State University, East Lansing, 517-355-6590.

THESE PAGES ARE TO BE COMPLETED BY THE INTERVIEWER IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE INTERVIEW

1. Were there other persons present or within earshot during the interview?

    Yes, throughout   ( )
    Yes, at times   ( )
    No   ( )

2. Interviewer's estimate of frankness/sincerity of respondent's replies?

    Very frank   ( )
    Frank   ( )
    Not very frank   ( )
    Very evasive   ( )

3. Interviewer's estimate of general cooperativeness of respondent throughout the interview.

Very cooperative ( )
Cooperative ( )
Not very cooperative ( )
Very uncooperative ( )

4. Interviewer's estimate of respondent's general receptivity to the interview.

Very receptive ( )
Receptive ( )
Not very receptive ( )
Very unreceptive ( )

5. Interviewer's impressions of the respondent (and his responses):

(1) Sincerity?

Very sincere ( )
Sincere ( )
Not very sincere ( )
Very sincere ( )

(2) Congenial/Congeniality?

Very congenial ( )
Congenial ( )
Not very congenial ( )
Very unconfenial ( )

(3) Well informed?

Very well informed ( )
Well informed ( )
Not very well informed ( )
Very uninformed ( )

(4) Aggressive?

Very aggressive ( )
Aggressive ( )
Not very aggressive ( )
Very unaggressive ( )

(5) Open-Minded?

Very open-minded ( )
Open-minded ( )
Not very open-minded ( )
Closed-minded ( )

(6) Dogmatic?

Very dogmatic ( )
Dogmatic ( )
Not very dogmatic ( )
Very non-dogmatic ( )

(7) Fluency?

Very fluent ( )
Fluent ( )
Not very fluent ( )
Not at all fluent ( )

(8) Resentment or resistance?

Very resentful ( )
Resentful ( )
Not very resentful ( )
Not at all resentful ( )

(9) Cynical?

Very cynical   ( )
Cynical   ( )
Not very cynical   ( )
Not at all cynical   ( )

(10) Reliability?

Very reliable   ( )
Reliable   ( )
Not very reliable   ( )
Very unreliable   ( )

APPENDIX D

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR DECISION MAKERS

OPEN HOUSING LEGISLATION

RESEARCH PROJECT

This questionnaire is to be filled out by mayors and city councilmen/commissioners in Flint, Lansing, and Jackson.

I want to assure you that the information given in this questionnaire will be kept strictly confidential. This information will be coded and processed with similar material obtained from individuals in the other municipalities. No names of individuals or cities will be used.

The completed questionnaire will be picked up by the person who will interview you for this project. If you have any questions feel free to call:

> Mr. Kenneth Greene
> Department of Political Science
> Michigan State University
> East Lansing, Michigan 48823
> 517-355-6590

QUESTIONNAIRE

First of all, a few questions about your background:

1. Where were you born? _____ _____ _____
   <u>(City)</u>   <u>(County)</u>   <u>(State)</u>

2. And in what year? _____

3. Where were you brought up -- I mean when you went to grammar or high school?

   _____ _____ _____
   <u>(City)</u>   <u>(County)</u>   <u>(State)</u>

   _____ _____ _____
   <u>(City)</u>   <u>(County)</u>   <u>(State)</u>

4. What was your parents' birthplace?

   Father: _____

   Mother: _____

5. How many years have you lived in this city? _____

6. What is your principal occupation -- I mean what do you actually do in your work? If you are retired, what did you do before you retired?

   _____

7. And who is your employer?   Self-employed . . . . ( )
                                       Partnership . . . . ( )
   _____   Other (specify)_____
   <u>(Name of Firm)</u>

8. Has this been your main occupation all your working life?

         Yes ( )   No ( )

   If no, what other work have you done, and for about how long?

   JOB: _____ YEARS: _____

   JOB: _____ YEARS: _____

9. Where is your place of work? Is it here in this city, in a neighboring city, or where?

   In city ( )   Neighboring city _____
                                      <u>(Name)</u>

10. For <u>councilwomen</u> only: If your husband works, what is his regular occupation or job?

_____

11. Would you tell me a little bit about your education -- how many grades of school have you completed? (circle)

<table>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td colspan="3">Graduated</td></tr>
<tr><td>Elementary</td><td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7</td><td>Yes ( )</td><td>No ( )</td></tr>
<tr><td>High School</td><td>1 2 3 4</td><td>Yes ( )</td><td>No ( )</td></tr>
<tr><td>College</td><td>1 2 3 4</td><td colspan="2">Degree: _____</td></tr>
<tr><td>Graduate Work</td><td>_____ years</td><td colspan="2">Degrees:_____</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td colspan="2">_____</td></tr>
<tr><td>Professional School
(Law, Medicine, etc.)</td><td>1 2 3 4</td><td colspan="2">Degree: _____</td></tr>
<tr><td>Trade School</td><td>1 2 3 4</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
</table>

12. If you went to college, which one did you attend? _____
                                                              (Name)

Now a few more questions about yourself.

