ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: "Understanding Modern Segregation: Suburbanization and the Black Middle Class"

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A new sociological phenomenon exists: middle class African Americans are moving to suburban areas and many are moving to majority black neighborhoods and developing majority black communities. This challenges common thinking among social scientists and policymakers who make broad assumptions that concentrations of African Americans are inherently problematic.

This project distinguishes the involuntary segregation and concentration of the black poor from those who choose to live in racially concentrated communities. Those in the middle class who choose to live in majority black neighborhoods may do so for several reasons, including social institutions, political incorporation, ethnically responsive commercial development, and their individual preferences for integration. It focuses on majority-black Prince George's County, Maryland, a prominent example of this phenomenon, and compares those homeowners there with those in predominately white neighborhoods in neighboring Montgomery County.

The research hypothesizes that those who choose predominately black neighborhoods do so because these neighborhoods give them access to cultural or physical amenities associated with African American culture and the comfort of living with other African Americans, and also that those who live in predominately black neighborhoods differ from those that live in predominately white neighborhoods in their preferences for those amenities specific to a majority African American neighborhood and those amenities that often exist in majority white neighborhoods.

These questions are addressed through several methods: the analysis of national housing data to describe the extent of African American middle class suburbanization, site visits and historical analysis of both counties, and semi-structured interviews of middle-class African American residents to provide reasons why they live in the neighborhoods that they have chosen. The study includes 50 respondents: 38 in Prince George's and 12 in Montgomery.

The findings that some prefer African American neighborhoods have several potential policy implications, including a shift in housing policy from a focus on racial integration to one of economic integration and community development. More specifically, it argues for a particular focus on education reform, economic development and the promotion of responsible commercial development in predominately black neighborhoods, and it

points toward considering the benefit of racial/cultural amenities in existing poverty deconcentration efforts.

"Understanding Modern Segregation: Suburbanization and the Black Middle Class"

by

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To William J Harrell and James L Hall, Sr. for their eternal inspiration

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Chapter 1: Introduction

On June 14, 1992 an article in *The New York Times Magazine* noted the new trend of middle-class and wealthy African Americans who chose to "live among themselves" in areas such Rolling Oaks in Dade County, Florida; Brook Glen, Panola Mill and Wyndham Park in DeKalb County, Georgia; and Prince George's County, Md. (Dent 1992). This article was noteworthy because the concept of "The New Black Suburbs" (the article's title) challenged both conventional wisdom and most academic literature. The dominant paradigm in the literature on residential segregation contains the assumption that majority-Black residential neighborhoods are problematic (Massey and Denton 1993; Wilson 1987, 1996; Pattillo-McCoy 2000; Farley et al, 2000; Harris 1999, 2001). While this assumption may be true in many urban "ghettos," where racial concentration, poverty, and lack of opportunity intersect, this thesis explores the possibility that it is not *always* true and that middle class African American suburbs develop because future residents are seeking a middle class housing opportunity with members of their own race for the benefits that these communities provide. It investigates whether majority black neighborhoods are inherently disadvantaged, and if homeowners who have purchased homes in those neighborhoods have made a costly decision that forces them to bear extra burdens and costs as described by Cashin (2004). This thesis explores possible mediating factors in the relationship between single-race neighborhoods and disadvantage as understood by Massey, Denton, and others. These factors include preferences for various "racial/cultural amenities," such as churches, retail shops, restaurants, political institutions, community ties, and other, yet to be determined

factors that are potential benefits to living in a majority African American neighborhood. This would be added to the existing, relatively simple metric that uses integration as the main goal for planners and policymakers concerned with fairness for this group. The presence of these amenities may mediate the amount of advantage/disadvantage to living in a majority African American neighborhood, and homeowners could find that to be the most satisfactory environment for themselves and their families.[1]

The issue of segregation also has modern-day policy implications, as indicated by several events in the middle of this decade. The recent US District Court decision in *Thompson v HUD* (2005) focused on the failure of the policies of the federal department of Housing and Urban Development to provide proper opportunities for a group of largely African American public housing residents in Baltimore who needed to be relocated when their high-rise housing project was torn down. The decision clarified HUD's responsibility to provide tenants with the opportunity to live outside of Baltimore City, with its concentration of poor and segregated neighborhoods. Decisions on how their policy will change to address this are still unclear, but if there are specific advantages to suburban black middle class neighborhoods, housing policy could be adapted to help expand housing opportunities in those areas. On the other hand, understanding why those who choose to live in those neighborhoods do so will help to anticipate any reactions of the black middle class to such policies, and ultimately, the prospects for success of those policies.

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[1] Also important is the concern that the formulation of these preferences in the African-American housing market may have detrimental long-term effects on that community that that these residents may be unaware of – perhaps there are hidden disadvantages that residents are not aware of.

Questions

An assumption that segregation leads to disadvantage for members of a minority group exists in previous research on the topic. This dissertation questions the extent to which that is true by asking *"Why do middle-class African Americans who live in African American neighborhoods live where they do?"* This project proposes and investigates the hypothesis that access to cultural or physical amenities associated with African American culture and the comfort of living with other African Americans lead some middle-class African Americans to prefer predominately black neighborhoods despite deficiencies in other neighborhood characteristics, and further that that middle-class African Americans who live in predominately black suburban neighborhoods have a stronger preference for racial/cultural amenities than those that live in predominately white suburban neighborhoods.

This project tests these hypotheses by attempting to disprove the hypothesis that underpins much of the literature: it investigates whether some African Americans find advantages to racially concentrated neighborhoods and communities. This research also disproves the notion that these residential choices reflect a completely free market – many external forces affect the eventual neighborhood outcomes of individual African Americans. The neighborhood choices of African Americans are far more complex than has been previously established, and dissertation explores them in detail. All of these hypotheses are reflected in the conceptual framework for the neighborhood choices of African Americans.

Research Project

This project includes a case study of the African American middle class in the Maryland suburbs of Washington, D.C., particularly focusing on Prince George's County, a majority African American suburb with a national reputation as a middle class black enclave, in order to understand how individual preferences and various limitations to mobility combine to determine the racial makeup of their chosen neighborhoods. While African Americans have been in Prince George's County for over three hundred years, this suburban county has been particularly attractive to African Americans in recent times. Between 1990 and 2000, the black population of Prince George's grew 36% to 502,550 persons (62.7% of the total population) and in 2000, it had the highest black median income of any county in the US with over 100,000 black residents. African Americans are most heavily concentrated in the municipalities and unincorporated areas in the central and southwestern parts of the county, as the population radiates outward from the border with Washington, D.C. Many areas in the central portion of the county are now over 90% African American. The majority white areas are the sparsely populated southeastern part of the county, along the eastern border (in and near Bowie), and the northern part of the county (north of the Baltimore-Washington Parkway) (M-NCPPC 2003).
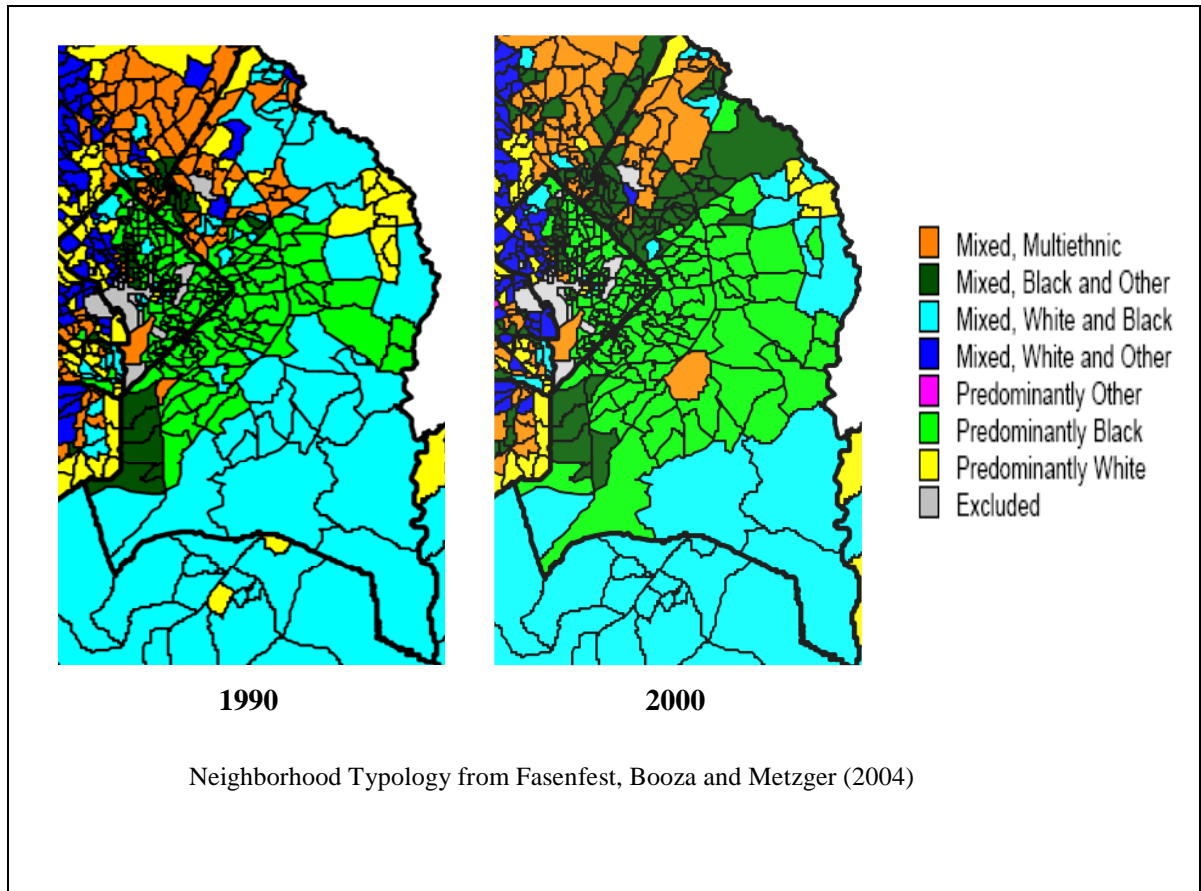
Neighborhood Typology from Fasenfest, Booza and Metzger (2004)

Figure 1: Neighborhood Racial Makeup - Prince George's County, Md.

The above maps are adapted from Fasenfest, et al. (2004) and graphically demonstrate the racial composition of Prince George's County and surrounding areas in 1990 and in 2000. The most striking difference in the two maps is the growth of the bright green area, which represents census tracts that are at least 50 percent black, and where no other minority group represents more than 10 percent of the population. Predominantly white areas (yellow) are at least 80 percent white, and no minority group represents more than 10 percent of the population. Mixed white and black areas (light blue) are areas where between 10 percent and 50 percent of the population are black, and less than 10 percent are classified as other (not black or white). Mixed multiethnic areas (orange) are at least

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10 percent black, at least 40 percent white and at least 10 percent classified as other. Note that not only has the number of predominately black census tracts grown, but most areas of the county now contain more African Americans.

The African American middle-class is well established in the region. During the decades after the Fair Housing Act of 1968 was passed, African Americans moved into Prince George's in increasing numbers. Many were part of the "new black middle class" and held middle class jobs in government and other sectors. With many barriers to entry now illegal, more African Americans were able to find homes in the county. This group continued to grow, and by the 1990s, as African Americans became the majority group in the county, Prince George's reputation as a black middle class enclave had been established. As such, this analysis of the region focusing on Prince George's demonstrates issues, concerns, and realities of national relevance that have yet to be explored in existing analyses of other metropolitan areas. Evidence includes the results of an analysis of existing data that establishes residential patterns and trends in the metropolitan area and a mixed-method analysis of the factors that shape this, including site visits, historical analysis, in-depth interviews, and a survey. While the unit of analysis for this study is the individual and his/her set of preferences, when taken collectively these results give clues to factors that can shape entire communities.

This begins to directly address the gap in present knowledge discussed by planners such as Morrow-Jones, et al (2005), who identify a need for studies that lead to better measures of neighborhood quality in order to understand the differences in preferences

between African American and white homeowners. Study of the residential choices of African Americans and the forces behind them will also lead to a better understanding of the character of suburbanization and sprawl in many metropolitan areas and this study will enable researchers to better understand why choices are being made and the possible social consequences of different residential patterns. Understanding their preferences and the relationship between race and class can be instructive for housing policy that best benefits low-income African Americans as well. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, a detailed qualitative analysis will help to clarify the proper application of indices of segregation by planners and other researchers to indicate disadvantage.

Need for This Research

In 1985, the first year of the reformatted American Housing Survey, the Census Bureau found that 28.9% of African American households were located in suburbs. In the most recent survey, taken in 2003, 42.8% of African American households were in suburbs, and the total number of suburban African American households (4.96 million) more than doubled the amount of suburban African American households in 1985. These suburban households have some differences from their central city counterparts. In 1985, 37.5% of African Americans with four year college degrees lived in the suburbs, a higher percentage than any other education level. Suburbanization rates have risen for African Americans of every educational level since that time: the percentage of those with four-year college degrees has grown by 46%, so that over half of this group now lives in suburbs (54.2%), far more than any other group.

Percentage of African Americans in Metropolitan Areas Living in Suburbs, by Education

Legend:
- Non-High School Graduates
- High School Graduates
- 4-Year College Graduates+
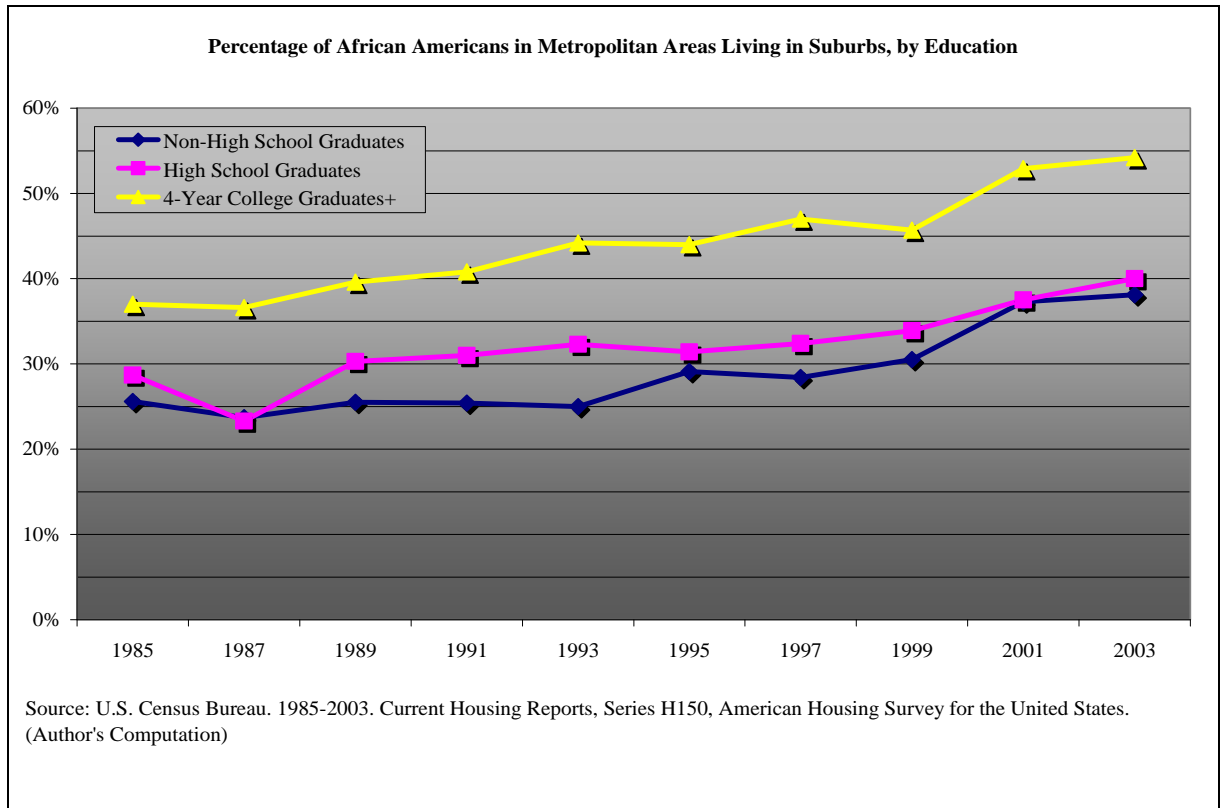
Figure 2: Percentage of African Americans in Suburbs by Education, 1985-2003

Household incomes are another area of difference: in 2003, suburban African American households had a median income of $34,900, approximately 33% more than in central cities ($26,175). Also, those in the 45 to 74 year old age range have moved to the suburbs in greater numbers than other age groups over this time period, with those from 30 to 64 most likely to live in the suburbs.[2] These help to define specifically who is in the "Black Middle Class" for the purposes of this study – these are college educated African Americans with higher household incomes. They are professionals and managers, or they have other occupations that fit squarely within Landry's (1987) conception of the "New Black Middle Class." Born of the opportunities that have developed since the Civil

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[2] Appendix A contains tables of African-American suburbanization using data from each year of the biennial American Housing Survey.

Rights Movement, this group has "mobility" – due to the lack of overt discrimination and their newfound financial means; they have the ability to take advantage of various housing opportunities and are in large part, moving to new housing opportunities in the suburbs. [3] As the suburbanization rate of African Americans has grown, the relative lack of research on their housing decisions limits planners' ability to adequately understand the needs and preferences of the new suburban residents, both currently and into the future.

Statistical analyses of segregation have determined that segregation is reducing overall, but still more of an issue for African American communities than for other population groups. Iceland et al's (2002) report for the US Census Bureau analyzed segregation according to several indices. In their simplest forms, these indices measure two things: isolation measures the nearness to whites, and the other four are different measures of how the African American population is spread out (or not spread out) across a metropolitan area. This study found that segregation in all five dimensions was lowered by four to twelve percent during the 1980-2000 period, and residential segregation remained higher for African Americans than other racial groups. By itself, this study does not directly answer the question of whether African Americans are moving to majority-black neighborhoods, but it raises interesting possibilities when taken in combination with the data from the American Housing Survey. The high levels of

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[3] A note about census definitions: the US Census Bureau combines "Blacks" and "African-Americans" together into a single category encompassing anyone with African ancestry. This means that those of Caribbean or African parentage are included along with African-Americans – those born in the US into American families.

segregation as this group suburbanizes leaves open the possibility that many are choosing to move to majority black areas.

Although the time range of the two studies is different, the rate of desegregation appears to be slower than the rate of suburbanization. This raises the question of why African Americans are not moving en masse to more racially integrated areas.

What are the primary goals and desires for African Americans who are not visibly constrained in their residential choices? Is it integration and assimilation as soon as possible, or is it greater, more equal opportunity for African American residents? If integration is viewed as a strategy and not as an end goal by a significant number in this population, then a new understanding of the motivations and needs of this group are needed. Opportunity is likely a more consistent goal with societal preferences. Additional techniques should be respected and observed, where conditions warrant.

Why would some blacks prefer all-black neighborhoods of differing income levels, specifically in an urban area with less racial discrimination than an area such as Detroit, an example of the "Chocolate City, Vanilla Suburbs" phenomenon (Farley et al 1993)? The answer requires the analysis of an urban area with a diverse African American population, a distinct African American middle-class population and an array of neighborhoods with different income and racial distributions. In such a situation, residential choices of African Americans with mobility can be examined and then compared with those of African Americans with little mobility and whites with mobility.

