Community Housing ... Community Schools

REPORT OF A
COMMUNITY CONFERENCE
JANUARY 17, 1981

SPONSORED BY
COMMUNITY RESEARCH CENTER
UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO AT DENVER

UNDER CONTRACT TO
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING
AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

"COMMUNITY HOUSING...COMMUNITY SCHOOLS"

A Report on a Conference
on Housing and School Desegregation Policies
in Metro Denver

April, 1981

Sponsored by:

U.S. Department of
Housing and Urban Development

Organized by:

Community Research Center
University of Colorado at
Denver

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As conference coordinator and editor of this report, I wish to thank the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development for sponsoring the conference on "Community Housing...Community Schools." By joining the issues of school desegregation and neighborhood housing patterns, HUD allowed Denver leaders to examine, really for the first time since the implementation of court-ordered busing in the early '70s, the interrelationship of two great societal forces.

The results were astonishing for conference participants and produced particularly promising results in the form of a series of recommendations that appear at the end of this report. Many of those ideas are already being implemented by various institutions.

The HUD initiative would have come to naught, however, without the active participation in the planning process of a number of key individuals and groups, who served on our Advisory Board and in other capacities. Although it would be impossible to acknowledge them all by name, I do want to mention one or two people specifically.

School officials from Denver and the suburbs, notably Kay Schomp, Denver Board of Education, and Richard Koeppe, Superintendent of the Cherry Creek Schools, worked especially well with the Denver and suburban Boards of Realtors, particularly Don Harlan, Syma Joffe, Dick Peterson and Tom Giblin.

The glue that held all of us together during the planning process was the Colorado Civil Rights Division. Research Director Ken Eye and Education Specialist Bea Branscombe deserve special thanks.

Finally, the University of Colorado at Denver's Community Research Center, headed by Bernie Jones, has our gratitude for recognizing the importance of this issue and that the time was ripe for tackling the problem.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

By: Cynthia Kahn

The conference on "Community Housing...Community Schools took place in Denver as a result of the fortuitous convergence of two independent sets of circumstances. Over the last year or two the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development began to examine the effect of its own housing subsidy programs on broad urban policies, particularly on urban school desegregation efforts. HUD not only hired consultants to examine the issue, but also agreed to hold a series of conferences around the country to help local communities to explore the problem as well. The conference in Denver is the second of three scheduled conferences. The first was in Dallas and the last one will be in Los Angeles.

At the same time that HUD was beginning to move, Denver found itself faced with a deadline to adjust its own court-ordered school busing plan. After four years of relative racial harmony and stability of school boundaries, Denver is about to undergo another community upheaval as the process of balancing ethnic percentages in all the schools city-wide unfolds.

Government agencies as well as ordinary citizens in Denver and elsewhere have come to realize that the continuation of the policies that have been in effect during the last ten years are beginning to be counter-productive. The recent California Supreme Court decision vacating the Los Angeles busing order is an indication that at least some courts are recognizing the futility of attempting school desegregation with fewer and fewer Anglo students.

The effort to achieve equality of opportunity is not as simple as simply desegregating public school systems. Schools can no longer bear the burden of desegregation by themselves. Other community institutions must begin to play a part.

There are obviously a number of alternatives to remedy the problem that urban school systems like Denver are facing. Three principle alternatives are:

- metropolitan wide busing
- housing desegregation at the neighborhood level
- use of government programs to encourage desegregation, or at least not harm existing efforts.

Each of the alternatives has advantages and disadvantages. A national study by Diana Pierce at Catholic University, demonstrates that metropolitan-wide busing, for example, means that whites no longer have a place to flee, with the result that some communities have stabilized and even reversed the flight to the suburbs. The negative aspect of metropolitan busing is, of course, the even longer bus ride for school children.

The Denver conference focused primarily on the voluntary implementation of the latter two options, with the understanding, however, that should voluntary efforts fail that a lawsuit to require a metropolitan solution is a distinct possibility.

The enthusiastic reception the conference received resulted in part from the realization that these are absolutely critical issues that Denver and its suburbs must grapple with. The desegregation decisions that we as citizens make in the next year or two will determine the economic health and societal well-being of our entire metropolitan area.

If community leaders make the right decisions now, metro Denver could become a model for the rest of the country. If we make the wrong decisions, or if the first steps falter from lack of support from all segments of the community, then Denver may be condemned to the decay and hopelessness that have destroyed older cities in the north and midwest. Gary Orfield warned that Denver was just a generation behind cities like Cleveland or Detroit.

In his keynote address: Prof. Gary Orfield, a consultant to HUD, the Ford Foundation and the U.S. Civil Rights Commission laid the intellectual framework for the conference deliberations. As a result of his national study of the interrelationship between housing policies and school desegregation, Orfield pinpointed the pitfalls that young, growing communities like Denver face and suggested possible remedies.

With that overview, the papers presented at the conference fell into two categories utilized in this report, but not necessarily following the conference agenda. The first group of papers explored the current situation in Denver. It seemed important to examine thoroughly the particular circumstances in Denver that will affect potential solutions, the second category.

Jim Reynolds, recently retired director of the Colorado Civil Rights Commission, led off with a retrospective of civil rights issues in Denver since World War II. George Bardwell, a statistician, professor of mathematics at the University of

Denver and the primary expert witness in the precedent setting school desegregation suit, Keyes v. The Board of Education, reviewed population statistics within the metro area between 1970 and 1980. He found that segregation in the entire metro area had increased by one third in the ten year period.

The education editor for the Denver Post, Art Branscombe compared the Denver Public Schools not only with other big city school systems but also with local suburban schools. To the surprise of many people, Denver schools came out ahead on many criteria. The myth of low achievement levels of at least some big city schools needs to be dispelled.

The last paper in this group was by State House Minority Leader Rich Castro, who represents a largely Chicano neighborhood near downtown Denver. He discussed the sometimes conflicting goals of desegregated schools and the creation of a neighborhood power base from which low income minorities can work to improve their own living conditions.

Following the presentation of the current situation in Denver, the second group of papers discussed potential solutions. Louis Nunez, Executive Director of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, provided an overview of initiatives that can be expected from the civil rights, judicial process in the coming years. He expressed the hope that President Reagan would give the same leadership to civil rights that President Carter gave to human rights.

The next three papers were closely related. Marshall Kaplan, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Urban Policy at HUD, provided the rationale for HUD's initiatives in the area of housing and school desegregation. Naomi Russell, Director of Housing for the Baltimore Regional Planning Council, explained how Baltimore was able to use HUD's Section 8 and Assisted Housing Opportunity Programs to increase housing mobility for low income families and reduce segregation at the same time. From a slightly different perspective Dave Herlinger, Executive Director of Colorado Housing Finance Authority, a quasi-governmental corporation, provided some specific suggestions for utilizing government programs and improving housing options in the Denver area.

In her paper Syma Joffee, a real estate broker in Denver, stressed the importance of involving the private sector in desegregation initiatives. She was particularly concerned that the entire business community, not just the housing industry, have an integral role in desegregating neighborhoods. She suggested that a Blue Ribbon panel be appointed by the governor to investigate the problem and make specific suggestions for the state as well as the private sector to implement.

Ben Williams, desegregation research director for the Education Commission of the States discussed specific initiatives that could be relevant to school systems, not only the Denver Public Schools, but suburban school districts as well.

The final part of this report consists of recommendations that evolved from the afternoon workshops. Conference participants were divided into six workshop areas:

Legal Alternatives
Government Assisted Housing
School Initiatives
Fair market Housing
Incentives: Legislative, Fiscal
Coalition Building: Community Relations

An effort was made to balance each workshop, so that all realtors didn't attend the private sector housing initiatives, or school administrators the workshop on school initiatives. The cross fertilization worked remarkably well.

The recommendations were the heart of the conference. And the effectiveness of the conference will be determined by the ability of participating institutions and individuals to carry through on at least some of the suggestions. Most of the recommendations were distilled and in a sense prioritized by the conference advisory committee that met again a month after the January 17th session. The ideas crystalized around two primary suggestions: (1) that the housing industry, specifically the Colorado Committee on Housing, take the lead in implementing many of the suggestions, and (2) that a major effort to "sell" Denver schools be undertaken.

A month after the conference, the Advisory Board and interested conference participants met to review the commendations and lay the groundwork for future specific action. The summary of that meeting is also included in this report. For example, a group of realtors and homebuilders met recently with a suburban school board to discuss ways to cooperate. In addition, Denver realtors are considering "adopting" a handful of Denver schools on which to focus a concentrated desegregation effort. If the federal judge accepts the realtors' offer, it will be a significant step toward the goal of eliminating the need for busing. The HUD sponsored conference deserves some of the credit for these positive initiatives.

March, 1981

"COMMUNITY HOUSING...COMMUNITY SCHOOLS"

8:00-8:30 Registration

8:30 Welcome - Dr. Gene Nordby - Chancellor, University of Colorado at Denver
Dr. Dorothy Porter, Director Colorado Civil Rights Division - conference focus

8:45-9:15 KEYNOTE SPEECH: The National picture:
Prof. Gary Orfield, Institute of Urban Studies, University of Illinois, Urbana

9:15-10:30 DENVER SITUATION:
chaired by Jim Reynolds, retired Director Colorado Civil Rights Commission

Civil Rights: an historical perspective - Jim Reynolds

School Systems: ethnic populations & quality - Art Branscombe, Education editor, Denver Post

Population Growth Patterns & Economics:
Prof. George Bardwell, University of Denver

Housing Patterns -
Dave Herlinger, Executive Director Colorado Housing Finance Authority

Neighborhood Cultural Dynamics -
State Representative Rich Castro

10:30 Break

10:45-12:15 NATIONAL APPROACHES:
chaired by Louis Nunez, staff director, U.S. Civil Rights Commission, Washington D.C.

Legal Techniques -
Louis Nunez

Government Housing Programs -
Naomi Russell, Baltimore, Maryland, Regional Planning Commission

School Initiatives -
Ben Williams, Desegregation Research Director, Education Commission of the States

Private Sector Housing Efforts -
Syma Joffe, owner of Syma Realty

12:30-2:00 LUNCH - Marshall Kaplan, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Urban Policy, HUD "The St. Louis Experience"

2:00-4:00 WORKSHOPS:

	Resource People	Local Moderator
Legal Alternatives	Louis Nunez	Christine Murphy, Colorado Lawyers Committee
Government Assisted Housing	Naomi Russell	Billie Bramhall, Denver Community Development Agency
School Initiatives	Ben Williams	Richard Koeppe, Superintendant, Cherry Creek Schools
Fair Market Housing	Syma Joffe	Don Harlan, past president Denver Board of Realtors
Incentives: Legislative, Fiscal other	Thurm Caldwell First Federal Mortgage Co.	Dick Fleming, executive director Downtown Denver, Inc.
Coalition Building: Community Relations, Metropolitan Fair Housing Center	John Maldonado Director State Division of Housing	Rep. Rich Castro, and Bill Sievers, Colorado Council of Churches

4:00-5:00 WRAP UP - Gary Orfield

5 minute summaries from workshop moderators
Furture Directions - Orfield

5:00-6:00 No Host Social Hour, with national resource people and local participants

WELCOME AND INTRODUCTION

By: Dr. Dorothy J. Porter

On behalf of the State of Colorado and the Colorado Civil Rights Division, I wish to thank the University of Colorado at Denver for hosting this conference. I want to welcome you to this very special conference -- a conference, I should add, which is historic in a very important way.

It is historic because, to the best of my knowledge, this is the first time a major federal agency, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, which is sponsoring this conference, has taken the time and trouble to analyze how some of its major programs are affecting other aspects of our lives -- schools, equality of opportunity, access to jobs, the quality of life in our metropolitan area.

Second, HUD is sharing this analysis with us through one of the Department's top executives, Marshall Kaplan, and one of its and the country's top experts in the area of school and housing desegregation, Dr. Gary Orfield.

Third, and this is what I think is remarkable, HUD is asking this creative and select audience to offer our ideas on how some HUD programs (and related decisions in the private housing sector) can be improved. HUD especially wants to get our ideas on housing alternatives to reduce school transportation and create more naturally integrated neighborhood schools.

We're very pleased that HUD selected Denver for the first round of this open community process -- the feed-back, brainstorming and idea exchange about this will happen in the afternoon at the community workshops - and I hope you will all stay for this because everyone's ideas and point of view are needed to enhance the caliber and quality of opportunity in both housing and educational opportunity.

That is what is so special about this conference...we are here. People from very different backgrounds voluntarily getting together and saying, by the fact of our presence, "Let's see if together we can bring two portions of the American dream a little closer within reach of more people."

The first of these, of course, is the dream of owning a home. Robert Frost said "Home is the place where, when you have to go there, they have to take you in." Today there are many people who have no home and no chance of owning one. Many others, especially those who want to rent a decent place for their family and children, can find nothing they can afford.

A second portion of the American dream is the universal hope that through excellence and equal opportunity in education, our children will have a better life than we did, and I am pleased that we have several national and local experts to help us analyze this issue.

Another effort which, I hope, we will have a chance to indulge during these few hours today is to objectively examine, and maybe debunk, some dearly held myths.

I'm pleased to see so many realtors, homebuilders and executives from business and financial institutions here today. That should help debunk the myth that all you care about is making a profit; obviously you also care about equal opportunity in housing and education, or you wouldn't be here!

Another myth we will look at today is that HUD assisted housing hurts property values. In one of our workshops we will hear about local research in suburban Jefferson County which challenges that myth.

We will also take a look at myths about inner city schools, and whether there is indeed a close relationship between achievement and poverty-impaction.

Yet another myth is that the American public is too apathetic to care about really complex problems. Well, we are here, educators from higher education and public schools, housing experts from the private sector, the city, state and federal government, parents, community representatives, and clergy believing with members of our agency that the time to address problems in a voluntary manner is while they are solvable.

What we do here may well influence the rest of the country. Let us set a precedent, and heed Martin Luther King's words "We must all learn to live together as brothers...or perish as fools."

DENVER AND THE FUTURE OF METROPOLITAN SEGREGATION

By: Gary Orfield

In school offices in big cities across the country and in federal and state courthouses, officials are attempting to find ways to integrate city schools with shrinking numbers of white students. School leaders are raising the common sense question "Why can't we do something about housing?"

Research during the last year for the Ford Foundation and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development in some twenty cities with court-ordered school desegregation has consistently found that the big city educational leaders feel that they are the only ones addressing the problem of urban integration. School leaders feel they get little or no help from either the officials who shape housing policy or the officials who operate suburban school districts and local governments, which serve an increasingly overwhelming majority of metropolitan white populations.

My research has convinced me that the school officials are right. They are alone. They're supposed to keep the schools integrated, they're supposed to deal with the problems of segregation in society, and nobody else is helping them at all. Nobody from the federal level, nobody in housing authorities, nobody in planning agencies, nobody in political office - all other officials are still hiding under their desks.

Educators feel they can't do it all by themselves, that they can't maintain successfully integrated schools in the long run for all the children in central cities, when all kinds of other decisions are feeding into a process of white suburbanization and separation. Nobody else is looking at their problems, and almost no community has a coherent strategy to deal with them. Often the decisions that are taken by local governments, local housing authorities, regional housing authorities, compound their problems.

None of the housing agencies or regional planning agencies that I visited has so much as a map of the school desegregation plan, or even the school statistics. They don't even know when they are proposing a project, moving many families into the neighborhood, what effect it's going to have on the schools. Almost nowhere do they even consult with the school desegregation office implementing a federal court order to find out whether they are going to hurt or help the plan with their federally financed housing. Usually the plan has had no strategy for stabilizing integrated neighborhoods or for expanding residential integration.

If this kind of practice persists in cities that have desegregation plans limited to the central cities, the next generation is going to face a very difficult choice, either tightening back those central city desegregation plans because they will not have enough Anglo children left in the cities to keep the schools integrated or suing the suburbs for a workable plan.

I believe that there are still cities that have other choices. One of the reasons we chose Denver, Phoenix and Columbus, Ohio for intensive studies is because we felt that the growing cities, the prosperous cities, the cities that are still building a lot of housing and that have a framework for cooperative approaches and for building suburban housing had better chances than anybody else to develop some sort of workable approach.

The fact that the central cities confront difficult and seemingly insurmountable problems as time goes by does not mean that school desegregation hasn't worked or that it's causing these problems. We're seeing the same kinds of patterns of white suburbanization in school districts that have never had any kind of desegregation at all. In fact, in the city of Chicago they've lost more than 10 percent of their whites for each of the last few years, many more than Denver. And they have the most segregated school district in the country, almost total racial separation.

I believe that properly implemented school desegregated plans can produce and are producing substantial gains for all the children. We have pretty good research to show that when you put a minority child in an integrated school starting in first grade it helps significantly in his achievement. We are beginning to understand from the research, how to make school desegregation work better in a more predictable way, by the way we train teachers, manage schools, by the way we select principals, etc.

Schools desegregation is an extremely important part of our effort to build a harmonious multi-racial society. In fact, it's one of the only things that is working strongly in that direction.

The problem isn't that school desegregation doesn't work, or that it self-destructs. The problem is that we have desegregated schols without influencing any of the other policies that affect urban development. We're still implementing other policies that undermine the efforts of local educators in the schools.

Housing policy decisions should not make school desegregation worse. Everybody agrees with that idea, but the

problem is that nobody has a plan to implement that simple principle. If you don't have a plan, segregation gets worse. Ghettos and barrios expand. They expand to the city limits and hit the suburbs. This process is taking place in metropolitan areas all around the country.

Often when I visit an upbeat expanding city like Denver, which in fact is destroying integrated schools, an official will take me aside and say "Well, you easterners have got to understand how things are here. We don't really have a problem. It's not like Cleveland or Chicago. Everybody is happy here. You don't want to bring your concepts from an alien culture and impose them on our good situation. We've worked out these racial issues."

Everytime I hear that refrain I think of the first time I heard it, which was in Los Angeles when I was a graduate student. Everywhere I went around Los Angeles, Watts, East Los Angeles, and all over the city, everybody would tell me, "You know, our problem really isn't as bad as it is in most of those eastern cities." I heard that for two months, and at the end of the two months the Watts riots occurred. When I went back and talked to the same people everybody said, "Well, I guess we had a few more problems than we thought."

The fact is that if we look at Denver, if we look at Columbus, Ohio, if we look at San Jose and other young growing cities around the country, we find that they look an awful lot like Los Angeles, or Chicago or Cleveland one generation earlier in terms of their racial patterns.

In Denver I feel like I'm one generation back in time, seeing the same processes occur. Western cities were not as rigidly confined by boundaries, in say 1900, as eastern and midwestern cities were. So a substantial area of segregation can exist in a newer city without becoming as visible as it is in older cities. You don't have the same kind of high-rise tenement housing, but if you look at racial demographics very similar processes of racial segregation taking place.

Last year in metropolitan Cleveland, I got the statistics about where all the students were living. I was shocked when I added them up to find that seven out of every eight white students lived in the suburbs of Cleveland. When I came to Denver I went to get the statistics from the Colorado Department of Education. I added them up. I was twice as shocked when I saw that seven out of eight Anglo public school children live in the suburbs of Denver. Exactly the same proportion as in metropolitan Cleveland.

This situation of separation between most of the Anglo students and most of the black and hispanic students is a serious one. It creates tremendous problems of school segregation. The city of Denver contains one-eighth of the Anglo students in the metropolitan area, but more than half of the hispanic students and three-quarters of the black students. As time goes on, this imbalance will become even more extreme.

The Denver metro area has a much smaller minority population in public school than most other urban areas. Metrowide enrollment is 81 percent Anglo. In contrast, Los Angeles, both city and county with about 7 million people, has 57 percent minority students throughout that whole area. Many cities have a third or more minority students in their metropolitan enrollment now. The next generation is going to be a lot blacker and browner than this generation. So Denver has a much more manageable desegregation problem. That's one of the reasons why we chose it for this study.

The problem is the distribution of minority and white families between the cities and the suburbs. One of the aspects of that distribution is the distribution of assisted housing in the city and suburbs. We found in our research that Denver and a number of other cities are now building a substantial amount of assisted housing out in the suburbs and are renting quite a few existing units with rent subsidies out in the suburbs too. Of course this is a goal that the people who have been in favor of regional housing planning have favored for a long time. In that sense, it's a triumph. The problem, however, is that there is no mechanism to avoid segregation.

From the school perspective, we find that subsidized housing in the Denver metropolitan area has a substantially negative effect on its schools. Eighty-two percent of the black families living in subsidized housing in metropolitan Denver live inside the city of Denver in a school district that is almost 60 percent minority. Seventy-eight percent of the hispanic families living in subsidized housing in metropolitan Denver, live inside the city of Denver, and attend schools that have a very large hispanic population. If you look at where the whites are living in subsidized housing, about two-thirds of them are living in the suburbs.

Now, you could look at the statistics and say, "Well, there is a plan to segregate these projects." There's not. The fact is that they'll be segregated unless there's a plan to integrate them.

What we're finding in our research on housing around the country is that the assumption that if you build housing outside of segregated areas it will be integrated is wrong. You

have to build it, and then you have to have a program to integrate it. It is in that second catagory that housing policy seems to be falling down in most of our metropolitan areas. Housing cannot help the school segregation problem unless there is a second step in the housing policy area.

There is a channeling of the demand of minority families for better housing into neighborhoods where that demand will segregate them. That happens not just by discrimination, but because families only know those neighborhoods. They've only got contact people in those neighborhoods.

To change things there has to be an organized effort to open up other areas and make minority families familiar with them. If an area has a commitment to integrating its housing, there must be some mechanism to fulfill that need. There has to be personal contact with minority families that gives them a real choice and escorts them out to the areas that they're not familar with, both in subsidized markets and in the private market.

Personal contact makes an enormous difference. In the metropolitan Louisville area, for example, where there is a metropolitan school desegregation plan, the Kentucky Human Relations Commission has hired one black woman whose job it is to put families wanting subsidized housing in her car and drive them to the white areas in the city and suburbs. Half of these black families that see the housing move there. They are immediately exempted from busing. If any of those new neighborhoods become substantially integrated the neighborhood is dropped out of the metropolitan busing plan. That's one really creative effort to make this junction between school and housing policy work. It works. It's not very complicated, it just takes a commitment to make it work.

I found in my research around the country, city after city, certain patterns prevailed. In cities that have large scale busing orders almost everyone said that there ought to be more coordination between school and housing problems. I also found in these cities that no one would do it. Officials in the school and housing agencies did not know each other, almost never talked to each other about decisions, and almost never had any plans to develop a coordinated policy. Those who could most easily act on the need for coordinated action were the elected city officials, the finance departments, planning officials and so forth, but they almost never did any substantive work on it. I am not just talking about Denver, I'm talking about what I found all over the country. The only city I found with a remarkably different pattern was Charlotte, North Carolina, the site of the first metro desegregation order.

Some school segregation plans imposed by courts have attempted to deal with housing issues. The Louisville plan, for example, says that as soon as the neighborhood becomes integrated it will be dropped out of the busing plan. In St. Louis when a white neighborhood accepts subsidized housing it will be dropped out of the busing plan. We need to provide rewards as well as sanctions.

Local officials report no policy encouragement from federal agencies for coordination between school and housing desegregation efforts. In fact, the agencies report that they don't feel that there is any federal requirement for housing integration at this time. There are federal requirements for building housing outside of minority areas but no federal requirements for integrating that housing after it was built.

School board administrators I met rarely went beyond wishful thinking about housing segregation. In other words, they say we've got to do something about housing, their boards pass a resolution, but usually the schools have nobody who understands the housing programs and housing needs. Housing agencies don't have anybody who understands the school program. The school people, who have a tremendous vested interest in this issue, don't make concrete demands. Almost never do they take the housing issues into the courts. Last week in St. Louis, however, the St. Louis school board did sue all of the housing agencies in the metropolitan area. This may be a sign of things to come.

Some types of school desegregation plans can reward housing integration efforts. Other types, particularly those that encompass an entire housing market, may create conditions under which housing integration is more likely to occur through ordinary market mechanisms. Metropolitan school desegregation plans, for example, can increase housing integration.

Wilmington, Delaware now has a metropolitan plan where all children attend school nine years out of twelve in suburban schools and all schools are predominantly white throughout the metropolitan areas. That plan is bringing back substantial numbers of white children to public schools in the central city. No place else is the gentrification movement having an effect on school segregation. More than twenty areas of Wilmington that previously had nine-tenths black students now have a growing number of white students. Whan a black family moves to the suburbs their children are bused three years instead of nine.

Is there any way to do better in Denver? Of course there is or we wouldn't be here today. There are lots of policies that could help -- some of them incrementally, some of them substantially. The first thing we need to do is make sure

we don't do any more damage. It's a simple principle that housing policy should not harm the school desegregation efforts. One way we could do that is to make sure that the school authorities who are trying to fulfill a constitutional mandate have the right to look at housing proposals and comment on them and have a presumptive right to veto them if they seriously increase segregation in the schools.

It's just simple common sense that the federal government shouldn't pay for housing to undermine what the federal constitution as interpreted by a federal judge has required. I think that it's not only common sense, but probably also an additional constitutional violation not to do so. We ought to make sure we have some input by school authorities. We ought to make sure that school people acquire the technical expertise to have meaningful involvement in housing decisions.

We ought to have a look at our regional housing plans and see if we can't use them in a way that will help us integrate neighborhoods and schools. Regional planners and officials must try to build into those plans some integration goals and some counseling. It's not that we don't know how to do it, it's just that we don't try to do it in most of our metropolitan areas. We do have models that work. They won't solve problems overnight, but it would be a first step in the right direction.

We need something in private markets to do the same kind of thing. Many metropolitan areas including Denver had metropolitan fair housing centers in the mid 60's. After the riots, foundations and the federal War on Poverty were in favor of them. Local business establishments wanted to keep cities from blowing up. The Kerner Commission and the death of Martin Luther King made leaders think about the deep racial separation in our cities. Most of the housing centers went out of existence as the civil rights movement lost power and influence in the early 70's and as the Nixon Administration dismantled the War on Poverty.

Genuine housing opportunity in the market is an essential element to creating an open society. There must be some way for blacks who want decent housing in integrated areas to know what is on the market and make sure that they really have a right to buy.

A recent survey in Ohio, for example, showed that half the black families didn't realize that whites didn't have the right to refuse to sell them their houses.

We can't assume that these problems have gone away. Polls show most whites believe that housing discrimination is a thing of the past. HUD's national study, however, shows that it

is still a day-to-day reality. It takes a long time and coherent sustained efforts to overcome the social inertia of generations of segregation. Even if all discrimination disappeared from the face of the globe today, segregation would remain unless we dealt with that inertia that twists peoples expectations about where they are going to be permitted to live, about where they are going to be welcomed. Machinery to do this job is essential.