13. What is your marital status?

Married   ( )   Single   ( )   Divorced ( )
Separated ( )   Widowed   ( )

14. Do you have any children? How old are they?

___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___
Age Age Age Age Age Age Age Age Age Age

15. Which of these rough income categories do you fall into?

Under $3,000   ( ) $10,000 - $14,999   ( )
$3,000 - $4,999   ( ) $15,000 - $19,999   ( )
$5,000 - $7,499   ( )   Over $20,000   ( )
$7,500 - $9,999   ( )

16. What newspaper(s) do you read regularly? (specify)

None ( )   1._____   2._____   3._____

17. What magazine(s) or journal(s) do you read regularly? (Specify)

None ( )   1._____   2._____   3._____

18. Do you belong to any organizations or associations? If so, do you attend regularly? Do you hold an office or have you held an office? Are you a member of any committee of the organization?

Name of Organization	Attend Regularly	Hold Office	Past Office	Member Committees
_____	( )	_____ _____		( )
_____	( )	_____ _____		( )
_____	( )	_____ _____		( )
_____	( )	_____ _____		( )
_____	( )	_____ _____		( )
_____	( )	_____ _____		( )

19. Are you active in a political party now or have you been active in a party previously?

Active ( )   Active Once, Not Now ( )   Never Active ( )

Other _____

20. At what level of political organization were you active?

Active local level   ( )
Active state level   ( )
Active national level   ( )
Active local and state level ( )
Active at all three levels ( )
Other _____

21. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, or Independent, or what?

Republican ( )   Democrat ( )   Independent ( )

Other _____

Now some questions about your election to the council.

22. Before you were elected to the council the first time, were there other times when you ran but didn't get elected? How many times?

One ( )   Two ( )   More than two ( )

Elected first try ( )   Other _____

23. How many terms, including the present one, have you served on the city council? How many years is this?

_____   _____
      (Terms)   (Years)

24. In your last election campaign, did anyone run against you?

    Yes ( )   No ( )

25. Have these been continuous terms, or were there interruptions?

Continuous ( )   Interrupted ( )

Other: _____

_____

26. Here are four statements sometimes made in the texts on local government. They are not mutually exclusive, but I would like you to rank them in the order which fits most closely your own conception of the job of a councilman. (Rank -- 1, 2, 3, 4)

_____ (a) It's the job of the councilman to be acquainted with the business before the Council, attend all Council sessions regularly, do the chores of the job and vote on the issues before the Council.

_____ (b) The councilman should try to get an overall picture of all the problems that exist in the community, be fair to all sides and try to balance and harmonize conflicting demands that are made on the Council.

_____ (c) The councilman should know or try to find out what the people in the community want, express their needs and wants at the Council table, and protect the interests of the people in the community.

_____ (d) The councilman should propose programs which advance the city as a good place to live in, make for better local government and try to solve the city's problems even before they arise.

_____ Can't rank

27. I am wondering from whom you think you get the best <u>information</u> about city affairs. Could you check these sources as to their importance?

Information From:	Very Important	Fairly Important	Not very Important	Unim- portant
(a) Mayor	( )	( )	( )	( )
(b) City clerk	( )	( )	( )	( )
(c) City Manager	( )	( )	( )	( )
(d) Other city officials	( )	( )	( )	( )
(e) Other councilmen	( )	( )	( )	( )
(f) Party leaders	( )	( )	( )	( )
(g) People at council meetings	( )	( )	( )	( )
(h) People in the community	( )	( )	( )	( )
(i) People in my neighborhood	( )	( )	( )	( )
(j) The newspaper	( )	( )	( )	( )
Other (specify):				
_____	( )	( )	( )	( )

_____

28. Just to get an overall picture of the <u>job of councilman</u>, how would you rate the following -- very important, fairly important, not very important, or unimportant? (Check each item).

	Very Important	Fairly Important	Not very Important	Unim- portant
(a) Helping individual citizens who have problems with the city government	( )	( )	( )	( )
(b) Talking with city employees, administrative people, and department heads	( )	( )	( )	( )
(c) Informally talking with other councilmen about matters coming up at the next council meeting	( )	( )	( )	( )
(d) Talking with officials from other cities or county offices about common problems	( )	( )	( )	( )

Now some questions about the council and your city.

29. Here is a list of things which, some say, <u>city councils must do</u>.
I'm wondering whether you can rank these four items in the order
of their importance here in your city, as it seems to you.
(Rank -- 1, 2, 3, 4)

_____ The council should find imaginative solutions for the
city's many problems
_____ The council needs to do only what is required by charter
or statute
_____ The council should adjust the conflicts of different
interests.
_____ The council should do what the people want it to do.

_____ Can't rank.

30. It has been found that most communities have some sort of <u>conflicts</u>.
Here is a list of possible line-ups that occasionally occur. Could
you check these conflicts as to their importance in your city?