Assuming that significant amounts of African Americans with mobility choose majority African American neighborhoods in such a region would prove that looking solely at segregation is a limited method of establishing "racial progress" in these geographic areas. It would also give reasons to explore why some African Americans eschew completely integrated environments and set the foundation for a deeper, more thorough understanding of the larger societal issues that shape residential decisions and individual strategies for racial advancement.
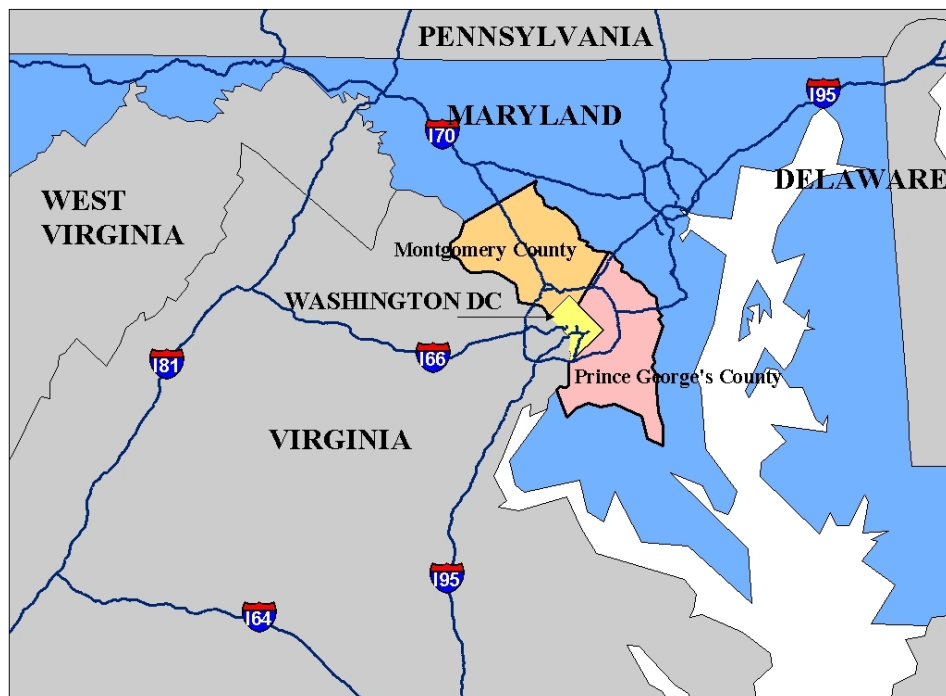
Figure 3: Montgomery and Prince George's County, Md.

An accurate analysis of the benefits or detriments to African Americans needs to be much more complicated than a simple measure of racial segregation. The maps of segregation that include the majority African American communities in the upscale eastern portion of

majority African American Prince George's County, Maryland have relatively high incomes, and, assuming that they are not victims of limited choices, their decision-making process is of great interest. Their residential decisions should be examined and compared to those who choose to integrate majority white neighborhoods in areas elsewhere in the D.C. region. Cashin (2004) favorably compares neighboring Montgomery County to Prince George's, but the popularity of Prince George's among African Americans with mobility who move to or within the region requires explanation. Both groups are achieving personal advancement in their own ways and contributing to a wider goal of widespread racial advancement through their individual contributions.

This study will focus on Prince George's County in the Washington, D.C. suburbs. Only a select few major metropolitan areas in the country currently have a large, established African American middle class that can be observed and can provide answers to some of the questions raised herein. Over the past few decades, DeKalb County, Georgia, part of the Atlanta metropolitan area, has developed similarly into a majority black and majority affluent county, and several other counties in various states have large populations of affluent African Americans. This evolution represents a new and different phenomenon, a suburban county where the African American middle class is large enough to influence that county's political, social, and economic institutions.

These areas with large African American middle class populations represent a small, but analytically important, portion of the total African American population. When the African American middle class grows in other metropolitan areas, a similar pattern will

likely develop. In this way, these areas are the harbingers of a trend of African American middle class suburban development. The choices and actions of African Americans in these metropolitan areas could foreshadow what would happen if the problems of racism and the racial differences in income and housing/neighborhood choice were lessened on a larger scale. What would the majority of African Americans choose if they had a higher income and education than their current national average and the freedom to live wherever they wanted?

Studies of these areas would give clues to these answers and could influence public policy along these fronts. These two metropolitan areas are often singled out as middle class havens, but there are many neighborhoods in areas across the country where middle class African Americans choose to live; an understanding of those preferences can help to better inform understanding of residential patterns and predictions of future growth. Additional questions regarding the differences between these middle class African Americans with mobility, middle class whites, and poorer African Americans without mobility can reveal interesting conclusions about the intersection of race and class and the possible benefits of various housing policies that seek to reshape neighborhoods (such as mixed-income housing proposals) that will lead to conclusions regarding the development of metropolitan areas. This dissertation focuses on the relative importance of race and class on the housing decisions of African Americans.

The following chapter contains a literature review that combines the literatures of continuing segregation, studies of the Black middle class and Black suburbanization, and

the empowerment of African Americans to explain this phenomenon and the reasons behind it. The third chapter explores the theoretical elements of the study including the problem statement, the conceptual framework that underlies the study, and presents the research questions and hypotheses. The fourth chapter presents the social and racial history of Prince George's and Montgomery Counties. The fifth chapter covers the design of this research project and the data methods that were used therein. The sixth chapter includes the results of the analysis. The final chapter includes further discussion and conclusions.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

An understanding of the causes and consequences of the geographical distribution of middle class African Americans within a metropolitan area requires knowledge from several areas. This subject has several parts, and researchers have attempted to understand what movements are happening, why residential patterns are developing and the positive and negative implications of these movements. Previous research comes from a variety of disciplines and each of these literatures covers a different part of the story. The knowledge gained from each of these areas makes each part of this phenomenon clear, and a wide-ranging look at these literatures helps to elucidate this multifaceted phenomenon.

The literature on continuing segregation is clearly relevant to these questions, as authors have connected the policies and norms of the past with the causes of segregation in the current day. This literature can be supplemented by an examination of literature in areas specific to middle class African Americans: studies of the black middle class, the history of black suburbanization, and the literature on the empowerment of African Americans. Including these literatures in the discussion allows for an exploration of the motivations behind preferences and can help to explain what benefits the homeowners expect to receive from certain choices.

Existing Relevant Literature

Continuing
Segregation

Black Middle Class/
History of Black
Suburbanization

Empowerment of
African-Americans
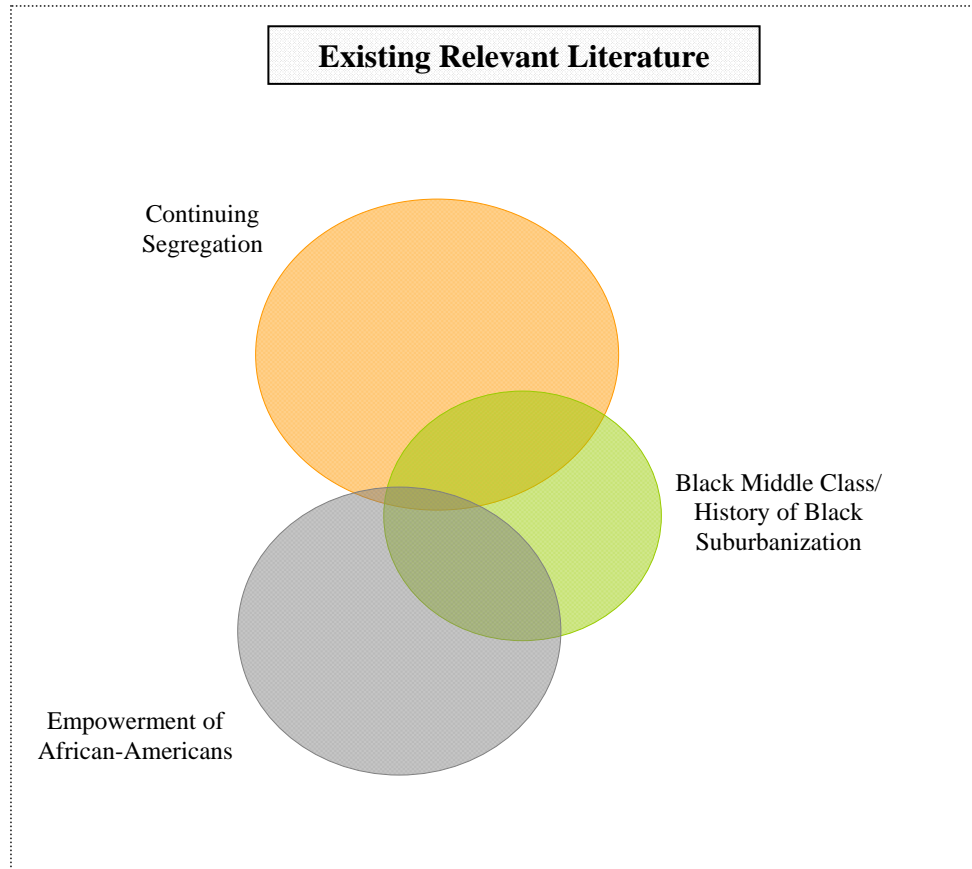
Figure 4: Relevant literature on segregation and the suburbanization of African Americans

As the above diagram shows, these areas of research have not been currently connected into an analysis of the subject; this project attempts to connect all of them in order to better understand the phenomenon of continuing racial concentrations and their impact on issues of concern to planners. Each circle in the diagram represents a body of literature, and the overlapping of circles represents an overlap or connection between those bodies of literature. In the paragraphs below, each of these bodies of literature will be described. Reviewing these literatures will help to shape an answer to these questions:

"Why are so many middle class African Americans moving to majority African American suburbs such as Prince George's County?" and "What are they getting, what do they think they are getting, and what are they not getting as a result of their move?"

Continuing Segregation

There are three parts to the existing literature on continuing residential segregation: the consequences of segregation, models and dimensions of segregation, and the role of preferences in continued segregation. While more has been written in some subject areas than others, these individual literatures do overlap in certain ways. Several theorists have produced longer works which have explored multiple elements of the topic. In total, the existing body of literature does have gaps in areas that were seen as not relevant or important to previous analysts but may be more relevant at the present time. These gaps within the literature on continuing residential segregation will be discussed below. The
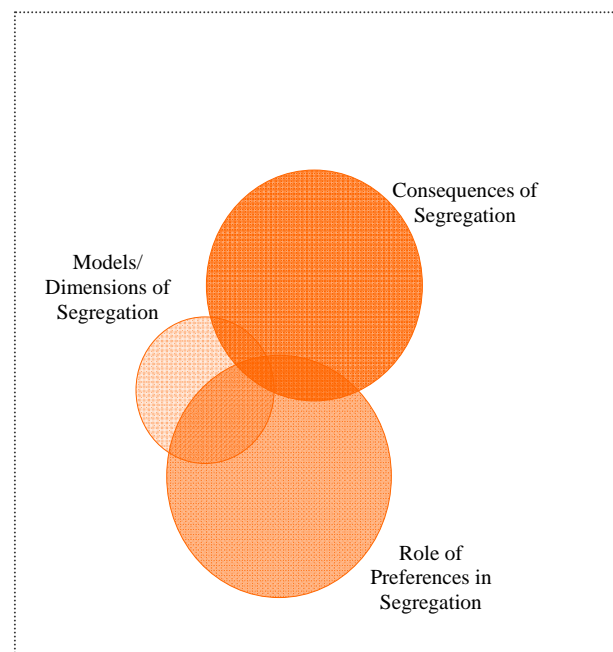
Figure 5: Existing Literature on Continuing Segregation

diagram on this page represents the connections within the literature on continuing segregation, similar to the earlier diagram which covered all of the literature.

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Consequences of Segregation

Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton's *American Apartheid* (1993) found that a state of racial segregation continues to exist in the present-day United States. Several authors (Massey and Fong 1990; Massey and Denton 1993; Wilson 1996) have discussed the urban underclass that exists in poor, largely African American urban neighborhoods with reduced job opportunity, educational opportunity, and a high concentration of related social ills. Although some African American middle class suburbs have developed, Massey and Denton maintain that "black suburbanization often does not eliminate black-white disparities in residential quality," and their adjacency to the central city and unattractiveness to whites, among other factors, means that "black suburbs replicate the problems of the inner city" (1993, 69). Massey and Denton apply the "underclass" characteristics to all African American neighborhoods and posit that if African Americans are not integrating into white areas, then they are not achieving any meaningful advancement over the urban ghetto. This analysis was completed before the prevalence of African American middle class communities was clear, and the authors do not explore the middle class African Americans that were developing majority black, middle class communities. For these authors, majority black areas represent a problem for the persons in them who live there due to constrained choices and for the community at large because of the effects of poverty concentration.

Massey and Denton's work represents a turning point in the discussion of these issues. A search of the Google Scholar database shows that *American Apartheid* has been cited

in over 1900 other published works.[4] Segregation is universally equated with entrenched disadvantage by subsequent authors that studied continuing segregation (Alba and Logan 1993; Farley et al 1997; Krysan 2002; Krysan and Farley 2002; DeLuca and Rosenbaum 2003).

Missing Elements

The assumption that integration is superior to racial homogeneity is adequate when describing the concentrated urban poor when the "urban poor" refers to largely African American populations but is not an accurate reflection of the full range of preferences for all African Americans at all income levels. Some African Americans with mobility choose to live in majority African American areas for a variety of reasons, including political incorporation, connection with the African American population and other reasons that provide incentives for living in these neighborhoods.

There is a gap in the literature, as Massey and Denton presume that majority African American environments are always suboptimal to integrated ones, develop measures of segregation that are used synonymously with entrenched disadvantage and equate more residential contact with whites as a more beneficial situation. While other theories can explain the persistence of racial segregation (illegal discrimination, private and public policies that provide barriers to access, the preferences of whites, etc.), the gap exists in research on the preferences of African Americans that choose not to follow the assimilation-integration path to advancement. Following this path requires a belief that there is a direct and positive relationship between residential contact with whites and

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[4] Database accessed at http://scholar.google.com on February 10, 2008. Actual total is 1976 citations.

more opportunity.   While some African Americans may follow this path, others choose to perhaps have contact with whites in other environments, but prefer to live in a majority African American environment.

Segregation is universally equated with entrenched disadvantage by not only Massey and Denton (1987, 1993), but also many scholars that followed (Alba and Logan 1993; Farley et al 1997; Krysan 2002; Krysan and Farley 2002; DeLuca and Rosenbaum 2003). This assumption is of limited usefulness if a portion of the African American population does not see a net benefit in living within a racially integrated neighborhood in which they are a minority and instead finds more social benefit in choosing a majority African American neighborhood. If certain segments of the African American population are not seeking integration, then the singular focus on increasing integration may be misplaced. Other policy initiatives may be ignored by the explicit assumption that living with whites is the only way to a better life.   Using simple racial identity as a proxy for entrenched disadvantage may be insufficient and lead to questionable policy decisions by oversimplification.

Models and Dimensions of Segregation

Schelling (1971) developed a model that explains how segregation persists due to differences in racial tolerances and preferences of blacks and whites in neighborhoods, a process that makes integration an unstable outcome and ultimately leads to resegregation of mixed-race neighborhoods. Schelling cites a "tipping point" for whites as neighborhoods approach 20% African American and that African American demand for housing peaks as neighborhoods approach 50% African American. Subsequent research confirmed the rough accuracy of these figures (Clark 1991; Massey and Denton 1993; Farley, et al 1997; Krysan 2002; Krysan and Farley 2002). The analytical models developed therein determined that if African Americans prefer more integration than whites, this uneven desire will make whites more likely to move out as the racial mixture of the neighborhood moves above their threshold; simultaneously, the neighborhood becomes more attractive to African Americans, and even less attractive to whites, and the cycle continues until neighborhoods become dominated by a single race. Schelling's analysis focuses on the general differences in preferences and so leaves open the question of preferences regarding middle-class African American neighborhoods that are not low-income. Instead, this analysis is focuses on the general differences between black and white; if "color is correlated with income and income with residence" (Schelling 1971, 144), it is possible that all African Americans and their neighborhoods could be considered "low income" with similar preferences.

Studies of Detroit have described that city's particular form of racial distribution, with the largely poor and African American population inside the city and the wealthier and white

population in the suburbs, as an archetype of a particularly pernicious form of segregation both economic and racial (Farley et al 1997, 2000, 2002, Krysan 2002, Krysan and Farley 2002). This conception of racial concentrations is the version that dominates the literature. In it, the concepts of income inequality and racial difference are intertwined, and exceptions are so rare as to be largely insignificant. This leads to the presumed goal of assimilation of African Americans into white neighborhoods and culture as a way to address the problems resulting from these differences.

Missing Elements

These studies establish the general dynamics of the segregation process and the general racial preferences of African Americans and whites. However, none of them focus on an area where there is a majority of middle class African Americans in the majority-black neighborhoods. It is possible that African Americans (and others) in those areas would have different preferences in those areas. Another gap in these studies relates to their general reliance on stated preferences, which does not explore differences between stated preferences of respondents and their actual neighborhood composition.

Role of Preferences

When African Americans have moved into formerly all-white areas, the former residents often leave in the pattern described earlier by Schelling (1971). An accompanying dynamic is the mass departure of the black middle class from black urban neighborhoods to the (largely white) suburbs as they decline (Wilson 1987). The idea that flight of those with choice is solely responsible for shaping new African American neighborhoods is tied in with negative perceptions of African American neighborhoods.

Harris's study of Chicago (2001) found that both whites and African Americans associate majority African American neighborhoods with high poverty, crime, etc, and an examination of nationwide data using hedonic price analysis[5] showed that there were lower property values in neighborhoods with many African American residents (1999). Measures of *satisfaction* (as opposed to preference) revealed support for the "racial proxy hypothesis" that respondents are using race as a marker for an assumed set of neighborhood characteristics by showing that "respondents' higher satisfaction with neighborhoods composed of fewer African American residents was found to be largely a reflection of preferences for relatively affluent, safe, well-maintained neighborhoods with good schools" (Harris 2001, 112). This reveals the complexity of what stated preferences for racial mix in relations to actual neighborhood preference.

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[5] Hedonic price analysis assumes that the price of a good is related to its characteristics. In this case, Harris looked at the prices of homes with different percentages of African-American neighbors and concludes that high numbers of African-American neighbors lead to lower property values because of the negative characteristics associated with concentrations of African-Americans.

Krysan and Farley (2002) analyzed preferences of African Americans, and, as noted they confirmed a general preference for the 50/50 racial mix. Their analysis exemplifies the limitations of this research. Their analysis, including both closed and open-ended questions to get the full range of responses, was developed to refute the believers in "neutral ethnocentrism" such as Clark (1991), Thernstrom and Thernstrom (1987) and Patterson (1997) who theorize that African American preferences are responsible for maintaining segregation. To do this, Krysan and Farley asked respondents about hypothetical neighborhoods with no information on the neighborhoods other than the race of the inhabitants. This leaves the interpretation of the neighborhoods open to the prejudices of the respondents, as they imagined these neighborhoods with only their preconceived notions of both races and what certain racial breakdowns meant.

In that vein, Ihlanfeldt and Scafidi (2002) also analyzed the Multi-City Survey of Urban Inequality (MCSUI) and found that African American preferences for neighborhood racial mix play a part, but have a small role in explaining the racial composition of their neighborhoods. They also introduce an important factor for understanding most of these analyses by stating that African Americans may find a variety of neighborhoods that meet their racial preferences and "preferences for other neighborhood and housing attributes." By introducing the possibility that a wide range of attributes, including racial mix, might be considered by African American residents, this demonstrates the benefit of using race of neighbors along with their other preferences, as using race of neighbor alone might force race to be used as a "shorthand" for a range of qualities that are assumed to exist in most communities with that racial distribution. If future researchers are looking for

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respondents' ideal neighborhoods, or true preferences, their answers may be limited by using that shorthand. The choices of respondents and homeowners can be limited by their assumptions about what kind of neighborhood is represented by a certain racial mix. This certainly is affected by what kinds of neighborhoods exist in their metropolitan areas, as well as popular conceptions and biases about certain areas or groups of people.