On another front, we need to think about state government as a resource. It's obvious that most of our metropolitan jurisdictions are so fragmented and school authorities so separated that there isn't any government except the state that can speak about the metropolitan community issues. We now have four states that have significant voluntary exchanges of students from cities to suburbs. Two states have state laws to pay for that. Voluntary participation by suburbs in letting central city students come out and drawing suburbanites to the magnet schools in the cities are useful steps. In Boston for example, about 12 percent of black students go out to suburbs under this kind of plan.

There are two court orders which require state governments to set up these kinds of exchanges - in St. Louis and Houston. State governments are being held liable in a number of school segregation cases. Just a week ago there was an order in Ohio. Similar orders have been handed down in Indiana, Missouri, Delaware and elsewhere.

We need to look at the states as resources for funds for the new programs that come with integration. We need to look at them also as ways to begin to get beyond the boundaries of a single district - at least on a voluntary level. State housing finance agencies also offer important opportunities for leadership.

The basic message that I'm bringing to you is this: many of us hoped when the Civil Rights Act passed in the 60's and court decisions came down in the 70's that the problem was solved. Somehow, we got through a rough transition with school desegregation plans and tensions settled. We hoped that things would take care of themselves.

I think, however, that we realize now that basic problems such as school desegregation require the commitment of leaders in each generation. The perfect solution to the energy problem in 1960 wouldn't work today. The perfect solution to the school problem of Denver, which was a good solution in the early 70's, may not be adequate in the 80's. There has to be some new analysis and new approaches.

Urban areas don't stay the same. They are constantly changing, they've always been constantly changing. The dimensions of segregation are changing in scope, in scale, and in intensity. Policies have to adapt to that. If you operate all your other policies except for school policy in a way that ignores the existence of segregation and doesn't even consider the needs of the school district problems will grow until they can only be addressed by drastic remedies.

Put integration on your agenda. There are lots of ways in which you can begin to cope with this problem more sensibly. There are many small and large changes that can begin to turn the forces of urban change toward integration. A community like Denver, with such valuable and positive experience in school integration cannot let those gains slip away. Development of a strategy for integration now can make a great difference for the society of metropolitan Denver over the years.

AN HISTORICAL PERSECTIVE ON HOUSING AND SCHOOL SEGREGATION IN DENVER

By: Jim Reynolds

I am delighted to be chairing this panel. In addition, I am to make a speech, but we are now forty-five minutes behind schedule and are trying to recover some of that time. I can only control me, so my remarks will be very brief.

Some of us have put many years into trying to end segregated housing in Denver. We worked very hard to obtain and improve a fair housing statute. Once we had achieved that, we sued the schools, won and then sat down to wait for the problems to work themselves out. It has not happened.

Between those two battles a number of interesting things happened. Before World War II the black population of Denver was small and resided in the vicinity of Five Points, a neighborhood centered at 26th and Welton Streets. Starting in 1946, ex-military men both black and white began to seek homes in Denver, where they had trained during the war. For many blacks it was their first experience outside the south where they had grown up.

The black neighborhood began to expand and press against the boundary that divided the black and the white communities. The area under the greatest pressure was between 23rd Street on the south, 36th Street on the north, and High Street on the east. As the black population increased, it pressed east. The movement of federal agencies into Denver during the 1950's caused the black population to increase rapidly and so did the pressure.

Real estate sales people tried hard to stem the hemorrage but it continued. The school district spent a great deal of time adjusting school boundaries and planning new schools in order to contain the movement of the black population. Barrett Elementary School was built at 29th and Jackson Steet to stem the tide of black children who normally would have attended Park Hill Elementary School. A junior high was planned at 32nd and Colorado Boulevard to keep Smiley segregated. The black population grew so rapidly that none of these devices worked. The movement of the black population continued all the way to the airport. White congregations whose churches were caught in the path of the movement sold their buildings and fled south.

It became clear during those years that the experienced teachers who were predominantly white, were also going to the southern part of the city. Efforts were made to increase the

numbers of minority teachers and to bring the schools in northeast Denver up to par with the other schools. General study groups appointed by the Board of Education indicated that with the departure of the older, better educated, and more experienced teachers, the schools had declined.

As the school district struggled to maintain segregated schools and operated the system to accommodate its white teacher corps and ignored the problems in the schools of northeast Denver, a group of citizens organized a law suit to force change. So Keyes, et al. was filed.

Also, a group of citizens, black and white, got together and organized the Park Hill Action Association. Its goal was to maintain an integrated neighborhood and integrated communities and schools. The group has been the one bright spot in a rather dismal scene, both locally and nationally. Through the years they have achieved what was thought to be an impossible goal given racial attitudes.

Racial attitudes have been misjudged throughout the years. Those who hated often made it difficult for others to remember that there were people of good will and good intentions.

There are some very interesting people waiting to address you, so I'll end my reminiscences. But it is important to remember that the civil rights battle we now face in the 1980's in metro Denver had its origin in housing and school equal opportunity battles we waged in the '60's. If I have learned one thing in the intervening years, it is that people of good will cannot sit back and assume that the problem will correct itself. Housing and school segregation in metro Denver are crying for a remedy, before it's too late.

METRO DENVER POPULATION STATISTICS, 1970-1980

By: George Bardwell

Nine years ago today, January 17, the day of this conference on "Community Housing...Community Schools," the United States Supreme Court agreed to hear the precedent-setting Keyes case alleging unconstitutional segregation in the Denver Public Schools. To follow in the ensuing months and years was the shattering revelation that the West, North and East regions of our country were practicing the same kind of racial and ethnic discimination as had been practiced in the South for over a century. There was the heavy expectation from Keyes that the metropolitan Denver area somehow would voluntarily right past wrongs to its minority citizens and assert itself to eliminate racial segregation in the 5-county area of Adams, Arapahoe, Boulder, Denver and Jefferson.

Study of the statistics over the past decade shatters the illusion that Keyes has had such penetrating effects. Left in its wake is the disturbing and depressing reality that we have not come very far in erasing racial segregation in the metropolitan area of Denver.

> The Denver School Board has long contended it can't be required to correct predominantly minority enrollments resulting from city housing patterns. Denver Post, January 17, 1972.

Seems like a worn-out refrain in 1981 -- yet we find ourselves addressing the same issues on the metropolitan front today.

Why the dismay? Changes in the distribution of population in the 5-county metropolitan area are nothing short of explosive. This area comprising Adams, Arapahoe, Boulder, Denver and Jefferson counties increased in population from 1,230,000 in 1970 to 1,590,000 in 1980; a 29 percent growth. Arapahoe's population increased 81 percent; Boulder 43 percent; Adams 32 percent while Denver's population declined 5 percent. Any pair of counties surrounding Denver either now exceeds Denver in population or rivals it within 60,000 residents. Denver's population has slipped to 489,000.

Table 1
Population 5-County Metropolitan Area --
Segregation Index, 1970-1980

County	1970 Population	1970 Percent Minority[1]	1980 Population[2]	1980 Percent Minority[3]
Adams	185,789	16.47	244,786	20.07
Arapahoe	162,142	6.42	293,335	7.60
Boulder	131,889	7.86	188,456	8.24
Denver	514,678	27.75	488,756	39.02
Jefferson	235,368	5.01	370,372	5.16
Totals	1,229,866	16.7	1,585,714	18.7
4 Counties w/o Denver	715,188	8.8	1,096,949	9.7
Segregation Index:[4]	1970 = 0.33 1980 = 0.43			

Family size has also undergone significant changes during the decade, 1970 to 1980. The 5-county metro area registered a 17 percent drop in persons per household, with all counties experiencing between 15 to 25 percent decline in size of family unit. Statistics for Denver show a decline of one-half person, to 2.15 persons per household in 1980. The impact of changing lifestyles is suggested by the fact that while the 5-county metro area increased in population 29 percent during the decade, 1970-1980, housing units shot up by 56 percent. A substantial proportion of Denver's households are occupied by a single person -- and growing.

---

1 Includes Indian, Asian, Black and Spanish Americans.

2 1980 Census, Colorado Population Reports, 1980 Census, Colorado Division of Planning, December, 1980, (Preliminary Results from 1980 Census).

3 Population Estimates, Colorado Population Reports, March 1979, (estimates for July 1, 1978 assumed for 1980).

4 Segregation -- A Social Account, Colorado Civil Rights Commission, George E. Bardwell, 1971, p. 17.

Table 2
Persons per Household
5-County Metropolitan Area, 1970-1980

County	Population	Households	Persons/Household	Population	Households[1]	Persons/Household
Adams	185,789	51,457	3.61	244,786	89,165	2.74
Arapahoe	162,142	48,925	3.31	293,335	113,294	2.59
Boulder	131,889	44,307	2.98	188,456	74,290	2.54
Denver	514,678	193,765	2.66	488,765	226,904	2.15
Jefferson	235,368	72,820	3.23	370,372	138,138	2.68
Totals	1,229,866	411,274	2.99	1,585,714	641,791	2.47
4 Counties w/o Denver	715,188	217,509	3.28	1,096,949	414,887	2.64

Using the same index of segregation introduced in Keyes we find the intensity of segregation in the 5-county metropolitan area in 1980 to be 43 on a scale between 0 and 100. In 1970 the index of segregation stood at 33. In other words, the racial and ethnic segregation in the 5-county area in 1980 is 30 percent more severe in 1980 than it was in 1970 at the onset of Keyes. The proportion of minorities in Denver has increased approximately 41 percent in the decade, 1970-1980, while in Denver's surrounding 4-county neighbors the corresponding increase in minority composition is only 10 percent. (See Table 1).

Officials insist the vacancy rate in Denver's housing in 1980 is substantially below that claimed by the Bureau of the Census -- over 7 percent. However, independent studies conducted within the past few months confirm a vacancy rate in the neighborhood of 7.3 percent. Such a vacancy rate shows a potentially substantial unused housing stock in Colorado's largest city.

At the present time we have 89 elementary schools, 19 junior high schools and 10 senior high schools in Denver. The total capacity of these schools is approximately 105,000 -- yet

---

1 1980 Census, Colorado Population Reports, Colorado Division of Planning, December, 1980. (Preliminary Results from 1980 Census).

the total number of pupils enrolled, as of September, 1980, was about 62,000. Our Denver school facilities are operating at 60 percent overall capacity. Measured in terms of unused school plants, we have the equivalent of 48 vacant schools situated on approximately 323 acres of land dispersed throughout the city in some of the choicest locations.

There are a substantial number of Denver's schools utilized at less than 40 percent capacity. For example, Cory Elementary built in 1952 for 600 students has an enrollment of 125 -- 21 percent capacity. Denison Elementary built in 1960 and 1961 for 570 students has but 161 students enrolled. Hill Junior High School built in 1956 for 1,485 students has 688 students enrolled in 1980. South High School last added onto in 1963 is capable of handling 2,460 students and in 1964 had 2,800 students, but now has only 1,082 students registered. There are at least 7 elementary schools operating below 30 percent capacity. Junior high schools are at 55 percent capacity; senior high schools are at about 60 percent capacity.

Table 3
Utilization of School Facilities
Denver Public Schools, 1980[1]

School	Number	Mean Capacity	Total Capacity	Total Enrollment	Mean Acres Site	Percent Utilization
Elementary	89	629	55,980	34,125	4.1	61.0
Junior High	19	1350	25,650	14,047	8.5	54.8
Senior High	10	2300	23,000	13,864	27.0	60.3
Totals	119		104,630	62,036		59.3

The foregoing statistics are startling and pervasive. Changes in the 5-county metro area are taking place at blinding demographic speed. There are no hints in these data to imply anything but movement in the same direction in the coming decade. What do these statistics suggest?

Denver is rapidly becoming a racially and ethnically segregated community within the metropolitan area. Denver's

---

[1] Sources: Segregation -- A Social Account, op. cit.
Enrollment, Denver Public Schools, September, 1980.

racial and ethnic isolation in the metro area in 1980 is strikingly similar to the isolation of certain segregated schools found in Keyes in 1970. Just as certain schools were encapsulated in 1970 to racially isolate school children, we now have the phenomenom of a county racially and ethnically encapsulated in 1980 within the metropolitan area. The only difference is one of geographic magnitude.

If the time was ripe in 1969 to challenge the constitutionality of segregating Park Hill school children within the Denver Public School System, the time is ripe in 1981 to challenge the constitutionality of segregating Denver's school children within the metropolitan area of the state.

In the period, 1970-1980, Denver's school enrollment declined about 35 percent. Over the same period, persons per household declined from 2.66 to 2.15. At the present time Denver's surrounding counties show a household size of 2.64, about one-half person above that of Denver. Moreover, in the early part of 1981, the household vacancy rate in Denver stood above 7 percent. Throughout the metropolitan area household sizes are declining and school enrollments are continuning to drop from highs reached in the mid-1970's. In the years ahead these statistics portend continuing difficulties in integrating school and housing policies throughout the metro area due to the expectation of smaller household sizes, an increasing number of single person households, and empty schools.

But it is Denver which has the greatest burden. Gary Orfield points out that real estate advertising may have a powerful influence on attracting families to the suburbs by implied promises of "available bond money," "high quality schools," and "no busing." Clearly, the negative inference of such claims is that the potential buyer will not find such attractive conditions in Denver.

Perhaps what is needed is a "truth brochure" which the real estate industry can use to put facts about the metro area in proper perspective. If distribution of such information to potential home buyers and renters were sanctioned by Boards of Realtors and made mandatory before purchase or lease agreements were signed, Denver might have a chance to erase some of the undeserved stigma attached to its urban living environment. The facts are that most children in the suburbs are bused to school; Denver Public Schools are doing a superior education job; there are a number of attractive monetary inducements for residing in Denver.

Orfield also points out that while Denver's housing subsidy programs are substantial, the effect of these programs has been to further impact the segregated areas of Denver and the

suburbs. Stringent standards for location and occupancy of assisted housing need to be devised. It would not be unreasonable, for example, to impose the requirement that assisted housing programs shall effect numerical reductions in "indexes" of housing and school segregation. In fact, the extent of housing assistance could be scaled according to its effect upon these indexes.

At a time when a cost/benefit conscious public is pressing for wise and efficient use of tax monies it is shameful to allow an equivalent of 40 percent of Denver's schools to stand idle while voters in the surrounding counties are being asked to approve bond issues for new school facilities.

It is difficult to believe in this enlightened age that on one side of 52nd Avenue, Yosemite Street, Hampden Avenue or Sheridan Boulevard that Denver Public Schools face the agonizing problem of what to do with an underutilized school plant while on the other side of these same streets and avenues school districts agonize about shortages. The notion that 150 students spaciously accomodated in a facility built for 600 can be offered the same educational opportunity as when 600 students are in the school is hardly palatable. What public school system can afford to provide Latin or German, say, to 3 students at a school?

It is time to reach an accomodation for effective and efficient use of metro area school plants for the benefit of all. Such an accomodation certainly has statewide ramifications. Leverage of state-aid to school systems is one way to pry loose our parochial attachments. Lacking a legislative response to this pressing problem, the issue may be posited on constitutional grounds. It is time to test the question of whether the urban youngster hemmed in by the streets and avenues which form urban boundaries must thereby be educationally fenced out of other educational opportunities. It is a question which can be addressed without injecting the additional issue of racial and ethnic segregation.

Even with voluntary or enforced cooperation in metro-wide use of school facilities, statistics suggest an increasing underutilization of school facilities in the years ahead. Perhaps is it time for architects, planners, educators and the citizenry to face up to the crucial problem of what to do with Denver's (and ultimately the metro area's) seriously underutilized school facilities? What about community-recreational centers? Low middle income housing developments? Artists studios? Vocational centers? Parks? Government agency office buildings?

DENVER SCHOOLS ARE BETTER THAN YOU THINK

By: Art Branscombe

Would you believe it if I told you that the achievement test scores of students in the Denver Public Schools have been rising for several years now?

That they are higher, now when the school system is only about 42 percent Anglo, than in 1971, when it was 60 percent Anglo?

Would you believe that, for youngsters headed for college, Denver schools this year gave more advanced placement courses and tests than all the suburban school systems put together?

Would you believe that, due to the unmatched number and range of its alternative programs for disadvantaged (or gifted) children, Denver's dropout rate is one of the lowest in the metropolitan area? Lower than Northglenn, Westminster, Aurora, Englewood, among others? Only one percent higher than Jefferson County?

No, you wouldn't believe anything like that, would you?

How could you? Haven't you read time and again, in Time and Newsweek, haven't you seen time and again on television, that public schools of the nation are in terrible shape, that those in the absolute worst pits are urban, big-city schools?

Denver is a big city, is it not? 24th largest in the nation. Therefore, inevitably, its schools must be bad, right?

Believe it or not, wrong.

Achievement test scores in Denver are and have been rising since at least 1978. They are higher now than they were before desegregation. To be sure, the standardized tests used were changed in 1976, so it's impossible to say precisely how much better the achievements of Denver students are now than they were then.

But just so you'll get the flavor of the Denver school system's achievement, back in the dear, dead days of 1971, when the system was like 60 percent Anglo and 95 percent segregated, the citywide score in second grade on a standardized reading test was 42. In 1977, three years after desegregation, it was 49 and in 1980 it was 57. That's seven percentile points above the national norm.

Seven points above the national norm isn't good enough for you?

And somebody needs to stand up and say it's wrong. Back in the early days of the civil rights movement, blacks used to make a big point, in trying to educate Anglos like myself to the inner realities of racism, of the fact that whites too often stereotyped blacks -- saying they all had rhythm, could sing beautifully, or whatever. Dumb, said blacks to us naive Anglos; blacks don't all sing well, have rhythm, or anything else. Blacks are as mixed a bag as any other group of people.

Well, nowadays there are sterotypes about cities too. And realtors who want to sell homes there, and school officials who want to keep their schools racially balanced, have to fight those stereotypes. The idea that urban school systems must inevitably be bad is a stereotype, true of some cities, not true of others. Denver is one where it is not true.

Denver is in fact one of the very best big city school systems in the nation. In various respects, though not in all, certainly, it is better than many of its suburban neighbors, as we shall see. And I say that, not just from the viewpoint of a reporter viewing them from the outside. I have had three girls go through that system, in schools ranging from 20 to nearly 80 percent minority. They have all had good educations, with ups and downs of course, better some years and in some schools than in others. But this I must say, the girl who has had the best education was the last.

She graduated last June from East High and benefited the most from the various improvements the school system has put in since it became desegregated. For it is a far better school system now than it was when it was segregated, don't let anyone tell you differently.

For instance, my Mary spent a semester in the Denver Public Schools' Executive Intern Program, working with the top public relations executive at Columbia Savings. They had her doing everything, setting up and supervising various promotional contests, riding in a hot-air balloon, writing and typing press releases, escorting visitors around the place. And they had her doing it fast; she was startled at how fast she had to turn out the work. It was absolutely great experience, and something neither of her older sisters had a chance to do.

The next semester, a couple of teachers at East High worked her to a frazzle in advanced placement courses -- of which you'll hear more soon. It was tough, but she is surviving a high-pressure freshman year at Northwestern University now only because of what she learned in one of those classes, and because of the pressure they put on her last spring at East High.

So much for a father's eye view of the Denver Public Schools; now for a more reportorial view.

Some realtors maybe feel they have to advise people with school-age children to skip Denver and settle in some suburb like Aurora, perchance? Let me clue you in on a little secret. In the 1978-79 school year, Aurora tested grades 3, 5, 8 and 11; Denver tested grades 2, 5 and 11. They used different tests and therefore the results cannot be comparied precisely. Nevertheless, the results can be sued as a general indication of the relative academic standing of the two school districts. The citywide scores for Aurora were, for the grades it tested, 55, 53, 55 and 56, none, as high as Denver's lowest scores.

I cite these little facts, by the by, not to put down Aurora, but simply to point out that Denver just might be better than many people think.

Compare Denver, for another example, to Jefferson County, another big school system which, despite its size, manages to be very good. The three grades Jeffco tested in 1978-79 were the 3rd, 6th and 9th. The countywide scores for those grades were, respectively, 67, 70 and 68 -- just about 10 points higher than Denver in each grade. So Denver has got a ways to go before it can catch up with Jeffco, right?

Righ on, mates. But if Denver, with its 44 percent Anglo enrollment, can match 95 percent Anglo Jeffco, under any circumstances, which school system would you say is doing the best job with what it has?

Well, here's another little secret for you. Again using the 1978-79 scores, the top five elementary schools in Jefferson County in third grade reading were Ralston, Secrest and Stevens schools, Ralston with a percentile score of 82, the other two with 81 and half a dozen schools tied at 77.

In Denver, using second grade reading scores from the same year's tests, and the same standardized test Jefferson County uses, the top five schools were Palmer at 92, Stevens at 88, Godsman at 84 and half a dozen schools tied at 76.

Now you tell me, if you are looking for the very best schools to send your child to, where are you going to find them? Stevens School in Denver, incidentally, is an old Victorian relic sitting in the heart of polyglot Capitol Hill, on the edge of the Congress Park neighborhood. Some of the kids are quite affluent; some are quite poor, and they come in every skin color God ever invented. But as the scores attest, that is quite a school. Live parents, live kids, live city neighborhood.

Let us turn now to one of the lesser known indicators of how much a school system really cares about getting the brightest of its students into college. Advanced Placement (AP) courses and tests. AP courses are college freshman-equivalent programs given to ambitious high school seniors (and sometimes juniors).

They are available in such fields as American or English Literature, Foreign Languages and Literature, American and Euporean History, Calculus, Chemistry and Physics.

How a teacher teaches these courses is up to the teacher, but the pressure has to be more intense than the usual accelerated high school course because the payoff is the student's ability to pass the AP test at the end of the course. These tests are nationally standardized by the College Entrance Examination Board and devised by college professors.

But if a student passes with one of the top three grades, 3, 4 or 5, he or she can be granted college credit and allowed to skip that freshman course in college, a significant saving of time for the student and money for his parents. (The most competitive colleges only accept grades of 4 or 5 for credit; many, if not most public colleges will accept grades of 3 or better.)

So which school system in the metropolitan area has by far the most students in AP courses, has the highest percentage of students taking AP tests, gives the greatest number of tests and has the most students passing AP tests with grades of 3 or higher?

Yeah, sure, it's that slummy big-city system, Denver. It had 7.8 percent of its high school juniors and seniors taking AP tests in 1979-80.

That's 695 students, more by far than any other school district in the metro area. In 1980, Denver administered 1,137 tests, more than all the other 13 school districts in the Denver area put together. And Denver students passed 614 of those tests, 54 percent with a score of 3 or better.

The only Denver area school district coming even close to Denver's record on AP courses and tests is -- guess -- no, not Jefferson County, not Cherry Creek, but Littleton. Littleton in the 1979-80 school year had 207 youngsters, 6.5 percent of its high school seniors and juniors, taking some 341 Advanced Placement tests. And Littleton students passed 262 of the tests, or 76.8 percent, about what you expect of an affluent, white school district.

Jefferson County is down among the also-rans when it comes to Advanced Placement tests. They too are affluent and pretty white, at least compared to the 58 percent minority enrollment in Denver.

But just to show you how things go, there is one high school in Denver that is still pretty segregated, full of low income minority students. On almost any academic indicator, its ratings are the lowest of any high school in Denver. And on AP tests, it is typically low, only about 1.4 percent of its students tried the AP tests in the spring of 1980.

Pretty sorry, huh? Well, I don't want to put anybody down, but that 1.4 percent is the same percentage of students who took the AP tests in Jefferson County. What does that prove? Who knows?

Perhaps it would at least suggest that, in the Denver area, you can't tell the best school districts without a lengthy scorecard.

Now let us consider an indicator of how well a school system has fine-tuned its offerings to the needs of its students, dropout rates. Generally speaking, the presence of large numbers of minority and low income children is supposed to make it more difficult for a school district to hold down its dropout rate, to hold its youngsters in school. This is particularly true if the school district also has to cater to significant numbers of affluent, highly motivated children, which Denver does.

So where does Denver rank among metropolitan area school districts on this indicator? Right in the middle, about 8th out of 14, according to 1979-80 figures of the Colorado Department of Education.

That is, Jeffco, with its 93 percent Anglo enrollment, has an 8.9 percent annual dropout rate.

Denver, with its 42.9 percent Anglo enrollment, has a 9.9 percent dropout rate. Both were much higher than Cherry Creek's 2.4 percent, which is by far the best in the area. (Next best is Boulder's 6.7 percent.)

On the other hand, Denver's 9.9 percent is almost equally far below the 16.8 percent rate in Denver, a system with only 19 percent minorities, or Westminster's 13.7 percent. Westminster's pupil membership is 23 percent minority.

And there's one final indicator, to which teachers generally pay more attention than parents. A school district's pupil-teacher ratio. Even though pupil-teacher ratio has only a

vague relationship to the actual class sizes a pupil will find in a school system, the ratios do say something about the comparative amounts of adult help a student can expect in various school districts.

On this scale, Denver is far and away tops, or lowest in the ratio of pupils to teachers at 17. Next lowest, are Westminster at 18.2 pupils per teacher, and Commerce City at 18.3. In the middle of the rankings are Aurora and Cherry Creek, both at 20.

Highest ratios belong to Jefferson County, at 20.8, Littleton at 21.3 and Northglenn-Thornton at 21.4.

In sum, when speaking of Denver in comparison with the other school districts of the metropolitan area, as they say in that beer commercial, it <u>is</u> surprising, and the surprise is how good it is.

Two final points about all this.

Point one is, if you didn't known how good the Dnever Public Schools are, one reason, aside from the stereotypes, is that their public relations operation is lousy. They do a better job of hiding their light under a bushel than any school system. I know. If you want to know how good they are, you gotta guess, you don't catch <u>them</u> telling you.

Point two is, as Dr. Orfield says, they're running out of time. If they ever want to get Anglos with children to move into the city, desegregate housing and improve their racial balance, their tax base, and get them off those court ordered buses, they need to see that people, especially realtors, do know the kind of facts I've been passing along.

If housing desegregation is ever to take place in Denver, someone, possibly realtors, is going to have to needle the Denver School Board into ending the secrecy about their quality.

NEIGHBORHOOD IDENTITY AND SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

By: Rep. Rich Castro

I have been asked to speak to you today about the cultural dynamics found in ethnic neighborhoods, and their relationship to community schools. The most logical point for me to begin is my own personal experience. Both the neighborhood where I grew up, and the neighborhood where I currently live are two separate, distinct neighborhoods. The first neighborhood is called Curtis Park, the second neighborhood is called the Near Westside.

The Curtis Park neighborhood, at the time I was growing up, was racially mixed. It bordered a community called Globeville where the Germans and the Polish lived, and 5-Points which was then primarily a black community. The Curtis Park and Annunciation area were primarily Chicano. As I look back I think that this multicultural environment was a very positve atmosphere in which to grow up.

I don't want to fantasize about growing up in a low income area, for obviously there were difficulties with high crime, unemployment and discrimination. But the positive aspect was growing up in a community that had different ethnic, social and religious beliefs. I think that as a policy maker this background was positive, for I am able to put myself in other peoples' shoes.