	Very Important	Fairly Important	Not Very Important	Unim-portant
Business vs. Labor	( )	( )	( )	( )
Republicans vs. Democrats	( )	( )	( )	( )
Old Residents vs. New Residents	( )	( )	( )	( )
White People vs. Minorities	( )	( )	( )	( )
Supporters of new taxes vs. Opponents	( )	( )	( )	( )
New Subdivisions vs. Old part of city	( )	( )	( )	( )
Supporters of city planning vs. Opponents	( )	( )	( )	( )
Supporters of city spending vs. Opponents	( )	( )	( )	( )

31. Are there any other important conflicts not on the list?

Speaking of groups or organizations here in your city, which are active in community affairs and sometimes appear before the Council?

32. Which would you say are the most influential?

Now, what would you say makes these groups so influential -- what are the main reasons for their influence?

Active Groups

Reasons for Influence

(1) _____ (1)

(2) _____ (2)

(3) _____ (3)

(4) _____ (4)

(5) _____ (5)

(6) _____ (6)

(7) _____ (7)

33. Generally speaking, how important are the following groups in making the key decisions on major policies in your city?

	Very Important	Fairly Important	Not very Important	Unimportant
The businessman	( )	( )	( )	( )
The labor leaders	( )	( )	( )	( )
The political parties	( )	( )	( )	( )
The voters	( )	( )	( )	( )

Are there any groups here in your city which are consistently critical of what the council is doing?

34. Which groups or organizations seem to be critical? (Please list)

What, in your opinion, makes them so critical?

(1) _____ (1)

(2) _____ (2)

(3) _____ (3)

35. How do you think your Council/Commission compares with other Councils or Commissions on each of the following points?

	1. Better than Most	3. About the Same as Most	5. Not as Good as Most
The way the men get along together	( )	( )	( )
The way the men work together	( )	( )	( )
The way the men help each other in their work	( )	( )	( )

36. Would you tell me how you feel about the following policies. Do you strongly approve, approve somewhat, are undecided, disapprove somewhat, strongly disapprove?

	Strongly Approve	Approve Somewhat	Undecided	Disapprove Somewhat	Strongly Disapprove
Urban renewal	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Bringing new industry to the city	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Increasing taxes to provide improved city services	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Public housing	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Fluoridation of a community's water supply	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Spending more money on special education	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
City owned parking lots	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Air pollution control	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Model cities	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
School desegregation	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

Here is a list of statements. Would you please read each item and decide quickly how you feel about it; then record the extent of your agreement or disagreement. The best answer to each statement below is your personal opinion -- there are no right or wrong answers.

We have tried to cover many different and opposing points of view; you may find yourself agreeing strongly with some of the statements, disagreeing just as strongly with others, and perhaps uncertain about others; whether you agree or disagree with any statement, you can be sure that many people feel the same as you do.

	Agree Very Much	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree Very Much
1. Many formerly private concerns such as health services and hospitals should now have more active financial support from city governments	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
2. White people have a right to keep Negroes out of their neighborhoods if they want to, and Negroes should respect that right.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
3. The most rewarding organizations a person can belong to are local clubs and associations rather than large nationwide organizations	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
4. If cities and towns around the country need help to build more schools, the government in Washington ought to give them the money they need.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
5. Cities should expand their services just as the states are doing	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

		Agree Very Much	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree Very Much
6.	Where possible, a city should set aside land for large scale, tract type, residential building	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
7.	There is a problem with the civil rights movement because many Negroes are demanding privileges which many whites do not have.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
8.	Despite all the newspaper and TV coverage, national and international happenings rarely seem as interesting as events that occur right in the local community in which one lives.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
9.	If Negroes are not getting fair treatment in housing and jobs, the government in Washington should see that they do.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
10.	A city should not hesitate to increase its debts to finance public works projects if they cannot otherwise be paid for.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
11.	Setting aside areas for new shopping centers promotes continued city prosperity.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
12.	Most demonstrations have hurt the Negroes' cause more than they have helped	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

		Agree Very Much	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree Very Much

13. No doubt many new-comers to the community are capable people; but when it comes to choosing a person for a responsible position in the community, I prefer a man whose family is well established in the community. ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( )

14. The government in Washington ought to see to it that everybody wants to work can find a job. ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( )

15. Every city should provide for economic growth by attracting new industries and stimulating local business. ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( )

16. Every city should provide in its budget for amenities such as parks and libraries for its citizens. ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( )

17. In many cases, Negro leaders have not been willing to make reasonable compromises on civil rights issues. ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( )

18. Big cities have their place but the local community is the backbone of America. ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( )

19. The government ought to help people get doctors and hospital care at low cost. ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( )

20. A master plan and a full-time professional planning staff are necessary to guide city development. ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( )

	Agree Very Much	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Disagree Very Much
21. The government should leave things like electric power and housing for private businessmen to handle	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
22. I have greater respect for a man who is well established in his local community than a man who is widely known in his field but who has no local roots.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

Thank you very much for your cooperation.