In terms of preference for an all-black neighborhood, the studies of the MCSUI found that there were definitive differences between the preferences of respondents in Atlanta and those in Los Angeles, Detroit and Boston. Respondents in Atlanta *preferred* to live in neighborhoods with high densities of African Americans (Krysan and Farley 2002). The most plausible explanation is that there are substantial differences in the character of African American neighborhoods in Atlanta. Particularly, Atlanta often tops listings of cities that are "good for black people," is often noted as a popular destination for African Americans from other locales, and has a large African American middle class. Massey and Denton (1993) label Atlanta as a "hypersegregated" metropolitan area that suffers from the worst effects of segregation; this results in their analysis conflicting with public opinion in some ways. Atlanta *is* a hypersegregated area in terms of racial distribution, but some of the majority black neighborhoods, communities, and counties exist because of people that want to live there. This demonstrates exceptions to the equation that hypersegregation equals extreme disadvantage.

These examples demonstrate the reciprocal relationship between the assumptions of researchers and of their respondents (residents of African American neighborhoods).

Respondents that are unfamiliar with majority African American neighborhoods with desirable non-racial attributes can develop associations between majority African American neighborhoods and undesirable neighborhoods. Researchers that study those areas can then develop assumptions about majority African American neighborhoods generally being disadvantageous to their residents.

Missing Elements

In prior research, when respondents are being presented with their options for neighborhoods and are presented with only the racial composition of neighborhoods, their choices often reflect their stated preferences in terms of race, but do not look at the factors behind those decisions. These analyses do not explain the underlying assumptions that shape their preferences or whether their stated preferences reflect their actions.

The assumptions and other factors that contribute to the formation of stated preferences should be of great concern to any theorist. One respondent may believe that a 50/50 racial mix sounds like a fair number, so the respondent may choose it primarily for that reason. Certain respondents may tend not to choose areas that are 100% of either race, because they assume that there is a reason that no one of another race is willing to live there.

These assumptions are also different if the respondent feels that they have a certain amount of freedom in their neighborhood choice. A respondent's freedom to move is

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likely shaped by income, education, exposure to other races, exposure to other social classes within their own race, character of their metropolitan area, character of their neighborhood, amongst other factors. These factors all contribute to shape the view of the respondent and simultaneously help to shape their class identity.   There is a temptation to view all African Americans as part of the "urban underclass" or to make considerations of class secondary to the analysis, but this is an unfortunate oversimplification. A study of those who do not fall into this category – research on those with freedom to choose – may reveal valuable insight into the actions of others.

Another part of the respondents' assumptions are their perceptions of race. Chiricos et al (2001) found largely inconclusive results about whether blacks find concentrations of blacks as safer or more dangerous in terms of crime risk. Krysan and Farley (2002) found that some African Americans are willing to move into white areas only if there is a significant African American presence – fears of hostility remain. This is another side of the neighborhood racial preferences: some African Americans fear hostility from whites. One person in the same racial group may have increased fear in the same situation that may make another feel more comfortable.   These findings reveal that opinions and reactions of individuals likely vary widely.

One important assumption that shapes preferences is how the respondent perceives power and cultural dynamics in the neighborhood, something that is left entirely up to their imagination. For example, if respondents assume that there will be black churches, barbershops, bookstores, or other familiar cultural elements either in their neighborhood

or in close proximity, they would be more likely to be favorable. If some African American respondents conceive of a 50% African American or even a 20% African American neighborhood as one with enough African Americans in power positions to make life acceptable for them, they would presumably be more likely to respond favorably as well.

The concept of hypothetical neighborhood seeks to find core racial attitudes but adds a great deal of personal conjecture by the respondents. These perceptions may or may not reflect reality, and the final concern that the respondent may give a "proper" answer that they believe the interviewer wants to hear is always a concern of survey analysis (even if the conception of "what the interviewer wants to hear" changes from respondent to respondent.) It may be more interesting and informative to study preferences in the context of action, rather than preferences in the abstract. Krysan (2002) noted the limitations of previous studies that used hypothetical neighborhoods and designed a survey with real communities. Krysan notes the following:

> What people consider undesirable is just one part of the residential choice process. That is, in addition to understanding what makes people avoid particular communities, to fully understand residential patterns and preferences, we also need to understand what draws people to other areas. While we know which communities in this study were considered desirable, we do not know why (Krysan 2002, 537).

Krysan's (2002) study represented methodological advancement with the inclusion of real communities. However, this new development in research methodology means that this method has not yet been used to cover the full range of subjects related to racial segregation. As example, the focus of that survey on community undesirability limits the

usefulness of that analysis to describe how favorable African Americans find actual African American communities for the purpose of attaining socioeconomic advancement.

Some researchers assert that the desire of blacks to live separately explains segregation, and as a result, eliminates a need for government policy (Clark 1965; Thernstrom and Thernstrom 1997). Their view of "neutral ethnocentrism" describes racial differences in preference as affinity for one's own race and outside the realm of government intervention. Krysan estimates that "the neutral ethnocentrism perspective appears to characterize about 10% of the African American respondents" (Krysan 2002, 538), to make the point that it does not describe the majority of black respondents. It is possible that she underestimates the percentage of blacks who believe in some part of the concept. While many blacks may share the view that something similar to ethnocentrism is important, if they implicitly (or explicitly) do so as a strategy for political or socioeconomic advancement of themselves or the group, then it is not accurately described by any existing categorization used by preference theorists.

The literature could therefore be expanded in a useful way through further analysis of African American preferences. In a similar way, the literature regarding the models of segregation could be improved by a better understanding of all of the reasons why racial concentrations of "minority" populations occur – particularly by studying factors that are determinants of preferences, in addition to the existing knowledge of the barriers (historical, social, economical, etc.) that can prevent free movement to more integrated neighborhoods. The literature regarding the overall consequences of segregation for

society is well established and has demonstrated many of the issues for the urban poor who are often trapped in a bubble that separates them from opportunity, but the possible benefits of racial concentration to some individuals residing in those neighborhoods could be better established. There is not a clear understanding of the comprehensive set of forces that shape a neighborhood's racial makeup, but understanding this issue is critical for many planners and policymakers.

A significant amount of the existing literature is based on older data sources. Massey and Denton's 1993 work is seen as the seminal work on the topic of persistent segregation, but much of their data comes from the 1980 census and other now outdated sources. It seems reasonable to question whether or not the underlying assumptions of that analysis need to be broadened in order to better reflect the current reality. It is quite possible that some of the reasonable assumptions made in earlier studies should be adjusted to remain relevant.

Specifically, these studies seem outdated when compared to recent anecdotal evidence that members of the "New Black Middle Class," described as an evolving group by Landry in 1987, do not always follow the expected path to more integrated neighborhoods. As this population has the income and mobility that could potentially allow them more choice over residential location, more detailed preferences of the wider African American population may be revealed by investigating the preferences of this group.

Black Middle Class / History of Black Suburbanization

The studies of non-poor African Americans have traditionally focused on the black middle class, and in recent years have included several studies that also discuss the suburbanization of African Americans. These studies give a window into the movements and locations of African Americans who do not reside in the traditional "urban ghetto" neighborhoods that are typical of the urban underclass.

Studies of the "old" Black middle class began with E. Franklin Frazier. While his seminal work *Black Bourgeoisie* (1957) is popularly considered to be the starting point for analysis of the Black middle class, this work summarizes his critiques and analyses of this group during three decades of scholarly research (Landry 1978). Frazier's story of the Black middle class begins in the eighteenth century with the "roots of the black bourgeoisie" in the purchase of land by free African Americans, continues through Reconstruction after the Civil War with some of the new, white-collar opportunities that followed during segregation. Landry continued this analysis with an understanding of a "new black middle class" that developed in the 1960s during a period where the civil rights movement and a booming economy combined to create more opportunities for African Americans (Landry 1987).

While sociologists such as Frazier and Landry focused on the social development of the black middle class, historian Andrew Wiese traced the suburbanization of all African Americans (not just the middle class) throughout the twentieth century. As Wiese (2004) details the settlement of individual suburban communities beginning with the families

that took part in the Great Migration of African Americans to northern states in the 1910s and 1920s, these enclaves were traditionally limited to individual neighborhoods or towns; they were often not middle class, and certainly not entire suburban counties the size of Prince George's. This pattern of suburban development characterized a great deal of African American suburban development until recent decades.

This pattern began to evolve in the 1970s, after the opening of several suburban areas to African Americans due to new anti-discriminatory laws and court decisions related to desegregation (and immediately after the new black middle class as described by Landry began to form). Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act (1968) was the "Fair Housing Act," which had the stated purpose of "provid[ing], within constitutional limitations, for fair housing throughout the United States" and in part prohibited racial discrimination in the sale or rental of housing and real estate-related transactions. This had a major effect in formerly segregated places such as Prince George's County, where the African American population rose from 30,000 in 1960 to approximately 250,000 in 1980 (Wiese 2004, 244).

Recent Analyses of the Black Middle Class

Cashin's *The Failures of Integration* (2004) laments the lack of success at achieving integration, but can also be interpreted as laying the groundwork for understanding integration as a strategy for advancement. She notes that "few seem to realize that only the African American poor are singled out for extreme isolation from the rest of

American society. Only the black poor experience 'hypersegregation'" (Cashin 2004, p 96).

Cashin compares the middle class experience of the different races and concludes that the black middle class enclaves cannot match the white suburbs in terms of quality of schools, crime levels, low taxes and quality services as well as having a range of shopping and eating options. The chapter on the black middle class focuses on Prince George's County, Maryland, and she posits that although for some residents the "soul-regenerating benefits of a black enclave will be worth the costs" she focuses on the "costs" of living in the majority black community compared to the neighboring white community. To achieve the suburban ideal, she concludes that blacks must move to white, affluent areas. She does, however acknowledge that even in her ideal vision, racial enclaves may exist as a matter of preference.

Pattillo-McCoy (2000, 1999) examines the residential patterns of the black middle class in Chicago and concludes that black middle class expansion may lead to larger black middle class enclaves, although not necessarily integration with whites, as black middle class neighborhoods maintain a geographical connection with the black poor. Her assertions may be interpreted as either troubling or positive; as she finds that middle class African Americans do not achieve equal outcomes with whites and that the possibility of cleavages between poor and middle-class African Americans could cause greater tensions between the two groups. This makes clear the need for a comprehensive examination of the costs and benefits to living in a majority African American middle class community,

not only for the persons in the community, but for other African Americans in the area who cannot live there and remain in other communities with fewer resources and general amenities.

There are also potential political ramifications of this division – it could allow middle class African Americans to dominate the various avenues of political power and govern for their own interests in a way that is detrimental to the interests of poor African Americans, by limiting affordable housing or diverting funding from public education to private schools, etc. In this way, shielded from accusations of racism, this group could become less active on poverty issues than middle class whites. However, the "dynamic class movement within black communities" that Patillo-McCoy finds ensures that poor blacks have the advantages of close proximity to the middle class; these combined areas can offer the social benefits that only concentrations of African Americans can provide, including political, social, and economic leadership in the community, large church communities and shopping, etc. (These can be grouped together as "racial/cultural amenities.")

The researchers who have developed studies of the black middle class and black suburbanization have contributed greatly to the understanding of African American populations, but missing from these studies is a systematic analysis of the benefits that homeowners perceive in majority African American neighborhoods in the current day or what differences exist between African Americans who live in majority African American areas and those who live in majority white areas.

Empowerment of African Americans

While the empowerment literature addresses possible reasons for choosing racial concentration, this literature is rarely addressed by analysts who study segregation. That group of researchers is largely concerned with the negative effects on the disadvantaged. However, the literature on empowerment can go a long way towards understanding the housing choices and residential locations of the black middle class, a portion of a racial minority group with the ability to live in non-concentrated neighborhoods if they so choose. According to that literature, when race matters, it makes sense to live in an area where "neighbors like you" can come together and elect officials that are from your group, or will represent the best interests of your group. This literature may be helpful in determining what areas African Americans may find attractive, as some may find the political effects of concentration as beneficial. This may be an element that helps to understand why some may choose to stay in an area that may not appear be optimal for them, based on all other preferences. This is a possible mediating factor to the relationship between single-race neighborhoods and disadvantage as understood by Massey, Denton, and others.

Bobo and Gilliam (1990) use control of the mayor's office as the indicator of empowerment. The empowerment literature is limited in its application to residential decisions because it focuses solely on control of elected office. For those choosing to live in majority African American areas, control of elected office may be one measure of that group's success in controlling political power in their neighborhoods. Reed (1986)

discusses the limited circumstances in which many "black regimes" take elected office, and Stone (1998) discusses the importance of informal arrangements with private interests to the development of an effective governing coalition. As the leadership ability of black regimes develop over time, the potential benefits to their constituents increases (not withstanding the responsiveness of individual politicians). African American representation throughout the governing coalition is therefore a reasonable measure of advantage and may be an intrinsic benefit of living in a majority African American area.[6]

One argument against studying areas where African Americans control different arms of the governing coalition is that these areas are too rare. If they house too small a percentage of the African American population to be relevant and do not represent the norm for African Americans, they may not be useful to study. If however, these neighborhoods prove ideal for some African Americans and represent early examples of a trend where their individual strategies of socioeconomic advancement leads them to live in these communities, then their study becomes much more relevant. If that is true, an important side of their preferences is being ignored by the theorists who analyze race-based preferences and segregation. This could lead to possible mischaracterization of behavior and the reasons behind it. If some individuals are moving to these areas and others like it, they are making a conscious choice to move to a majority African American area in furtherance of their socioeconomic goals, then this trend is too important to ignore, specifically as many of these areas are growing suburban areas.

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[6] A counter-argument to this strategy is that concentrations of African-Americans into all-black districts lead to isolation and limits the ability to exercise power in a broader area through coalition building. Those gerrymandered districts that are shaped to create power are not what is discussed here – these are population concentrations that can create a block within one district, or similar blocks within multiple districts.

Reasons to actively choose racial concentration

A problem with any analysis that assumes the validity of the equation between lack of integration and socioeconomic disadvantage exists when any blacks freely choose not to live with whites. This choice would prove an exception to the relationship between the two. Dawson's survey analysis describes 40% of blacks as "true believers" in the ideology of "disillusioned liberalism" these are people that agreed with all of the components of the ideology – a group who is defined by their dissatisfaction with the progress and results of the policies and strategies of the early Civil Rights era, presumably including the uncritical pursuit of integration for its own sake (Dawson 2001, 83). Those who were disillusioned by the amount of progress made by many of the early civil rights advocates led to a modern embrace of self-segregation for the purpose of building political (and economic) power (Dawson 2001, 279). For those who share this mindset, it is not difficult to see that their turn to promote self-segregation results from dissatisfaction with the integrationist path to racial advancement.

Although Dawson does not quantify the number of blacks who actively follow this path with their residential decision-making, this could be an important segment of the African American population that Massey and Denton minimize. One group consists of those who may not necessarily back self-segregation for political reasons, but would prefer an African American neighborhood for other reasons. If some African Americans (beyond the black radicals whom Massey and Denton dismiss as irrelevant) choose to accomplish their goals of social and political incorporation by creating thriving majority-African

American areas, then the current understanding of residential patterns is inadequately thorough. If two-fifths of the African American population can be identified as disillusioned liberals, the self-segregation mindset could be popular enough to explain the widespread desire to create a large concentration of African Americans in a metropolitan area.

Carmichael and Hamilton (1967) debunk three "myths of coalition" held by society, two of which are immediately relevant to the current discussion: the "fallacious assumption that a viable coalition can be affected between the politically and economically secure and the politically and economically insecure," and that "political coalitions are or can be sustained on a moral, friendly, sentimental basis; by appeals to conscience" (Carmichael and Hamilton 1967, 60). Their description of the myths of coalition are directly opposed to other authors that contend that living with whites would enable blacks to build coalitions with white neighbors that would better represent their interests (Massey and Denton 1993). These opposing strategies could lead to different residential choices by adherents to each point of view.

Carmichael and Hamilton list changes that must be undertaken in order to resolve problems that persist in the ghetto; they believe that "the initiative for such changes will have to come from the black community" (1967, 165). Massey and Denton (1993) characterize those with such beliefs as radicals that do not represent the larger group. Dawson characterizes Carmichael and Hamilton as examples of black nationalists, an ideology that 37% of blacks completely agreed with in his survey. This explains the

reasoning behind the decisions of African Americans with the ability to choose where to live: while some desire to live with whites in order to achieve socioeconomic advancement, others prefer a majority African American environment, particularly if they feel that the African American has the attributes that they prefer.

Another group consists of those who may not necessarily back self-segregation for political reasons but would prefer an African American neighborhood for other reasons. Relatively little is known about the political dynamics within the population of African Americans, particularly differences between suburban and central city residents. "White flight" describes an exodus of whites from an area as it becomes more racially mixed than they are willing to tolerate (Schelling 1971; Emerson et al. 2001). However, an influx of African Americans to an area requires some explanation, particularly if they are able to live somewhere else. Further explanation is needed to understand the movements where African Americans with means leave central city neighborhoods for inner-ring suburbs (and current trends indicate moves from inner-ring suburbs to outer suburban areas) to set up enclaves with neighbors like themselves racially and economically. These demographic shifts are formed by many individuals' desires and these are made for a variety of reasons.

Summary

This work brings each of these areas of literature together in an attempt to study the issue in a manner that will further knowledge on the subject. In order to update existing knowledge on the phenomenon of continuing residential segregation, all of these separate

areas of research must be brought together in a way that attempts to make sense of real population trends, perceptions, policies, and preferences of African Americans in the present day.

From the existing research we know that segregation patterns have traditionally been formed by factors outside of the control of African Americans, as public policy and private actions combined with market forces to force large segments of the African American population to live in concentrated urban areas. This was true before the passage of civil rights legislation designed to stop discrimination, but the present-day effects of past discrimination, combined with differences in racial tolerances between whites and blacks (and other groups) have combined to maintain racially separate areas. However, there are reasons why some African Americans may prefer a majority African American area, and feel that there are benefits that they can only receive there, and it is no longer accurate to assume that all African Americans who live with other African Americans do so because of limited choices. At the same time, there are potential costs to living in majority African American neighborhoods, even those in middle class suburbs, as they do not offer similar benefits to majority white neighborhoods.

The existing literature weaves a complicated but compelling story of preferences and decisions, movements and limits to mobility, as well as costs and benefits. What is necessary is an examination of a real-world example; where all of these factors can be studied, existing conclusions can be examined and confirmed or rejected, and actual factors in the development of majority black suburban communities can be determined.

Chapter 3: Theory

Introduction

Many researchers who have studied racial segregation since the end of the civil rights movement have focused on the issue with a sociological perspective. Many of these conventional sociological studies of African Americans focus on those with limited income and power, living in high concentrations among others who are similarly disadvantaged. Using a combination of evidence and writers' assumptions for the basis of their conclusions, many researchers argue that these people would prefer to live in economically and, especially, racially integrated neighborhoods (Massey and Denton 1993; Deluca and Rosenbaum 2003; Harris 2001; Krysan and Farley 2002). These studies do not explain why African Americans with the financial means and opportunity to live anywhere would live in neighborhoods with very few whites. This chapter presents a conceptual framework of residential decision-making and presents several questions that to be addressed, and presents some hypotheses of why some African Americans choose neighborhoods are choosing majority African American neighborhoods.

Problem Statement

This research project is concerned with a relatively new phenomenon: middle class African Americans who apparently choose to live with others who share their race and economic position. As these communities have begun to develop in several metropolitan areas across the country, the need for further study of this group has become clear. This

research project is designed to call attention to this group, and is particularly focused on examining the commonly heard preference of African Americans for a 50/50 black-white racial mix in their neighborhoods (Krysan and Farley 2002).