I see some of my colleagues in the State House who grew up in segregated neighborhoods make biased decisions, for they too are products of their environment. I think society as a whole is the loser for that kind of racial segregation.

The second neighborhood I want to discuss is the Near Westside, which is adjacent to the Auraria Higher Education Center where this conference is being conducted. I moved there in the late '60s and became involved in the social and political activities that were going on at that time. One of the political issues that got me involved was the site selection for this campus. Many of the residents did not want to be displaced so they organized a group called the Westside Coalition to fight the site selection.

The reason for the opposition was the sense of community disruption the residents felt. We lost the battle against the campus, but the organization continued for several years. I eventually became its executive director.

The Coalition became involved with all the issues that effect a community: land use, zoning, parking, housing, etc. Health was a particular concern, because the only available medical facility for neighborhood residents was a crowded trailer. We pushed the mayor's office to build a new health station with resident input. Since the neighborhood was primarily Chicano, we emphasized Spanish architecture in the development of this facility.

A new recreation center was built and developed with this same architecture in mind. Across the street from this campus is a business sector called the Zocalo which is a Mexican style market place. All of these facilities were built with the cultural identity of the community in mind.

There are many social systems involved internally with an ethnic community like the Westside. Every year we host a number of fiestas centered around various Mexican holidays, such as Cinco de Mayo and September 16th. Tomorrow night we will be having a Mexican dinner honoring twenty women who have volunteered their time to the community. What I am trying to express is that there is a real sense of identity in communities like the Westside.

In the area of police community relations there is a broad cultural dynamic going on. When people view ethnic communities from the outside looking in, they tend to stereotype these communities by believing that Chicanos and blacks are anti-police. On the contrary, minorities are pro-police. Most residents on the Near Westside want more police protection. What is at issue is police brutality by a few officers. This is where the community polarizes. The bad officers must be weeded out of the department.

The schools in the area have been the focus of much activity over the years. It took ten years of activity to get a new Del Pueblo Elementary School funded and built. Again, this school was built using the architecture of the Southwest. For years parents and community leaders pushed the Denver Public School administration to staff our schools with Chicano administrators. The whole focus was on community control of the schools. We now have Chicano principals in our elementary, junior high and high school.

Busing was not viewed as a Chicano issue in our community. It was viewed as a black and white issue. Many Chicanos feel that our children are merely being bused from school to school to meet statistics.

Communities like Curtis Park and the Near Westside are currently in transition. Young Anglos are moving back to the

city and displacing long time residents. Politically this displacement is diluting the ethnic voting block of minorities. With the 1981 reapportionment it is very important for minorities to get involved with the drawing of district lines. Ethnic populations shift and migrate to other areas. I will be serving on the reapportionment committee and look forward to the challenge of insuring minority representation in the next General Assembly.

The back-to-the-city movement by young single Anglos offers the inner cities hope in one respect. Cities that have experienced a loss in economic terms will now find a healthy economic mix of residents living side-by-side in what were once predominantly low income ethnic communities.

But the fact that many of these young people who are moving back into inner cities are single, does pose some problems for the school system. Since one of the major determinants for state funding for local school districts is based on pupil head count, a reduction in pupil enrollment will diminish the state share of schools. This phenomenon is happening at the same time that school districts are being asked to maintain the same level of service. One result, is the move to close a number of neighborhood schools to meet this short fall.

As ethnic neighborhoods continue to attract affluent young Anglos there will be a tendency to lose the cultural identity of the neighborhood. One method of addressing the displacement of minorities from inner city neighborhoods is to make them property-owners. Although the use of high risk loan money being made available for this purpose does not look promising under the Reagan Administration, it is important that those of us who are concerned about maintaining both neighborhood identity <u>and</u> economic diversity not only keep up political pressure but also begin to explore alternative mechanisms for achieving our goals. If we fail to fight back society will be the loser.

CIVIL RIGHTS PERSPECTIVE

By: Louis Nunez

On the eve of a new administration which has promised to make significant cuts in the budget and chart a new policy course, it is appropriate to consider the strategies involved in ending housing and school segregation. We are all waiting to see what specifics the new administration will offer in the next few weeks. Until then, we obviously will have to live with a certain amount of uncertainty.

My comments today will focus primarily on housing, as until recently, little serious thought has been given to the interaction of housing and school segregation.

I'm afraid that a great deal of our current uncertainty rests with the economic chill that has settled over the country. Inflation and the current recession are limiting longstanding programs of assistance, undercutting our options, and is going to severely test our ability to adapt to change.

There is good reason to believe that those least able to sacrifice may be among those asked to give up the most over the next few years. But setting aside that question for the moment, we have to recognize that we are now in the midst of the most serious economic crisis since World War II.

I don't have to tell you that the present levels of cost inflation, the current high interest rates have had a disparate impact for those who are still the victims of prejudice and discrimination and whose incomes have never caught up with those of their fellow citizens.

As one example of what is happening, I want to note that this past Thursday in Washington, the Department of Housing and Urban Development released its fiscal year 1982 budget request. Just looking at housing, the numbers in the HUD Assisted Housing Programs which are so vitally important to the well-being of so many minority families were cut by some $538 million in budget authority from last year's dollar level. This means that, at best, we will see assisted housing levels of no more than 260,000 units this year, and, in reality, probably fewer even without further budget cuts. Compare this figure of 260,000 units of assisted housing for the entire country against the 600,000 unit annual target established under the 1968 Housing Act.

What we are now faced with in 1981 is an ever increasing backlog of need in a time of uncontrolled inflation

which makes it impossible for us to calculate with any reliability what can be built under the annual HUD authorization levels.

Also, discrimination remains a disturbing reality in American life. The impact of past discrimination means that minorities in the United States begin economic competition with disadvantages that limit their incomes and capital accumulation. Many never catch up. That is why minority families are more likely to rent than to buy. That is why minority families are so much more vulnerable to the sweeping changes now occurring in the rental housing market. And that is also the reason why the federal government's programs of housing assistance are so vital to large numbers of minority citizens. In many communities federal housing programs offer last resort assistance to citizens who must seek rental housing in a market where discrimination and steadily rising costs defeat their efforts to obtain improved housing.

The average cost of new single family housing rose above $80,000 in November 1980. The prime rate has hovered at the 20 percent range and has limited flows of mortgage dollars. The housing market has become stagnant as most American families have for the short term been priced out of the market by costs and interest rates.

This situation means that efforts to reduce residential segregation become far more difficult because the housing market has so little actual movement, so little buying and selling. Fewer moves are occurring, construction is down, and minority families have fewer new housing opportunities opening up.

In this environment overt housing discrimination persists as an affront and an obstacle to minorities and women. In the last two years HUD studies have documented continuing acts of housing discrimination against blacks and hispanics across the nation. Included among the unlawful acts have been the familiar litany of misrepresentations regarding the location and availability of housing, costs, terms, and so on. HUD also documented discrimination by lenders against individual loan applications and the redlining of specific minority neighborhoods by financial institutions.

Federally-funded public housing was for many years placed almost exclusively in black neighborhoods with the result that large numbers of low-income minority families were effectively trapped in segregated housing that had been built with the approval of the federal government. The citizens of these neighborhoods were further victimized by the provision of inadequate municipal services and separate and unequal public schools.

We at the Commission on Civil Rights and others which have monitored federal enforcement and action against housing discrimination have been generally discouraged. HUD's initiatives in support of fair housing until recently, have been inadequate. HUD has had serious difficulty even investigating the limited number of complaints from citizens under the 1968 Fair Housing Act.[1] Obviously, HUD enforcement action does not present a credible threat to those who discriminate in the housing market. It is important to stress that the range of discriminatory acts directed against individual minority and women homeseekers are tremendously discouraging to those seeking housing in the broader housing marketplace.

I think this points out the importance of strong moral and political leadership on housing policy questions from those in public life. President Johnson's determination in the 1960's to ensure passage of civil rights legislation was central to the changes that occurred during this era. In the wake of the death of Martin Luther King, the passage of the 1968 Fair Housing Act even without an effective enforcement mechanism was nonetheless a national policy commitment to nondiscrimination in housing which has changed both attitudes and, to a lesser degree, behavior.

In the last two years efforts failed in the Congress to strengthen the Fair Housing Act through the addition of cease and desist authority and administrative enforcement mechanisms. Experience has shown that voluntary solutions to housing discrimination cannot realistically be expected to be successful without an effective and credible federal enforcement program which can induce the recalcitrant and unscrupulous to comply with the law.

Given this rather bleak picture, what possible positive developments can we point to? Several recent studies on the relationship between school and housing desegregation and an emerging litigation strategy on the part of the Department of Justice may point the way for the 80's.

A recent study by Diana Pearce for the Center for National Policy Review on the impact of metropolitan school desegregation on housing patterns provides an encouraging indication that school desegregation efforts have not been the empty, futile gesture that opponents have attempted to portray them as.

---

[1] Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968.

Segregated patterns of residence have too often been rather simplistically dismissed as intractable and necessitating an endless round of busing to achieve school desegregation. Racial Segregation - Two Policy Views, a paper prepared for the Ford Foundation by Gary Orfield and William Taylor, presents us with a provacative analysis of how these issues could be dealt with more effectively.

The Department of Justice Civil Rights Division during the past year brought a number of suits which challenged a range of official actions by municipalities which have allegedly denied minority housing rights. The Department filed a suit against the City of Yonkers, New York, charging it with segregation of both its schools and the sites it had chosen over the years for public housing. Other litigation by Justice against the cities of Black Jack (Missouri), and Parma (Ohio), has involved seeking remedial orders requiring the localities to become active participants in eliminating and compensating for local governmental actions which have been proven to be discriminatory obstacles to the exercise of minority housing rights.

The evidence developed in preparing and trying these cases should provide useful benchmarks for other localities. It is worth noting that in cases where localities lose litigation charging them with discriminatory land use practices, they stand to lose considerable latitude in the expenditure of public funds under the terms of the remedies sought by Justice.

Given the strong possibility of further budget cuts in federal enforcement programs, local initiatives to foster fair housing and school desegregation will become even more important.

At the local level we need to see citizen advocates working in support of strong local fair housing ordinances, initiating litigation to make clear the interrelationship between housing and education, segregation, and ensuring that there is effective local enforcement. In addition, housing counseling programs backed by locally or privately subsidized loan funds and cooperative housing programs can increase housing opportunities and affordability. Visible public support and advocacy by citizens and local officials is of inestimable value in validating the continuing desireability of reducing the residential segregation that divides our citizens and lessens the well-being of our urban areas. Metropolitan-wide solutions continue to offer the greatest possibility for success in the desegregation of both our schools and our neighborhoods.

At the national level we must call on the incoming administration to provide assurances to all our citizens that the period of economic uncertainty before us will be marked by a thoughtful effort to moderate budget reductions so that their

impact will be shared broadly throughout our society. Economic retrenchment cannot be allowed to worsen the impact of past and present discrimination on those already least in a position to cope with rising costs and declining purchasing power.

One last point, which is a little critical of the Carter Administration. The U.S. Civil Rights Commission was asked in the last month to submit a report to the White House as to what the Carter Administration had done in terms of Civil Rights. We put together a report which I signed off on. I was impressed that over the last four years there had been many initiatives - housing, the support of affirmative action programs, additional funding for civil rights, of course. But one thing that was lacking was presidential leadership in the sense that civil rights was personified by President Lyndon Johnson. It's been said by others, it would have been great if President Carter in his many speeches about human rights had also talked about civil rights in the United States and the need to keep up the momentum.

Now I'm not being all that critical because I know President Carter hated to give speeches. I know that there were efforts made, but there were no major efforts that captured the imagination of the country. I'm not talking about additional funding or new staffing. I'm talking about people understanding that our President and national leader is certainly concerned about these issues.

I'd like to take this opportunity to make that recommendation to this incoming administration. Perhaps, the time is not right for additional programs but the time is always right to reiterate commitment to problems of racism especially among our young people. I think that would be a very valuable step to take in the next month, because it would lessen a lot of the tensions.

I believe continued Department of Justice action against the discriminatory land use practices of individual localities will be required. Ultimately, we must again turn our energies to seeing the 1968 Fair Housing Act strengthened so that it will become an effective guarantee of the right of every American citizen to choose freely in the housing marketplace.

The housing problems of the coming decade to my mind are not substantially different in character from those we have faced over the last decade. Discrimination still must be countered by persons of good will, segregation must be reduced and eliminated, and decent and affordable housing must be built for all citizens. These are both human and civil rights goals that I believe we as a society are capable of attaining.

HOUSING AND SCHOOL DESEGREGATION - A FEDERAL PERSPECTIVE

By: Marshall Kaplan

I am pleased to be here today. Coming from Washington where most people's concerns are now dominated by transition rumors, it is good to break bread with individuals, who are somewhat distant from the center of our national government and who are willing to focus on more basic issues. The subject of this conference, the link between housing and school desegregation, will in the long run be more relevant to the nation's health and well-being than who will be the next Secretary of HUD, or Commerce.

But I wonder whether I, as a lame duck official of an outgoing Administration, am an appropriate speaker for you. My tenure here today reminds me of a somewhat amusing but true story which happened to my family in the early 1970's. We had just moved to Richardson, Texas; a city under court order to find 200 white kids to be bused to an all black elementary school. To their credit our two children, Stephanie and Scott, volunteered.

Subsequent to their decision, we received a call from the school's public affairs office asking my wife and I if we would agree to be interviewed by Barbar Walters' staff for a segment on the "Today Show." Our billing: "a typical Texan looks at busing."

I explained at the time that we were new arrivals to Texas, that while we were not necessarily advocates of busing, we were committed to an integrated society, that it would be fairer and reflect more significance if they did search out a "typical Texan."

In the same spirit, perhaps it would be more useful, particularly as we look at the future, if standing before you today were an official of the new Administration. While I remain hopeful that the facts concerning the increasing racial division in this nation will lead the new Reagan people to the same position we took with respect to the need to break down desegregation barriers, I cannot be sure. It would be good for you in future months to hear directly from them.

Irrespective of the appropriateness, you did ask me and I do want to share with you some thoughts on disturbing trends affecting race relations in the U.S., particularly as they affect schools. I also would like to offer some standards by which you can judge this new (and future) Administration's efforts to provide increased housing choices to minorities and low income people and to coordinate efforts to desegregate housing with efforts to desegregate schools.

DISTURBING TRENDS

I won't bore you with reams of statistics. But you should know that central cities in the United States are the only type of jurisdiction now facing relative and sometimes absolute increases in the number of poorer residents. For example, between 1969 and 1976, the percent of lower income people in large central cities, expanded from 14.8 percent to 17.1 percent and in all central cities from 14.9 percent to 15.8 percent. Similar figures for suburban and non-metropolitan areas indicate a reduction in the numbers of suburban poor.

To a disturbing degree, the poor in our cities are disproportionately minority. As relevant, their characteristics regrettably suggest that many may have become permanently poor and, without significant public and private assistance, permanently confined to deteriorated and deteriorating neighborhoods.

Some of you may be questioning my statements, because of media stories concerning the ostensible "return of whites" to central city, and the "movement of black households" to suburbia. Regrettably, both events have been overblown. The back to the city movement remains more a minor "statistical glich" than a real urban fact of life. And the inner city mobility of black households, while visible, is by and large confined to more affluent blacks and generally has resulted in the extension of already existing concentrations of minority communities rather than the opening up of new or the extension of integrated areas.

URBAN POLICY

While we can be criticized for not doing enough, over the course of the past four years, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development has taken several steps as part of our overall urban policy efforts to extend the benefits of the civil rights revolution from middle class to poorer minorities. Affirmative action and equal opportunity laws and administrative practices have been strengthened. Employment training and housing programs have been revised in order to remove restrictions and encourage household mobility between and among different neighborhoods and communities.

HUD has carried out several activities aimed at encouraging the use of its housing assistance programs to expand areawide housing choices of low income minority households. And recently, the President signed an Executive Order requiring each agency to affirmatively administer its programs to further fair housing. Failure of recipients to provide for fair housing

could, if all else fails, generate a cut off of Federal assistance programs.

SCHOOLS AND HOUSING

Had the nation been attentive to the obvious relationship between schools and housing immediately after Brown v. Board of Education, it probably could have avoided the tension now illustrated by the need to integrate large school districts with exclusive or almost exclusive minority enrollments. But we had blinders on and either consciously or subconsciously avoided the obvious; that is, that houses generate kids, and that if minorities are excluded from housing, the schools they serve will not reflect even modest signs of integration.

In this context, busing orders, no matter how unpalatable to many, result not from any evil court system or the machinations of any evil judge. Instead, they result from our own failure of will and leadership at a crucial time in this nation's history. We were conveniently color blind, when our strategic acknowledgement of color in developing our cities and suburbs would have been in the national and indeed local community interest.

Luckily, we still have time to provide expanded housing choices to minorities and low income households. We still have time to use local housing plans to reinforce national, and hopefully local objectives regarding school desegregation. Most of our metropolitan areas continue to grow; new non-metropolitan communities, if the latest census data is correct, will be the suburbs of the eighties. And because demographic changes and economic conditions will foster revitalization opportunities many older central cities will offer new opportunities for innovative housing and community development.

To avoid a conscious effort to link housing patterns and school programs to encourage the integration of one and desegregation of the other will exacerbate this nation's urban problems. It will lead to increased racial tensions, and deny many minority households a chance to secure improved housing, better jobs, and quality education. It is my earnest hope that the next administration working with state, area and local governments as well as the private sector will build on what has already begun. Permit me to offer some suggestions:

1. The Title VIII Executive Order, recently signed by the President, should be fully, effectively, and equitably implemented. Federal programs, to the extent statutes permit, should increasingly be conditioned by relevant fair housing prerequisites. Such prerequisites can result in a quantum leap in fair housing opportunities in all areas of the nation.

2. Area-Wide Housing Opportunity and Regional Mobility Plans should become part and parcel of comprehensive state, and local planning efforts. Interjurisdictional mobility should be encouraged through innovative use of local land use regulations, cooperative public/private sector development plans, housing counseling services, and HUD's varied assistance programs.

3. School desegregation objectives, once precisely defined, should be acknowledged in areawide and local housing plans. To the extent possible, given the legitimate need to acknowledge revitalization priorities in inner city areas, location of publicly assisted housing units should not exacerbate school desegregation problems and/or convert an integrated neighborhood into a segregated one. Indeed they should help local communities foster integrated neighborhoods.

4. More mileage can be secured from HUD's housing assistance programs if regulations now governing them are made simpler and more flexible. This should be a non-partisan agenda. For example, HUD in administering the Section 8 program, should encourage more flexible rent levels, use of scattered sites, interjurisdictional pooling of certificates.

As Lewis Carroll suggested in one of his books, "Our memories are poor if they only work backward." In a recent St. Louis case,[1] the judge recognizing the relationship between housing and schools, ordered the city and the federal government to develop one of the first areawide housing plans that would consciously reinforce school desegregation. As important, he offered an innovative formula to limit busing. I believe it is applicable to many communities with large concentrated minority populations and often equally large (particularly if the entire metropolitan area is included) concentrated white populations.

To put it simply, the judge indicated that students from essentially white elementary schools would be excluded from his busing order if their minority enrollment reached a 20 percent threshold level. Thus, in St. Louis, if 20-30 minority households,[2] some perhaps receiving HUD's housing assistance, were welcomed into a white neighborhood, the neighborhhod could escape busing. The question for some white neighborhoods seems clear. Is a modest amount of housing integration preferable to

---

[1] Liddell and United States v. School Board of City of St. Louis (E.D. Mo.) C.A. No. 72-100-C (IV).

[2] Elementary students in St. Louis contain 300 ± students. 20-30 households would generate approximately 60 students.

busing? My hunch is that for some neighborhoods it will be. The ultimate result will be increased housing integration and school desegregation. Both will prove beneficial to the involved cities and neighborhoods, as well as to their respective white and minority households.

In response to the St. Louis deicision, HUD, working with the Department of Justice, submitted a series of relatively far reaching proposals. For example, HUD in the future will not permit use of its assistance programs in areas of minority concentration if they result in a net increase in minority students. Equally important, our agency through varied incentives and proposed changes in guidelines will encourage local use of its programs to foster integrated neighborhoods and, subsequently, consistent with the judge's intent, reduce the need for busing.

What works in one area of the country may not work in others. But I am convinced that good will, combined with an aggressive public/private partnership, can further the link between housing integration and school desegregation efforts in all areas of the country. Both are necessary if our urban areas are to grow and prosper: both are necessary if the American dream is to become a reality. I hope I am invited to return to the Denver area to reflect upon the progress you have made. I believe such progress is crucial to your economic and social health.

IMPLEMENTING REGIONAL HOUSING PROGRAMS

By: Naomi Russell

I am here as a representative of regional agencies throughout the country which are striving to address on a metropolitan basis the housing problems of lower income families. We are working to facilitate cooperative initiatives among central cites and the counties which surround them. These efforts are providing lower income families with increased access to housing opportunities. Metropolitan strategies and programs offer a diversity and supply of housing units and living environments which no one local government can provide on its own. Poor families who are paying excess proportions of their income for shelter or who are living in substandard dwellings, or both, can be assisted to the extent resources exist by government housing programs.

Since the early 1940's, subsidized housing programs have concentrated housing assistance in poor, minority, inner city neighborhoods. In order to receive housing assistance, lower income families have been constrained by where they could live. The mobility opportunities available to most other segments of the population have been denied to poor families, in part through public policy decisions and administrative guidelines. However, mobility programs are making an effort to change this.

Baltimore, Denver, and most other major cities have a larger share and higher concentration of poor and minority families in 1980 than they did in 1970. Government housing programs must recognize these patterns and their implications. With shrinking resources, it is perhaps more important to carefully balance neighborhood revitalization efforts with mobility initiatives and not to forsake one goal for the other. With diminishing funds, metropolitan strategies for meeting housing needs of poor and minority families are even more crucial.

In the summer of 1979, the Baltimore region began several regional housing programs designed to expand opportunities for lower income families. Two of these programs are the Regional Section 8 Existing Program* and the Regional

* Section 8 is a federal housing program which provides a subsidy to lower income families who qualify for housing assistance. In the Section 8 Existing Housing Program, owners rent units in existing structures directly to lower income tenants.

Housing Counseling Network. Both programs creatively modify administrative procedures within the framework of applicable regulations. No special waivers are required. While most of the funds used for these mobility programs came as a special bonus award to the Baltimore region, the programs were designed without this supplemental funding.

Families participating in the Regional Section 8 Existing Program may move interjurisdictionally within the Baltimore region. Regional Section 8 certificates allocated to the jurisdictions are to be used by residents of those jurisdictions who wish to move. The program is designed to work as an integral part of local Section 8 programs and is operated through local Section 8 offices. In developing the regional component there was a consensus that families on existing Section 8 waiting lists should be given first opportunity to use these regional certificates. A letter was sent to the 27,000 families on waiting lists throughout the region indicating that a limited number of certificates were available for interjurisdictional moves. Families then returned postcards indicating their interest in moving, where they would like to move, and their reasons for desiring to move.

Results of the survey varied somewhat in each jurisdiction. Baltimore city had the highest percentage of returned cards and the largest percentage of families wishing to move. In each jurisdiction, there were persons desiring to move, citing such reasons as to be closer to work, for better schools, to be closer to medical facilities, to be closer to relatives, and because of current substandard or overcrowded housing conditions.

Over 4,500 families indicated a desire to move as a result of the initial survey. Those families whose postcards expressed a preference for moving are now considered to be on a waiting list and are systematically contacted about the regional program on a first come-first served basis.

At this stage the Regional Housing Counseling Network takes over. Housing counselors work with each family to explain the regional program to determine if an interjurisdictional move is what the family really desires. Many families then decide to

Owners receive a contract rent, normally not exceeding area fair market rents, paid in two parts. The tenant pays a share not exceeding 25% of the family's income. The difference between the tenant's rent payment and the total contract rent is paid directly to the landlord by the Section 8 Program. The landlord and the Section 8 office enter into a Housing Assistance Contract which outlines their respective responsibilities.

wait for a local certificate or to use other programs to meet their housing needs rather than undertake a move to a new jurisdiction.

Those famlies who choose to participate in the Regional Section 8 Program are scheduled for orientation. At the orientation, familes receive their certificate and are provided with information on how the program works, how long they have to look for a unit, how to get in touch with counselors in Section 8 offices throughout the region, and how to approach landlords with the most chance of success. Families are encouraged, but not required, to check in with the counselors in those jurisdictions where they wish to find housing. In most cases, the families do this and are provided with information on the jurisdiction's housing market, lists of landlords who have accepted Section 8 families in the past, maps of public transportation, and other useful data.

Families usually search for housing on their own, but counselors are available for advice and assistance. With the more difficult-to-place families, such as those with many children or with poor credit and no references, the housing counselors become more actively involved in trying to find a suitable unit. Once a family finds a unit and is accepted by the landlord, final paperwork is completed, the unit is inspected, and move-in date is set. Counselors try to help with problems, such as finding the least expensive moving assistance, or locating furniture for unfurnished apartments. Once the family has moved in, counselors continue to provide advice on such subjects as how to transfer public assistance benefits to the new jurisdiction and how to locate services available in the community. When necessary, counselors mediate landlord-tenant problems and investigate housing quality complaints.

As of January 1981, over 800 famliles in the Baltimore area had leased units in the Regional Section 8 Existing Program. Over one-half of the families moved from the central city to the surrounding counties. A number of certificates were set aside and used in the central city as an anti-displacement aid, and another group of certificates were reserved throughout the region for handicapped group residences. The remaining certificates which have been used represent county-to-county or county-to-city moves.

Family characteristics are maintained for each family in the program. The following chart illustrates that the Regional Section 8 Program is primarily assisting very low income, minority, and female headed households with a high proportion of families receiving public assistance. On the whole, the program is providing housing subsidies for families with small children. These families are representative of the families on the waiting lists in local jurisdictions.

REGIONAL SECTION 8 EXISTING PROGRAM FAMILY CHARACTERSITICS

	Total	Percent
TOTAL NUMBER OF FAMILIES	822	
CERTIFICATE TYPE		
Non-Elderly	597	73%
Edlerly & handicapped	225	27%
NUMBER OF MINORS	1,109	
SEX OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD		
Male	132	16%
Female	690	84%
RACE		
White	284	35%
Black	528	64%
Other	10	1%
INCOME		
Low Income (50-80% of median income of SMSA)	106	13%
Very Low Income (below 50% of median income)	716	87%
Receive Public Assistance	538	65%

Although Section 8 regulations strongly encourage housing agencies to establish policies which will allow Section 8 famlies to move interjurisdictionally, the regulations do not specify administrative mechanisms for doing this. The Baltimore Regional Section 8 Existing Program is attempting to demonstrate that administrative barriers can be removed so that choices can be provided. The program depends on cooperative agreements among four levels of government -- the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Maryland Department of Economic and Community Development, the Regional Planning Council, and seven local Section 8 offices. After eighteen months of operation, the interaction among these agencies is effective.