It is possible that the preference for a 50/50 racial mix in the hypothetical neighborhoods of earlier studies such as (Krysan 2002) is merely a marker for other community characteristics – respondents may assume that a 50/50 mix in the hypothetical neighborhood represents a place that would be desirable to whites *and* blacks, and therefore has all of the positive characteristics that respondents assume both groups would prefer. Others may value racial diversity and the racial unity implicit in a 50/50 neighborhood and choose it for those reasons. Simply put, in these studies, respondents may select the hypothetical neighborhood where both whites and blacks would be willing to live, not an actual neighborhood that they would prefer.

Understanding this new phenomenon of middle class African American communities and what the preferences for racial mix represent is important to planners and other researchers interested in understanding suburbanization and the kinds of neighborhoods and communities that people desire. *Would African Americans choose a 50/50 neighborhood if there were majority black neighborhoods with all of the qualities that they desire? If not, why not? What role does the income and class of their neighbors play in their choices?* These questions become of particular importance to planners, as current housing and community development policies, such as mixed-income housing

developments, may be misguided if they are not made with an accurate understanding of what people desire in their communities.

Although one strategy is to focus on the African American underclass, this group may be so disadvantaged as to not have real choices in housing which could limit understanding of the different types of neighborhoods that researchers are interested in. Further, a study of preferences made in a metropolitan area with entrenched segregation patterns and limited neighborhood choices (i.e. an area where the only majority black neighborhoods are ones of such poor quality that no whites are willing to live there) could affect the choices of respondents as well. This pattern is evident in studies of cities such as Detroit, Michigan (Farley, et al 1993; Farley et al. 1997; Farley, et al. 2000).

Understanding this phenomenon requires researchers to take a more nuanced view of racially concentrated areas. If previous researchers and respondents have made the assumption that a concentration of African Americans always means an area of great disadvantage, then those studies are not useful in terms of telling us what actual neighborhoods respondents would prefer. The assumption that an increase in racial concentration always means a negative outcome for residents may be challenged. Massey and Fong (1990) found that black disadvantage was not as great as the level of segregation in San Francisco would suggest. In other words, the implicit association between majority black neighborhoods and disadvantage had been overstated in that city. Specifically noted were the mitigating effects of education. While proving that poorly

educated, low-income blacks meet significant challenges, the analysis also shows that segregation is not the all-encompassing measure of disadvantage.

Likewise, African American elected officials in Prince George's County, Maryland often note that this suburban county has seen average education and income levels rise since it changed from majority white to majority black and presumably scores much lower on several of Massey and Denton's indices of segregation as African Americans become more concentrated in areas throughout the county. Massey and Denton (1993) did not perform an individual analysis on the county level but did discuss suburbanization. Massey and Denton maintain that "black suburbanization often does not eliminate black-white disparities in residential quality," and their adjacency to the central city and unattractiveness to whites, among other factors, means that "black suburbs replicate the problems of the inner city" (Massey and Denton 1993, 69). The authors specifically refer to several communities in inner-beltway Prince George's County as examples of black suburbanization and characterize them as "expansion of an urban ghetto across a city line [that] does not reflect a larger process of racial integration" (Massey and Denton 1993, 70).

Concurrently, Prince George's County is often referred to as a national model of African American economic success. Massey and Denton's characterization of early black suburbs as "expansion of urban ghettos" may be accurate for some inner suburbs, but it is difficult to describe majority black enclaves such as Mitchellville, Maryland in that manner, as these areas may largely consist of expensive luxury homes. It seems likely

that at least some of the county's new African American population did not place integration high on their priority list and made a conscious choice to move to a majority African American area. Massey and Denton's analysis may be limited by the available data, as the 1990 and 2000 censuses would have revealed that there are majority black suburbs with populations that have high levels of education, high income earning, and with high land costs. Sigelman and Henig's (2001) analysis of racial preferences for the city or suburbs in the Washington, D.C. region does not differentiate between different kinds of suburbs and is unable to give clarification to this discussion, although it shows that whites and blacks in the region give individual factors different weights, showing that there is not a universal set of ordinal preferences.

While it would be an oversimplification to consider an entire county to contain one type of community, it is important to distinguish racially homogeneous middle-class African American enclaves from involuntary ghettos. These are areas of distinct difference – presumably enclaves contain people that choose to live "with their own," while ghettos are neighborhoods where choices are largely constrained. While some kind of economic and possibly racial integration may be the clear remedy for the problems of the former, the latter may need to be observed separately. Their needs, choices, and interactions with other groups are in need of study if the proper set of implications is to be considered by policymakers. The answers to those questions have implications for several policy areas including housing, education and economic policy, among others. However, these questions can only be answered after a thorough analysis of this African American middle class is completed.

The Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework describes the demand model for residential location of African Americans. It was developed over the course of this research project, beginning with the preferences that were established in previous studies, and incorporating what was found in this research project. It looks at the components of a choice of neighborhoods – all of the factors that go into determining preferences and the factors that limit one's ability to fulfill one's desired preference(s). These shape the choices that result in a neighborhood location.

Framework for Residential Location

General Preferences
-Value/Price
-Cleanliness
-Safety
-Closeness to Amenities:
  Schools,
Shopping,
  Employment,
  Transportation Links,
  Parks and Recreation,
-"Good" Neighbors
-Visual Appeal
-Others

Internal Mobility Limiters

-Fear of racism
-Fear of racial violence
-Lack of information
-Lingering memory of past racism

African-American Residential Preferences

Preferences for Racial / Cultural Amenities and Comfort

-Religious Institutions
-Ethnic shopping, etc.
-Sense of community
-Political incorporation
-Integration
-Others

External Mobility Limiters

-Individual income limitations
-Local economic conditions
-Lack of different kinds of neighborhoods in region
-Lack of transportation
-Other regional differences
-Racial Steering
-Historical and present policies with discriminatory effects
-Discrimination
-Actual Racism/Racial Violence

Neighborhood Choices/ Outcomes

Figure 6: Conceptual Framework for Residential Location

Preferences

Certain preferences are characterized as "general preferences," including various neighborhood characteristics that are not distinct to African Americans, including housing value, cleanliness of the neighborhood, perceived safety, the quality of schools[7] and the location of the neighborhood relative to amenities outside of the neighborhood, such as employment, transportation links, shopping, parks, open space, and recreation. While this list began with factors discussed in the studies of the black middle class and the preference literature, these are general considerations – the ones that do not appear specific to one group, and are factors that movers of all races look at when considering a neighborhood.

"Preferences for Racial/Cultural Amenities and Comfort" are racially specific considerations, and this category includes a range of other factors that may explain some of the reasons why African Americans may prefer to live within a majority African American area. This includes religious institutions that are familiar or comfortable to them and options for shopping, entertainment options and services that cater to their community (ethnic shopping, restaurants, and the like).

From the empowerment and political incorporation literature come the idea of a racially specific "sense of community," meaning the desire to be around neighbors similar in terms of race, income, and class, both in their immediate neighbors and in organizations that they may be involved in. This is related to the definition of sense of community as

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[7] Generally, good schools are a positive factor, but the desire for quality schools is more complicated than it may appear, as results of the study will describe in detail.

"a feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that members' needs will be met through their commitment to be together" (McMillan and Chavis 1986). This includes those who want neighbors that they can feel comfortable with, raise their children around, invite to their parties, or become involved in community events with. Those who prefer to do any of these things with African Americans may choose a neighborhood for the sense of community therein. These homeowners would see themselves as part of a community and identify with their neighbors as part of a group.

Political incorporation refers to political incorporation in a broad sense, most similar to "membership in the governing coalition" as Stone (1989) and other regime theorists describe. This means that political incorporation includes elected and appointed leadership at the municipal and county levels, in their delegates to state and federal legislatures, and also business and community leaders. Political incorporation as used here refers to the individual's desire for people sensitive to their group interests to be in those positions, and the associated feeling of connection to a responsive power structure in their communities – this denotes a preference to be somewhere where the interests of "people like them" are reflected in those halls of power.

The preference for integration is a straightforward measure of an individual preference for racial mix in their neighborhood. As the literature review revealed that other factors are also important to consider, this factor is only one of many possible factors that

determine the preference for a neighborhood, as opposed to other study designs that attempt to use integration as a proxy for all of these other factors.

While the specific preferences for racial/cultural amenities distinguish this group from other groups, many groups prefer racial or cultural amenities – places of worship and ethnic food are certainly not limited to African Americans. While these factors apply to the group as a whole, the relative importance of any one varies for each individual – the particular combination of individual preferences and the magnitude of those preferences are likely to change the desirability of a particular neighborhood for any individual. Someone with a particularly strong preference for a racially integrated neighborhood or for a neighborhood within ten minutes of work may choose on those factors, even if that neighborhood does not match up with any of their other preferences.   Also, individuals may want some or all of the amenities to be in their region, or within driving distance, but not necessarily in their neighborhood or community. For example, an individual may strongly desire a beauty salon that is familiar with her hair texture but is willing to drive to it – it may not need to be in her neighborhood.   People assign different weights to the things that they value, and this study looks at what they value, and what they are willing to trade off.

Mobility Limiters

While an individual's personal preferences are made up of their unique combination of magnitude and direction of preferences, there are certain limits to mobility that interact

with preferences in ways that account for the differences between what an individual prefers and where that individual ends up living.

These mobility limiters are grouped into two categories: internal and external. Internal mobility limiters are self-imposed constraints on choice and include the fear of racism and racial violence, lack of information, and lingering memories of past racism. These are possible factors inside the mind of a potential African American mover and may affect that individual's perception of a particular neighborhood in ways contrary to that person's best interest. For example, an individual may fear a neighborhood that has a history of racial problems, despite the fact that the neighborhood fulfills the remainder of that person's criteria at present. Any case where fear does not have a legitimate basis, (e.g. actual racism that threatens the family's well-being) qualifies as an internal limiter. A lack of knowledge of the possible options may mean that a person may not even know about a neighborhood that he or she will like. These internal mobility limiters have the potential to interfere with an individual's own ability to find a neighborhood.

External mobility limiters are externally imposed constraints on choice, and their identification was influenced by the existing segregation literature (specifically Wilson 1987 and Massey and Denton 1993). Some external mobility limiters reduce an individual's ability to take advantage of other options that exist. As example, the effect of actual discrimination, racial steering, and historical and present policies with discriminatory effects (such as redlining) can prevent someone from moving to the neighborhood that that person may desire. Other external mobility limiters can best be

described as regional limitations. Other external mobility limiters reduce the number of alternative options, and they include poor local economic conditions that prevent many from having the income necessary to purchase homes, a lack of different kinds of neighborhoods, a lack of transportation options, and other regional differences that may exist in a particular region at a given point in time, including housing shortages, the effects of natural disasters, and other factors. These external mobility limiters can restrict the number of choices or limit the ability to choose from among the available choices. A particular region may fail to benefit potential residents on any or all of these criteria, and would thereby limit the ability of potential movers to find desirable neighborhoods.

All of these factors combine to influence what neighborhoods African Americans live in – individual residential decisions are a combination of these (and potentially other, yet to be found) factors. This project seeks to investigate these factors for those with residential mobility – the ability to afford to move to a neighborhood of one's choice without being constrained by financial or other limitations that commonly plague low income home-seekers.

Specifically, this study looks at the following questions: *What choices do members of the subject group believe they have, and why do they make the choice that they do? Is the choice they have made their first choice or a second choice?* The research design, as described later in this document, aims to take advantage of a natural phenomenon and to control for as many of the mediating factors as possible by studying middle class African Americans in the Maryland suburbs of Washington D.C. This would then isolate and

identify racial/cultural amenities and comfort as described in this section. Particular possible amenities include religious institutions, bookstores, barbershops, movies, other retail, cultural, and social establishments that are sensitive to the needs of African Americans and exist in the . Other considerations include a more general sense of community and desires for political incorporation, all elements suggested by the literature and popular culture.

Questions/Hypotheses

Main Research Question: *Why do middle-class African Americans who live in African American neighborhoods live where they do?*

This straightforward question is the focus of this exploratory research project. The main causes of their residential location have remained in question, as it is unclear whether mobility limiters such as a lack of housing options or steering by realtors force African American homebuyers to choose these neighborhoods, or whether homebuyers find enough amenities that make these neighborhoods more preferable than more integrated neighborhoods elsewhere in the region.

Previous Assumption: Segregation leads to disadvantage for members of a minority group.

This assumption maintains that segregation is problematic and that a "high score on any single dimension [of segregation] is serious because it removes blacks from full participation in urban society and limits their access to its benefits" (Massey and Denton

1993, 74).[8] It implies that rational members of a minority group should prefer an integrated area to a segregated one, because segregation represents problems and a suboptimal choice. By definition, suburban enclaves such as those in outer beltway Prince George's County create high degrees of unevenness due to the overrepresentation of African Americans in that part of the metropolitan area, and clustering of the population in these areas. If there is some amount of benefit to living in these areas of concentration, it would mitigate the "limited access to benefits" that Massey and Denton describe as typical.

Main Hypothesis: Access to cultural or physical amenities associated with African American culture and the comfort of living with other African Americans lead those who have strong preferences for these factors to choose predominately black neighborhoods despite deficiencies in some other neighborhood characteristics.

This hypothesis refers to the specific racial/cultural amenities and comfort as discussed earlier. It posits that these are perceived by some residents in positive ways, depending on personal preferences – they believe that these amenities make a neighborhood more attractive. The racial/cultural amenities and comfort would be most attractive to the African American residents who have a strong preference for them, and for these residents neighborhoods that contain these elements and meet their minimum standards for general amenities will be more attractive than a non-majority black neighborhood that has more general amenities.

Supplementary Hypothesis: Middle-class African Americans who live in predominately black suburban neighborhoods have a stronger preference for racial/cultural amenities and comfort than those that live in predominately white suburban neighborhoods.

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[8] Massey and Denton discuss five dimensions of segregation: unevenness, isolation, clustering, concentration and centralization within a metropolitan area. The higher the score in any of these areas, the more segregated the group.

If there are "racial issues" - racism, perceived racism, or racial tension in the workplace, police force, culture or wider society, certain individuals may choose a majority-black neighborhood for the purpose of escaping that outside world. This includes individuals who may work or spend time with members of other racial groups during the day, but prefer to "spend their free time" living in a community with a strong African American presence. These individuals may choose a majority-black neighborhood even if it has fewer general amenities than a comparable neighborhood in a non-black neighborhood. This hypothesis means that those whose desire for racial / cultural amenities is strong enough, a move to a majority-black neighborhood in Prince George's County over an equivalent majority-white one in Montgomery County is entirely logical. They may want ethnic based shopping or the comfort of their faith community, or they may feel more comfortable if the elected leadership and their business and community leaders are sensitive to the particular issues of their racial group.

Conclusion

An individual's preferences for general amenities and racial/cultural amenities combine to create a set of preferences for an ideal neighborhood for that person. Once preferences are determined, a variety of factors limit an individual's ability to choose a neighborhood that fits one's ideal set of preferences. This research attempts to investigate and determine whether middle class African Americans live in majority African American communities due to a combination of those factors and preferences. This study tests the assumption that they live in those neighborhoods due to limitations on their ability to choose the best

neighborhood for them and considers the alternative possibility that those who live in those neighborhoods do so because they provide the most benefits of any neighborhood.

Chapter 4: Social and Racial History of Maryland's Montgomery and Prince George's Counties

Introduction

The inner suburban counties of Maryland have a long and detailed history. This chapter details the portions of that history that relate to the racial compositions of each county today, and the issues that arose during this research project. Prince George's County's national reputation as a black middle class county was created by a confluence of factors that made the area ideal for that group to come to dominate the area over the last four decades. Simultaneously, Montgomery County has grown into an economic engine for the state, and home to a much smaller, but still notable African American minority. Both counties have changed drastically from the days of enforced segregation before the late 1960s and slavery that ended a century earlier.
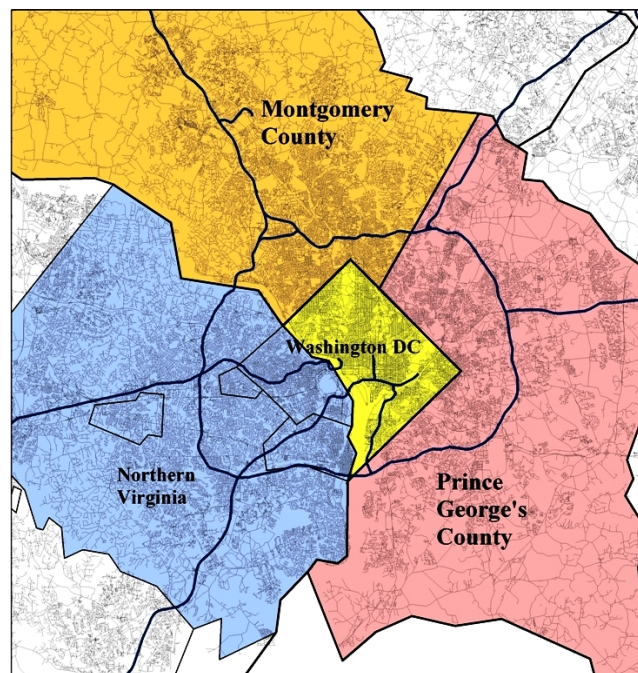
Figure 7: Washington and immediate suburbs

Social and Economic History

Prince George's County, Maryland was formed in 1696. Over the next century, the territory was subdivided once in 1748, when part became Frederick County, and again in 1776, when part became Montgomery County. In 1791, land was taken from Prince George's and Montgomery Counties for the District of Columbia.[9] As the city of Washington grew into a major city over the next two centuries, the character of the region changed. What was once forest, swampland, and farmland heavily focused on the tobacco economy eventually became a major metropolitan area with an economy largely shaped by the presence of the federal government.

As Prince George's developed in the 18th century, the ports of Bladensburg and present-day Upper Marlboro were thriving ports of trade in tobacco, slaves, and other goods. According to a town commissioner in Upper Marlboro, "Before Georgetown was a port, Upper Marlboro was the busiest port city in the whole region, with 150 sailing ships in the 1700s."[10] At that time, the slave trade was thriving, and many African Americans came to the area in this way, populating both counties. Montgomery County had more abolitionists than Prince George's prior to the Civil War, and these groups, such as the Quakers of Sandy Spring, in central Montgomery County, set up stops on the "underground railroad" series of safehouses and pathways that guided slaves to freedom in the North, some of which are commemorated today. As the Civil War came, Prince George's firmly remained a slaveholding area, while Montgomery had more of a

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[9] Land was also taken from Virginia at that time, but was retroceded back to that state in 1847, and now forms parts of Alexandria and all of Arlington County.
[10] Marianne Kyriakos, "Trading in the Tobacco for the Tony Life: As Prince George's County Seat Opts for Development, the Land Pulls In Buyers." *The Washington Post.* August 26, 2006, G1.

bifurcated identity – the home of both abolitionist Quakers and the North Bethesda home of famous slave Josiah Henson.[11] With the Civil War came eventual emancipation of slaves throughout the state.

Over the next century, Montgomery County began its development as a suburb of Washington, D.C., as rail transportation developed and as the federal city's economy grew, many whites located there in railroad towns that grew into many of the county's established communities.[12] Prince George's remained largely rural, and retained the reputation as the less developed county of the Washington metropolitan area, as this 1989 article in T*he Washington Post* described the then-new rush for development in Prince George's:

> Land in Prince George's County is more plentiful and less expensive than in other Washington-area jurisdictions. With more than 5,000 acres of commercially and industrially zoned acres with access to the area's best highway network, the county's stock has risen dramatically as the supply of developable land dwindles in other jurisdictions.[13]

A few communities in the suburbs housed African Americans prior to the civil rights developments of the 1950s and 1960s. These early communities included a few towns such as North Brentwood in Prince George's, which was incorporated in 1924, and individual rural settlements in out-of-the-way places.[14] African American residents were largely limited to those communities. The formal desegregation period that began with

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[11] Henson and the story of his life is popularly believed to be the inspiration for Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*

[12] Melissa B. Robinson, "In Once-Rural Montgomery, a Rich History: Settled in 1776, the County Developed Around Railroads To Become One of the Most Diverse in Maryland," *The Washington Post,* April 26, 2007, GZ3.