Lower income families are choosing to move throughout the region. Although the numbers are not large when compared to the total number of families in need of housing or receiving assistance through various local programs, they are significant considering the general lack of choice available to families prior to the program inception.

It bears repeating that the Regional Housing Counseling Network is a key component of this regional housing mobility program. In addition to the counseling services and functions described above, families who have been under lease for three months are sent a follow-up questionnaire which helps the counselors identify client problems needing special attention. The results of this survey are also as an indicator of client attitudes about the program. Families are asked if they are satisfied with their housing conditions, what they like most about their new neighborhood, what they like least about their new neighborhood, do they feel they have been discriminated against, and if so, why?

As of January 1981, nearly five hundred families had returned the follow-up questionnaire. Seventy eight percent of these famlies indicated that they are either "very" or"somewhat" satisfied. Things about the move which they liked best include size of the unit, the decreased rent, liking the neighborhood better than their old one, better schools, and greater convenience to shopping and other services. The least liked features were less convenient transportation and a greater distance from friends and relatives. The survey clearly shows that given the opportunity, families are choosing to move and are happy with their move.

The Regional Section 8 Existing Program and the Regional Housing Counseling Network are housing programs designed to increase housing opportunities within a metropolitan area. A housing mobility program which encourages and facilitates interjurisdictional moves in a metropolitan area such as Baltimore or Denver support integration goals. It is, in fact, a fair housing program. Government housing programs can only assist in a small way in the efforts to integrate communities and schools. But small contributions are by no means insignificant.

HOUSING PATTERNS IN METRO DENVER

By: Dave Herlinger

Rather than spend a lot of time on philosophy, I want to make some recommendations on some things that may be chewed over this afternoon at the workshops. But before I do, let me spend a minute on the Colorado Housing Finance Authority, so people will understand what it is we try to do. The Finance Authority was created in 1973 as an authority, not an agency, of the state. We don't use any taxpayers' dollars at all. We sell our own revenue bonds that are backed by mortgages, not by state monies. The repayment of the mortgages repays the bond holders.

We have sold roughly $550 million worth of bonds since 1975. During that time, we have financed over 13,000 housing units throughout the state, 7,000 of those are for home ownership, 6,000 for rental housing.

In 1975 the Board of CHFA made a policy decision that we would not finance any new construction family housing in the City and County of Denver. Therefore, with but one exception all of our financing of new construction family housing has been in the suburbs. We financed roughly 1,000 units scattered in the suburban areas. Most of those have been sponsored or owned by private developers. We had our usual number of zoning and other kinds of problems but for the most part those units were built and financed with relative ease. These units are approximately 15 percent black, another 15 percent women head of household and 35 percent Chicano.

The 7,000 home ownership units which CHFA has financed all have below market interest rate mortgages. About 3,000 of those were made in the Denver metropolitan area which breaks down to 1,500 for the City and County of Denver, 1,500 for the suburbs. Currently in the suburbs, 29 percent of the home buyers are hispanic, 12 percent are black and about 14 percent are women who are head of household. In Denver 32 percent are hispanic, 15 percent are black and 15 percent are women who head households. Our work in the city has been largely tied to revitalization efforts going on through neighborhood organizations.

The old Metro Denver Fair Housing Center used to be involved in neighborhood revitalization, but because of external pressures it went in too many directions. It really lost its focus and was poorly administered, particularly over the last couple of years. It got mixed up in something called, at that point, Black Power. Lots of whites backed off and said, "How could you do that to us, we are your friends?"

Black Power and Brown Power movements evolved into what I think now are the only active, really solid community organizations in this city. Minority organizations are trying hard, using the resources they can to revitalize their communities. The active neighborhood groups are Baker, Highlands, the near West Side and some groups on the East Side. Other community organizations, including all the rest in the city as far as I know, are mostly interested in cleaning alleys and taking care of dogs.

The community organizations that developed in the suburbs for the most part were active in the creation of local housing authorities. Then generally what happened was that they got involved in the administration of those authorities. They lost their focus on integration and dealt more with daily administrative decisions, trying to relate what they wanted to do to the exhilarating insanity of HUD regulations. That consumes an awful lot of time. But I think that's where we are today.

Let me make some recommendations, trying not to be too technical. Each local housing authority - Denver, Jefferson County, Lakewood, Littleton and all the rest of them - administer a rent supplement program called Section 8. For existing housing, it means that tenants who qualify can get a certificate for an apartment where they are currently living. The tenants pay only 25 percent of their income for rent and the housing authority makes up the difference. Right now, a resident of Denver, in order to take advantage of this program in Jefferson County, has to register in Jefferson County. He can't register in Denver and take that certificate across jurisdictional lines.

We need a metropolitan certification agreement. If the local housing authorities in this area should sit down with each other and work out an agreement. It's been done in other communities. But the interjurisdictional transfer agreement has to be coupled with a counseling program that is funded in part by the housing authorities.

Denver Public Schools ought to take a look at setting up a housing office. I don't mean a housing office for the production of housing, but a person who is able to deal with housing proposals from HUD, the Housing Finance Authority, Denver Housing Authority and the suburban housing authorities in order to have some input into the development of rental housing in the city and hopefully in the metropolitan area.

I think it is important in Denver because we really have two cities, north of Alameda and south of Alameda. I'm not really sure where the boundary is, but the northern part of the city is poor and the southern part is rich. I think everybody

would agree with that. If we are going to build additional assisted housing in this city, it should be built south of that line, wherever it is.

The Colorado Association of Realtors and local boards should undertake serious training for their real estate folks, on integrative housing and the positive features and record of DPS. I've had two kids graduate from the DPS, both from East High School. They both can read and write. I have a daughter who is a junior at East and absolutely refuses to go to George Washington High School. The training of realtors could probably be done in conjunction with the housing office of DPS and the State's Civil Rights Commission.

Now let me talk about economics. For those of you who are in the real estate game, you may think you know this better than I do. But I've been on both sides of this business and know that one of our problems is trying to make these programs work. In this day and age, housing for 85 percent of the people is not shelter. It's an investment, for most people their only hedge against inflation. The community's elected officials and appointed officials are going to reflect that attitude as they make decisions relative to zoning.

Manufactured housing in some form must be allowed in suburban Denver. I'm not talking about mobile homes or trailers with wheels but conventional housing that can be brought in and installed on a site at considerably less cost. I'm not at all sure that opposition to pre-fabricated housing is a result of racisim. What I think is that there are a heck of a lot of people who are right on the edge economically. They see manufactured housing go in next door or down the street which costs less then their own housing. It is seen as a threat to their hedge against inflation.

If the average cost of a house in metropolitan Denver is $70,000, which may be a low estimate, then the average mortgage is $65,000. With a conventional interest rate today at 15 3/4 percent, the monthly payment is $962.00 per month. That requires a monthly income of $3,450 or an annual income of $41,000. Those are some of the economic realities that are facing this community. Manufactured housing is a necessity.

There are other ways around these high costs. For example, Some of the add-on costs of building a house nowadays aren't really necessary - rezoning, submission criteria, subdivision requirements or excessive building codes - for example. What you're really doing is adding approximately $7,000 to the cost of a home. Homebuilders have been complaining and explaining this for some period of time. Local communities should take a look at those unnecessary costs and if they cannot

remedy the problem then perhaps it should be taken to the State Legislature.

Another alternative to high-cost housing could be a demonstration program. We are working with the City and County of Denver on where the city contributes Community Development funds to reduce home mortgage interest rates from 8 7/8 percent to 4 percent in certain areas of the city. Each year the home buyer's interest rate increases one-half percent until it reaches the 8 7/8 percent. The money spent by the city is recoverable, if the home buyer sell the house within 10 years. It becomes a second lien on the house. If the house is sold during that time frame the city recovers the money and can recycle it.

There is no reason in the world why suburban communities couldn't use that kind of a concept to reduce interest rates. Alternatively, a coalition could be put together to get funding through the State Legislature for the Colorado Division of Housing who would administer those funds in conjunction with CHFA or with other programs. It would allow some people to afford housing at a reasonable cost.

I have three more proposals for encouraging integration of neighborhoods. The first is advertising on television and in newspapers. There are many real estate ads in the papers and on TV showing only white faces. The Civil Rights Commission should deal with this as was done in 1969-70 by the old Fair Housing Center.

Second is the misuse of municipal housing bonds. Many suburban cities and counties have sold their own revenue bonds to make below market interest rate mortgages available to what they called low-income people. The problem in some cases is that the income limit is often $30,000 or more. The allowable mortgages are as high as $90,000. Somebody ought to look at those bond programs to see that the people using the funds to purchase houses are in fact low income. At a minimum, they should require that a certain percentage of the funds be reserved for low income families.

Finally, how about the creation of a subsidized real estate firm that could work exclusively on integrative moves and does not compete in the market place with any other real estate firms. Or, how about a cheap multi-list service that would be available to anybody at a reasonable cost?

These are my personal ideas for reducing the need for housing to maintain desegregated schools. Not all of these proposals will meet with approval from all segments of the community, but a number of them have considerable support and could be implemented with relative ease, especially when the consequences of doing nothing are considered.

THE REAL ESTATE PERSPECTIVE

By: Syma Joffe

When I was invited to speak at this conference, I was told it was because I seemed to have dual credentials as an established businesswoman, in real estate, working primarily in the city, and as a long time outspoken champion of fair housing and low-cost housing. The person who invited me wasn't aware however, that both sets of credentials may have been a bit tarnished.

On the one hand becoming an investor and landlord seems to have reduced my credibility in the low income community.

Yet, on the other hand, my peers in the real estate profession have to struggle with the fact that they have elected someone to their city and state boards of directors who has spoken out in favor of school integration.

So while I come to you from both communities, I do not really speak for either. In both, my views are a bit suspect. I speak to you today, therefore, as a real estate broker, from my own view point.

I know that in some of your minds I represent an industry that if not the sole cause of segregation has certainly been a major contributing factor. (I'm sure some of you are convinced that we did the "whole" thing.)

And yet I suggest to you that often we are in the position of responding to our clients' needs -- not of creating those needs. By and large we are not that good. We are in business to make a living. In September, assuming my youngest will have graduated from Manuel High School as planned, I will have three children in college to support.

When a family calls me from Boston, Chicago or Tulsa, and tells me they have been referred by a mutual friend or former client, are moving to Denver, and want me to find them a home -- let me tell you that's a high priority item for me. When that client further tells me that he wants "good" schools, or he doesn't want his kids "bused" (although the fact that they're being bused in Jefferson County or Cherry Creek somehow doesn't seem to count) or, even more specifically, that he doesn't want to be in the Denver schools, I, as a committed urbanite and the mother of three children who are or have been students in Denver Public Schools, may suggest he reconsider. I may gently try to re-educate him, but my primary job is not to convert him, it's to find him an acceptable home.

If I fail, or push too hard, he will simply choose another agent. In all probability, because he has already been educated by his friends, his co-workers, his own personnel department back in Boston or Chicago or his new office here in Denver -- if he has children, he will probably not buy inside of Denver.

By the same token when I work with a young upwardly mobile minority family, however much I may try to convince them that there are outstanding buys in Arapahoe County, or that the schools need their beautiful, shiny black or brown faced kids to perk up the system, the usual response is "thanks anyway." It's too far to drive to work, or friends, or church -- too much isolation. They are reluctant to leave the security and familiarity of the city. Sometimes I'm not sure I blame them.

If I, who am and have been highly motivated, who is convinced of the need and the value of integrated housing and schools, can achieve so little, what can you realistically expect from the remainder of my industry comprised as it is of people who are so much more ambivalent, who genuinely question in their hearts the workability of integration? Yet the Denver real estate community, particularly those of us who live and sell property in the city, is highly motivated to keep our city and our school system healthy. It is our bottom line.

We were motivated enough to ask the school administration several years ago to publish brochures for distribution among our membership and our clients describing the programs and strengths of our school system. Unfortunately, after that year neither we nor the school administration followed up.

We need to revive that program. So little positive information about the Denver schools ever surfaces, it's not surprising that, as Dr. Orfield discovered in his research, almost the only time we ever advertise schools are for suburban houses.

We were motivated enough several years ago to create one of the first large city coalitions of realtors, lenders and government agencies to work on problems of inner city revitalization.

Our program became a model for much of the country for the creative, productive ways in which we worked out local solutions to financing inner city properties, rewrote building codes and altered zoning regulations.

That same kind of creative energy must now be applied to the problem that confronts us today -- preventing one of the

most exciting cities in this country from becoming an encapsulated island of low income minority families and high income childless adults.

The revitalization program, as designed by realtors had a unique element about it.

At every step of the way, the assumption was made that everyone wanted to cooperate. Government agencies wanted to change their rules, lenders were going to be delighted at the opportunity to change their lending policies, and the Federal National Mortgage Association (Fannie Mae) was going to learn to love the inner city.

As the benefits were explained, as alternatives were carefully, cooperatively explored in good business-like terms, the expectation of cooperation began to come true and unsolveable problems began to be solved. It was an exciting, productive effort. It was community inspired and led, and it worked.

I suspect that in the kind of environment in which we are living today, its the only kind of program that might work. Certainly the time is ripe for local realtors to once again take the initiative. Since we are so deeply involved with the current housing problems, clearly we need to become more effectively involved in the solutions.

Right now, in the San Fernando Valley of Southern California, a fair housing council funded largely by realtors has determined that 80% of all new jobs in the area are occurring in the largely segregated valley area. They have begun a substantial outreach program to inner city minority people, actively inviting them out to the suburbs to live and work, offering counsel and support where necessary. This is the kind of creative philosophy, one that uses incentives instead of penalties, that good business people are capable of designing.

The problems of Denver area housing and school integration cannot be solved by the courts alone. They cannot be solved by any one segment of our community. The housing and school groups cannot continue to function in isolation of one another. We need not another school desegregation panel or a new fair housing group, but a cooperative school-housing approach that transcends the limitations of both those two communities and most importantly the boundaries of the inner city. We need a metropolitan-wide coalition of housing, schools, minority groups, and most of all, the business and finance communities.

As a start, I propose that we create a blue ribbon committee on Denver area schooling and housing, charged with developing recommendations on which the city, the suburbs and the

state can take action. Such a committee, composed as it must be of acknowledged leaders from the real estate industry, the business sector and from all segments of the community, will have the ability, the power to take action -- to bring about change.

As members of six different realtor boards, cooperating in the publishing of one multi-list service, we are unique in this country -- perhaps we can utilize that already developed expertise as a model for metro cooperation and problem solving for our community.

It will not be simple. There is no single panacea. The problems cannot be solved overnight, they developed over many years and it will take hard, often frustrating work to solve them. But, as Jack Kennedy said in his inaugural address 20 years ago, this week "Let us begin".

CONFERENCE RECOMMENDATIONS

Of all the ideas and suggestions that were explored during the afternoon workshops, there were several broad proposals that appeared to have substantial consensus—and a high probability of success.

But before discussing those specific proposals, it is important to look at some of the underlying themes that kept coming up in the workshops, indeed throughout the entire conference.

1. The problem in metro Denver is serious and will get worse unless positive action is taken relatively soon.

2. No one single group is responsible for the problem. It is complex and requires a variety of solutions.

3. Unless institutions, such as the housing industry, civil rights divisions, school systems, business and community organizations, are involved in and committed to resolving the problem little structural change or long term benefits will result from the actions of individuals.

4. Voluntary efforts that are successful in significantly reducing segregation are preferred to and may avoid costly and potentially destructive law suits.

5. While promoting integrated neighborhoods is a desirable goal, it is equally important to be sensitive to the twin problems of gentrification and displacement.

Finally, while it appeared that time was running out for Denver, there seemed to be a feeling throughout the conference that something could be done. Most importantly there was an apparent commitment on the part of almost all the conference participants to begin tackling the problem. "Trust, dialogue, and urgency," key words from the Coalition Building workshop, seemed to have wide currency.

It was impossible to ignore the sense of individual excitment that flowed from the group consensus in the wrap-up session at the end of the conference. The day-long process of talking together, exchanging ideas, finding agreements generated a synergistic feeling that group effort could accomplish much.

The task ahead for conference participants appeared to lay in mobilizing their respective constituencies to begin to attack the twin problems of housing and school desegregation. This was the basis for many of the proposed solutions.

There was a surprising degree of consensus on a handful of feasible proposals that emerged from all the workshops. First, after listening to extraordinary data on the scholastic achievement of Denver Public Schools in contrast to suburban school districts, most of the workshops felt that DPS needed to mount a systematic, innovative public relations campaign to toot its own horn.

Most of the specific suggestions on what the schools ought to do originated from the School Initiatives workshop, but perhaps the Incentives workshop phrased the problem most succinctly. "Schools tend to be isolated from across-the-board political and business actions. Denver schools should be treated as a community amenity. They should document for government and business the 'opportunity costs' of a racially/economically imbalanced pulic school system."

Schools should have the authority to review and perhaps veto public housing projects that have a segregative affect on local schools. Schools need to be more aggressive reaching out to the rest of the community, establishing contacts with realtors, for example.

The second proposed solution on which there was significant agreement is almost the reverse of asking the schools to be more activist. Throughout the conference there was a sense that the schools have for too long shouldered the entire burden of community desegregation. As Gary Orfield said, city schools have already reached the limit of their ability to absorb that responsibility. Other community institutions must take up the task as well.

Thus, out of the workshops evolved a whole range or actions specifically addressed to the housing industry (realtors, builders, and lenders). To implement some of these proposals, however, would require legislative action at either the local, state, or federal level.

The place to start appeared to be the proposal orginally made by realtor Syma Joffe. She asked that the Governor of Colorado appoint a blue ribbon panel of business leaders to make recommendations and begin to implement specific programs to reduce housing segregation in metro Denver. Financial incentives, educational requirements and programs for realtors, inter-jurisdictional transfer permits for public housing tenants, will flow from this beginning.

Finally, there was strong agreement from all the workshops that the effort to desegregate housing and schools in metro Denver must, if it is to be successful, either delegate major chunks of the effort to existing institutions or the existing institutions must band together to create a new entity - such as a regional housing center - to tackle both problems in an interrelated fashion.

A regional housing center, whether privately funded or set up as a quasi-public agency, could allocate Section 8 resources in the metro area with balanced housing, integrated schools, and job location as its goals. It could run a home ownership counseling program for low income families, assist families desiring to make integrative moves to either the suburbs or the inner city. State housing finance resources could be funneled through this entity to provide incentives for homebuilders or for families willing to help integrate neighborhoods.

Whether any permanent change results from the workshops and the conference will depend on local institutions: the state Civil Rights Division, the Boards of Realtors, the Savings League of Colorado, the Homebuilders Association, Chambers of Commerce, the State Board of Education, HUD, religious groups, neighborhood organizations, local, state governments, and philanthropic institutions picking up the pieces and building on some of the ideas.

School Initiatives.

1. Formulate a systematic, aggressive public relations campaign (using TV, radio, press, billboards, as well as direct person-to-person contacts) to sell the positive aspects of the Denver Public School system.

The effort will have to start with the School Board and the Superintendent and must reach realtors, both urban and suburban, business organizations, like the Chambers of Commerce, CACI; service organizations, like Rotary and Lions, as well as local businesses, both existing and in-coming.

2. Give local school boards or the Colorado Board of Education the authority to review and possibly veto all public housing programs in their districts.

3. Identify for realtors a handful of elementary schools and/or neighborhoods that with a little effort could be removed from court-ordered busing program by selling homes to families having a positive effect on integration.

4. Establish an on-going relationship with local realtors, city and suburban housing authorities, residential developers and builders to insure that local decision making will have a positive effect on school integration.

5. Stabilize DPS school boundaries for a specific length of time to assist realtors in helping to integrate neighborhoods.

6. Create a voluntary school integration program between urban and suburban school districts, using concepts of magnet schools, special education, and advanced placement. Such a program could be based on legislation similar to that passed in Wisconsin.

7. Encourage regular school visits by realtors and their clients, as well as by prospective businesses considering relocating in metro Denver.

8. Establish a system whereby neighborhoods can opt out of the busing program by affirmatively integrating themselves.

9. Get out the message that Denver high school students do better on national advanced placement tests than suburban school children. In 1980 only Littleton students scored higher on a percentage basis.

Private Sector Housing Efforts.

1. Establish a blue ribbon coalition of housing industry leaders, school officials, business and community leaders to identify problems related to housing and school desegregation and to begin the process of trying to correct them.

2. Create a regional housing center to provide information and counseling on available housing for potential homebuyers interested in integrative moves.

3. Add a requirement of equal opportunity education, similar to the one passed in Ohio, to the current Real Estate Education Bill (HB1299) before the Colorado State Legislature.

4. Require equal opportunity education as part of the national real estate certificate program.

5. Explore changing zoning and state laws to allow for the inclusion of alternative, low cost housing, such as manufactured, modular, or mobile homes, in R-0 or R-1 residential areas.

6. Develop intelligent and cooperative outreach programs to educate the housing industry (realtors, builders, lenders) employers, schools, and the media about the advantages to them of an effective equal housing program and the scholastic achievements of the Denver Public Schools.

7. Train heads of equal opportunity realtor programs to be more effective.

8. Increase school/realtor interaction.

9. Apply housing subsidy bond programs to mobile/ manufactured housing.

10. Require lenders to enforce deed of trust regulations to keep housing in good condition.

11. Encourage more families with school age children to move into neighborhoods that with a little effort could then opt out of the court-ordered busing program. Perhaps initially focus on two or three areas where success could realistically be achieved.

12. Encourage more homebuilders and realtors to work voluntarily with the Community Housing Resource Boards in their areas to encourage and monitor voluntary affirmative marketing agreements.

13. Utilize the Colorado Committee on Housing (an industry association of realtors, mortgage bankers, savings & loan companies, and title insurance companies) to work on housing and school desegregation problems.

Local Government Efforts.

1. Establish an interjurisdictional transfer program, between urban and suburban public housing authorities to allow potential tenants to cross city/town boundaries to find assisted rental housing, as long as it improves integration.

2. Expand Colorado Housing Finance Authority's CDA-HUD program of using Community Development Block Grant funds (now limited to 100 low income minority families in Denver) to reduce mortgage rates from 8 7/8% to 4% the first year. Interest rates increase 1/2 per year up to CHFA maximum. If the family moves within 10 years, the city has a lien on the home. The CD money then returns to the city for recycling into the mortgage lending program.

The State Legislature could appropriate money to accomplish the same purpose in the suburbs through the State

Division of Housing, or the suburban governments could use their CD funds in a similar fashion.

3. Monitor suburban residential developers' minority outreach programs.

4. Eliminate residency preferences in assisted housing programs. Create a regionwide housing authority.

5. Use HUD Section 235 home ownership set aside programs to further integration.

6. Establish mechanisms for public school districts to comment on and influence federally assisted housing programs, especially through the A-95 review process.

7. Disperse family public housing in rapidly growing suburban areas. Use Louisville, Kentucky Human Relations Council's program as a model.

8. Build integration into the low income housing goals of the regional assisted housing opportunity plan (AHOP).

9. Use municipal housing bonds for integrative moves of low and moderate income people within both the city and the suburbs.

10. Change local building and zoning codes to allow the construction of low cost, mobile manufactured housing in residential areas that will encourage economic integration.

Incentives and Coalitions.

1. Key institutions: the Colorado Civil Rights Division, the housing industry, the local school districts, the state Board of Education, Rocky Mountain Employers Council, the Metro Denver Chamber of Commerce together with local foundations should fund a metropolitan housing agency to encourage and support families who choose freely to make an integrative, "non-traditional" housing move.

2. Treat public schools like a community asset, an amenity to be treasured and nurtured.

3. City governments could establish a neighborhood preservation office, whose sole mission would be to help neighborhood-based groups develop a capacity to deal with issues like housing desegregation, educational opportunity, economic development.

4. Community re-use of under-capacity schools should be on line before the schools are closed. Housing that has a desegregative affect on the local schools should have a high priority.

5. Suburban communities could fund and/or support a financial reward system for developers who include mixed-income housing as part of their development. Such developments, for example, could receive a priority for water taps in areas where there are tap limitations.

6. Establish a quasi public metropolitan entity for allocating Section 8 existing resources. Or alternatively HUD could designate a management agency, such as DRCOG, to allocate Section 8 new and existing housing so as to accomplish a desegregative goal.

7. Insitutions of higher education in the metro area should undertake research on the results of integrated housing/education.

-- Could employment absenteeism be cut by enabling people to live closer to their jobs?

-- Compare achievements of Hispanic students from Lincoln Park housing project attending school in an economically and racially integrated school (Moore) with achievements of students attending an ethnically almost segregated school (Greenlee).

-- Do a survey on the shift of student attitudes resulting from integrated experiences.

-- Research how many employees of federal agencies that are promoting integration (HUD, DOL, Justice, DOE) live integratively.

9. Establish local human relations councils or commissions as a clear signal to families making integrative moves that they are "welcome." Additional support services such as neighborhood groups, integrated "welcome wagons" are needed and will require the cooperation of federal, state and local agencies as well as private organizations and employers. The central message of such support should be (1) welcome, (2) give information and assistance, and (3) protection and advocacy, if needed.

10. Create a task force to address the interrelationship of housing/employment/pollution and education. This could be a job of the new regional housing center.

Legal Options.

1. Explore ways in which to bring the suburban school districts and/or the metropolitan area housing agencies into the school desegregation plan. We recognize that it is unlikely that this would occur on a voluntary basis and that it is also unlikely that the Denver School Board would act to bring such school districts and housing agencies into the Keyes lawsuit. Therefore, the responsibility for seeking a judicially implemented metropolitan wide plan involving both school districts and housing authorities probably rests with the plaintiffs in Keyes or some allied group.

2. Look into the creation by the state of some sort of a volunteer program for a metropolitan wide desegregation plan, perhaps with financial incentives along the lines that Gary Orfield and Ben Williams discussed.

3. Monitor the enforcement of and compliance with civil rights obligations of the suburban recipients of Community Development Block Grant funds who are under federal statutory obligation to provide housing opportunities for minorities and low income residents and those who might be expected to move into the suburban jurisdictions because of job opportunities. This sort of a monitoring project could be undertaken by private groups and could result in either administrative or judicial action against noncomplying suburbs.

4. Local governments should require that multi-unit developments constructed within their jurisdictions have a certain number of units set aside for low income minority tenants.

5. Amend the Colorado statutes concerning local housing authorities to remove the present restriction limiting those authorities to building low income housing, thereby permitting more income integration in housing authority projects.