[13] Rudolph A. Pyatt, "Prince George's Policy of Slower Growth," *The Washington Post,* February 20, 1989, F3.

[14] Eugene L. Meyer, "Black Town in Prince George's Finds Modest Place in History," *The Washington Post,* July 14, 1996, B3.

the US Supreme Court case decision in Brown v Board of Education of Topeka in 1954 did not have much immediate impact on the proportion of African Americans in either county – desegregation of most neighborhoods and facilities took years to occur. As in other metropolitan areas across the country, the passage of the Fair Housing Act (Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968) began the process of change in both counties, as the *de jure* segregation that limited African Americans to a few small communities began to dissipate, but integration on a wide scale remained elusive in the Washington suburbs, as it had in other metropolitan areas across the country (Massey and Denton 1993).

Prince George's County was slow to embrace desegregation largely due to the lack of support from the county's majority white residents. The only federally ordered school desegregation program in the D.C. region was put into place in Prince George's in 1972, and created a busing policy where many children were sent to schools across the county from their homes for over 30 years.[15] During this same time, the county transitioned from largely rural to suburban, and the African American population grew in both absolute numbers and as a percentage of the population. The case was only settled and the program ended after the county had become majority African American, with a public school system that served virtually all African American students. It was during this period that Prince George's identity transitioned from majority white and rural to a majority black suburban county. By the end of the twentieth century, African Americans were a majority in a wide portion of the county (Massey and Denton 1993; M-NCPPC 2003; Wiese 2004). By 1990, Prince George's had become "the first majority-black, majority-affluent county in the United States" (Wiese 2004, 270).

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[15] Lisa Frazier, "Judge Ends Busing in Prince George's," *The Washington Post*, September 2, 1998, A1

The racial segregation pattern today in the suburbs is a continuation of racial patterns that developed within Washington, D.C. Areas to the west of 16th St, NW have been majority white and wealthy since the days of segregation and areas east of that unofficial demarcation line have been traditionally black. If another look is taken at the neighborhood maps below, one may note that the light green and dark green (majority African American areas) encompass the eastern half of the District, with the yellow and dark blue (majority white areas) concentrated in the western part of the city. As the suburbs developed, the areas to the east and west of the city took on the same racial characteristics.

Neighborhood Typology from Fasenfest, Booza and Metzger (2004)
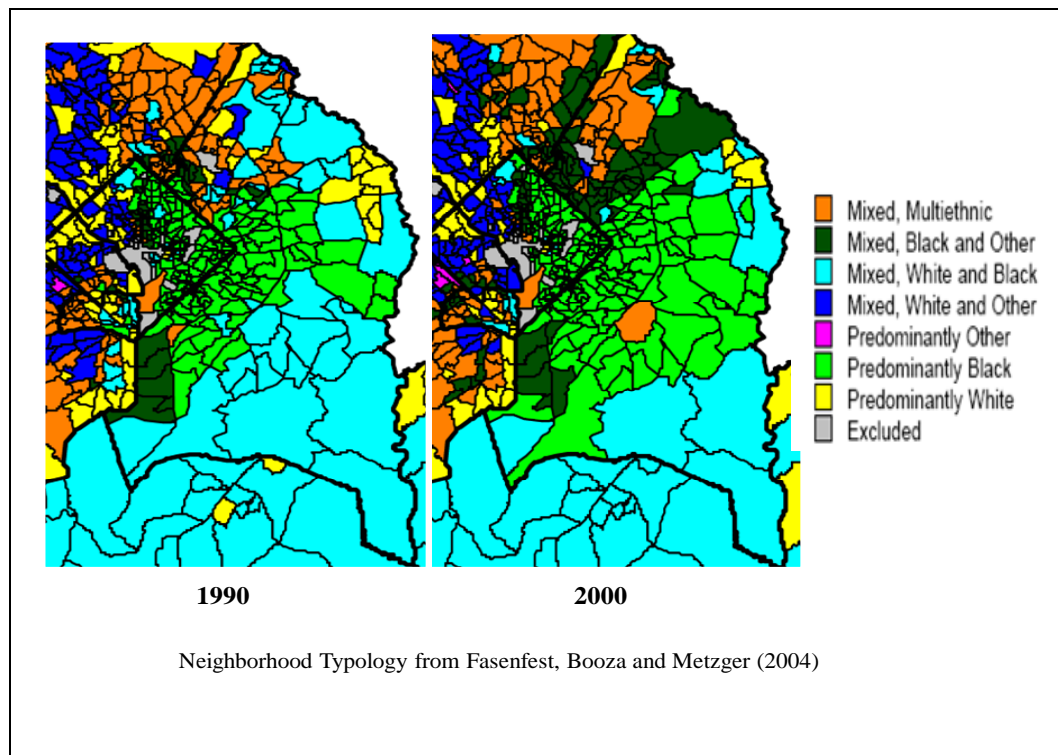
Figure 8: Racial Mix of Census Tracts in Washington, D.C. and Prince George's County, Md.

Montgomery County – Segregation and Integration

Montgomery County's difficulties with race issues did not end with the Civil War, but continued for a century after that conflict was resolved. The county was majority white throughout the twentieth century, of the region's key racial incidents during the civil rights era involved Glen Echo Park.

Glen Echo Park is located in southwestern Montgomery County, approximately three miles from the border with the District of Columbia and a few hundred feet from the Potomac River and the border with Virginia. From 1898-1968, it was "the area's premier amusement park" and became destination for many families along the trolley line that severed the area. It was a peaceful, fun and perhaps idyllic playground with a man-made beach, swimming pool, bumper cars, carousel, many other rides, and a Spanish Ballroom that accommodated 1,800 dancers. At its peak in the 1940s, the park attracted 30,000 attendees on holiday weekends. None of those attendees were African American, as the park was firmly segregated. It remained so until sustained protests by Howard University students and local residents in 1960 led to the integration of the park, after years of declines in attendance. Six years later, on Easter Monday, the day began with the closing of the landmark roller coaster and continued with the closing of other rides on a traditional day of high African American attendance, an act that many perceived as an official slight to African American patrons. This created a large scale disturbance at the park and was accompanied by such violence and vandalism that this event is still remembered by many in the area (Glen Echo Partnership, 2005).

When the park reopened in its first year of integration in 1961, there was a gate to control entrance and exit and a new admission fee, measures that have been interpreted as attempts to keep the customer base middle class. After the park owners closed down the rides on Easter Monday 1966, bus drivers refused to take the largely young African American revelers home to the District (Wolcott 2005). This incident is the largest example of racial strife within Montgomery County during the civil rights era, and reflected both the income and racial divisions that existed in the county.

Through various causes, including specific policy implementations and economic influences over the first two centuries of its existence, Montgomery County developed into a very wealthy majority white county with a reputation as a high income area and a certain amount of prestige. Over time, the growth policies of the county made it difficult for developers to subdivide land into lots, particularly a 1972 sewer moratorium that hampered the development of new housing. The county had also become a regional employment center, which created more demand for housing. According to a front-page series of articles in *The Washington Post* in 2004 that described the results of Montgomery County's explicit goal of attracting more job growth than housing growth:

> In a major 1993 review of county development, planners found that the number of jobs and homes in Montgomery County were "reasonably balanced." Since then, Montgomery County increased its jobs figure by 110,000 while increasing its home supply by 42,000, according to county figures. Assuming the average of 1.5 workers per home, this leaves a shortfall of roughly 30,000 homes.[16]

These factors combined with market forces to create a county with relatively large homes and high prices.

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[16] Peter Whoriskey, "Space for Employers, Not for Homes: Residents Driven Farther Out as D.C. Suburbs Lure Business and Limit Housing," *The Washington Post.* August 8, 2004, A1.

By the mid 1970s, Montgomery County's shortage of affordable housing led to the creation of their Moderately Priced Dwelling Unit (MPDU) program. This program was designed to increase the housing options for middle income residents, but did not supply enough housing to meet the demand for middle-income housing, and prices remained relatively high but housing demand generally continued to be stronger than supply.[17] Despite the program's acclaim, the county's status as a majority white, wealthy county did not change.

Population Growth and Income Inequality

Over the past few decades middle and high income black neighborhoods and communities developed as more African Americans moved into Prince George's (mostly outside of the Capital Beltway), into the many subdivisions in unincorporated parts of Prince George's, with fewer restrictions on growth. The large amount of developable land and the relative lack of growth controls meant that more housing was available, and homes were often cheaper per square foot in Prince George's. These market forces helped to shape the local real estate market and were in force in the growth of black suburbanization. The process that began with a few small neighborhoods on the border of the District of Columbia expanded into more of Prince George's.

Today, Prince George's and Montgomery Counties collectively contain a range of middle-class neighborhoods, including majority white neighborhoods, majority-black

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[17] David Snyder, "Housing Solutions Still Hard to Come By," *The Washington Post.* April 29, 2004. *Montgomery Extra* T2.

neighborhoods, and those of mixed race. Both counties are majority middle class, with concentrations of middle and high–income professionals. However, Prince George's does have a larger low-income community inside of the Capital Beltway, and Montgomery County has a larger population of very high income families ($160,000+), particularly in the southwestern part of the county. The border area between the counties and close to the Washington, DC border is fairly similar on both sides: while sometimes known as the "Takoma/Langley Crossroads," this area is often referred to as the "International Corridor" due to the large number of immigrants who have made it their homes. Other neighborhood types also exist, but the existence of these three types allows for a range of options for a middle class African American who desires a home in an area with neighbors of similar or higher incomes. The map that follows this paragraph graphically demonstrates the income situation in both counties in year 2000. Note that the US median household income in 2000 was $41,994, and the Maryland median was $52,868. All areas that are darker than the two lightest shades are above those median incomes, and so many areas on both counties are middle and high income.
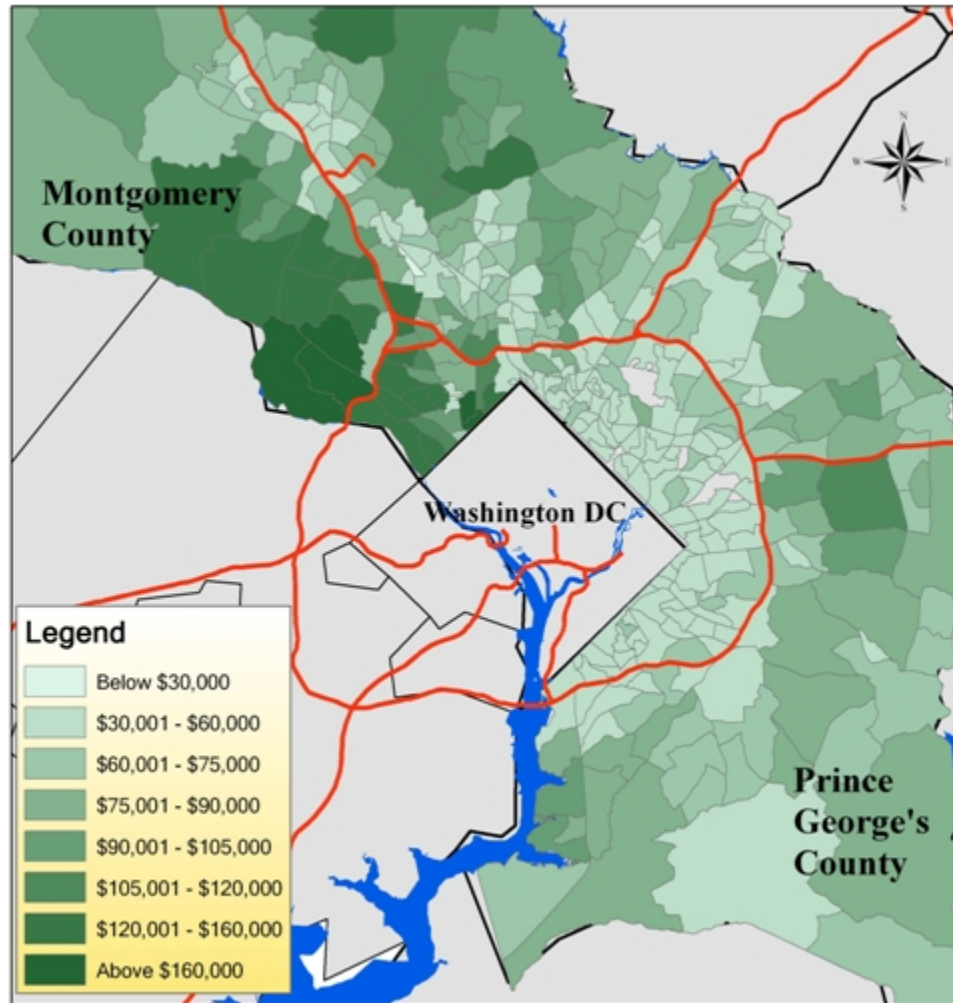
Figure 9: Median Household Income in Prince George's and Montgomery Counties (2000 Census)

Population Changes

During this historical development more homes were built, incomes rose, and the African American population in both counties grew. The counties became the largest in the state by 2000, and the only counties with over 800,000 residents. Wiese (2004) notes that the black population of Prince George's grew from approximately 30,000 in 1960 to over 250,000 in 1980. The population has continued to grow since that time: as census figures reveal the county's African American population rose from 369,791 in 1990 to 502,550 in 2000 to an estimated 543,079 in 2006, rising from 50.7% of the population to 62.7%,

to an estimated 64.6%. The county's median household income for African Americans is a more complicated story: while it rose from $40,793 in 1989 to $53,938 in 1999. However, after adjusting for inflation using the Consumer Price Index, buying power of that income actually fell from $54,807 to $53,938 during the 1990s; this is above the state and national median incomes for all races but below that of whites in the county for whom the overall median income was $55,256 and the median income of whites was $59,937. Simultaneously, the percentage of African Americans below the poverty line rose from 6.5% in 1990 to 7.7% in 2000. Meanwhile, the percentage of African American-occupied housing units that were owner-occupied rose from 62,534 to 104,765 and from 49% to 58% of all African American occupied units. African American homeownership was increasing at a rapid pace (M-NCPPC 2003; Census Bureau 2006). Taken together, these statistics reflect an increase in both medium/high-income and in low-income African American residents as the county's African American majority solidified.

Meanwhile in neighboring Montgomery County, the 1980 population was 8.8% African American, which meant a black population of 50,756. Ten years later, the African American population was 92,267 persons, 12.2% of the total. By 2000, the African American population had risen to 132,256 or 15.1% of the total county population, and the estimated population in 2006 of 152,669 or 16.4% of the total. In 1999, the median black household income in Montgomery County was $51,166 which equaled 71.5% of the county's median income (M-NCPPC 2004). Both counties are compared on the table below:

Income Statistics for Maryland Suburbs (2000)		
	Prince George's	Montgomery
Total Population	801,515	873,341
Overall Median Household Income	$55,256	$71,551
Overall % Below Poverty Line[18]	7.68%	5.44%
White Population	216,729	565,719
White Median Household Income	$59,937	$80,000
White % Below Poverty Line	6.21%	3.72%
African American Population	502,550	132,256
African American Median Household Income	$53,938	$51,166
African American % Below Poverty Line	7.68%	9.35%

Table 1: Census 2000 Income Statistics for Montgomery and Prince George's Counties

African Americans are not only more numerous in Prince George's than in Montgomery County, but they also have higher incomes and a lower poverty rate in that county. Median household income for the total population is lower in Prince George's than in Montgomery County, but African American households making $60,000 or higher in Prince George's are above the median incomes for whites and the overall population; this may make it easier to achieve the status associated with being a high-income member of the community there.

As the above table demonstrates, the Prince George's percentage of African Americans below the poverty line is very close to the overall population. The county-wide percentage below the poverty line is 7.682% and the percentage for African Americans is 7.677%; only five thousands of a percent differentiate the two. In Prince George's, African Americans are equally as likely to be above the poverty line as other groups. In Montgomery County, the percentage below the poverty line is 4.63 points higher for

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[18] Percent below the poverty line reflects the proportion of individuals below the poverty level divided by the total household population, not by the overall population.

African Americans than the overall population, and so non-poor African Americans are less prominent in the population relative to Prince George's.

The Gini coefficient is a numerical representation of the income distribution and income inequality. It is a ratio that ranges from a perfectly equal income distribution among all residents (0) to a distribution where all income is held by one person (1). The table below contains the Gini coefficients for both counties and the state of Maryland from the 1980, 1990, and 2000 censuses.

Geographic Area	1979 Gini	1989 Gini	1999 Gini		Percentage Change		
					1979-1989	1989-1999	1979-1999
Montgomery County	0.38	0.40	0.43		5.5%	7.4%	13.4%
Prince George's County	0.34	0.34	0.37		-0.6%	8.4%	7.7%
Maryland	**0.39**	**0.41**	**0.43**		**4.2%**	**4.7%**	**9.0%**
Adapted by Author from a table prepared by the Maryland Department of Planning, Planning Data Services, Using 2000, 1990 and 1980 Censuses, August 2002							

Table 2: GINI Coefficients for Household Income Distributions 1979 - 1999

The Gini coefficient in Prince George's was lower than in Montgomery County and the state in each of the past three censuses, which reveals that the income distribution is more even and therefore income inequality is lower in the county. The columns describing change in the Gini coefficient show that despite the lower amount of inequality in Prince George's, income inequality grew faster there during the 1990s than in Montgomery or the state. This is consistent with net increases of both of high income African Americans in the outer-Beltway area and of low income households in the inner-Beltway area.

Together, these data describe the growing population of Prince George's County at both high and low income levels.

The Washington Area's Suitability

The Washington, D.C. region was specifically chosen for this study because it met the ideal requirements of a place to study the African American middle class and their movement into segregated suburbs. The area has high median incomes, education levels, a large African American population and middle class, consistent population growth, and a recent history of African American leadership. Its reputation as a place that is "good for African Americans" is both well-known and justifiable given the above factors. Overall, the region has the economic and political history and has developed the necessary social structures since the culmination of the civil rights movements of the 1960s that has created a desirable place for middle income African Americans to settle.

Since the 19th century, the Washington region's economy has been largely based on the federal government. The founding of the District of Columbia as the seat of government in 1790 eventually created hundreds of thousands of local jobs to power the government bureaucracy. Expansions of federal government during the New Deal of the 1930s, World War II in the 1940s, and local government in the era of home rule for the District government in the 1970s and 1980s led to the creation of many new jobs, and eventually, many prospective suburban homebuyers. With government as a main industry for the area, many jobs have been created by expansions of government, including government contractors and others that are directly related to government expenditures. These led to more employment in jobs that are indirectly related to those workers, including the

service sector and transportation-related jobs that serve government workers. Over the years differing political philosophies have caused fluctuations in the growth rate, number, and types of employees that are needed to support the federal government, but this employment base has supported the local economy with a safety net that many areas do not have. This is true, even in times of economic downturn:

> Because of the continuing presence of the federal government as a guarantor against complete economic obsolescence, it might be argued that Washington's economic debate lacked the same do-or-die character of such debates in other cities. In fact, most economic strategy in established cities has to do with choices at the margin, whether they involve additions to a governmental or a manufacturing employment base. Participants in the Washington conversation were seeking ways to expand a profitable economy on the federal foundation. (Abbott 1989, 7)

This constant source of employment and the relatively healthy economy associated with it has made the Washington, D.C. area attractive to many job-seekers, including African Americans. The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 served as a turning point that ended "separate but equal" employment in the federal government and opened up more middle class job opportunities to African Americans, particularly senior administrative and other professional positions - that serve as an entry to the middle class. Prior to that point, most African Americans were limited to clerical, janitorial and custodial positions (King 1995). As the Civil Rights Act ended the systemic disenfranchisement of the African American job-seeking population, the Washington, D.C. area became more attractive to what Landry (1987) describes as the nation's "new black middle class" that doubled in size during the 1960s and it has continued to grow in the local region since that time as other employers came into compliance with the law and economic opportunities grew.