6. Ask the Colorado Lawyers Committee to brief realtors, State Board of Education, the Colorado Housing Division Advisory Board, selected legislators and other advocates of voluntary fair housing action on the St. Louis school/housing/state/HUD desegregation court decision. One of the rulings requires the State of Missouri to pay $11.4 million annually to the St. Louis School District for cost of busing inner-city St. Louis kids to outlying suburbs. This could be prevented in metro Denver by intelligent affirmative housing and school initiatives.

COMMUNITY HOUSING...COMMUNITY SCHOOLS
Conference Follow Up Report

The Conference Advisory Board and conference participants who wished to met at Kay Schomp's home on Tuesday, February 17, 1981 to refine the conference recommendations and chart a course for implementing some of the ideas that emerged from the conference.

About 25 people attended the follow-up meeting, including representatives from the State Civil Rights Division, Denver Public Schools, Denver Commission on Community Relations, Denver Housing Authority, Denver Community Development Agency, Metro League of Women Voters, Region VIII HUD, U.S. Justice Department Community Relations Service, Captiol Hill United Neighbors (CHUN), and Organization of Midtown Neighborhoods, Inc. (OMNI), neighborhood organizations, Denver PTSA, Colorado Housing Issues Task Force, and ordinary citizens.

Initiatives Already Underway

1. Ken Eye reported that the State Civil Rights Division has received a promise of approximately $50,000 from Region VIII HUD to help set up a regional housing center. He expressed interest in working with the Colorado Board of Realtors and other community organizations to help establish an institution that would ultimately become self-sustaining.

2. Dick Koeppe, superintendent of the Cherry Creek Schools, Don Harlan, past president of the Denver Board of Realtors, and Dick Jones, director of the Aurora Housing Authority have set up a meeting to explore ways of cooperating in suburban Arapahoe County.

3. Denver Board of Realtors is working to include equal opportunity education in HB 1299 which is a bill before the Colorado legislature to establish continuing education as part of license renewal requirements for real estate brokers and salespeople.

4. Denver Board of Realtors has authorized the expenditure of funds to create and diseminate a brochure highlighting the excellency of the Denver Public Schools.

5. Ken Norton mentioned that the Rocky Mountain Mobile Homeowners Association is sponsoring a bill in the State Legislature, SB 1329 Single Siting Bill, which would allow mobile homes that meet HUD's construction code and have house-type siding and roofs to be placed permanently on R-O zoned lots. He urges folks to support the bill.

6. Jackie Starr said that the Colorado Housing Issues Task Force meets at 3:30 p.m. the 1st and 3rd Friday of every month at the State Capitol Room D in the basement to discuss current housing legislation. Everyone is welcome. Call Jackie for more information 388-4411 x152, 145.

Specific Suggestions for Near Term Action*

1. The metropolitan realtors, specifically through the Colorado Committee on Housing (an industry association of realtors, mortgage banker, savings & loan companies and title insurance companies) should take the lead on planning a strategy for attacking the problem of housing and school desegregation. Tom Giblin, a realtor from Northglenn, who is president of the organization, will take the lead. Also Dick Peterson, Syma Joffee, and Don Harlan will help out. They should feel free to call on any conference participants for assistance.

2. There was a great deal of discussion on how to structure a DPS public relations campaign. Consensus seemed to be that DPS should neither mastermind nor pay for the efforts. Instead a ($50,000 was mentioned) grant from a local corporation or foundation should be sought and that a professionally structured campaign should focus on the needs of realtors. What does the housing industry need to sell the schools? The PR must fit into the specific actions the realtors feel they can take. Therefore, this issue should become an integral function of Tom Giblin's committee work.

3. Region VIII HUD should indentify and remedy its own actions that encourage segregation in the Denver metropolitan area. Lloyd Miller, HUD, EEO official.

4. A group should meet with Phil Winn, new director of the Federal Home Administration, to seek the assistance of his agency in promoting neighborhood integration. Dick Fleming. But this idea should wait until the realtors have developed a concrete plan of attack for the broader problem.

5. Dick Koeppe should be asked to convene a meeting of metropolitan school superintendents to explore concrete ways of implementing a voluntary metro school integration program, such as ways of cost sharing by cross-district utilization of school buildings, or metropolitan-wide vocational education program. Don Harlan.

---

* Names mentioned at the conclusion of each suggestion are the person or persons chiefly responsible for carrying out the idea.

6. Galen Martin, from Louisville, Ky. will be speaking to the National Association of Human Rights Workers at a conference in Colorado Springs on April 9-12. Bea Branscombe, State Civil Rights Division, will try to set up a meeting for Denver folks either before or after the conference.

7. A special plea was made for realtors and homebuilders to focus on integrating Montbello with significant numbers of white families with school age children, while plans for construction of additional housing in Montbello are still in the formative stage. Dick Peterson, Chairman, Denver Board of Realtors Blue Ribbon Committee on School Desegregation Plan.

8. Identify a handful of schools in both minority and Anglo neighborhoods that realtors could begin to target immediately in order to eliminate them from the court ordered busing plan. Kay Schomp and Dick Peterson.

9. HUD should be requested to sponsor a follow-up conference in 12-18 months to ascertain the degree of success in steming the statistical trend toward increasing neighborhhod segregation in metropolitan Denver. Tom Giblin.

Finally, the follow-up group confirmed its commitment to trying to desegregate neighborhoods in metropolitan Denver by voluntary means, without resorting to legal enforcement proceedings. It was understood, however, that such options as metropolitan busing are not only possible but might very well be inevitable should voluntary, citizen efforts fail.

Cynthia Kahn
February 26, 1981

NOTES ON SPEAKERS

GEORGE BARDWELL: A professor of Mathematics and Statistics, George Bardwell has taught at the University of Denver since 1953. He is also a labor arbitrator and has done statistical consulting for both private and governmental agencies. Prof. Bardwell was the statistical expert on Denver's school desegregation case, Keyes v. Board of Education. Among his many awards, he received the distinguished teaching award from D.U. and a community service award from ACLU of Colorado in 1980.

ART BRANSCOMBE: In his 23 years at the Denver Post, Art Branscombe has filled many positions from reporter to editorial writer. He is now education editor for the newspaper. A community activist, he was a founder and for several years chairman of the Park Hill Action Committee, one of the first neighborhood organizations committed to integrated communities. Mr. Branscombe has received professional awards from the national Education Writers Association and the Colorado Association of School Executives.

RICH CASTRO: During the last two of his four terms in the Colorado State Legislature, Rich Castro has served as Assistant House Minority Leader. When the legislature is not in session Rep. Castro is employed as a consultant to the Denver Commission on Community Relations. He got into politics through his involvement with the neighborhood movement, particularly a three year stint as executive director of the Westside Coalition. Rep. Castro has also been a mental health counselor and a youth worker.

DAVE HERLINGER: In the field of housing for most of his professional life, Dave Herlinger started out working for the Metro Denver Fair Housing Center, later became director of Colorado Housing, Inc., a rural housing development corporation, and since 1974 has been working for Colorado Housing Finance Authority, the last 3 years as its executive director. In his spare time, he has served on the boards of Greater Park Hill Community, Inc., the National Low Income Housing Coalition, and the Council of State Housing Agencies, of which he was national president in 1979-80.

SYMA JOFFE: A member of the original staff of the Metro Denver Fair Housing Center, Ms. Joffee owns her own real estate firm in Denver and is on the Board of Directors of the Colorado Association of Realtors. She is a past director of the Denver Board of Realtors. In addition to teaching a course on real estate contracts at the University of Colorado, Division of Continuing Education, Ms. Joffe has written and lectured extensively on women and professionalism. She is on the board of the Anti Defamation League and Vice President of the Colorado Women's Forum.

MARSHALL KAPLAN: Before joining HUD 2½ years ago as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Urban Policy, Mr. Kaplan was a principle in the San Francisco consulting firm of Kaplan, Gans, and Kahn. He has written several books, including The Politics of Neglect, with Bernard Frieden, and The Irrelevance of City Planning in the '60s, as well as numerous articles on urban issues. Mr. Kaplan was a visiting professor at the University of Texas, at Austin and Dallas, and recently was appointed Dean of the Graduate School of Public Affairs of the University of Colorado at Denver.

LOUIS NUNEZ: Mr. Nunez has worked for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights for eight years, the last two as staff director for the organization. He was picked for the job because of his work as executive director of Aspira, a New York firm specializing in leadership development and educational consulting. Aspira brought the landmark lawsuit forcing the New York City Board of Education to implement special education programs for linguistic minorities.

GARY ORFIELD: Dr. Orfield is a Professor of Political Science and a member of the Institute of Government and Public Affairs at the University of Illinois at Urbana. He has been a Research Associate with Brookings Institution, a consultant to HUD, the Ford Foundation and the Senante Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. He was also a Scholar-in-Residence at the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. Dr. Orfield taught at Princeton and the University of Virginia and is the author of numerous publications. His current research focuses on the interrelationships between school and housing desegregation.

DOROTHY PORTER: Before her appointment as Director of the Colorado Civil Rights Commission in 1980, Dr. Porter had been Assistant Principal at Cherry Creek High School. She taught English and Social Studies in several Denver high schools and in Lincoln, Nebraska where she received her PhD. A frequent speaker on civil rights issues, Dr. Porter serves on numerous boards and has received many awards, including the Outstanding Young Women of America Award in 1975.

JIM REYNOLDS: For 17 years until his retirement in May, 1980 Jim Reynolds served as the first and only executive director of the Colorado Civil Rights Commission. He was responsible for one of the first open housing statutes in the nation, and played an important role in almost all of the civil rights issues in Colorado since World War II. Among his numerous awards, Mr. Reynolds is proudest of his honorary doctorate of public service from Metropolitan State College and a civil rights award from the International Association of Civil Rights Organizations, both granted in 1980. Mr. Reynolds is listed in Who's Who in Black America.

NAOMI RUSSELL: As the director of one of the largest and most successful Section 8 housing programs in the country, Ms. Russell is frequently called on to speak at national seminars on housing mobility and government programs. She is the director of Housing and Community Development at the Baltimore Regional Planning Council in Maryland.

BEN WILLIAMS: Three years ago Mr. Williams became the director of the National Task Force on Desegregation Strategies for the Education Commission of the States. He was recently promoted to the job of Deputy Director of the Education Programs Division for ECS. Before moving to Denver, Mr. Williams had been Associate Dean and Director of the Chicago campus of the National College of Education at Evanston, Illinois.

CONFERENCE ADVISORY BOARD

Joe Blake	Financial Vice President Mission Viejo Development
Larry Borger	Assistant to the Mayor Denver, Colorado
Sal Carpio	City Councilman Denver, Colorado
Rich Castro	State Representative Denver, Colorado
John Emery, Jr.	President Research Services, Inc.
Dick Fleming	Executive Director Downtown Denver, Inc.
Don Harlan	Past President Denver Board of Realtors
Dave Herlinger	Executive Director Colorado Housing Finance Authority
Dorothy Porter	Director Colorado Civil Rights Division
Jim Reynolds	Retired Director Colorado Civil Rights Commission
Kay Schomp	Member, Board of Education Denver Public Schools
Bill Sievers	Executive Director Church Community Service Colorado Council of Churches

WORKING STAFF

Bea Branscombe	Education Specialist Colorado Civil Rights Division
Ken Eye	Research Director Colorado Civil Rights Division
Bernie Jones	Community Research Center University of Colorado at Denver
Cynthia Kahn	Conference Coordinator

APPENDIX

"A Policy Analysis of Denver"

from

HOUSING AND SCHOOL INTEGRATION IN THREE METROPOLITAN AREAS: DENVER, COLUMBUS AND PHOENIX

by

Gary Orfield and Paul Fischer

Revised Version
February 17, 1981

AUTHORSHIP AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Although this study was commissioned by a purchase order contract with Professor Orfield, it was, from its first conception, a cooperative effort between the contractor and Paul Fischer of HUD's Office of Community Planning and Development. Fischer did the analysis of sites and tenants in assisted housing with the assistance of staff in local HUD offices in the cities studied. Although this report is submitted by the contractor it is a co-authored document and Fischer should be cited as co-author in references to this report and in any future use or publication. Policy conclusions in the report do not necessarily represent the policy or views of HUD or its officials. They are those of the authors.

The authors gratefully acknowledge the invaluable assistance of members of the HUD staff in Phoenix, Denver, and Columbus. We also appreciate the time and the assistance of local and state officials in each city. Their patience and their willingness to answer questions and provide needed data made this report possible.

Prior to initiation of this study the authors were invited to examine school and housing patterns by a local or state agency in each of the cities selected--the Colorado Civil Rights Division, the Phoenix Human Relations Division, and the Columbus Public Schools. We hope that this analysis is useful for their important work.

DENVER SCHOOLS AND HOUSING

Metropolitan Denver is in the middle of one of the largest urban booms in the U.S. In the last quarter century it has more than doubled in population. Together with Houston, it is enjoying a great expansion fueled by very rapid energy development. There are vast investments now under way in Colorado's shale oil. At least 1,500 energy-related firms have located in the city. The New York Times observes:

> In and just after World War II, the one-time cow-town got a big spurt of growth from the Federal Government, which saw fit to put a large number of administrative and military facilities into the town, including a mint. Denver's second big spurt has come from its emergence as the banking and administrative center for energy development--oil, gas, coal, shale. There are 17 skyscrapers under construction in downtown Denver, and to go downtown any week is to sight yet another hole in the ground threatening to become Energy Plaza One or something like it. The population is 1.7 million and has more than doubled in 25 years, with about 100 immigrants arriving every day. (October 8, 1980)

Governor Richard Lamm has expressed serious concern over metropolitan growth that is five times the national average. Brand new communities are particularly draining on the state, says the governor:

> It costs us $6,000 for every person who moves into a boom town. The sewers they are leaving, and the schools, parks and lighting, the jails and the hospitals have to be reproduced. (Newman, 1980)

Denver is coughing in its own smoke, with more cars per capita than Los Angeles. Air trapped by surrounding mountains, and less oxygen at the high altitude mean that the pollution problem caused by a suburban-oriented freeway civilization is already very serious. Part of the traffic is a price paid by families who must or who wish to live in segregated neighborhoods long distances from work. The impact of a million more people in sprawling front range settlements will be immense.

All of the growth is outside the city, which is shrinking. Denver contained 68 percent of the metropolitan population in 1950, 33 percent

in 1960, 42 percent in 1970, and only an estimated 30 percent in 1980. All of the other seven metro Denver counties are growing. The great bulk of the growth is concentrated in communities immediately adjoining Denver, in Jefferson and Arapahoe counties. From 1970 to 1979 Jefferson County grew from 231,000 to an estimated 378,000 residents while Arapahoe increased from 161,000 to 275,300 residents. Nearby Adams County was up from 183,000 to 244,900, but its growth has been slowing in recent years. (DRCOG Notations, July 1979)

Denver began the decade with 514,000 residents, peaked around 1974 and then declined to 489,000, a figure below that of 1960. (New York Times, December 19, 1980 reporting Census figures)

During the 1975-79 period planners estimated that Denver had gained only one-seventh of the area's 106,000 new jobs. Each of four major suburban counties had gained more. If the future allowed this pattern of concentrating 86 percent of the new jobs in the suburban counties, the suburban residential market could expect a continuing boom. The city, however, remains prosperous compared to many older cities rapidly losing jobs. (DRCOG Notations, November 1979)

As most older central cities struggle with the management of rapid decline and many large metropolitan areas face gradual out-migration of people, the Denver area worries about being overrun by immigrants, many of whom are well-paid professionals or corporations flush with funds for energy investments. For many the boom is rolling too fast. There are many voices of warning of the danger to the ecology involved in the creation of another Los Angeles or another Houston. The successful campaign against the Olympics was part of this movement.

TABLE 1

METROPOLITAN POPULATION TRENDS, 1950-1980

County	1950	1960	1970	1980**	Percent 1970-80
Denver***	415,786	493,887	514,000	488,765	-5.0
Adams	40,234	120,296	183,000	248,100	35.6
Arapahoe	52,125	113,426	161,000	203,400	82.2
Boulder	48,296	74,254	130,000	199,300	53.3
Douglas	3,507	4,816	8,000	26,200	228.0
Jefferson	55,687	127,250	231,000	387,400	67.7
SMSA	615,635	933,929	1,227,000	1,643,165	36.6

**1980 figures are estimates from Denver Regional Council of Governments. Denver figure is preliminary Census total.

***Denver is both city and county.

In a metropolitan area with a relatively small minority population and a very small black population, however, there has been relatively little recent attention to the danger that Denver may build another Watts or another East Los Angeles. A great deal of attention was given in the mid-1970s to the problem of school segregation within the central city. After Denver became the first Northern city ordered by the Supreme Court to fully desegregate in 1973, much leadership effort went into a peaceful transition. The issue then rapidly receded. The question of school desegregation was never brought to the suburbs.

School Desegregation Policy

The Keyes Case. The Denver school desegregation case was heavily influenced by both the problems of racial change in Denver and by the courts' understanding of the nature and dynamics of the urban segregation process in general. The case emerged out of struggles within an area, Park Hill and Northeast Denver, that was threatened by ghettoization. The constitutional theory that the Supreme Court adopted in dealing with the Denver case rested on some commonsense conclusions about the impact of school decisions on housing choice. The case arose because families in an integrated neighborhood thought that the school district was following practices producing expansion of a ghetto rather than stabilization of an integrated community. The key to winning a city-wide desegregation plan was acceptance by the courts of the theory that decisions which produced minority schools had the impact of altering the streams of migration across the city. The housing problems helped to justify a city-wide school plan. The possibility of a supporting housing plan was not raised in the litigation and not addressed by the court.

The core legal problem was intentional segregation in the Park Hill area. The trial court concluded that the school board had taken a

series of actions which intensified segregation in the Park Hill area when blacks began to move in in substantial numbers. Among the violations, the court found that a new school was built in 1960 "to contain the eastward movement of the black population in northeast Denver" and almost all of the city's mobile classrooms were used in Park Hill "to contain an overflow of black students." (Keyes v. School District No. 1, 303 F. Supp. 279 (1969).

Violations in this one part of the city were found by the courts to affect the entire Denver community. "The presumption of system-wide impact...derives from the pervasive interrelationship between school policy and the community's development...." (Keyes v. School District No. 1, ___ F 2d ___ (10th Cir., 1975) The Keyes case, the taproot of Northern desegregation, arose because of the ghettoization process and it rested on the court's recognition that schools affect housing decisions.

Housing integration is not a major public issue now in the Denver area. There has been very little discussion about the long-term racial future of the metropolitan area since the decline of the civil rights movement.

A number of developments point toward increasingly difficult problems in the future and the need to bring the school and housing issues into focus in the near future. A change in the Colorado Constitution in 1972 eliminated Denver's annexation powers cutting the central city

off from expansion in the booming metropolis. The now rigid boundary line around a physically small central city separates most of the metropolitan area blacks and Chicanos from the suburbs where the great majority of whites live. The city line now separates a city school system that is less than two-fifths white from suburban systems with few non-whites. Selective migration and steering in the suburban market means that a few suburbs with substantial Hispanic population and a very few with significant numbers of blacks are also becoming quite different from the rapidly growing almost all-white communities.

Denver is in the midst of a comprehensive review of its school situation under the directive of a federal court which desires to conclude the long-running school case with a final order. This means that the city of Denver must evaluate what is happening and what is most likely to work as a tool for school desegregation in the future. After a final order is handed down it will be far more difficult to obtain any additional desegregation remedy.

The population of metropolitan Denver was about 1.5 million in 1977 and was estimated at 1.64 million for 1980. In 1977 local planners estimated that about 81 percent of the population was white, 11 percent Hispanic, 6.5 percent black, and 1.5 percent other races. Asian immigrants are increasing within the city where the Asian population is now about 1 percent. The racial breakdown of 1977 metropolitan population by counties is reported in Table 2. (1980 Census racial statistics are not yet available.)

If the regional planners' estimates were approximately correct, they show that all counties except Denver (a combined city and county) had less than 5 percent black population and two had less than 1 percent. 942,400 of the metro region's 1,257,300 whites (75 percent) lived in the counties where there were less than 5 percent blacks, 511,000 (41 percent) of them lived in the counties with less than 1 percent black residents. 740,000 (59 percent) lived in the three metropolitan counties where there were less than 5 percent Hispanics. The city of Denver contained a fourth of the region's whites but two-thirds of the local Hispanics and seven of every eight blacks. (DRCOG Estimates, 1977, 1980)

The total population statistics are very interesting but they tell little about the rate of change or what may happen in the future. When thinking about these question, the annual racial statistics reported by school districts offer invaluable information about the pace of change and the future racial composition of various parts of the metro area. Racial statistics for schools exaggerate the rate of racial change since minority families moving into white areas tend to have more school-age children and send a substantially larger proportion to public (as opposed

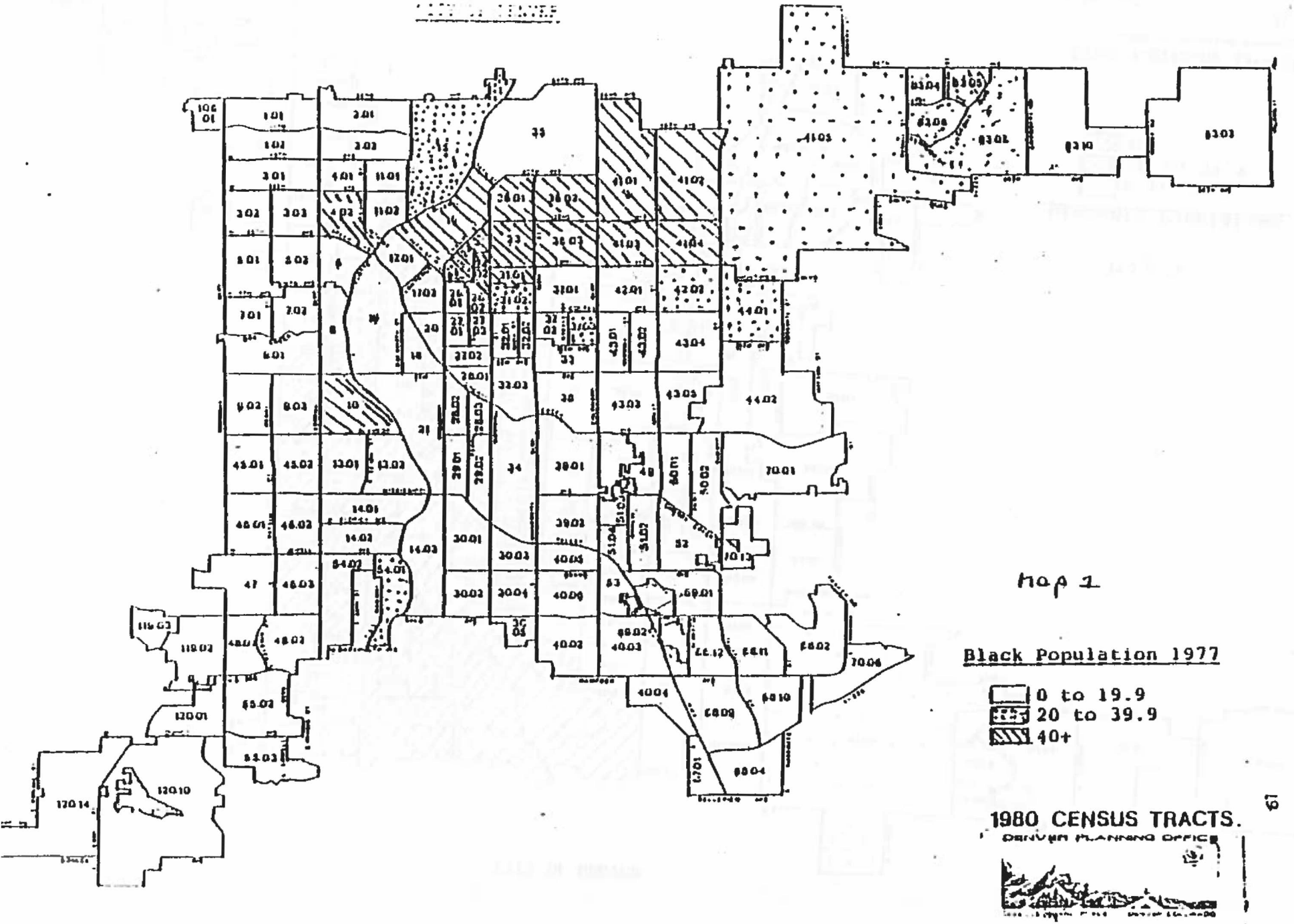
TABLE 2

ESTIMATED WHITE, BLACK, AND HISPANIC RESIDENTIAL POPULATION, 1977*

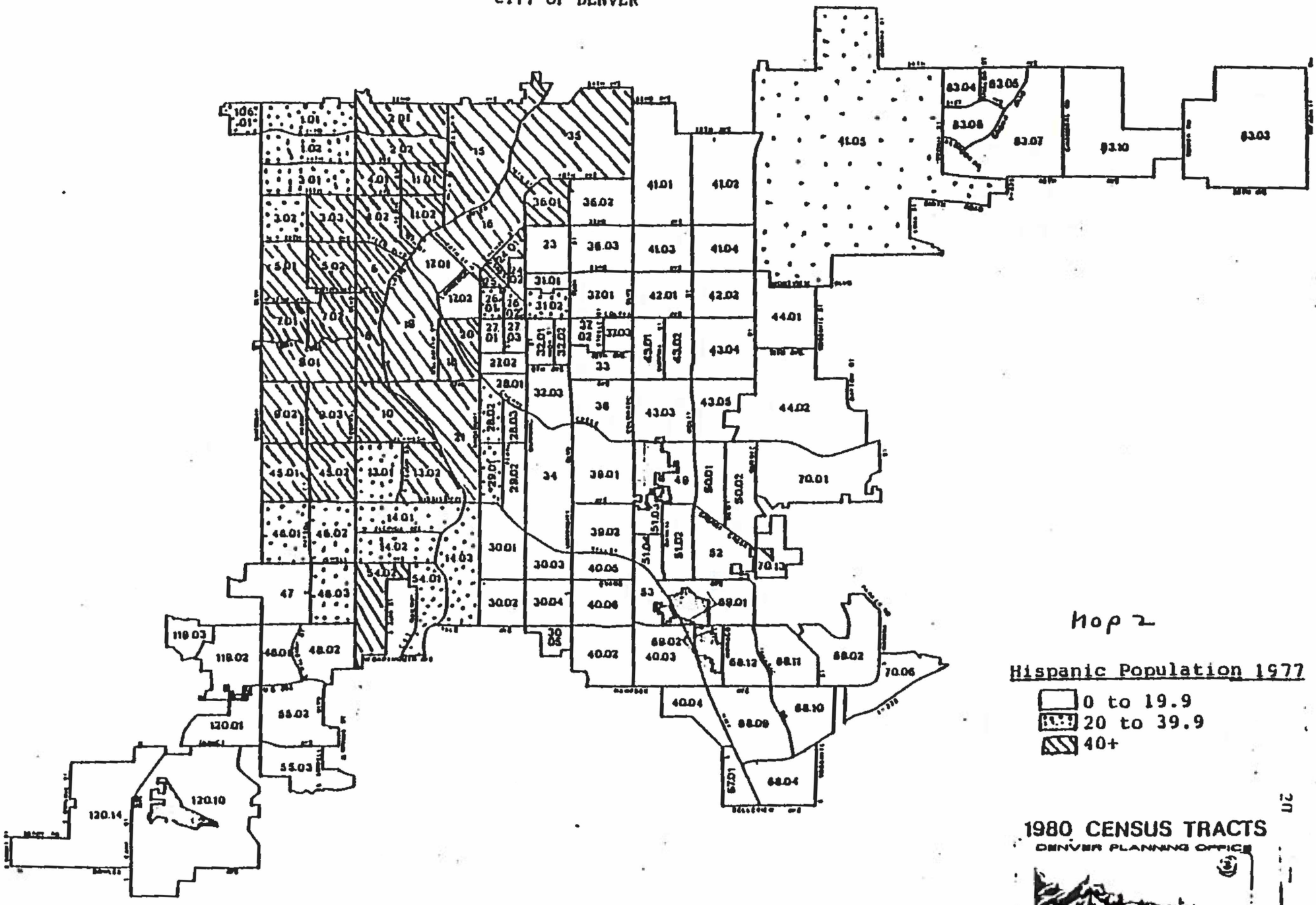
Counties	Whites		Hispanics		Blacks	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Denver	314,900	60.3	110,500	21.2	87,600	16.8
Adams	202,900	84.3	29,900	12.4	3,800	1.6
Arapahoe	228,500	93.2	6,500	2.6	6,300	2.6
Boulder	171,400	93.0	9,000	4.9	1,500	.8
Jefferson	339,600	96.1	9,800	2.8	800	.2
Totals	1,257,300	81.3	165,700	10.7	100,000	6.5

*Other races omitted from table: this amounts to 1-2% of poulation in each county and an average of 1.5% in the region.