Over the last four decades the opening of the local economy has attracted many African Americans to middle-class jobs in Washington. The area's profile has shifted from a southern town with greatly limited job prospects due to legal discrimination, of African Americans in the time prior to the 1960s to a perennial top contender for the metro area that is most attractive to middle class African Americans in recent years. Since at least 2001, *Black Enterprise,* a popular business and lifestyle periodical for the black middle class,[19] has conducted a triennial reader survey and statistical analysis to determine the top ten cities for African Americans. The 2007 listing ranks the "Washington, D.C. metropolitan area," including all of the counties in the region, as the best city for African Americans, over runners-up Atlanta and Raleigh-Durham, NC.[20] In both 2001 and 2004, the Washington, D.C. Metro was ranked second, behind only Houston and Atlanta, respectively. The first respondent quoted from the D.C. area was a Prince Georgian with a household income of over $400,000 who said that he "moved because of the opportunities that the metro area offers--from jobs to cultural activities to networking with other African Americans and professionals."   Their analysis includes data drawn from several public and private sources, and the D.C. Metro leads the top ten in several categories: the highest percentage of African American households making over $100,000 per year, the lowest black unemployment rate, highest black median income, highest number of black college graduates, and the highest number of black-owned

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[19] According to MediaFinder, an online database of periodicals, *Black Enterprise* is a "Business and service magazine for the Black entrepreneur, professional, and administrator" with a total circulation of 526,093 (Retrieved online from https://www.mediafinder.com/demo/detail.cfm?TID=124338804 on November 20, 2007)

[20] The entire list is as follows: 1. Washington Metro; 2. Atlanta, GA; 3.Raleigh-Durham, NC; 4. Houston, TX; 5.Nashville, TN; 6. Dallas, TX; 7. Charlotte, NC; 8. Indianapolis, IN; 9. Columbus, OH; 10. Jacksonville, FL. Notable is the lack of northern or Pacific Coast cities (8 of 10 are in the South).   The author specifically notes the high crime rates, high cost of living and lackluster public schools in Chicago, LA, NY, and Philadelphia. Presumably, other cities lack the large concentrations of middle-class African-Americans to rank highly on the social ratings.

businesses. While the study notes the poor reputations of the Prince George's and D.C. public school systems as well as the high cost of living, the Washington D.C. metro is lauded as the nation's best city for this group (Brown and Padgett 2007). This kind of press not only reflects how the area is perceived by the wider population of middle-class African Americans; the rankings themselves influence the opinions of those who have no predispositions towards the area.

The study also notes the cities that have African American mayors as a positive. By this measure of political incorporation the Washington area holds up very well against other cities: in 1967, Walter Washington was appointed mayor of the District of Columbia and was popularly elected to that position in 1975 when city residents received the right to vote for mayor; since that time, every mayor has been African American. Prince George's elected Wayne Curry, its first African American county executive in 1994, as the county transitioned from majority white to majority black. After Curry left due to term limits, he was replaced by Jack Johnson who is also African American and has been twice elected to that position. During the study, in fall 2006, Montgomery County elected its first African American County Executive, Isiah "Ike" Leggett, who had earlier been the first African American elected to the county council. While all three positions are notable for their symbolism, the continued elections of African American leaders in the District and Prince George's has presaged greater integration of the local government workforce in those areas, and many of these middle-income government positions have been filled by African Americans.

Therefore, a study done in this area has several advantages. By concentrating on one region, it becomes possible to eliminate regional and interstate differences in taxes, leadership, philosophies of the state governments, and differences in the level of racism and racial tolerance of the people of those areas.   While Prince George's and Montgomery County have some differences in these areas, early pretests and conversations revealed that several of these African Americans would not consider homes in Northern Virginia due to the politics and social environment of Virginia. One respondent in West Hyattsville stated that "Even now you could not pay me to go to Virginia. Couldn't pay me. Period. I am not going over there, I am not comfortable over there, I have an image of the Klan riding around and feeling very unsafe," She felt very strongly about this, but there were clear differences in how Virginia and Maryland parts of the region were viewed.

Staying within Maryland enabled a comparison of areas that were viable options for a large numbers of middle class African Americans.   Other factors that are held constant include climate, health of the regional economy, the regional transportation network, and distance from the traditional concentrations of African Americans in the Deep South. The Washington, D.C. region and specifically the Maryland suburbs are arguably favorable in each of these categories, and the existence of a variety of middle class neighborhoods of different racial compositions means that the quality of the individual neighborhood and the surrounding area can be largely isolated from other concerns. Said differently, potential residents have a great degree of choice.

This creates the best environment to create a study that isolates the racial preferences of various African Americans with mobility, and their effects on the suburbanization of that group. The qualitative elements in particular will lead to the discovery of new factors and their potential effects on residential location and neighborhood choices.

There are some limitations to comparing those who live in Prince George's with Montgomery County. In addition to their difference in racial makeup, there are several differences between the two counties, many of which are due to income and related social issues. Generally speaking, property values are higher in Montgomery County, property taxes are lower (as a percentage of property value), crime rates are lower, and the schools and county services have a better reputation amongst many residents. Most of these differences are due to a combination of economic, social, and political reasons in each county's history. Another complicating factor is the ability of homeowners to drive to the other county to take advantages of whatever amenities are missing in their home neighborhood. As these counties adjoin each other, it is possible to drive to the other county and find things that are missing in one's home county. Each of these issues will be discussed in greater detail in chapter six. Finally, these two counties have some differences and share some qualities unique to the Washington, D.C. region. As such, it may not represent all of America in several ways and the results of this study will not be instantly generalizable to all communities nationwide. African American populations may be lower in other metropolitan areas, incomes and education levels may not be as high, and preferences may differ in other regions.

When all of the characteristics of the area are taken into account, these elements produce an ideal opportunity for a natural experiment/case study of the region to investigate the preferences of African Americans with mobility who choose to live in one of these areas. In total, a study taken in this place can observe the behavior of African Americans in an environment where they have great mobility – this region has many of the factors that would enhance mobility and relatively few of the factors that would limit mobility. Studying the behavior of African Americans in a oft-studied growing city (such as Portland, Oregon) would be limited because there may not be enough African Americans to create the kinds of neighborhood types that each person would prefer – perhaps a lingering effect from now repealed laws which forbade the immigration of African Americans to those states. The popularly studied older cities often suffer from a history of industrial decline (such as Detroit) and those larger economic shifts can cause a cascade of negative factors that change neighborhoods in undesirable ways. The Washington, D.C. metro area's unique combination of a historical African American presence and strong economy moderate these possible influences. This study, therefore, takes place in one of the best possible natural circumstances in which to study neighborhood choices of African Americans.

Current Racial and Economic Distributions in Prince George's and Montgomery

DeRenzis and Rivlin (2007) have published a paper including an in-depth analysis using IRS migration and Census data to determine that Prince George's black population grew (from 50.2% to 64.7%) during the period from 1990-2005, while the District of Columbia's black population shrank (from 65.3% to 55.7%), and Montgomery County's

relatively small black population rose (from 11.8% to 15.6%). More telling, blacks were over 60% of in-migrants to the county, and blacks and whites made up similar percentages of out migrants (46% black and 40% white). This means that the black population is growing in the county, which already had greater percentages and numbers of African Americans as compared with the other regional jurisdictions, and this growth trend continues. Further, the county has not experienced a significant change in the percentage of households that are middle income between 2000 and 2005 (after a very small drop of two percent during the 1990s) with a middle income population of approximately 64%.[21] As the population of Prince George's has grown over that period of time, this firmly establishes that the middle income black population is larger and growing as well – a clear concentration.[22]

Households by Income	1980 Census				1990 Census				2000 Census		
	Bottom 20% of HHs	Middle 60% of HHs	Top 20% of HHs		Bottom 20% of HHs	Middle 60% of HHs	Top 20% of HHs		Bottom 20% of HHs	Middle 60% of HHs	Top 20% of HHs
Montgomery	5.1%	52.0%	42.9%		5.1%	49.3%	45.7%		4.4%	47.4%	48.2%
Pr. George's	5.6%	54.9%	39.5%		5.9%	54.5%	39.6%		5.1%	53.1%	41.8%
Maryland	**4.2%**	**52.3%**	**43.5%**		**4.1%**	**50.6%**	**45.3%**		**3.9%**	**48.9%**	**47.2%**

Source: Maryland Department of Planning, from 1980, 1990, & 2000 Census household income distributions.

Table 3: Share of Aggregate Household Income by Income Group

The above table shows the distribution of aggregate household income among different income groups in both counties and the state. Each column shows the percentage of aggregate household income in that geographic area held by persons in a given income

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[21] Middle income is defined as the three middle income quintiles
[22] This study also discusses the net *out-migration* of middle income African-Americans to some of the outlying suburban counties, perhaps foreshadowing a future trend outward for some in the middle class, although Prince George's maintains a positive flow of migrants from Montgomery County.

group. In Montgomery County, the percentage of income held by the top 20% of households have shifted over time – in 1979, the top 20% of households held 42.9% of the county's income, and by 1999 that had risen to 48.2% of households. Simultaneously, the income held by the middle 60% dropped from 52.0% to 47.4%, so the wealth in the county became more concentrated in upper income households over that time. Over the 1990s the percentage of wealth held by upper income residents in the county has grown, but Prince George's remained a middle income county; a majority of the county's income was in the middle-income households in 1979 and remained that way in 1999. Further, in the period from 1989-1999, the percentage of overall income held by low income households shrank, and the percentage held by high-income households grew. This demonstrates the growth in the number and the income of middle and high income households in the county during the period that it changed from majority white to majority African American.

Together, these data establish a regional trend for African Americans with mobility-permitting incomes that are settling in Prince George's County. While the national data explains that suburbanization is happening everywhere, this leaves a key question: "Why is this population growing in Prince George's County?" This study helps to find answers.

Community Descriptions

There are several different communities in majority African American Prince George's County that are home to the residents studied in this research project. The history and development of the major areas studied in Prince George's County are below. These

descriptions include local histories, descriptive statistics about the areas and the current

conditions in the areas, and are largely informed by the interviews with residents.
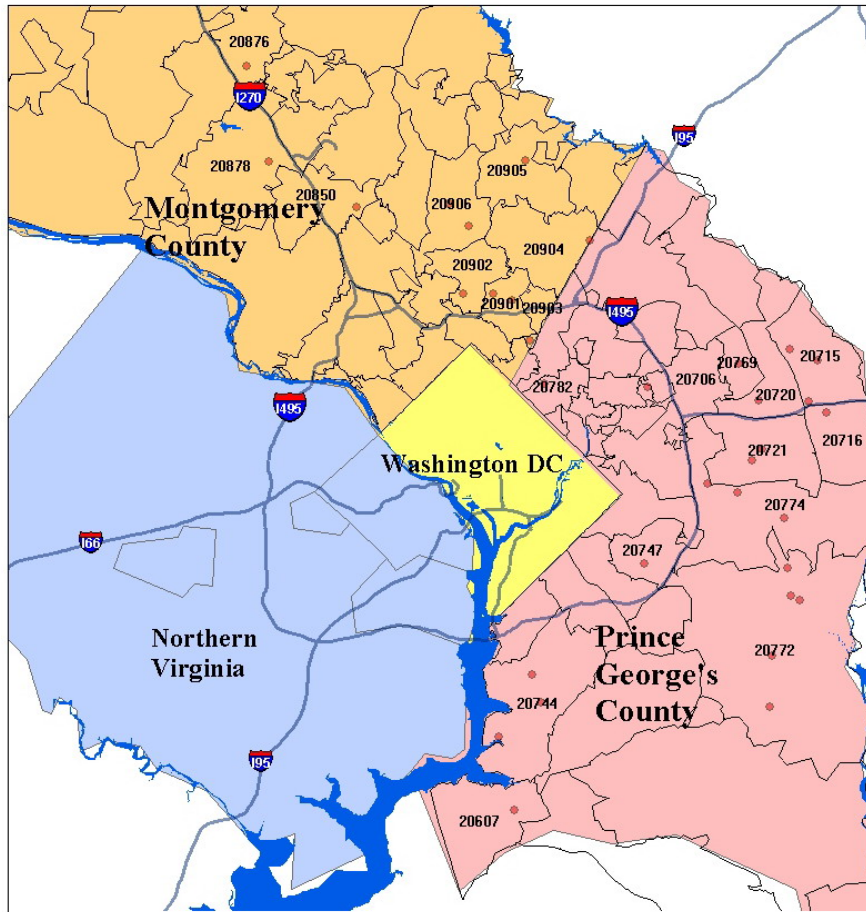
Figure 10: Location and ZIP codes of respondents (2000)[23]

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[23] A map at this scale cannot show all respondents, as several neighborhoods had multiple respondents.

				Location and ZIP codes of respondents with historical racial and economic statistics (2000 Census)							
Zip Code	Num. of Respond ents	Community	Area	% African American	% White	% Hispanic or Latino	Home-ownership Rate (%)	Median Household Income ($)	% Below the Poverty Level	% With Bachelor's Degrees	Median Home Value
20747	1	District Heights	Inner Prince George's	89.9	6.8	1.3	52.0	$47,663	8.6	14.8	$129,900
20782	1	West Hyattsville	Inner Prince George's	56.2	25.1	18.3	43.6	$43,783	9.5	25.3	$136,000
20706	1	Lanham	Inner Prince George's	68.8	21.5	3.8	65.0	$58,528	7.6	28.5	$147,000
20607	4	Accokeek	Outer Prince George's	48.5	42.3	2.4	92.0	$82,060	4.3	32.2	$186,400
20715	4	Bowie	Outer Prince George's	13.8	80.5	3.0	91.8	$76,206	1.9	40.2	$154,300
20716	3	Bowie	Outer Prince George's	40.1	52.9	2.9	73.9	$72,641	1.8	41.9	$152,400
20720	2	Bowie/ Mitchellville/ Woodmore	Outer Prince George's	43.3	44.3	3.0	93.9	$83,728	2.8	45.7	$193,300
20721	6	Bowie/ Mitchellville/ Woodmore	Outer Prince George's	83.3	11.7	1.5	90.3	$94,851	1.5	52.2	$222,000
20744	4	Ft. Washington	Outer Prince George's	75.5	14.6	2.1	82.6	$74,933	3.2	30.4	$163,200
20769	2	Glenn Dale	Outer Prince George's	45.8	43.5	2.3	94.8	$91,066	3.0	46.9	$204,300
20772	5	Largo / Upper Marlboro	Outer Prince George's	62.6	32.8	2.0	87.1	$73,612	3.1	30.5	$155,100
20774	5	Largo / Upper Marlboro	Outer Prince George's	89.0	7.2	1.3	66.2	$70,019	3.2	33.9	$160,500
20850	1	Rockville	Montgomery	10.1	66.5	8.4	72.2	$74,655	6.8	58.6	$255,700
20876	1	Germantown	Montgomery	17.3	60.0	9.4	72.6	$69,843	4.4	46.3	$194,400
20878	1	Gaithersburg	Montgomery	8.8	65.4	8.9	71.5	$84,330	3.6	63.1	$251,400
20901	3	Silver Spring	Montgomery	23.0	54.8	16.7	68.9	$66,507	6.4	51.2	$178,100
20902	1	Silver Spring	Montgomery	18.7	53.6	24.1	68.1	$60,296	8.4	39.7	$170,400
20903	1	Silver Spring	Montgomery	32.1	30.5	34.2	43.4	$45,738	12.2	29.4	$177,600
20904	1	Silver Spring	Montgomery	37.2	40.0	8.8	56.0	$60,390	6.1	50.3	$199,400
20905	1	Silver Spring	Montgomery	17.5	61.6	4.3	91.5	$92,836	2.5	55.7	$245,100
20906	2	Silver Spring	Montgomery	22.8	52.1	17.8	68.2	$55,562	7.4	36.9	$167,900

# of Respondents represents number of respondents who lived in that ZIP Code
Median Home Value represents median value of single family, owner-occupied homes
Data from US Census Bureau Summary Files 2 and 4, 2000 Census

Table 4: Location and ZIP codes of respondents with racial and economic statistics (Census 2000)

The above map shows the location and zip codes of the interview sites. The accompanying table shares some basic racial and economic information about each of the ZIP codes in 2000. Note that the data relating to communities is census-based, and was

collected 6-7 years before the interviews. Many of these data, particularly real estate values and racial demographic information in the newer suburbs are outdated. The ZIP codes represent the "greater community" level of data collection – note that 20720 contains parts of South Bowie, Mitchellville, and Woodmore neighborhoods. While only 23 of 38 ZIP Codes in Prince George's were majority African American in 2000, only one respondent perceived his neighborhood as non-majority African American in 2008.[24] Many of the communities in outer Prince George's grew during his time, and property values grew rapidly throughout the region. ZIP Codes were used for several reasons: most importantly, real estate agents and homebuyers use them to differentiate between neighborhoods, particularly in the unincorporated areas, and it seemed natural to organize statistical analysis in that way. Community names are defined by ZIP codes, and respondents used the ZIP code-defined names to refer to their neighborhoods. Secondly, historic information was easier to tie to ZIP codes, due to the attachment of community names to the local post office. The census figures are best used as a rough guide for comparison purposes between ZIP codes in the recent past. ZIP codes were the Communities are described in greater detail below.

Largo (Lake Pointe), 20774

Prior to the construction and opening of the Capital Beltway in the early 1960s, Prince George's Community College in 1967, and the construction of the Capital Centre in 1973, Largo and the surrounding area of the county was mostly undeveloped and rural in character, with roots as a tobacco farming area tracing back to the 17th century (Prince George's CRP 1974). A 1974 survey of Prince George's neighborhoods found 5,116

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[24] 20715-4

persons in the Largo neighborhood, of whom 48.6% were "nonwhite" and clustered in the neighborhoods approximately 2 miles north of Lake Pointe's current location (which at that time was undeveloped woodlands). The rest of the area was largely white, and the newly developing suburbs had a median family income in 1970 of $16,166, which was $71,747 in 2000 dollars (Prince George's CRP 1974).

The area's racial demographics shifted greatly over the ensuing decades as it transitioned from rural to suburban and white to black, this area grew substantially and maintained its relatively high income. In the 2000 census, ZIP code 20774 contained 32,341 persons, was 89% black and 7.2% white, and income grew slightly, with a median family income of $79,336. Additionally, 33.9% of residents had at least a bachelor's degree, higher than the 24.4% rate nationally and slightly higher than the 31.4% rate statewide.

Lake Pointe is a condominium development in Largo, located approximately one half mile outside of the Capital Beltway, near the major intersection of Maryland Routes 202 (Largo-Landover Road) and 214 (Central Avenue). It was constructed between 1992 and 1995, and today the development is located across the street from a large shopping center with major tenants that include a Shoppers Food Warehouse grocery store, Bojangle's and McDonald's fast food restaurants, Regency Furniture store, Marshall's discount clothing store, Chevy Chase Bank and an Applebee's sit-down restaurant.