SOURCE: Estimates by Denver Regional Council of Governments for regional housing opportunity plan.


Map 1
Black Population 1977
0 to 19.9
20 to 39.9
40+
1980 CENSUS TRACTS.
DENVER PLANNING OFFICE

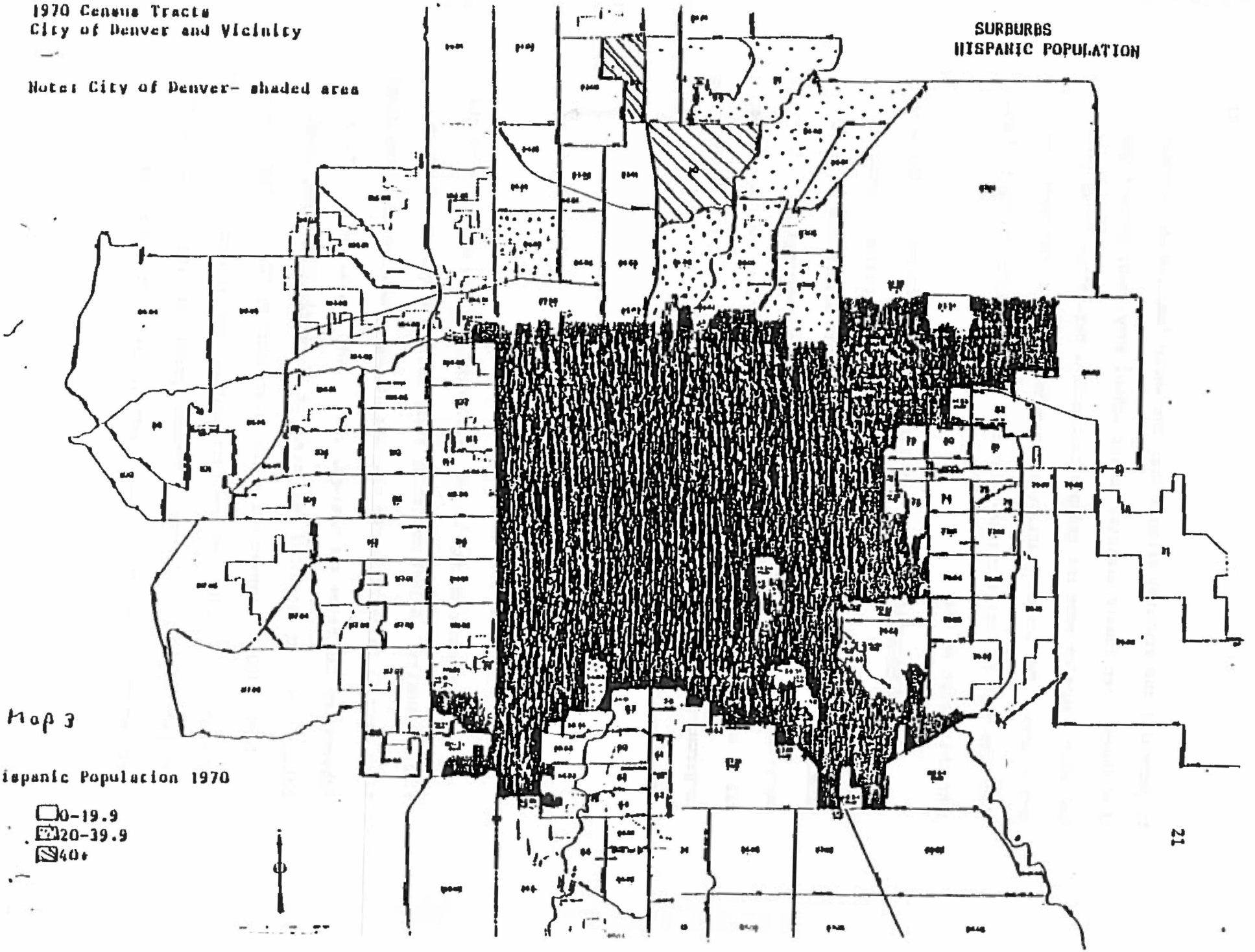
CITY OF DENVER



1970 Census Tracts
City of Denver and Vicinity

Note: City of Denver- shaded area

SURBURBS
HISPANIC POPULATION



Map 3

Hispanic Population 1970

0-19.9
20-39.9
40+

to parochial and private) schools than the white families who already live there. Per family minority public school enrollment percentages are often twice or more the group's residential percentage in an integrated area. The school statistics, in other words, do not merely reflect the rate of racial change--they tend to exaggerate it and to forecast the future of the population.

The Demographic Dilemma. Denver was widely admired for the implementation of a successful school desegregation program. Overt community conflict was not intense and there were significant overall improvements in school achievement that followed desegregation. There was no defiance, like that found in Boston or Cleveland, and no deep and dangerous protest movement, like that in Louisville. The leadership was better and the problem less severe.

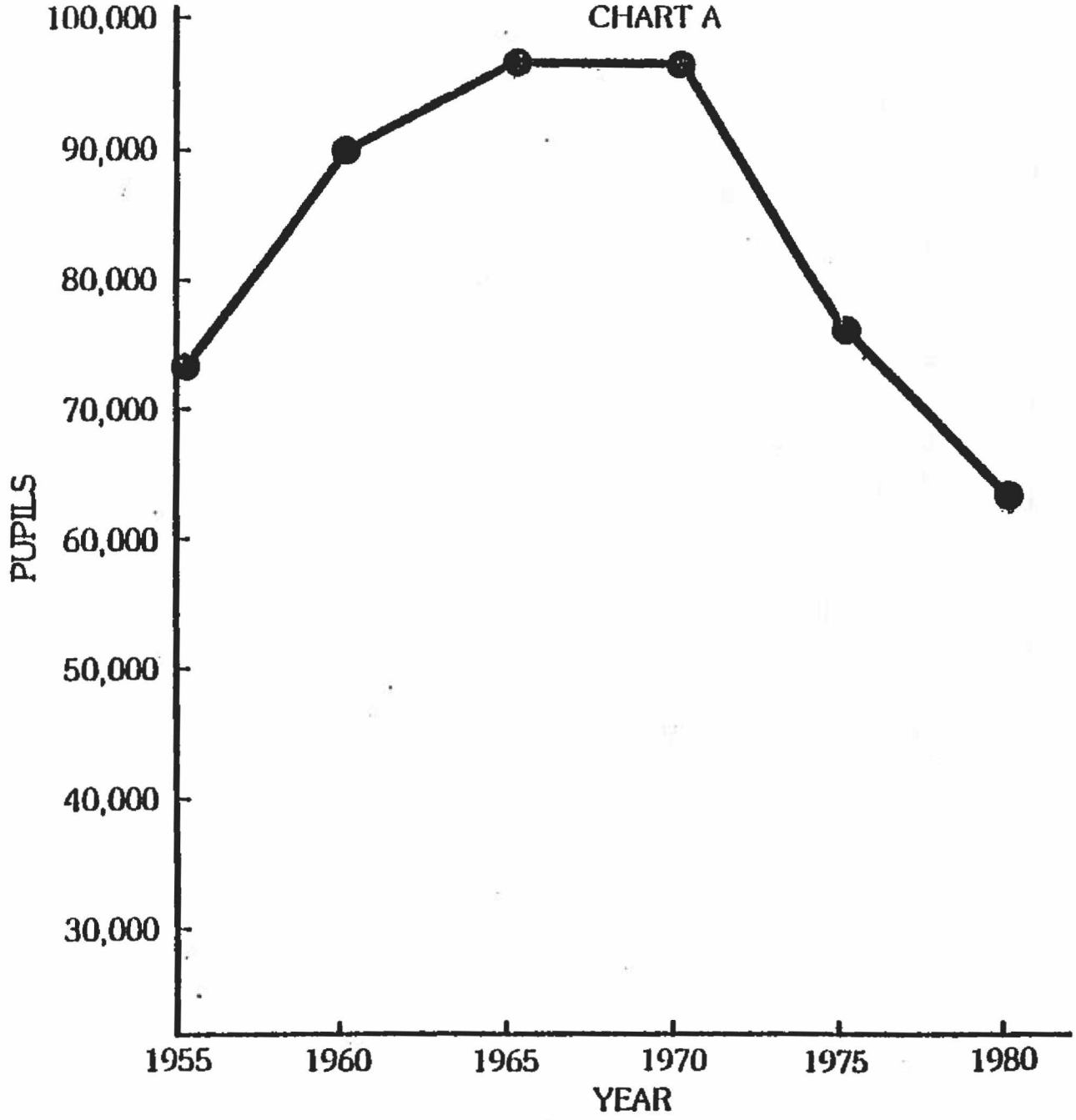
One explanation may be the relatively positive situation of the black community. A 1980 marketing study estimated that the average black over 25 in metro Denver had some college education and found black joblessness far below the national rate. Most blacks were in white collar jobs. An estimated two-thirds of black families owned homes. (Dillard, 1980) Denver officials often mention that although blacks are segregated, conditions are fundamentally better than in other cities. One black neighborhood center director agreed, telling a local reporter that Denver was "a little island where blacks don't experience the kinds

of problems of many other parts of the country." (Ibid.) Black Denver is more like black Minneapolis or Seattle than like the ghettos of Cleveland or Chicago.

The implementation of a school desegregation plan did bring a temporary acceleration of white flight from the Denver schools, but the schools then returned to a normal demographic trend. Last year's decline of white students, for example, was down significantly from the previous year's and was significantly less than that experienced in a number of cities without desegregation plans.

The basic problem, however, is that Denver contains only a small and declining fraction of the metropolitan area's Anglo students but retains a very large proportion of the minority children. As is true in virtually every other central city surrounded by expanding suburbs, the situation promises to become worse each year. When the desegregation plan began, Denver contained only about a sixth of the Anglo students of the metropolitan area. By 1979 it had only about an eighth of the Anglos, but more than half of Hispanics and almost three-fourths of the blacks. The proportion of the metropolitan Anglos in the city schools is approximately the same as in Cleveland.

The Denver schools began integration with more than half Anglo students, avoiding the initial difficulties of school districts that start desegregation with only a fourth or fewer white children. The fact that there was a substantial white majority and the fact that the courts tend to take a static rather than a dynamic view of these things meant that there was very little incentive to examine the broader framework of the metropolitan urban community. After Denver had been found



DENVER PUBLIC SCHOOL PUPIL MEMBERSHIP K–12

TABLE 3

DENVER METROPOLITAN SCHOOL ENROLLMENT BY RACE, 1975-1979

District	1974				1975				1976		
	T	A	H	B	T	A	H	B	T	A	H
Denver	80,375	43,576	20,755	14,831	78,888	40,065	21,832	15,679	75,237	36,539	21,645
Jefferson County	78,195	75,138	2,381	196	79,422	75,809	2,769	231	80,790	76,781	2,845
Douglas County	4,322	4,194	83	16	4,586	4,451	89	15	4,888	4,693	100
Mapleton	6,172	4,731	1,271	70	6,199	4,588	1,349	75	6,113	4,426	1,380
Northglenn-Thornton	17,554	15,251	1,875	141	18,231	15,765	2,088	168	19,054	16,392	2,248
Adams County	7,138	4,916	1,985	178	6,897	4,674	1,993	162	6,549	4,336	1,990
Brighton	4,230	3,247	915	3	4,238	3,177	994	6	4,180	3,070	1,044
Westminister	16,708	13,986	2,406	74	16,461	13,680	2,423	94	15,578	12,764	2,450
Englewood	4,877	4,427	381	22	4,763	4,311	381	28	4,548	4,097	368
Sheridan	2,015	1,475	444	28	1,932	1,442	412	31	1,893	1,423	387
Cherry Creek	13,579	13,000	223	217	14,876	14,084	265	316	16,239	15,370	271
Littleton	17,909	17,422	279	104	17,728	17,161	331	93	17,921	17,222	407
Adams-Arapahoe	20,249	17,908	866	1,009	20,916	18,161	884	1,285	20,878	17,926	1,007
Boulder Valley	23,646	22,111	1,050	219	23,423	21,786	1,124	225	23,299	21,639	1,077
Metropolitan Totals	296,969	241,382	34,914	17,108	298,560	239,154	36,934	18,408	297,167	236,678	37,219

T = Total, A = Anglo, H = Hispanic, B = Black--other races not reported in this table but are included in the district's tc enrollment.

	1977				1978				1979			
B	T	A	H	B	T	A	H	B	T	A	H	B
5,603	71,364	33,498	21,231	15,056	68,830	30,573	21,343	15,111	65,128	28,005	20,685	14,336
279	81,659	77,346	2,955	308	80,917	76,007	3,339	356	79,190	73,871	3,552	413
19	5,561	5,412	80	24	6,063	5,864	115	28	6,489	6,289	126	26
74	5,770	4,071	1,420	60	5,436	3,799	1,360	54	5,030	3,373	1,327	6[illegible]
190	19,121	14,813	3,698	316	19,203	16,448	2,176	178	18,762	15,929	2,252	19[illegible]
184	6,274	4,018	2,015	165	6,101	3,792	1,941	183	6,028	3,711	1,940	18[illegible]
6	4,178	3,025	1,084	6	4,188	3,022	1,095	11	4,175	2,942	1,170	13
73	14,871	16,754	2,744	103	14,088	11,139	2,556	104	13,249	10,195	2,608	115
35	4,246	3,778	380	31	4,008	3,545	366	28	3,734	3,274	370	25
34	1,755	1,275	405	34	1,774	1,273	442	28	1,665	1,186	416	3[illegible]
346	17,798	16,763	331	379	19,031	17,819	382	432	19,999	18,718	428	443
103	17,751	17,057	399	111	17,448	16,689	417	119	17,203	16,398	431	109
1,360	21,182	17,951	1,014	1,614	21,797	18,256	1,027	1,858	22,500	18,212	1,154	2,343
264	22,916	21,197	1,102	286	22,191	20,412	1,094	300	21,358	19,503	1,123	32c
18,570	294,446	231,958	38,858	18,493	291,075	228,638	37,653	18,790	284,510	221,606	37,582	18,62[illegible]

TABLE 4

STUDENT ENROLLMENT
METROPOLITAN DENVER RACIAL COMPOSITION
1974 and 1979

	ANGLO		HISPANIC		BLACK		ASIAN & INDIAN	
	1974	1979	1974	1979	1974	1979	1974	1979
METRO AREA	81.3%	77.9%	11.8%	13.2%	5.8%	6.5%	1.1%	2.4%
SUBURBS	91.3%	88.2%	6.5%	7.7%	1.1%	2.0%	1.1%	2.1%
CITY OF DENVER	54.2%	43.0%	25.8%	31.8%	18.4%	22.0%	1.5%	3.2%

Source: Calculated from racial and ethnic statistics collected by Colorado State Department of Education.

guilty and when the court was considering a remedy, the Denver school board suggested including the suburbs. The court held, however, that no one had made the suburbs or the state government parties to the case in time to examine their guilt, so the question was dropped. It was not to be revived in the seventies.

By the fall of 1980 the white enrollment in the city of Denver was down to 41 percent and there were a number of "desegregated" schools that had only about a fourth Anglo students. During the 1979-80 school year there were sixteen schools in the city with less than 30 percent Anglo students. (Denver Public Schools, Sept. 28, 1979) Private school enrollments were substantial in the predominantly white areas of town, there was an extremely large number of households without school-age children, and there was a much greater predisposition to move among those living in the remaining sections of the city.

TABLE 5

METROPOLITAN PERCENT DECLINE IN ENROLLMENT

	Metropolitan	Denver	Suburbs
Total	-4.7%	-17.4%	-.001%
Anglo	-7.3%	-30.1%	-.028%

Denver enrollment fell a total of 13,760 students in five years, including 12,060 Anglos. The suburbs lost 290 students on a much larger

base. The city, which had 26 percent of the total metro students in 1975, had 23 percent in 1979, but its percent of the metro Anglo students fell from 16.8 percent to 12.6 percent. In other words, by fall 1979, 87 percent of Denver area Anglo students were beyond the reach of the Denver desegregation plan.

Denver had 59 percent of the metro Hispanics in 1975 and 55 percent in 1979. Denver had 85 percent of all metro area blacks in 1975 and 77 percent in 1979.

In other words, about one-eighth of the white students were supposed to integrate more than three-fourths of the blacks and half of the Hispanics.

Desegregation and White Suburbanization. Although the basic explanations of the population and enrollment changes in Denver concern long-term demographic forces, and although desegregation was well implemented, busing was very unpopular with local whites and that it may have temporarily accelerated the process of change, given the large number of attractive nearby suburban communities untouched by the plan.

The year before the Denver Supreme Court decision, a HUD-financed random survey of Denver residents were undertaken by the Denver Urban Observatory. The survey showed that almost nine in ten Anglos and blacks and three in four Hispanics thought that school integration was a serious problem. 81 percent of whites and 70 percent of Hispanics were opposed to busing (blacks favored it by a two to one margin). (Taylor, 1974:579-80)

At the request of members of the city council another survey was conducted in metro Denver in early 1975 to study reasons for residential movement to and from Denver and its suburbs. The city's concern was that

the suburbs were growing almost ten times as fast as the city and Denver was expected to "account for a continually shrinking share of the metropolitan area's economic activity." Policymakers wanted to avoid the "serious and sometimes insolvable problems" afflicting other large cities. Families who had bought homes within the past two years were interviewed.* (Von Stroh:1-2)

The study found both a substantial out-migration of families to the suburbs and a strong preference for families moving from other parts of Colorado or other states for suburban rather than city homes. (Ibid., 9)

When the families were asked why they moved factors relating to the quality of the home or its cost and to "neighborhood character" were most frequently cited. Of those who purchased Denver homes, only one in fifty mentioned schools as the most important concern. Of those who bought suburban homes, one-tenth said schools were the most leading issue. Since many of the suburban buyers had already been suburanites and many of the Denver buyers had previously lived elsewhere in Denver, many probably faced no major change in school conditions. (Ibid., 16)

When one focuses on the narrower question of why people moved across the city-suburban boundary line, however, schools played a stronger role. 16 percent of those moving out to the suburbs said that schools were the most important concern while none of those moving into the city cited schools. A sixth of those moving to the suburbs from out of state cited school concerns. (Ibid., 17, 19, 20)

When the people were asked what they found pleasant about their new area, schools ranked third among those moving out to the suburbs and seventh among those moving to the city. When asked about negative factors,

*There are numerous methodological difficulties in a survey of this sort attempting to retrospectively explain behavior and the results should be treated cautiously.

schools ranked first among suburbanites moving to Denver. (Ibid., 26) People ranked the local advantages of each region as follows: (Ibid., 30)

City Advantages	Suburban Advantages
transportation	elementary schools
drainage	less pollution
street maintenance	junior highs
parks	senior high schools
lower taxes	neighbors
shopping	crime protection
health care	recreation
garbage removal	

The families who moved to the suburbs were highly opposed to busing and 23 percent said that school integration was a problem at their old location. 83 percent opposed busing, most of them strongly, and only 2 percent supported it. Among those who moved into the city opposition was almost as strong--79 percent opposed and 15 percent supporting, but none reported negative previous experience. (Ibid., 32)

The white flight research, which now includes scores of studies conducted since 1975, has produced a consensus conclusion that the most difficult situation for initiating stable desegregation is with a plan that requires large-scale student transfers in a city with a high minority enrollment surrounded by white suburbs with all-white neighborhood schools. This was the situation in Denver. Such desegregation plans may continue to have an impact on the real estate market, producing a tendency to underline the separateness and "high quality" of the white suburban school districts in real estate marketing.

Real Estate Ads. Reading the real estate ads in the Denver papers shows the powerful publicity for white out-migration. One day's Denver Post shows a clear pattern. The ads for Jefferson County, the suburb with the state's largest school district substantially larger than Denver's, promised both cheaper financing and largely white schools without busing. One ad was headlined "JEFFERSON COUNTY BOND MONEY" and included the phrase frequently found in white suburban areas with central city only desegregation plans--"close to school."

Among the ads on a single page there were recurrent references to schools: "near school," "Cherry Creek school area," "Cherry Creek Schools," "close to school," "Cherry Crk. schls.," "Ch. Crk. schools," "next to elem. sch.," "walk to all schls.," "near schools," "close to schools," and a variety of others in the same vein. Schools came up consistently in the suburban ads. Obviously realtors who had two or three sentences to capture the interest of a potential buyer felt that this was one of the suburban area's central attractions. The city ads, on the other hand, very rarely mentioned schools, with only one mention among all of the ads for the day. (Denver Post, Jan. 9, 1980:57)

The ads in the Rocky Mountain News showed much the same pattern. One interesting feature in the Rocky Mountain News was a special on repossessed Veterans Administration homes. This was the only portion of the paper in which all the ads emphasized "Equal Housing Opportunity," clearly welcoming minority buyers.

The only Denver ad mentioning schools was the one attempting to sell a home in a part of the city left alone by the desegregation plan. The ad proclaimed, "no-bussing area of Athmar Park." The suburban ads

were virtually the same as those in the Post. One in Arvada, for example, contained the phrase "close to Schools." The next sentence was "Great time to use Jeffco Bond Money at low interest rate." "Near schools," and "walk to schools" were sprinkled through the ads. In addition to the frequent mention of the Jefferson County bond money, the availability of similar funds in another suburban area was pointed out. "Buy on Adams County Bond Money below FHA rate. Hurry, it won't last." (Jan. 10, 1980:138-39)

The local real estate magazine, Denver LIVING, contained numerous ads promoting large new developments far outside the city limits. The magazine contained a map showing the boundaries of the various school districts in the metro area, and numerous ads emphasizing their importance.

The back cover of the magazine was given over to an ad by sixteen developments promoting moves to the Southeast suburbs. Next to a large map with each public school marked by a large red box to show where they were in relation to the various new developments, the following ad appeared:

YOUR WORLD APART

> When you make your move, set your sights high--on the area smart Denverites aspire to: Southeast!
>
> Quiet, country-like living, clear, fresh air, panoramic views.... ...enjoy easy access to Interstates 25 and 225, Stapleton Airport, downtown Denver and Colorado Springs.
>
> Your children will attend schools in the nationally recognized Cherry Creek and Littleton School Districts....
>
> Start to get the most out of life--and benefit from stable property values--in ideal Southeast Denver... your world apart! (Denver LIVING, November/December 1979)

The full-page ads for individual developments frequently struck the same notes. The Skyridge development in Aurora boasted: "You will enjoy the

advantages of Aurora City services, recreation and schools." The Crossing West development pointed to "the highly-rated Cherry Creek school district." Willowood spoke of "the nationally acclaimed Cherry Creek School District." Homestead Farms emphasized, "Littleton Schools." Columbine spoke of "nationally acclaimed Jefferson County schools," as did the International Collection of Homes. (Ibid., 54, 67, 82)

The want ads in the fall of 1980 showed much the same pattern. A "super family home" in Broomfield was "convenient to schools." One house in Littleton boasted "within walking distance to schools." Other ads proclaimed simply, "Littleton Schools," "Cherry Creek schools," or, in Aurora, "walking distance to Gateway High School." (Denver Post, October 22, 1980)

White suburbanization and real estate steering was not justified by the failure of the central city schools. Whites locating in suburban school districts frequently say that they had to do it because of the low quality of city schools. Doubtless some say this in Denver also. It does not happen to be true, however. In contrast to severely deteriorated central city systems elsewhere where a school performing at national norms is a rare exception, the record for the entire city of Denver was strong. There were major successes inside the Denver school system several years after desegregation. Compared to most other central city school districts and a good many suburbs, the Denver achievement test scores are remarkable. In most central city districts, the average test scores have long been far below national norms. Denver scores had remained above national norms and have been rising in the recent past.

The results were particularly dramatic in the early grades, where the minority proportion of Denver's enrollment is highest. Second graders, in spring 1979, ranked at the 65th percentile nationally in reading, the 66th percentile in language skills, and the 77th percentile in math. Each of the other grade levels showed scores above national norms, though not in such a dramatic fashion. The data showed that the average student who had been in the city's public schools for at least two years did even better. (DPS Focus, Sept. 1979)

The Denver school district also made a major effort to provide accelerated courses for high achieving high school students. Advanced placement tests for college credit were taken by some 700 Denver seniors in 1980, five times as many as in the larger Jefferson County suburban district. Advanced placement courses were offered in ten different high schools. (Branscombe, 1980)

The fact that the schools have been doing a good job does not mean that realtors or white buyers know or believe that they are successful. Most whites, in fact, probably simply assume that central city schools with large minority enrollments are inferior and are likely to have continuing increases in minority concentrations.

Negative Trends Within the City. The likelihood that the demographic trends in Denver will change in a way that will produce stable integration of the city's schools is weakened by negative trends in the settlement of families with children, by the substantial use of private schools in some white neighborhoods, by the continuing expansion of minority residential areas, and by the large number of white families in the white areas who plan to move in the relatively near future. These

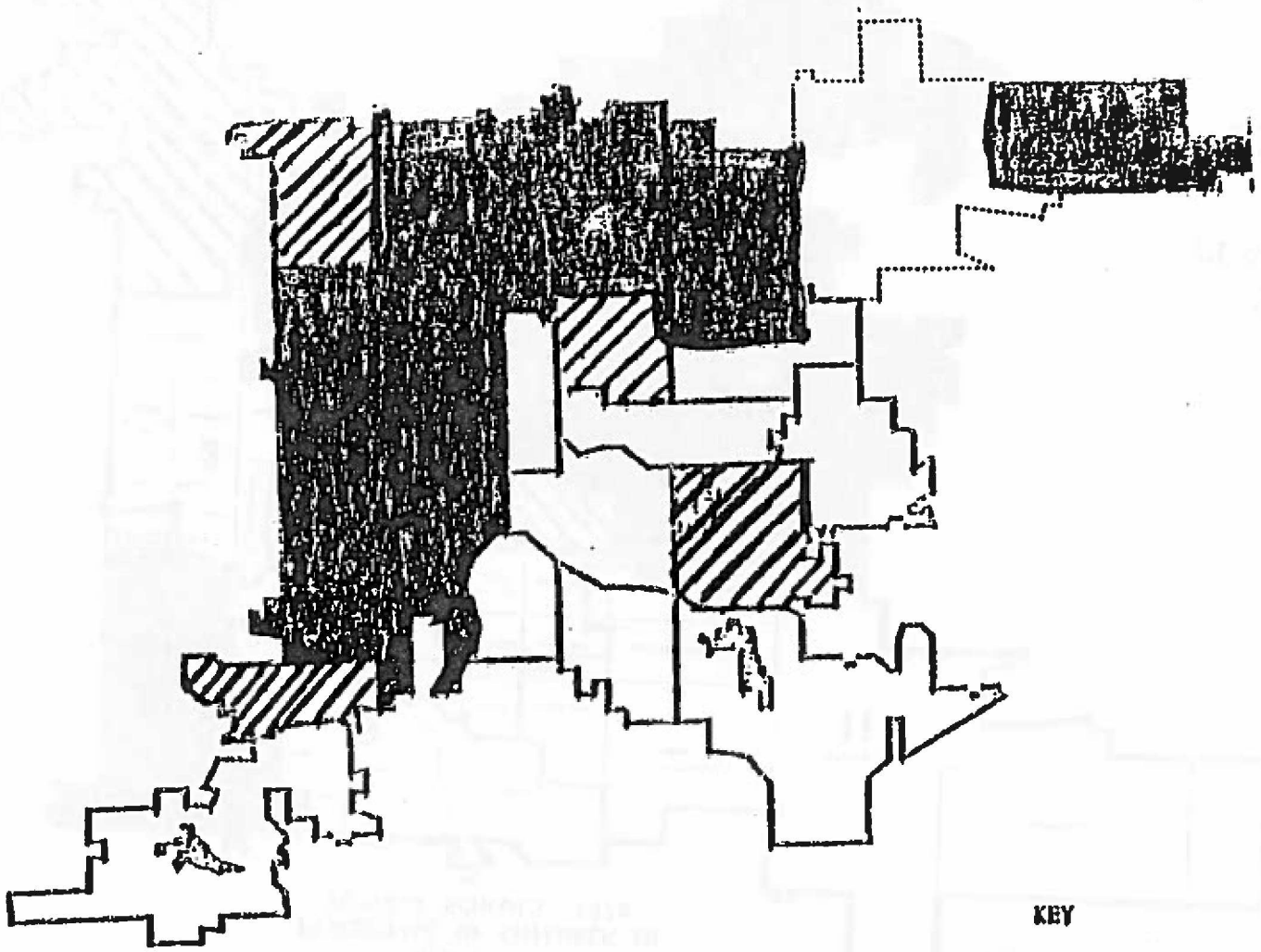
problems are likely to increase, at least in the short run, when the school board reassigns substantial numbers of students to update its desegregation plan.

A major 1978 survey by city planners studied a sample of almost 2,900 households within Denver. It showed that only 27 percent of Denver households were families with children under 18. Almost a fifth of the city's housing units were occupied by single persons. In a metropolitan area with relatively few renters, almost half of the Denver residents (47 percent) were renters. This meant that fewer people had difficult-to-break long-term commitments to the city. The city was 68 percent Anglo, 20 percent Hispanic, and 12 percent black in overall population. 60 percent of the residents reported that they held white collar jobs. Of those with school-age children, 84 percent used public schools. (Orr, 1979, 5, 8, 14, 17, 27)

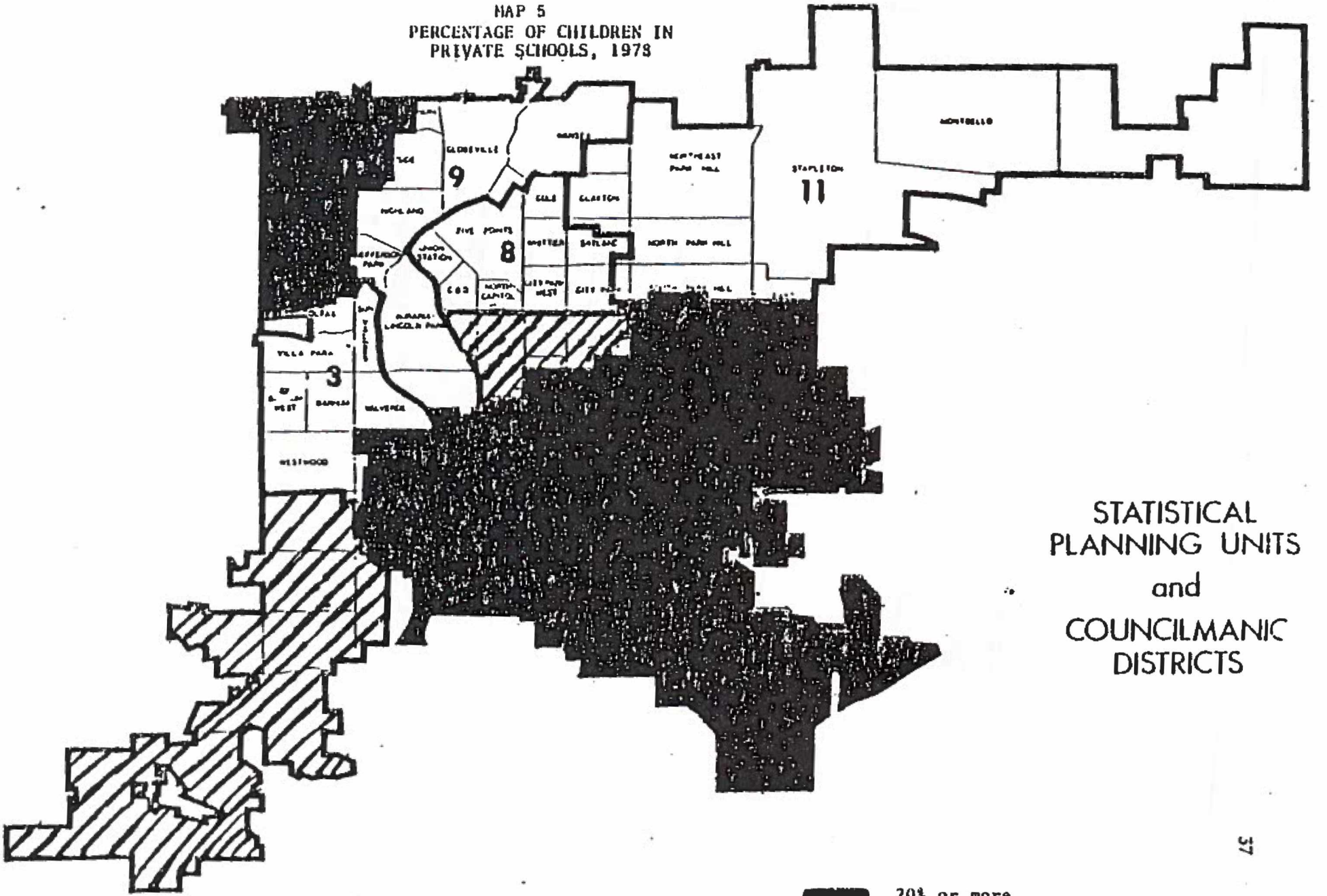
An extensive survey conducted by parent volunteers for the school district as part of its process of revising its desegregation plan produced data showing both the high use of private schools in the predominantly white areas and the much greater likelihood that the families would move out of their neighborhoods. The trends are clear in the following maps shwoing racial composition (map 4), use of private schools (map 5), and plans for moving from the neighborhood (map 6). School planners report that the number of students in predominantly Anglo areas fell from 28,000 in 1974 to 21,000 in 1980 and project it will fall to 14,000 by 1985. (Denver Public Schools, 1980:56)

Denver's desegregation plan, like a good many others, is built around the idea that each school should approximately reflect the overall racial composition of the school district. The plan aimed to bring each

MAP 4
CITY OF DENVER PRE-SCHOOL AGE POPULATION



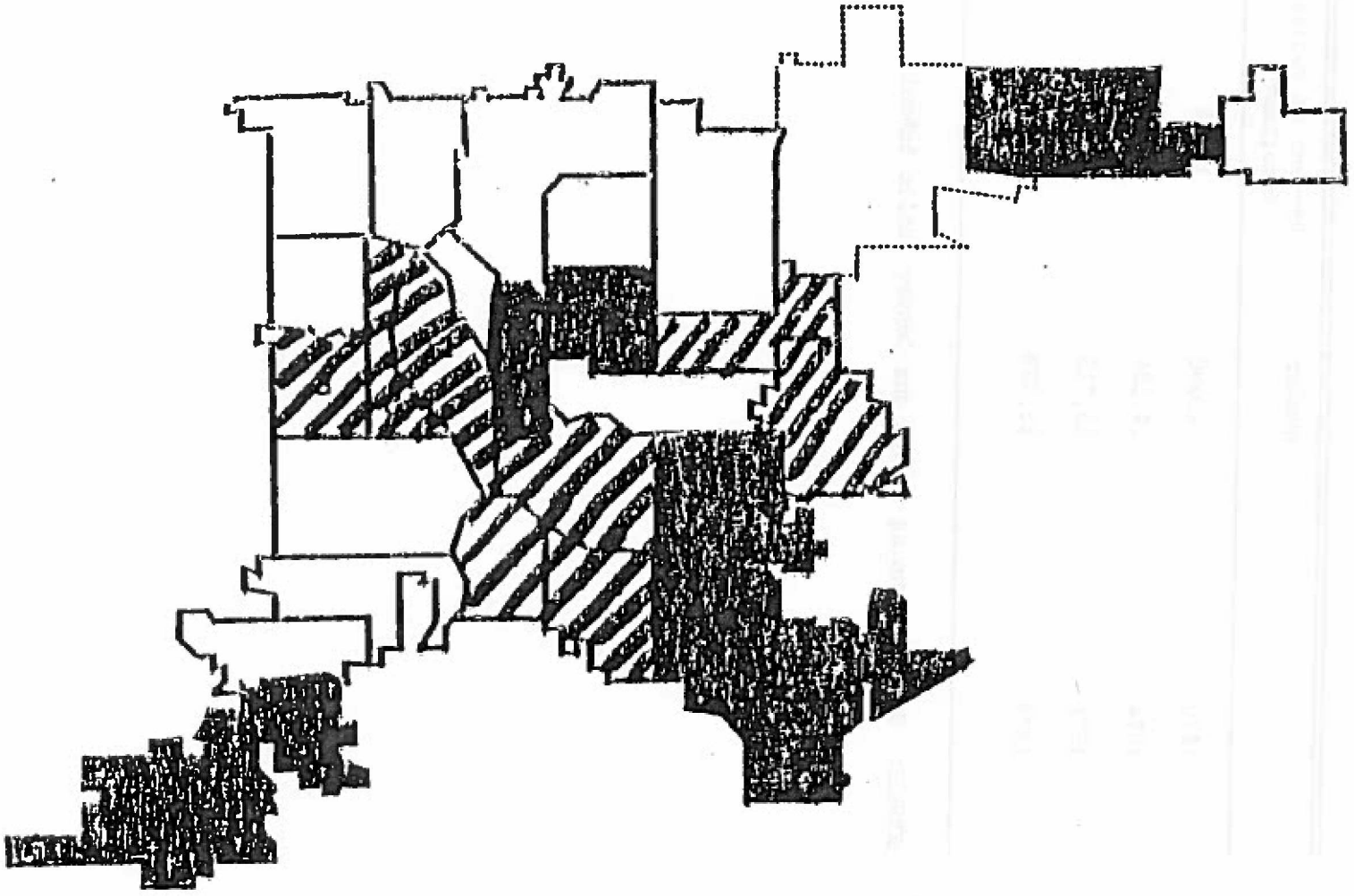
MAP 5
PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN IN
PRIVATE SCHOOLS, 1978



Source: Denver Office of Policy Analysis, 1979

MAP 6

DENVER RESIDENTS PLANS TO MOVE FROM NEIGHBORHOOD



Estimated % Moving in Next Five Years

Solid Color--more than 45%
Striped --30-45%
No Color --less than 30%

TABLE 6

DENVER PRIVATE AND PAROCHIAL ENROLLMENT

	Number	Percent of Public Enrollment
1970	16,660	17.3%
1974	14,136	18.1%
1976	13,713	18.8%
1978	13,393	20.0%

SOURCE: Denver Planning Office and Denver Public Schools.

school within 15 percent of the district's Anglo and minority enrollments. When the plan began, with 54 percent Anglo children, this meant that an "integrated" school could contain from 39 to 69 percent minority children; each school was guaranteed substantial presence of both groups. Now that the Anglo enrollment has declined to 41 percent, an "integrated" school has from 26 to 56 percent Anglo children and from 44 to 74 percent minority children.

Denver school officials expect the percent minority to climb about 1.5 percent a year. (DPS Long-Range Planning Committee: 56) When the Anglo enrollment falls to 30 percent in the school district in eight years or so, all "integrated" schools would have to have from 55 to 85 percent minority students.

At a time when the suburbs remain 88 percent Anglo in their school enrollment and most of the rapidly growing have even fewer blacks and Hispanics, it seems very doubtful that schools that are more than three-fourths minority will appear to be integrated to most Denver area Anglo families. There is also evidence from research on large Florida districts that blacks resist busing to predominantly black "integrated" schools. The logic of the Denver desegregation plan may, in its effort to end the racial identifiability of schools within the city, produce an entire school district that is viewed as a minority institution within the context of the true metropolitan community.

The underlying residential trends of metropolitan Denver imperil desegregation for the children of the central city. There are also some indications that a desegregation plan limited to the central city may have a significant adverse impact on the ability of the city and the

TABLE 7

DENVER ESTIMATED ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS
October 15, 1964 through September 26, 1980
(Opportunity School and Metro Youth Centers Not Included)

Enrollment	Black	Hispanic	Anglo	American Indian	Asian	Total Pupils	Percent Anglo
1964	11,149	16,421	67,899	220	739	96,428	70.4
1965	12,197	16,719	66,517	226	687	96,346	69.0
1966	12,693	17,266	64,955	317	727	95,958	67.7
1967	13,346	17,873	64,226	255	720	96,420	66.6
1968	13,639	18,611	63,398	273	656	96,577	65.6
1969	13,932	19,821	61,912	231	738	96,634	64.1
1970	14,072	21,182	59,716	335	783	96,088	62.1
1971	14,449	21,179	56,177	312	682	92,759	60.6
1972	15,240	20,920	52,473	383	669	89,685	58.5
1973	15,046	20,590	48,808	357	637	85,438	57.1
1974	14,276	20,074	42,282	509	667	78,281*	54.3
1975	14,648	20,808	38,743	518	762	76,503*	51.3
1976	14,892	20,752	35,728	462	941	72,775	49.1
1977	14,700	20,829	33,027	488	1,074	70,118	47.1
1978	14,584	20,493	29,996	428	1,310	66,821	44.9
1979	13,876	19,906	27,400	472	1,571	63,225	43.3
1980	13,891	19,945	25,572	486	2,142	62,036	41.1

* No racial data available for 473 students in 1974 and 1,024 in 1975.

SOURCE: Denver Public Schools, Department of Education and Management Information Services.

school district to attract and retain Anglo families with school children. Even as metropolitan plans may increase residential integration, city-only plans may be an obstacle. (Pearce, 1980)

Housing Policies

There are two policy issues of great importance for viable school desegregation in the city. The first concerns the degree to which specific housing policy decisions have helped or harmed the search for stable integration since the implementation of the court order. The second is the degree to which the general housing subsidy programs are helping or hurting school integration prospects today. The third is the question of the change in Denver's annexation powers and the degree to which this change in state policy has made it impossible for Denver and its public schools to successfully adapt to the long-run white suburban trend that was very evident before the annexation power was taken.

One specific decision that shows the powerful impact of housing on school desegregation in Denver was mentioned repeatedly in discussions with Denver school officials. This was the development of a defective Section 235 low-income home ownership project in the Montbello area, the last major area of undeveloped land in the city. The project was widely viewed as having wrecked the prospects for a community planned as a model integrated area.

It has not been possible to investigate these concerns in any depth in the preparation of this report, but the school district's present statistics and policy dilemmas in the Montbello area show that they deserve full examination. School Board Attorney Michael Jackson described

Montbello as an area that was an excellent example of an integrated community with residents from a broad economic spectrum and about 30 percent minority families in the early days. The prospects, he said, were wrecked by a shabby 235 project marketed to low-income minority families, which triggered rapid resegregation in the early 1970s. (Inter., Jan. 10, 1980) The project created the expectation that this large area would be black.

School board member Katherine Schomp agreed that Montbello had had "every chance of being a model integrated community." It was one of the only "places in town where we can build housing that might attract middle income families," but HUD had approved a large 235 development with no amenities. "It's going to be a segregated community," she predicted in early 1980. (Interview, January 10, 1980)

The hope had been to treat a new junior-senior high school in the Montbello area as a naturally integrated school reflecting integrated residential patterns. Although the neighborhood was resegregating, Montbello leaders urged the school board to try this plan anyway, assuring them that sufficient whites would enroll. In April 1979, the school board agreed. The school opened with a 76.5 percent minority enrollment, segregated in terms of the court's requirements. (Denver Public Schools Task Force, 1980:3-4; 1980-81 enrollment data)

A school district task force noted that if it became necessary to bus whites into Montbello to integrate the new school, the most logical source would be the Park Hill neighborhood where the original case had been filed. It would be an ironic result. Children in a naturally integrated neighborhood whose parents had fought an epic battle to successfully stabilize integration in their neighborhood would be bused out of that neighborhood to another resegregated as a result of a federal housing

program. They would be transferred under a plan which would make their new school more than 70 percent black and Hispanic, even if all the transferred white children appeared in Montbello (a highly unlikely occurrence). The senselessness of that proposal underlines the fact that more attention to basic assumptions and fundamental goals is needed to build a workable policy for Denver.

There are other complaints about housing decisions in Denver. The construction of a large subsidized project on 23rd Street, for example, without consultation with school officials, appears to be responsible for the segregation of one elementary school.

These particular problems are, of course, very important for particular neighborhoods. They suggest the powerful consequences of housing decisions. Each individual decision, however, does not have a large impact on the entire metropolitan community or the fate of the entire school district

The Impact of Housing Subsidy Programs. Denver has a large housing subsidy effort serving substantial numbers of both white and minority tenants in the city and the suburbs. To understand the impact of housing policy, and cumulative housing decisions on the metropolitan school dilemma figures must be assembled to assess the impact of the sum total of assisted housing activity across the metropolitan area on residential and school segregation.

Denver's assisted housing effort is relatively large and there has been a very significant move toward dispersion of housing to the suburbs in the 1970s. In racial terms, however, the dominant features are a high concentration of minority assisted housing in the city and a failure to bring substantial numbers of minority residents into the subsidized sector in the suburbs.

For a newer western city, Denver has built significant numbers of assisted family units. Over the past thirty years, over 6,700 units of assisted family housing have been built in Denver compared to under 2,500 in Phoenix, a city with 59 percent more people. There was little assisted housing activity in Denver suburbs until the 1970's. But since the creation of an AHOP,* that situation has turned around and there are now over 5,000 family units in the suburbs.

Local Characteristics

Although minorities make up about 40 percent of the city's population and are concentrated in about fifty of Denver's 130 census tracts, over 70 percent of the family constructed assisted housing is located in census tracts over 40 percent minority (see map 7). Another 11 percent is located in 20 to 40 percent minority tracts. Since minority school enrollment is often at least twice the minority percent of overall population, these areas are likely to have segregated schools. About 14 percent of the city's assisted housing is in white areas. The suburban pattern is just the reverse with over 90 percent of the units in white areas.

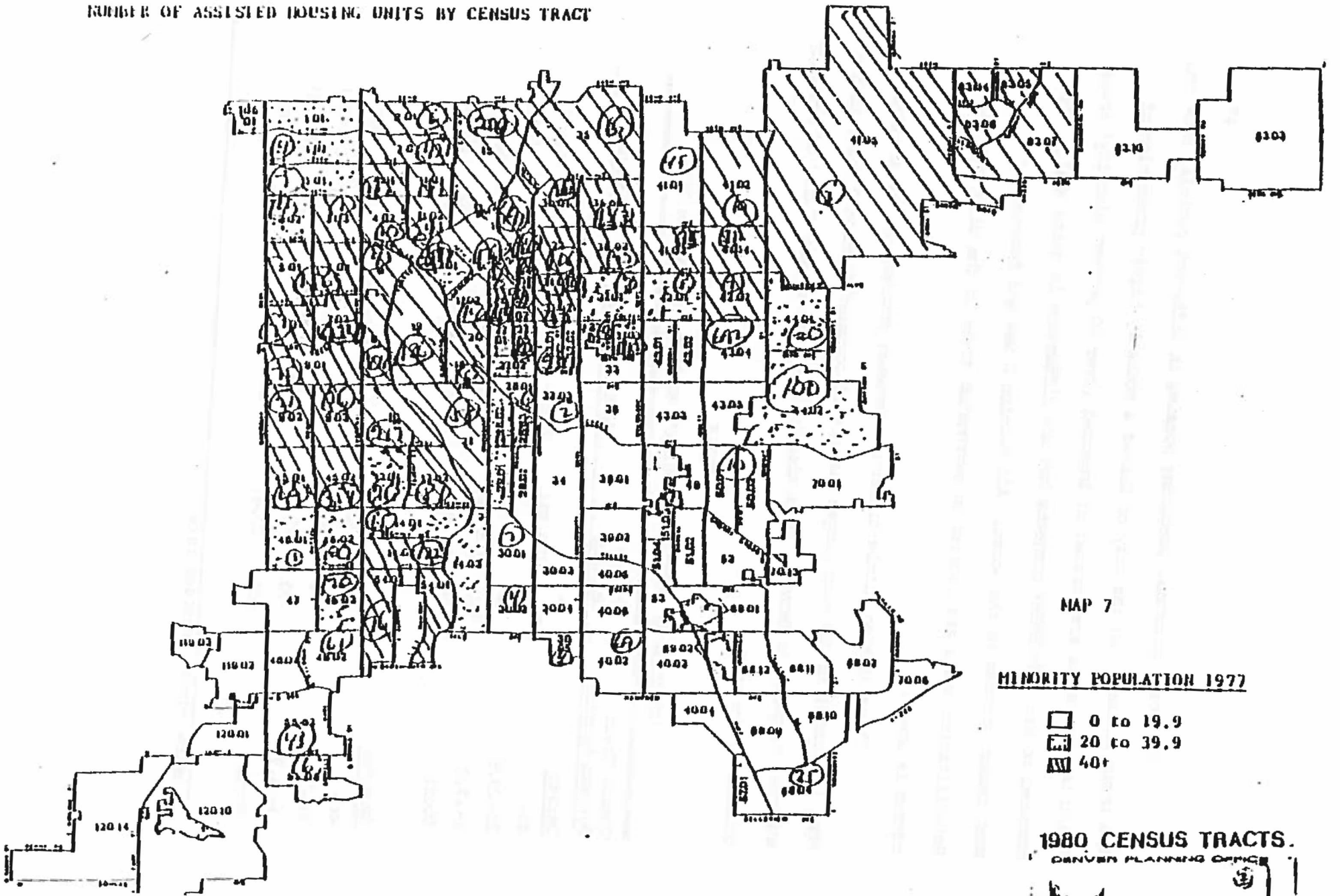
TABLE 8

LOCATION OF FAMILY CONSTRUCTED HOUSING
(Includes Public Housing, Sec. 236 rental units, Sec. 8 New Construction and Substantial Rehab.)

Census Tract Percent Minority	Denver		Suburbs	
40+	5,010	(74.3%)	106	(0.2%)
20-30.9	778	(11.5%)	306	(5.8%)
0-19.9	958	(14.3%)	4,901	(94.0%)
Total	6,746	(100%)	5,313	(100%)

*Assisted Housing Opportunity Program.

NUMBER OF ASSISTED HOUSING UNITS BY CENSUS TRACT



MAP 7

MINORITY POPULATION 1977

- 0 to 19.9
- 20 to 39.9
- 40+

1980 CENSUS TRACTS.

DENVER PLANNING OFFICE

Different programs, producing housing in different periods, show the same basic pattern. In the city of Denver a modestly higher proportion of public housing units are located in impacted (over 40 percent minority) areas compared to Sec. 236/BMIR* projects but the difference is quite small. The most recent program is the worst. All Section 8 New and Substantial Rehabilitation units are located in segregated areas in the city, but the number is small.

There is also little difference between programs in the suburbs. What is unusual is the much larger numbers of occupied Section 8 units in the suburbs, compared to Denver. This clearly shows the recent flurry of activity outside of the city.

TABLE 9

LOCATION OF FAMILY CONSTRUCTED HOUSING, BY PROGRAM TYPES

Census Tract Percent Minority	Public Housing		Sect.236/BMIR*		Section	
Denver						
40+	2,781	(78.5%)	2,204	(70.1%)	25	(41.7%)
20-29.9	60	(1.7%)	718	(22.8%)	0	(0%)
0-19.9	701	(19.8%)	222	(7.1%)	35	(58.3%)
Total	3,542	(100%)	3,144	(100%)	60	(100%)
Suburbs						
40+	71	(8.8%)	35	(0.9%)	0	(0%)
20-39.9	34	(4.2%)	224	(5.8%)	48	(7.4%)
0-19.9	703	(87.0%)	3,601	(93.3%)	597	(92.6%)
Total	808	(100%)	3,860	(100%)	645	(100%)

* Below market interest rate.