Figure 11: The Boulevard at Capital Centre

Approximately one quarter mile away is the Boulevard at the Capital Centre, an outdoor shopping mall whose major tenants include the Magic Johnson Theaters, Border's Books and Music, Designer Shoe Warehouse, and a variety of sit-down restaurants. This development opened in 2003 on the site of the former Capital Centre sports arena, which opened in 1973 and was demolished in 2002. In 2004, the Washington Metropolitan Transit Authority opened the Largo Town Center subway station next to the Capital Centre site, bringing subway access to this part of the county.[25] Located within an approximate half-mile radius are FedEx Field (home stadium for the National Football League's Washington Redskins) and the communities of Lake Arbor, Landover, and several office parks which include several county government agencies, private companies, and several vacancies. Also nearby is the former BET Soundstage, a large

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[25] Rebecca Dana, "Metro, Pr. George's Extend Their Reach; Two New Blue Line Stations Open, Bringing Passengers and Economic Potential." *The Washington Post.* December 19, 2004, C3.

black-owned restaurant/jazz club when it opened as the sole tenant of an empty restaurant park along Route 202. Currently, that restaurant park contains several chain restaurants, which respondents in the area were happy to see. Several new condominium developments are also in various stages of development in the immediate area.

Figure 12: Lake Pointe Condominium Complex in Largo, Maryland

Lake Pointe's story through its construction and sales history is a clear example of some of the issues with rapid development in this area of the county. The construction of the development was problematic in several areas, and several buildings have structural deficiencies which continue to the current day. Current condominium association board members described the situation as follows: the builders and homeowners in the early years took advantage of several county and federal programs, including the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development's *Teacher Next Door* and *Officer Next Door* programs and first-time homebuyer's assistance from the state and county departments of Housing and Community Development combined to offer flexible

mortgage financing and discounts which allowed some homeowners to purchase condominiums for as low as $40,000 in the mid 1990s.[26] At that time, the market value of the typical unit varied from $70,000 - $80,000. While many of those who took advantage of those programs came from rental units located in relatively lower-income neighborhoods inside the beltway, others bought their condominiums on the open market and paid full value. Anecdotes abounded of residents who used the newly popular mortgage products to finance their condominiums, including many who acquired adjustable rate mortgages. For those who were financially sound and could maintain ownership, the financial rewards were simple: according to the respondents, a 1,300 square foot condo that sold for $99,000 in 1996 was worth an estimated $268,000 in 2006 while a condominium that sold for $108,000 in 1995 was estimated at $305,000 in 2006. The potential existed for homeowners to double or triple their investments.

However, due to their inability to fulfill the terms of their mortgages, many of the initial homeowners did not see this reward, as approximately 54 of the 216 units were foreclosed upon in 1996. This foreclosure rate of 25% in a single year created instability in the population and severely damaged the ability of the condo association to maintain the property. After that peak in foreclosures, many new residents moved into the community, and these residents typically have higher incomes than those that they were replacing. The retirees and low-paying county employees of the early years who bought homes for $40,000 to $100,000 have been joined by a newer group of residents, some of whom have paid more than $300,000 for the same homes.

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[26]A listing of programs available at the turn of the century are listed in a special supplement in the Saturday Real Estate section of the Washington Post: Sandra Fleishman, "A Buyer's Guide to Region's Housing-Assistance Programs," *The Washington Post.* December 2, 2000, G6.

Many of the new owners are young professional American Americans, often single and female. Most homeowners' estimates of the racial mix in the neighborhood range from 90%-99% African American, and no non-African Americans were observed during several site visits to the neighborhood. According to members of the condominium board, there are distinct differences between old and new residents, particularly in payment of fees, expectation of features and upkeep of the grounds. Recent condominium association boards have looked to maintain and improve the grounds while constantly dealing with lower than anticipated revenue from the condo fees: condo payment issues are concentrated amongst the residents who purchased at lower prices.

Accokeek, 20607

Located directly south of Washington, D.C. off Maryland Route 210 (Indian Head Highway) is the community of Accokeek, tucked away in the far southwestern corner of Prince George's County. One must travel down Route 210 eleven miles south of the Capital Beltway to the intersection with Livingston Road to find the eastern section of Treeview Estates, a development of luxury homes built in the early to mid 1990s. After making an immediate turn down an unmarked access road also named Indian Head Highway, one then travels back up north alongside the highway for more than half a mile until entering the neighborhood of approximately forty single family detached homes tucked away in the woods. With one way in and one way out, it is rare that one enters the neighborhood by accident and no one enters the neighborhood to pass through to

somewhere else. Unfamiliar cars are instantly recognized, and the neighbors know each other by name.

Figure 13: Maryland Route 210 and Indian Head Highway access road leading to Treeview Estates

Luxury cars line the driveways of most homes, and children play freely in the cul-de-sacs on sunny afternoons. A real estate flyer on one property for sale listed the six bedroom home built in 1995 on a "large wooded lot" of .46 acres at a reduced price of $677,000 – "priced for a quick sale." Respondents estimated the value of their homes similarly, and chose their homes partly because of the amenities and characteristics of the homes and for the "isolation" or "quietness" of the neighborhood, and most describe the neighborhood as safe for their children. At least one white family lives in the neighborhood, but respondents describe the neighborhood as heavily African American.

The local elementary and middle schools are miles away. If one were to make the trek back up to the small shopping center at the intersection of Livingston and Indian Head Highway, one would find a Food Lion grocery store, Burger King fast food restaurant, a gas station, and a few other stores. Anything that one could not find in that shopping center or from one of the small business nearby would require a trip down Route 210 (a six lane divided highway) for several miles. The area is still heavily forested and thick

blankets of trees surround nearly every roadway in the area. This neighborhood did not exist before the mid-1990s and as such, does not have much history – the traditional community of Accokeek lies on the other side of Route 210 and is closer to the communities near the Potomac River, some of which have been occupied by various groups since before colonial times.

Fort Washington, 20744

Fort Washington lies between Washington, D.C. and the inner suburbs to the north, and Accokeek and rural Prince George's to the south. Immediately to the west of the neighborhoods of Fort Washington lie the Potomac River, several parks and marinas, the Tantallon country club

Figure 14: Potomac River Inlet, Fort Washington, Md.

and golf course and the 19th century defensive installation for which the community is named. To the north and east of what is generally considered Fort Washington are the suburbs of Oxon Hill and Temple Hills, parts of which share a Fort Washington address due to the vagaries in the application of ZIP codes in unincorporated areas. These areas are generally thought of as less desirable by the respondents in the area than the neighborhoods to the south and west (closer to the water and farther from the city and related urban deficiencies of higher crime and lower property values). A new multi-

billion dollar office, hotel, housing, and restaurant development on the Potomac waterfront named National Harbor is currently under construction just north of the 20744 ZIP code, and due to the difference in reputation of Fort Washington and Oxon Hill, developers tried to change the ZIP code or town name for the area around the development to avoid being associated with Oxon Hill.[27]

Several of the respondents grew up in Fort Washington, and their own descriptions help to reveal the diversity of neighborhood types within Fort Washington. One woman grew up in a part of Fort Washington close to Oxon Hill that she described as "more urban" and "harder living" and majority black in the late 1970s and 1980s as the few whites left in that area "moved to Bethesda," to live in majority white neighborhoods. Her future husband grew up in another part of Fort Washington that was closer to the waterfront and "very diverse" racially. This part of Fort Washington to the west of Indian Head Highway has been middle and upper class since the 1700s, as the large estates of the colonial area gave way to the custom homes and suburban tract development in new subdivisions beginning in the 1950s and continuing to the present. The 1974 report of the county's Community Renewal Program described a large section of the area as "oriented to country-club lifestyle" and notes that all units in Fort Washington were single family homes (464). Further, it quotes the 1970 census figures that 8,972 people lived in Fort Washington and that 5.9% were "non-white." The 2000 census found 23,845 persons in Fort Washington, 67.2% of which were African American, 18.7% of whom were white, and with a median family income of $88,374 and 36.2% of residents had at least a bachelor's degree.

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[27] Oveta Wiggins, "National Harbor Stakes a Claim," *The Washington Post*. May 15, 2007, B1.

The wider 20744 zip code includes the "more urban" areas east of Indian Head Highway that contain several townhouse developments and garden-style apartments which are sometimes popularly considered to be parts of Oxon Hill or Temple Hills, areas where 75.5% of residents were African American and 14.6% were white in 2000. The average family income was $80,557 for the 48,198 residents in the area, and 30.4% had at least a bachelor's degree. Since the 1970s, as the white middle class families left the area, middle class African Americans moved into their old homes. As those older homes became scarce, additional African American families moved into newer, larger, and more expensive homes.

Bowie / Mitchellville / Woodmore, 20715-20721

The John Hanson Highway (US Route 50) bisects Prince George's County into northern and southern halves, and does the same as it passes through the county's largest municipality, the City of Bowie. The northern part of Bowie is the older section, and traces its history back to Bowie's inception as a 19th century railroad town. The areas nearby were traditional Prince George's rural land, dominated by farmers producing tobacco and other crops, and dotted with small rural communities. Today, through a series of annexations that continue to the current day, Bowie continues to grow geographically. This has some notable effects when comparing statistics over time. While north Bowie (the older section) lies entirely within ZIP code 20715, the City of Bowie today includes parts of the 20715, 20716, 20720 and 20721 ZIP codes, but does

not include all of the area in any of those ZIP Codes. This may be a minor detail statistically, but is very important politically for reasons that will be discussed later.

In the 1950s, the Levitt Corporation developed Belair, a racially exclusive subdivision that was in that way typical of their other projects and many suburban developments of the time; by the early 1970s, Belair had a population of 30,985 that was 98.7% white (Prince George's CRP 1974). To this day, Belair remains majority white, although it is more racially mixed than at that time – ZIP Code 20715 was 13.8% black and 80.5% white in 2000. Today, Belair still houses a majority of the city's residents, and the city of Bowie was 30.8% African American in the 2000 census.

Bowie south of Route 50, roughly demarcated by Maryland Route 197 and US Route 301, is largely a product of construction in the last decade. As recently as the early 1990s, "Rip's Country Inn," a combination wine shop / liquor store / bait shop / restaurant / deli / motel at the southern terminus of Route 197 at Route 301 was the sole destination in this area, and opened more than five dacades ago.[28] When one respondent in South Bowie moved in 1992, Rip's was the "only restaurant in Bowie" and "[everything else in] the area was trees." In 1994, just north of Rip's along Route 301, construction was completed on 10,000 seat Prince Georges Stadium, home of the minor league Bowie Baysox. This was the first major construction project in the area, and it's opening prompted a front-page article in the Washington Post.[29]

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[28] Sarah Abruzzese, "Good Eats; Rip's Country Inn – A Family Favorite," *The Washington Post.* July 28, 1999. *Prince George's Extra,* M27.
[29] David Montgomery, "The Games Begin at Bowie's Work in Progress," *The Washington Post,* June 16, 1994, A1.

In the fall of 2001, Bowie Town Center (sometimes referred to during development as Bowie New Town) opened in South Bowie one mile south of Route 50 on Route 197. This outdoor shopping mall was popularly marketed as the first major shopping center in Prince George's in over two decades. The shopping center was anchored by a Sears, and a Hecht's department store (now Macy's), and included national chains such as Anne Taylor Loft, Best Buy, Barnes and Noble, Bed Bath and Beyond and Old Navy. These stores addressed many residents' complaints of unhappiness with their local retail options. At the opening of the center, the current county executive (the first African American elected to that position) proclaimed "To all my hungering neighbors who have railed at me about upscale shopping opportunities in the county, give it up! ... It's here!"[30]

Instead of traveling to retail centers elsewhere in the metropolitan area, residents in Bowie (and due to its central location, most of Prince George's County) could now shop nearby and within their own county, helping to mitigate the concerns of those who wanted their tax dollars to be spent in the local economy. Although marketing research firm Claritas, Inc. described the five-mile radius around the development as 68 percent white and 27% black in 2001, respondents and others in the area consider it to be majority African American at present.[31] Site visits confirmed that although there were white shoppers, the majority appeared to be African American.

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[30] Sara Kehaulani Goo, "Bowie Town Center Opens With Fanfare: Mall Seen as Start of Something Big," *The Washington Post,* November 15, 2001, *Prince George's Extra* T3.
[31] Sara Kehaulani Goo, "What's in Store for Bowie: Hecht's First Retailer to Open," *The Washington Post,* July 5, 2001, *Prince George's Extra* T5.

Several restaurants also opened in the Town Center, including Strawberry's Bistro, which was possibly the only "white tablecloth" African American owned restaurant in the county.[32] Locally owned Karibu Books, which was founded in Inner-Beltway Prince George's and marketed itself as the "nation's largest black bookstore chain" also opened a store, providing options for those who preferred to patronize black-owned businesses and an filling needs for retail that residents had long demanded.[33] By the spring of 2008, both businesses had closed, more regional and national chains opened, and the Town Center had somewhat less of a local feel.

Around the time of the Town Center's opening several other commercial developments opened in the area, including a retail development across Route 301 from Rip's, including a Lowe's, Target, Kohl's, Pier One, several chain restaurants, other commercial establishments and several office buildings. In just over a decade, this area has completely transformed from mostly forested land into a shopping and restaurant destination for the area, and this transformation also included hundreds of new luxury apartment, condominium and townhouse developments and moving south towards Mitchellville, single family homes.

By 1974, Mitchellville and Woodmore were still rural areas with a few small African American settlements, although a new subdivision was being built in Mitchellville at that time that "preempted" some of these older settlements. Even with this new construction,

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[32] Strawberry's Bistro closed its doors in the winter of 2004-5, and its former location is presently a Five Guys Burger's and Fries, a local hamburger chain.

[33] Found at http://wwww.karibubooks.com/NASApp/store/IndexJsp?s=storeinfo&page=277787 in April 2007. Karibu books has since gone out of business and closed all of their bookstores, including the closure of the Bowie store on Feb. 10, 2008

Mitchellville was 88.9% "open country land" (Prince George's CRP 1974, 320). Much of what is now considered South Bowie was built within the last two decades, and therefore has much newer housing stock than the northern part of Bowie. Mitchellville became perhaps the most prominent of these communities and Woodmore developed into a majority African American group of subdivisions, including a golf course-centered gated community with multi-million dollar homes and several other subdivisions with homes in the mid to high six figure range as of summer 2007. Additional development is very visible in this area, as new houses and neighborhood retail are easy to spot during a drive through the area. This area is completely transformed from 1970 when "generally, the housing units occupied by black households were rental units which lacked complete plumbing facilities" (Prince George's CRP 1974, 336).

Currently, Mitchellville is a large unincorporated community with Woodmore and other neighborhoods within it. Over the years, the Mitchellville name became popular enough to refer to the entire area. However, as noted in a *Washington Post* article[34] and reinforced by several of the interviewees, residents in these areas suffer somewhat of an identity crisis. Mitchellville is a popular name that reflects the black middle class nature of the area. However, as Mitchellville (like most of Prince George's County) is unincorporated, that means that residents rely on postal designation of the community served by their ZIP code for the identity of their neighborhoods. In this case, Bowie is the official postal designation for every address in ZIP codes 20715 through 20721, although Mitchellville is an acceptable city name according to United States Postal

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[34]Avis Thomas-Lester. "In Mitchellville, Home Is Where The Address Isn't: Zip Code Puts Community in Bowie." *Washington Post.* October 21, 2006, B3.

Service guidelines in 20716 and 20721. "South Bowie" is explicitly unacceptable to use in 20716 according to USPS guidelines, despite the common use of that name to refer to that part of the City of Bowie and surrounding neighborhoods. When locals refer to "South Bowie," they are referring to the new homes in the southern part of the area and the largely African American population there. Newer residents are sometimes confused by the local politics of neighborhood and community identity, and even ZIP code identification can become very contentious.

Further complicating matters are the politics of annexation, and areas near the Bowie city limits that are under consideration usually have split opinions about the possibility; some would like the better services that they anticipate receiving from the city government, particularly the locally focused police force, while others balk at the idea of higher taxes. The final layer of complexity lies in the racial politics of the name, as the city of Bowie is one of the few majority white places in Prince George's County, a place where racial incidents occasionally occur (respondents mentioned sporadic racist graffiti, assumed to be done by teenagers) even if certain sections of the city are majority African American. The selection of place names appears to be an important part of identity for many residents, especially those who are partially motivated to live in their neighborhood to be in a majority black middle class neighborhood.

Racial incidents in Bowie did not escape the eyes of the local media. A *Washington Post* article from 2005 reported on the surprise that local African Americans felt when two incidents of graffiti featuring racial epithets, swastikas and KKK symbols were found in

Bowie - the father in the article quickly covered it up so his children would not see it.[35]

The reaction to a later graffiti incident sparked a complaint by a councilman over the media portrayal of racism in Bowie, as he felt that the media was overemphasizing the "isolated incidents." [36] While these incidents may be isolated, Bowie has more of them than other areas of the county, at least according to the interviews – no major racial incidents elsewhere in the county were remembered by any of the respondents. Bowie is one of the few remaining areas of racial concentrations of whites in the county, and many middle class African American neighbors are nearby.

Much of the construction and residential development in South Bowie and the surrounding areas is less than a decade old, so year 2000 Census statistics may not be as useful as in other places, but for 20721, the median family income was $103,979, the area was 88.3% African American, and 52.2% of residents had at least a bachelor's degree. In 20716, median family income was $80,415 the area was 40.1% African American, and 41.9% of residents had at least a bachelor's degree. It is likely that each of those figures is higher today the area is booming and all of the study's respondents in 20716 described their neighborhoods as 90%+ African American. (US Census Bureau, 2008)

Silver Spring

Silver Spring is an unincorporated area in Montgomery County, and similarly to Mitchellville and other unincorporated areas, local residents refer to most areas with a

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[35] Jamie Stockwell, "Bowie Hate Crime Investigated," *Washington Post*, January 9, 2002, B2.
[36] Councilman Kevin Conroy, Bowie Council meeting, May 1, 2006

Silver Spring ZIP code as Silver Spring. The ZIP codes run from 20901-20918[37] and comprise the eastern portion of the county, roughly bordered by the northern point of the District of Columbia to the south, Maryland Route 97 (Georgia Avenue) to the west, the border with Howard County to the north, and the border with Prince George's and the City of Takoma Park to the east. In this definition, Silver Spring has a very wide and varied area. Downtown Silver Spring (20910) is the southernmost portion of this area, and includes the urbanized part of the community that borders the District of Columbia. This area was a thriving commercial district in the first half of the 20th century, and then went into years of decline. After a concerted effort by local leaders to revitalize downtown, this area has become home to the corporate headquarters of Discovery Communications, and the "Downtown Silver Spring" retail and entertainment complex near the heart of the community at Maryland Routes 29 and 98. This area includes movie theaters, shops, restaurants, bars, high-rise apartments, a Metro station (for bus and subway service) and many businesses. The respondents in Silver Spring lived varying distances from this downtown area.

The "suburbs" of downtown Silver Spring are in the other ZIP Codes, running north and east from the center. The area bordering Takoma Park, locally known as the "International Corridor," has heavy concentrations of immigrants and is also densely populated, as this area also home to many apartment complexes. The rest of the area is primarily a mix of single family homes and townhouses, and these areas are where the respondents lived.

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[37] Zip Codes 20909, 20912, 20913 and 20917 are not part of Silver Spring or do not exist.

The definitions of what constitutes this community vary widely. The Census Bureau's definition of Silver Spring is larger than the common definition of downtown, but much smaller than the total area of Silver Spring. According to the 2006 American Community Survey, this area of Silver Spring is 24.9% African American, 47% White, 23.9% Hispanic/Latino and 9.4% Asian. Median household income in 2006 was $61,649 and the median home value was $466,700. Silver Spring is less expensive than other parts of Montgomery County, as home values and incomes are lower than the county average. Although the median household income is approximately $3,500 lower than the state's average, the median home value was $128,000 higher than the state's median. This is evidence of the wide income distribution in this area, as there is a mix of household incomes near downtown Silver Spring. Farther away from downtown are more high value homes: the median home price in 20905, near the county's northern border were 22% higher than those in the downtown ZIP code of 20910, and were above the county's median.[38] Silver Spring is a varied community, but every ZIP code has more white residents than African Americans.