The Section 8 subsidies for existing housing (which provide rent subsidies for eligible families who find a unit to rent in the private market) are also concentrated in impacted tracts within Denver, although the segregation is less severe than in the other programs. In the suburbs, this program, too, operates primarily in white areas where 98 percent of the eligible tenants find their units.

TABLE 10

LOCATION OF SECTION 8 CERTIFICATE HOLDERS, BY RACIAL COMPOSITION OF CENSUS TRACT

Percent Minority	Denver		Suburbs	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
40+	227	(58.7)	7	(0.8)
20-39.99	52	(14.2)	14	(1.6)
0-19.9	104	(26.1)	845	(97.6)
Total	383	(100.0)	866	(100.0)

Household Racial and Ethnic Characteristics

Although Denver is predominantly white, over 60 percent of assisted constructed family units have minority tenants. Many older central cities have a far higher fraction of minority tenants. For the suburbs the minority figure is just over 20 percent.

TABLE 11

RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ASSISTED CONSTRUCTED HOUSING,* BY LOCATION

	Denver		Suburbs	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Black	1,517	(23.1)	315	(7.4)
Hispanic	2,541	(38.6)	573	(13.4)
White	2,508	(38.3)	3,396	(79.2)
Total	6,566	(100.0)	4,284	(100.0)

*Where ethnicity of household is known

As in other cities minorities are more concentrated in older public housing than in Section 236 units built about ten years ago. 79 percent of the public housing units in the city of Denver are occupied by minorities compared to 40 percent of the Section 236 units. For the suburbs, there are more minority households in Section 236 and Section 8 units than public housing but each remains more than three-fourths white.

Contrary to expectation the Section 8 existing program in Denver is even more overwhelmingly minority than the constructed housing programs. Almost 80 percent of family certificate holders are minority. More than half are black. Hispanics have greater representation in constructed housing. In the suburbs, whites make up 77 percent of family certificate holders.

TABLE 12

RACIAL AND ETHNIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SECT. 236/EMIR AND PUBLIC HOUSING FOR FAMILIES*

	Public Housing		Sec. 236/EMIR		Sec. 8/new construction
Denver					
Black	837	(23.7%)	680	(22.4%)	
Hispanic	1,965	(55.7%)	576	(18.9%)	Not Available
White	724	(20.6%)	1,784	(58.7%)	
Total	3,526	(100%)	3,040	(100%)	
Suburbs					
Black	28	(3.7%)	283	(8.1%)	
Hispanic	73	(9.7%)	493	(14.0%)	Not Available
White	648	(86.6%)	2,739	(77.9%)	
Total	749	(100%)	3,515	(100%)	

*Where ethnicity of household is known.

TABLE 13

RACIAL AND ETHNIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SECTION 8 EXISTING UNITS

	Denver		Suburbs	
Black	217	(56.7%)	64	(7.3%)
Hispanic	87	(22.7%)	137	(15.8%)
White	79	(20.6%)	666	(76.9%)
Total	383	(100%)	866	(100%)

Who Lives Where? The present distribution of subsidized units in the Denver metropolitan area could produce either increased integration or increased segregation in neighborhoods and schools. It all depends upon who lives where. In a metropolitan area with a large number of subsidized white as well as minority families and considerable numbers of units built both in minority and white areas, a policy which placed a significant number of whites in the minority areas and a substantial number of blacks and Hispanics in the white areas (and tried to help stabilize integration in integrated areas) could be a significant help to residential and school integration. The opposite policy, obviously, would reinforce the problem.

The first indication that there will be little positive impact comes, of course, from the data on the racial composition of tenants in the city and the suburbs. 82 percent of the total black families live in subsidized housing in the city (which contains one-eighth of the metropolitan area's white students) far more than in all the suburbs, which contain seven-eighths. 22 percent of the Hispanics receiving subsidies live in the suburbs and 78 percent in the city. 1,866 more Hispanic families live in subsidized housing within Denver than in the suburbs. Among the whites, almost two thirds (65.5 percent) live in the suburbs. 2,567 more white families receive subsidies in the suburbs than in the city of Denver.

If one assumes that the distribution of whites in subsidized housing is a reasonable pattern in an area with a shrinking central city and more than four-fifths of the new jobs in the suburbs, it is easy to calculate what the possible effects on school integration would be if minority

subsidy tenants were similarly distributed in the metropolitan area. Such a distribution would bring 985 more black families and 1,442 more Hispanic families to the suburbs. This would probably decrease minority enrollment in the Denver public schools by about 5,000 students, changing the school district from 41 percent Anglo to 45 percent Anglo and increasing the chances of stability within the city. If it were possible to move Anglo families with 4,000 children into those same units in the city, the school district would become slightly more than half Anglo.

This discussion does not mean to suggest that these are feasible policies at this point in time. It does mean to show that the subsidized housing sector is large enough to make a very significant impact upon school enrollments and school integration.

A second issue concerns the distribution of white, black, and Hispanic families inside the city and within the suburbs. Within the city of Denver the pattern is one of high concentration of tenants in the most segregated tracts. Hispanics are the most segregated with 78 percent of the families in the most impacted tracts, compared to 67 percent of blacks and 68 percent of Anglos. In the still small Section 8 Existing program 77 percent of Hispanics, 59 percent of blacks, and 39 percent of whites found units in the most segregated areas. Subsidized housing is highly concentrated within the city in impacted areas. The only surprise is that a substantial number of Anglos are living in housing in black and Hispanic areas.

TABLE 14

LOCATION OF BLACK, WHITE, AND HISPANIC TENANTS OF FAMILY ASSISTED UNITS WITHIN DENVER, BY MINORITY PERCENT IN CENSUS TRACT

Minority Percent	Black		Hispanics		White	
Constructed Housing						
40+	1,016	(67.0%)	1,982	(78.0%)	1,690	(67.5%)
20-39.9	255	(16.8%)	78	(3.5%)	349	(13.9%)
0-19.9	246	(16.2%)	81	(18.5%)	469	(18.6%)
Total	1,517	(100%)	2,541	(100%)	2,508	(100%)
Sec. 8 Existing Rent Subsidy						
40+	129	(59.4%)	67	(77.0%)	31	(39.2%)
20-39.9	16	(7.4%)	14	(16.1%)	22	(27.8%)
0-19.9	72	(33.2%)	6	(6.9%)	26	(33.0%)
Total	217	(100%)	87	(100%)	79	(100%)

TABLE 15

LOCATION OF BLACK, WHITE, AND HISPANIC TENANTS IN CONSTRUCTED ASSISTED HOUSING BY RACIAL COMPOSITION OF CENSUS TRACTS IN DENVER SUBURBS

Minority Percent	Black		Hispanic		White	
40+	1	(0.3%)	8	(1.4%)	135	(3.7%)
20-39.9	32	(10.2%)	80	(14.0%)	121	(3.3%)
0-19.9	278	(89.5%)	478	(84.6%)	3,131	(93.0%)
Total	311	(100%)	566	(100%)	3,387	(100%)

There were very few impacted suburban Census tracts in the Denver suburbs in 1970 and all groups of subsidized tenants live very largely in Census tracts that were more than 80 percent white in 1970. Virtually all tenants receiving Section 8 Existing subsidies live in such areas.

It is important to note that Denver suburbs are still very early in the process of racial change that has produced black and Hispanic suburbs in cities like St. Louis, Cleveland, Chicago, Los Angeles, and others. In all likelihood, the 20-40 percent minority tracts in the 1970 Census were actually tracts in rapid racial change and are now far more segregated. Comparative studies of major American cities over time find that such tracts rarely stabilize. (Taeuber and Taeuber, 1965) One-eighth of the subsidized units for minorities in the suburbs (and only one-thirtieth of those for whites) were located in such areas, where they may well contribute to local school segregation. Minority migration patterns in the suburbs to the North and East may bring more of the assisted units into the impacted classification, as illustrated by the following maps. Table 16 also shows an unequal distribution among suburban counties. A disproportionate amount of assisted housing for blacks is concentrated in Aurora.

Why Can't the City Follow the Migrating Middle Class? One of the key factors in the relative prosperity of some of the leading cities of the South and West has been their ability to annex suburban land. They have ameliorated some of the problems of economic and racial change by constantly expanding the city boundaries. This has been the crucial factor, for example, in the success of Houston, Phoenix, Charlotte, and other cities. Denver possessed very substantial annexation powers until 1972.

NUMBER OF CONSTRUCTED HOUSING UNITS BY CENSUS TRACT

1970 Census Tracts in the Denver Colo SMSA

MAP 8

INSET C- BRIGHTON AREA

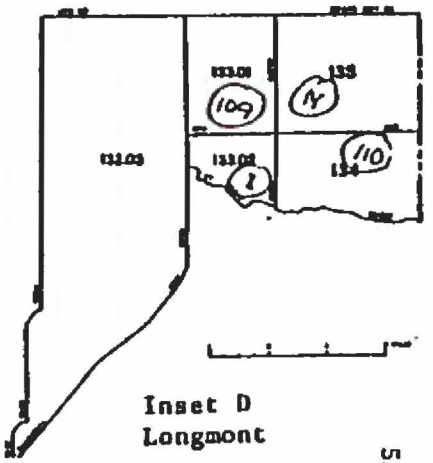
*ipanic Population 1970

0-19.9

20-39.9

40+

Very few blacks so
Hispanics are minority
population



Inset D
Longmont

INSET B - BOULDER AND VICINITY

1970 Census Tracts
City of Denver and Vicinity

BY CENSUS TRACT

Hotel City of Denver- shaded area
Inset A

MAP 9

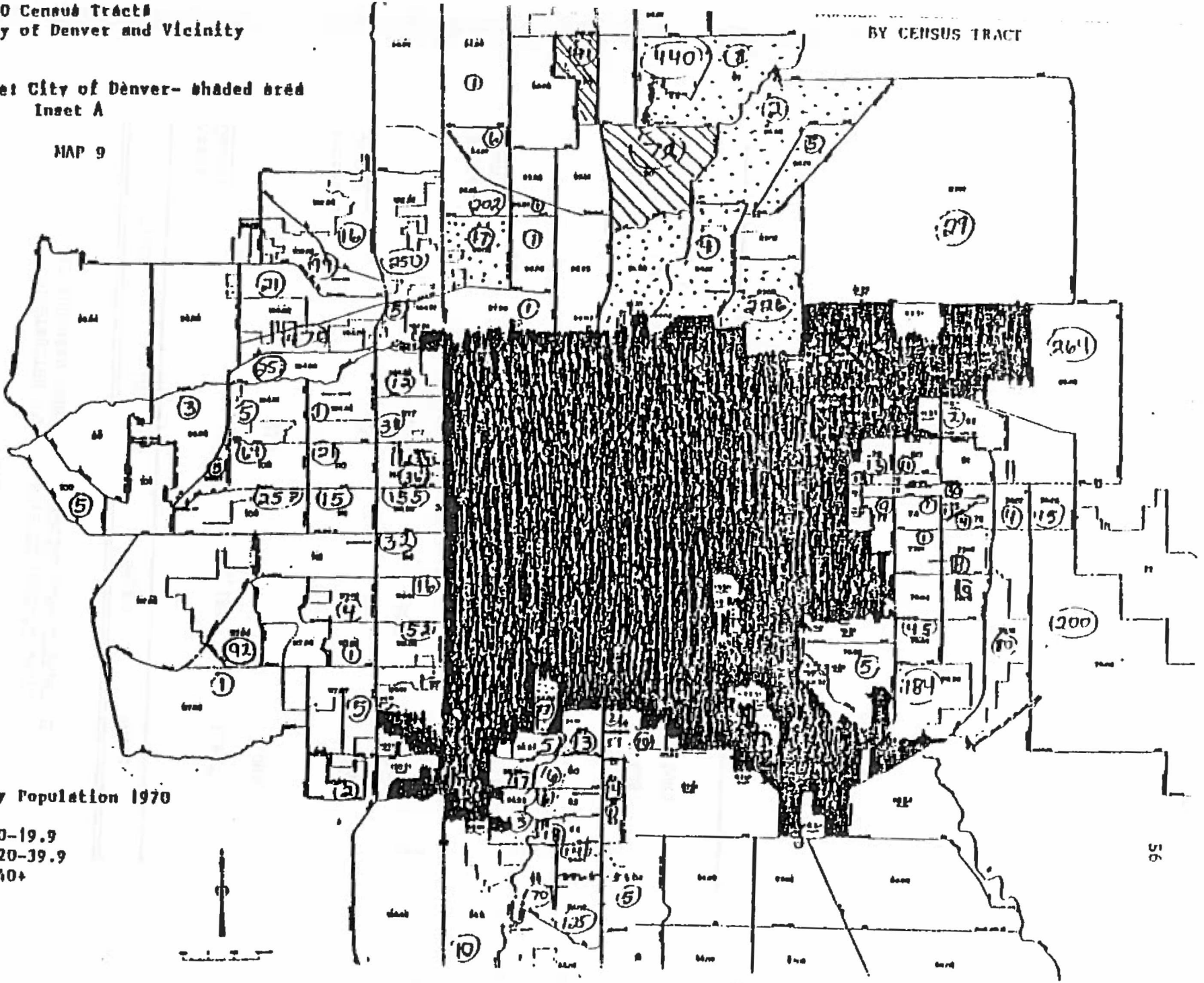


TABLE 16

CONSTRUCTED FAMILY ASSISTED HOUSING UNITS,
BY SUBURBAN COUNTY WITH RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS

	Black	Hispanic	White	Total
Adams County	131	339	1,180	1,697
	8.3%	21%	70.7%	100%
Arapahoe County	34	21	459	514
	7.4%	4.6%	88%	100%
Boulder County	16	127	554	697
	2%	20%	78%	100%
Jefferson County	130	79	1,194	1,403
	9.6 %	6.0 %	84.4 %	100%

Annexations were very common in Colorado municipalities with 97 percent of those above 2,500 population reporting changes in their boundaries between 1970 and 1977. During this period Denver annexed 18.5 square miles and detached 2.6 square miles. Many suburbs experienced a more rapid proportionate growth and two annexed more square miles than Denver, Aurora with 28.4 and Westminster, with 21.4. (DRCOG Notes, Nov. 1979:3)

The annexation power was directly relevant to the school district because Colorado law provided that the school district boundaries automatically expanded whenever the city expanded. Unlike the situation reported in the chapters on Phoenix and Columbus, where the two issues were separate, there was a direct and immediate effect. During 1972, in the midst of the school desegregation battle, three years after the first District Court decision, the state constitution was amended to make further annexations impossible. This decision has great importance for the school situation today. No single government action, even including the housing decisions, so directly constrains the ability of the city to maintain stable and substantial desegregation within city boundaries.

Can Anything Be Done?

If Denver is facing resegregation of its schools and the housing programs are not working to provide any help with the problem, what can be done? Does anyone have a set of policy proposals? Are there any better choices.

The Unitary School System Review. Under pressure from a federal district court the Denver public schools were directed to review the

current status of the desegregation plan in 1980 and report back to the court on any changes needed to make the city schools a "unitary, non-racial" system. Once the judge hands down such a final order, the jurisdiction of the federal court over the Denver schools and the opportunity to make any further changes outside of the political process will end, at least until a different case is initiated at some time in the future. Denver has the oldest big city desegregation order in the North and Federal Judge Richard P. Matsch has repeatedly expressed his eagerness to conclude it.

The school board appointed an ad hoc committee of thirteen members to review all issues and to prepare a plan to the board by February 1981. (Denver Post, June 13, 1980) The committee chose not to focus on desegregation but to address issues of faculty and staff integration, multi-ethnic curriculum, non-biased testing methods, and other related issues. (Ibid.) Judge Matsch urged that they conclude their work as rapidly as possible so that the court would no longer be drawn into educational issues. (Denver Post, July 7, 1980)

The study was limited to the city of Denver, included no analysis of metropolitan patterns, and made projections of future school enrollment without offering city-wide racial and ethnic projections. The ad hoc committee brought in a panel of experts, including two black professors who insisted that a system in which the schools had white minorities could be considered fully desegregated. (Denver Post, August 6, 1980) Housing received no serious consideration in this planning process. (Moskowitz Interview, October 22, 1980) The basic direction of the project, as described by the ranking school administrator serving on the ad hoc committee,

Irving Moskowitz, was toward a strategy emphasizing the holding and drawing power of special educational programs. The group, he said, was moving toward a policy which would recognize a school as integrated so long as it had at least 20 percent whites. (Ibid.) Moskowitz argued that it was not necessary to think about the broader issues yet because there were a "batch of ingredients that can make a plan work for a good number of years in Denver." (Ibid.)

There had been a disappointing effort to coordinate school and housing policy--the City-Schools Coordinating Committee, which operated from 1975-1980 before it was disbanded. The committee met once a month but was strictly a pro forma function. It had no staff except for a part-time graduate student in 1978. It did not provide notification or consultation by the city with the school officials about housing decisions. It was eliminated in late 1980.

"The city," said one member of the committee, "was madly going off pursuing all kinds of course of action that were detrimental to schools.... The right hand is trying to integrate and the left hand is trying to segregate." This member saw the schools "at a balance point" where, "unless we can get better cooperation from the establishment people and city government, we are going to be beginning to lose the battle badly."

Alan Canter, director of the city's planning agency, concluded that there was no coodination about integration. "I don't think that those people would talk to each other along those lines." The city had no policy which made stable integration a goal for planning and did no serious study or projections of racial data. (Interview, January 10, 1980)

Eugene Montoya, Director of Operations in the city housing authority agreed that there was no communication with school officials and saw no serious federal pressure to make integration a major priority. Even where there was a conscious effort to achieve housing integration, as in the construction of 250 units of scattered site housing outside of segregated areas, the housing officials did not have any school district data or know whether or not the new project would help a school or require more busing. They didn't know even where the children would attend school under the existing desegregation plan. Since the school district was not consulted about these plans they could not build them into their long-term strategies.

There were no integration efforts in the administration of the city's large Section 8 Existing rent subsidy program. The agency had to meet HUD deadlines for getting units under contract, Montoya said, and it was much easier to have families stay where they were rather than to worry about moves. HUD, he said, "really doesn't offer an incentive to relocate families." Nor was there any sanction for doing nothing. There was no mobility counseling, such as the highly successful effort in Lousville, and no arrangements had been worked out for exchanging certificates with the suburbs.

The weakness of the relationship between city school and housing officials was apparent once again in October. School officials learned about a 658 unit apartment complex planned near downtown when it appeared in the newspaper. Although the project was getting a $13.5 million HUD Urban Development Action Grant from HUD, no one had mentioned the plan to school planners. (Moskowitz Interview) A coordinated policy was a very long way off.

Need for Housing Desegregation Initiatives in Denver. The Denver area has had several policy initiatives related to housing desegregation over the years. In 1965 the state legislature enacted what was then described as the nation's strongest fair housing law. A local group, the Religious Council on Human Relations, was instrumental in setting up the Denver Fair Housing Center in 1966, with a governing board a wide spectrum of community leadership, and receiving both private contributions and an appropriation from the city government. John I. Hasselblad, Denver Realtor of the Year in 1965, described the Center in a speech that year:

> The function...is to encourage people to seek housing where they wish..., to encourage the break-up of the ghetto concept of existence.... (Hasselblad, 1966)

The Center, however, went out of existence in the early seventies when funds declined. There is now no organization dedicated to metropolitan integration in the Denver area. The metro area governments do not contribute community development funds to fair housing organization as is frequently done elsewhere. The regional council of governments rejected a proposal to encourage movement of subsidized tenants across jurisdictional lines. (Crow Interview) Since that time, of course, the proportion of the segregated minority population in the city has greatly increased. (School enrollment of minority children is actually falling.)

Denver was one of the metropolitan areas whose regional council of government was willing to respond favorably to federal efforts to encourage construction of subsidized housing throughout the metropolitan area. In the early seventies when federal officials were promoting the idea of a "fair share" plan for subsidized housing, the Denver Regional Council of Governments (DRCOG--pronounced "Dr. Cog") adopted a 1972 housing plan for suburban participation. The goals produced a significant suburban

effort. Robert D. Farley, DRCOG Executive Director, reported that by 1978 suburbs were producing "the vast majority of these units, consistent with our goals to disperse this type of housing throughout the region with everyone providing his fair share."

> We now have 14 public housing authorities.... We have a new Regional Housing Opportunity Plan which 27 jurisdictions have adopted representing 90% of the population.
>
> Last year [1978] these jurisdictions added 1,154 new low income housing units and rehabilitated 1,134, for a total of 2,288 units. Denver accounted for 821 of these units.... (DRCOG Notes, Nov. 1979, 4)

Because of this record, DRCOG applied for and received supplemental funds from HUD. The 1979 proposal called for $3.5 million and 907 additional units, including 668 new construction units for the suburbs. (Ibid., 1) DRCOG was one of sixteen regional bodies in the U.S. to receive supplemental funds in 1980. It received $1,936,000 in bonus funds. HUD's press release stated that the first criterion in selecting recipients was provision of "increased choice of housing opportunities for lower income families outside areas of low income and minority concentration."

As Denver reexamines its school situation and HUD attempts to assess the impact of its special incentive programs for area-wide housing opportunity, the lack of a significant positive impact from a large program under apparently favorable conditions in Denver deserve the closest attention. If the Denver program is not effectively opening housing opportunities for minorities and is not significantly aiding a school problem that could have metropolitan dimensions, altered policies may be necessary.

The clearest message from the Denver experience, and those of the other cities studied, is the overwhelming focus of HUD officials on the location of subsidized housing is an error. Producing or renting subsidized units in white areas is a necessary condition for integration but it

is very far from a sufficient condition. Without an explicit effort to encourage mobility, including counseling and procedures for easy inter-jurisdictional moves, suburban subsidized housing will frequently be white housing. It will not aid school desegregation and it may even harm it. It will not provide a defense for suburban communities should a metropolitan school case ever be filed against them, but might be used as part of the evidence by the civil rights lawyers. It is clear from experience in Louisville and Chicago that many subsidized minority families are interested in suburban housing if offered a real opportunity. Similar machinery is needed in Denver.

Metropolitan School Cooperation. Although regional school administrators participate in the Denver Area Superintendents Council which has conducted monthly meetings for twelve years, there have been few educational programs that have operated across district lines. Unless a metropolitan law suit were brought and won to force implementation of a broad-scale desegregation plan, any help from the suburbs would depend upon purely voluntary cooperation. There has been very little interest in such cooperation in the past. One state official, however, suggests that there may be some more favorable conditions in the future.

Dr. David Williams, who is liaison for the Colorado Department of Education in the metro region, believes that the suburbs are becoming "more aware and more sympathetic" about Denver's problems. In the past, shortly before the court order, there had been some discussion of a metropolitan inter-cultural school with transfers permitted from various districts, but that had failed to carry sufficient suburban support. The educators had discussed the possibility of an umbrella district for the metro area, providing common services and of possible cooperation in areas such as special education and career training, requiring experts not available in small districts. These efforts never got beyond the talking stage.

Williams is more hopeful about the future because most districts share a severe cost squeeze produced by inflation and by declining enrollments. Only two of the sixteen metro districts are experiencing rapid growth. As districts find it increasingly expensive to provide services and special curricula for fewer and fewer students, there may be more incentive to specialize and share programs. As some of the suburbs face racial change, the fact that the problem cannot be isolated forever in Denver may have an impact. Perhaps districts faced with the politically difficult task of closing half-empty neighborhood schools may be more willing to consider keeping them open by accepting minority transfers from the city.

A State Role. Most of Colorado's students go to school in metropolitan Denver. State governments have frequently been drawn into school desegregation cases in recent years. Michigan, Missouri, Delaware, Indiana, California, and (just this month) Ohio, have been ordered to pay part of the cost of desegregating schools. Texas and Missouri have been ordered to encourage voluntary metropolitan transfers for desegregation. Massachusetts and Wisconsin have state laws providing substantial funding for such efforts. The state of Delaware was found legally responsible for segregation of metropolitan Delaware for passing a law restricting the expansion of the predominantly minority Wilmington school district. That violation and a pattern of segregated public housing led to a metropolitan merger and inter-district desegregation which affects most of the state's students. Missouri is under a court order to foster both school and housing desegregation on a metropolitan level. The Colorado Poundstone Amendment restricting Denver's annexation powers has some parallels with the Delaware situation. State agencies could play a very positive role in metropolitan Denver. It would be a sign of leadership if they joined the small list of states that have acted before the courts ordered it.

Does Denver Have Choices? If this report seems pessimistic, it is not because nothing can be done. A wealthy, growing metropolitan area like Denver, with a small minority population, has many choices. There are great assets in the form of a school district that had learned much about desegregation and civic leadership that handled this crisis with unusual foresight and courage. There are capable and committed people at various levels of government who have the talent to design and implement positive policies. The problem in Denver is that the general preference has been to act as if the issue does not exist. It is time that the city and the region look hard at where the trends are leading and that the local leadership define some new policies before the choices become very difficult indeed. If Denver is to avoid segregation on a scale it has never known before, on a scale it thought occurred only in other, older cities, and if it is to avoid a legal battle that would make the city school case pale into insignificance, identification of the basic problems and design of policies to counter them must begin within the next few years.

DENVER SOURCES

Branscombe, Bea Sutton. "DPS Outranks Jeffco Schools 10 to 1 on Advanced Placement Tests and Students." Denver Realtor News, 1980.

Bridge, Franklin M. "Metro-Denver and Its Problems," in Curtin Martin and Wallace Stealey (eds.) Readings in Colorado Government and Politics. Boulder, 1967, pp. 219-42.

Colorado Social Legislation Committee. "Housing: Facts and Issues, 1980."

Crow, Eleanor . Interview, January 10,1980.

Denver Public Schools, Board of Education Ad Hoc Committee. "Definition and Guidelines for a Unitary School System," September 11, 1980.

_____, Long-Range Planning Committee. "Our Future . . . Our Schools," 1980.

_____, Task Force. "Impact on Schools of Proposal to Change Grade Level Organization Including the Opening of Montbello Secondary School," April 1980.

Denver Regional Council of Governments. DRCOG Notes, various issues; DRCOG Notations, various issues.

Dillard, Sandra. Area Blacks' Income, Education Rank High." Denver Post, July 5, 1980.

Hasselblad, John I. Speech at Mid-America Conference on Equal Opportunity in Housing, October 29, 1966.

Newman, M.W. "Denver: Boom Time in the Rockies." Chicago Sun-Times, October 12, 1980.

Office of Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. "Summary of FHEO Ten City Study Fundings," 1980, supplied to author by Deputy Assistant Secretary Peter Kaplan, October 29, 1980.

Orr, Elizabeth A., with Kyle Davis. Profiles of Denver Residents. Denver Office of Policy Analysis, August 1979.

Pearce, Diana. "Breaking Down Barriers: New Evidence on the Impact of Metropolitan School Desegregation on Housing Patterns," report to National Institute of Education, 1980.

Von Stroh, Gerald E. Denver Metropolitan Area Residential Migration. Denver Urban Observatory, 1975.