Conclusion

The unique history of the region has led to the development of large, relatively wealthy suburban counties on the Maryland side of the border with the District of Columbia and is seen as a region that is noted as a good place for African Americans. There are many different communities that attract African Americans, and they each have their own

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[38] Median Home Prices from 2000 Census: 20910: $208,300; 20905: $245,100; Montgomery County: $221,800

stories. The analysis of the interviews and surveys that follows will help to disentangle the reasons why these African Americans have chosen their neighborhoods.

Chapter 5: Research Design / Data Methods

Introduction

This case study is set up as a largely qualitative, mixed method analysis of a natural experiment, as the Washington, D.C. metropolitan region has developed into a near-perfect location in which to study housing patterns of African Americans with neighborhood choices and the financial means to choose between them. There are neighborhoods with a wide range of characteristics to choose from in the region, particularly within the Maryland suburban counties of Prince George's and Montgomery, and this chapter will present information on individuals in those counties that were collected as part of this research.

The following table compares the population in each county to the most recently available data from the U.S. Census Bureau. The chart shows that the respondents are from middle and upper income households, and that their median income is higher than the median income for African Americans in either county. It also shows that the study sample accurately reflected that African Americans in Prince George's have *higher* incomes than those in Montgomery, despite Montgomery's higher overall median income and more expensive housing for their population as a whole. The general populations of African Americans in each county have higher incomes than the national median, but their median incomes are lower than the State's median income.[39]

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[39] The income brackets used in the surveys make it difficult to pinpoint an exact median income for respondents, but it was possible to determine the median range of incomes, as reported in the chart above.

Area	Pop./ Sample Size	% Af. Amer.	% White	% Hisp. / Latino	% Home-owners	Median Household Income	% Below Poverty Level	% With Bach. Degree	Median Home Value
Prince George's County Overall (2006)	841,315	64.6	22.7	11.7	64.7	$65,851	7.7	30.0	$332,500
African Americans in Prince George's (2000)	502,550	100	0.0	0.0	58.3	$53,938 ($63,147)*	7.7	23.9	$144,500
Prince George's County Respondents (2006-7)	**38**	**100**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**100**	**$105,000-160,000**	**0.0**	**86.8**	**$337,330**
Montgomery County Overall (2006)	913,899	16.4	61.8	13.8	70.6	$87,624	4.6	56.8	$527,700
African Americans in Montgomery (2000)	132,256	100	0.0	0.0	44.1	$51,166 ($59,902)*	9.4	39.6	$166,700
Montgomery County Respondents (2006-7)	**12**	**100**	**0.0**	**0.0**	**100**	**$90,000-105,000**	**0.0**	**100**	**$358,601**
State of Maryland (2006)	5,615,727	28.9	61.3	6.0	69.4	$65,144	7.8	35.1	$334,700
United States (2006)	299,398,485	12.4	73.9	14.8	67.3	$48,451	13.3	27.0	$185,200

For Prince George's and Montgomery Respondents, median income represents median income range as reported on survey ,and median home values reflect July 2007 property assessments
Dollar values from 2000 are adjusted to 2006 values using the Consumer Price Index. (2006 values in parentheses.

Percentage with Bachelor's degrees is of the 25 years and over population
Sources: 2000 Census; 2006 American Communities Survey; Maryland State Department of Assessment and Taxation Real Property Data Search; Interviewees

Table 5: Comparison of Survey Respondents and Wider Populations

The modal income range in Prince George's was $120,000-$160,000 and in Montgomery, it was $90,000 to $105,000.

Design and Analytic Methods

This research was designed as an embedded, multiple case study to investigate the reasons for racial concentrations, particularly the concentrations of middle class African Americans in the Washington, DC suburbs. The cases that are under study are the middle class African American population in Prince George's County and the middle class African American population in Montgomery County. Embedded case studies are case studies that involve multiple units of analysis, as "subunits" of the original case study are investigated (Yin 2003). In this case, individual homeowners in each county are studied, in order to understand the range of housing decisions that were made. The individual homeowners and their neighborhood location decisions became the subunits of the larger cases.

Maxwell (1996) describes *purposeful sampling* as "a strategy in which particular settings, persons, or events are selected deliberately in order to provide important information that can't be gotten as well from other sources" and lists several possible goals for purposeful sampling, including:

1. Achieving representativeness or typicality of the settings, individuals, or activities selected,

2. Adequately capturing the heterogeneity in the population (the opposite of the first),

3. Deliberately examining the cases that are critical for the theories that the study began with, or

4. Establishing particular comparisons to illuminate the reasons for differences between settings or individuals. (Maxwell 1996, 71-72)

This study adopted purposeful sampling techniques in order to achieve several of these goals:

1. Representativeness – Random sampling of the general population would likely not result in large numbers of middle class African Americans who chose to move to a majority African American neighborhood, but representativeness was not the goal of the design. Instead, the study sought to isolate those with the greatest likelihood of housing choice. Indeed, one of the key motivations for this study design was the relative dearth of recent studies of this population.

2. Capturing heterogeneity – In order to capture those who live in majority white neighborhoods and those who live in majority African American neighborhoods the study included homeowners that chose Prince George's and those that chose Montgomery, thus capturing those who live in distinctly different communities (in terms of racial mix).

3. Examining critical cases for theory – The conceptual framework in chapter three presented racial/cultural amenities and comfort and hypothesized that they were influencing middle class African Americans choices to live in those neighborhoods. To examine further, it was necessary to look at those that chose neighborhoods with such amenities, those that did not choose them, and then to examine why those decisions were made.

4. Illuminating differences – The examination of these homeowners also allows for comparison of those that moved to majority African American Prince George's and majority white Montgomery.

This project seeks to focus on the perceptions and preferences of those with the most choice, so this group of homeowners was chosen in order to study African Americans with the means to purchase a home within a region with neighborhood options that present a range of possible racial compositions. A multiple case study design allowed the exploration of multiple homeowners' location decisions, so a systematic process was necessary to determine exactly who the respondents would be.[40] For this study, two kinds of replications were involved: *literal replications* include additional cases and predict similar results, and *theoretical replications* include additional cases and predict contrasting results for predictable reasons (Yin 2003). Likewise, the respondents in Prince George's were predicted to have similar motivations that drove them all to live in a majority African American community, and those in Montgomery were predicted to have different motivations. The next chapter describes the results in more complete detail.

Interviews and Surveys

This study includes in-depth interviews and surveys of 50 African American residents from neighborhoods of various racial compositions in Prince George's and Montgomery counties in Maryland. The respondents were selected to cover as many demographic

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[40] Multiple case studies are referred to as "collective" case studies by Stake (1995)

groups as possible from a large pool of volunteers within this population and to encompass a range of communities with multiple perspectives in each (if possible).

Beyond individual interviews, the subject matter was discussed with other homeowners at several dozen social events over the same time period. Valuable information, opinions, and confirmation of trends in the data were provided by these additional conversations. Often, these persons were unable (or unwilling) to participate formally in the study, but these interactions at least doubled the total number of homeowners who discussed their preferences and reasoning behind their neighborhood choices.

Ultimately, thirty-eight respondents were selected from Prince George's and twelve from Montgomery. The original design called for thirty-five respondents from outer-beltway Prince George's County, as the housing decisions of this group was the main focus of the study; this number of respondents would permit multiple interviews in different communities across outer-beltway Prince George's and allow patterns to develop from their responses, in their preferences, and the mobility limiters that they experience. Later, three more respondents were added in inner-beltway Prince George's in order to investigate middle class homeowners in lower income areas, with a particular focus on the factors that drew them to those neighborhoods, other than the lower cost of housing in those areas. The remaining twelve respondents were from Montgomery County, and the respondents from this majority white county were asked about their preferences and their perceptions of Prince George's County (and the people who lived there); this was done so

that their perspectives could be looked at in comparison to the core group that actively chose the majority African American County.

The sample was created using multiple methods. Email mailing lists were the primary source of interviewees, as requests for volunteers were sent out widely. These were sent to electronic mailing lists of several university African American alumni groups and graduate student groups including Howard University, the University of Maryland, and Princeton University, as well as members of the black faculty and staff at the University of Maryland. Coinciding with the data collection process were open meetings held by the Greater Marlboro Democratic Club, the Prince George's County Young Democrats, and .various organizations sponsored candidate forums during the election season that coincided with the data collection process, and respondents were directly and indirectly recruited through these events.[41] Friends and colleagues were recruited to advertise at local churches, within community meetings, in their fraternities and sororities, and at their places of employment. Finally, while attending social events across both counties, personal invitations were made to those with opinions on why they chose their neighborhoods. After the process began, the snowball method was effective, as subjects recommended the study to their friends, family, and neighbors. Other times, a neighbor was suggested due to his or her ability to complement the statements of the first respondent. One respondent noted that he received the announcement from two or three different sources and therefore, felt extremely motivated to participate.[42]

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[41] While this may seem unfairly partisan, Prince George's and Montgomery counties are heavily Democratic counties. See "Respondents – Who Are the Subjects" in Chapter 5 for more information.
[42] 20747-1

Once volunteers emerged, they were preliminarily interviewed to find out their ZIP code and their willingness to participate. Respondents were screened to ensure geographic distribution and that a range of ages and neighborhood types were included. There was high initial willingness to participate, but many potential interviewees balked at the 90 to 120 minutes that was requested for interview and survey or were otherwise unable to coordinate times for the interviews. The final respondents were highly motivated to participate, as no compensation was provided to them for their time. The time requirement also required some scheduling flexibility, so those with particularly high-stress or inflexible jobs are likely underrepresented because it may have been difficult to clear time for an interview, compared to those with more flexible schedules. Respondents were notable for their openness in discussing the issues, and it is likely that those that had weaker feelings about the issue did not respond. Also, several potential respondents said that they did not want to be interviewed because they did not want to appear racist and were concerned about the "slant" that would be put on their words – the strongest two potential respondents include a woman who had left Prince George's for majority white Rockville, and a man in Prince George's who did not want to look like he hated white people. Although they were on opposite sides of the discussion on the ideal racial mix in a neighborhood, they were both concerned about their words or intentions being misinterpreted. For those persons, a completely anonymous survey may have been more palatable, as interviews appeal more to those that are comfortable speaking on the record about race issues.

After respondents were chosen, interviews were set up at the respondents' convenience and at a place of their choosing; this was done in order to ensure that respondents felt comfortable and to help create a conversational atmosphere. The majority of interviews took place at the respondent's home, but others were conducted at the respondent's place of work or in the interviewer's office at the respondent's request. Site visits around the local communities were usually taken immediately before the initial interview in an area so that observations would be fresh in the mind of the interviewer. For those interviews that took place at alternate locations, site visits occurred at a later date.

Interview sessions began with introductions, informal conversation, and descriptions of the survey for approximately ten to fifteen minutes. This was done in order to develop a rapport with the respondent before the digital audio recorder was turned on and the "official" interview began. The interviews were semi-structured, and the protocol (see Appendix B) was used as a guideline to shape the conversation, while allowing for follow-up question and greater discussion of key points or interesting anecdotes. After the interviews were concluded, the survey was immediately administered in person, which ensured a 100% completion rate, and gave the interviews a quantitative complement which resulted in more information and allowed more direct comparison of respondents (respondents were instructed to save time at the end of the interviews for the survey). Interview notes and transcripts of audio recording were used to record each interview. After each interview, the key points for that respondent, including their main preferences, distinguishing characteristics, and noteworthy conclusions were added to the respondent's file for later analysis.

Respondents - Who are the subjects?

This group of middle class African Americans was chosen to insure that the respondents had the financial means to consider housing in different areas across the metropolitan area, ensuring that the cost of housing would not be the only factor in their housing decision. Landry (1987) defines middle class by their occupations as professionals, skilled workers, as well as those in the service industry. For this study, college education was generally used to screen for those that would have these traditionally middle class positions, as college education is a key element regarding entrance into the middle class. The strict middle class definition in this study combines job type with college education, homeownership, and a household income that is near to or above the area median household income.[43] All of these factors combine to ensure that these are individuals that have choice and could have chosen a residence in either county.

Montgomery and Prince George's were chosen because of their mutual status as majority middle class counties and their distinct racial distributions. Residence in the majority white or majority African American county was the main indicator of racial concentration, as new Prince Georgians were moving into an already hypersegregated, majority African American part of the region, while those moving to Montgomery were integrating a majority white county.

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[43] Only one spouse needs to meet these qualifications for their categorization as a middle class family for this study. Neighbors of respondents were exempt from the normal screening process, as neighbors gave

The map below displays the percentage of African Americans in the region, overlaid with dots representing the different homeowners' neighborhoods. Note the concentration of African Americans in the dark purple section in the center of Prince George's County, and the concentration of interviews in that area (noting that the areas of African American concentration have grown with the construction of housing developments that have attracted African Americans since the completion of the 2000 census). In Montgomery County, it may be notable that most respondents live in or near census tracts that had at least a small concentration of African Americans (15% or higher).
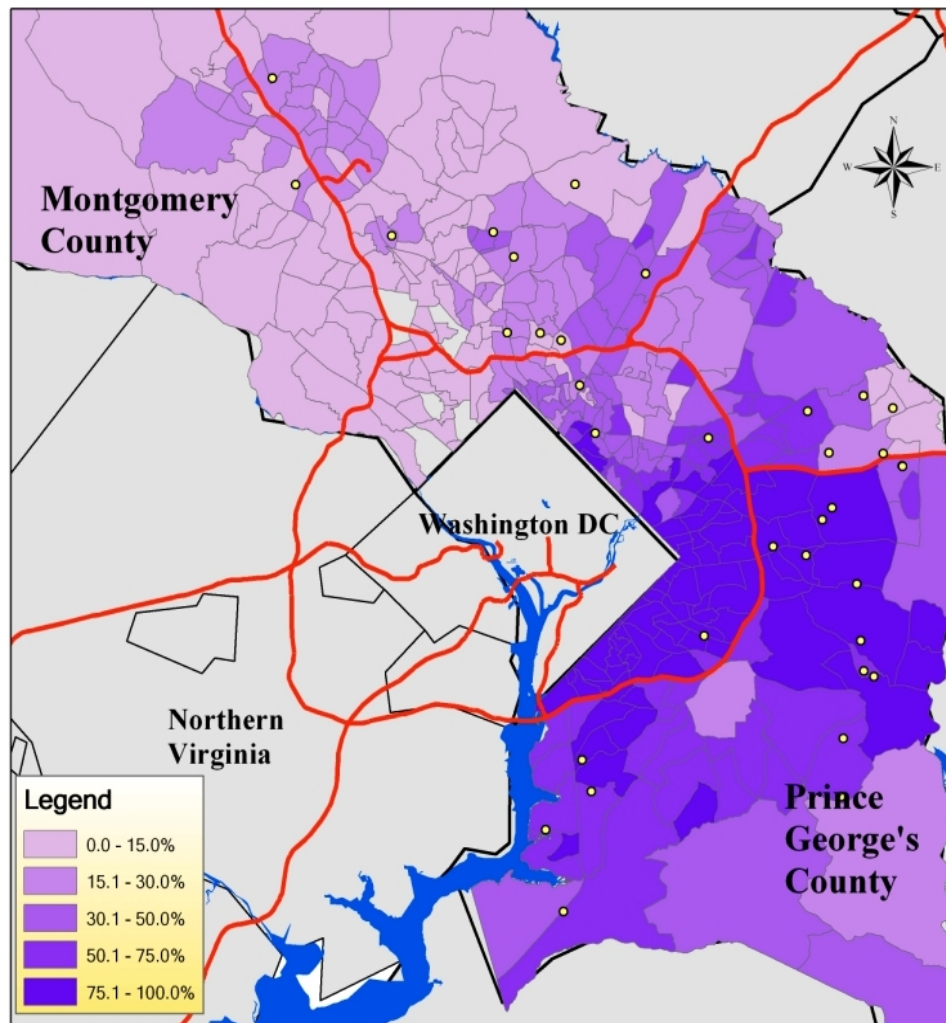
Figure 15: Concentration of African Americans (Data from 2000 US Census), with homeowner locations

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Prince George's respondents were initially screened by community location, year of move in, college education, and self-identified ethnicity. Residence in one of the selected communities outside of the Capital Beltway (Largo/Upper Marlboro, Accokeek, Fort Washington, and Bowie/Mitchellville/Woodmore) was determined by the potential respondent's ZIP code. The year 1994 was chosen as the oldest possible move-in date, with a preference for movers since 2000. The year 1994 was chosen because Wayne Curry was elected as the nation's first African American county executive in a majority African American county in that year's election, and the date falls after the *New York Times* and other publications published profiles on the county – after this point, anyone that moved to Prince George's had moved to a place that had a clear reputation as a majority African American, middle class county. In order to ensure that residents were middle class (and presumably with jobs, income, and education that allowed them some choice in housing), respondents were selected from self-identified college graduates.

After patterns in choice and reasoning began to become evident in Prince George's (approximately 25 interviews), some of the guidelines were broadened in order to investigate and compare the perspectives of homeowners who differed from those already interviewed. In this way, the study followed Yin's "feedback loop" and picked additional cases based on a "redesign" of the case study data collection protocol (Yin 2003, 50). The early interviews had strong feelings about Prince George's County, and so additional interviews of respondents that differed slightly from the first group were included to see if their perceptions were similar to those that were expressed earlier.

While the original plan was limited to newer movers to the four areas mentioned above, interviews were added in Lanham, District Heights, and West Hyattsville in order to investigate the preferences of those in older, first-ring, majority African American suburbs.[44] This group overlapped with the group of six long-time residents (moved to their current homes before 1994) who were added in order to investigate perspectives of those who had been in the area throughout the transition to majority African American – the others were first movers into communities that eventually became majority African American and majority middle class.

In Montgomery County, a more wide-open call was made for respondents. Any homeowner who self-identified as African American, college educated, and available to be interviewed was considered, with a general attempt to ensure geographic spread (no specific ZIP codes were targeted.)

The major goal of respondent recruitment was to find those who were financially capable of living in either county but chose one or the other. After this, in order to increase the possibility that all types of homeowners were represented in the study, special consideration was made to ensure that different sub-groups within the middle class African American population were represented, including age, the presence of children, and time period of move. The study aimed to interview both those under fifty and those over fifty to look for any differences by age, while focusing more on the newer generation of residents. The ages of interviewees ranged from 28 to 67 years of age with

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[44] The two interviews in Glenn Dale fit the standard description of recent movers to a new home in a new majority African American neighborhood in the Outer-Beltway area.

33 respondents (66%) under 50 years old and 17 respondents (34%) age 50 and over. Twenty one respondents (42%) had children at home. The newest homeowners interviewed were literally in the process of moving out of their old apartment while being interviewed, and the longest-term resident moved into their home in 1980. Thirty-six respondents (72%) moved in the time period from 2000 to 2007 while the remaining 14 respondents (28%) moved in between 1980 and 1999. For a brief description of individual respondents, organized by code number, see Appendix F.

This ensured that perspectives of both new and longtime residents were reflected, an especially important consideration as many of these areas have significant amounts of new construction. This research design was developed out of necessity, as residents that have moved into the area since 2000 are not reflected in census data. As such, no data source has specific and current individual data on the demographics of the county in the period since 2000. Though created in 2000, the map below demonstrates that the outer beltway area in eastern Prince George's have developed more recently than those inside the beltway.
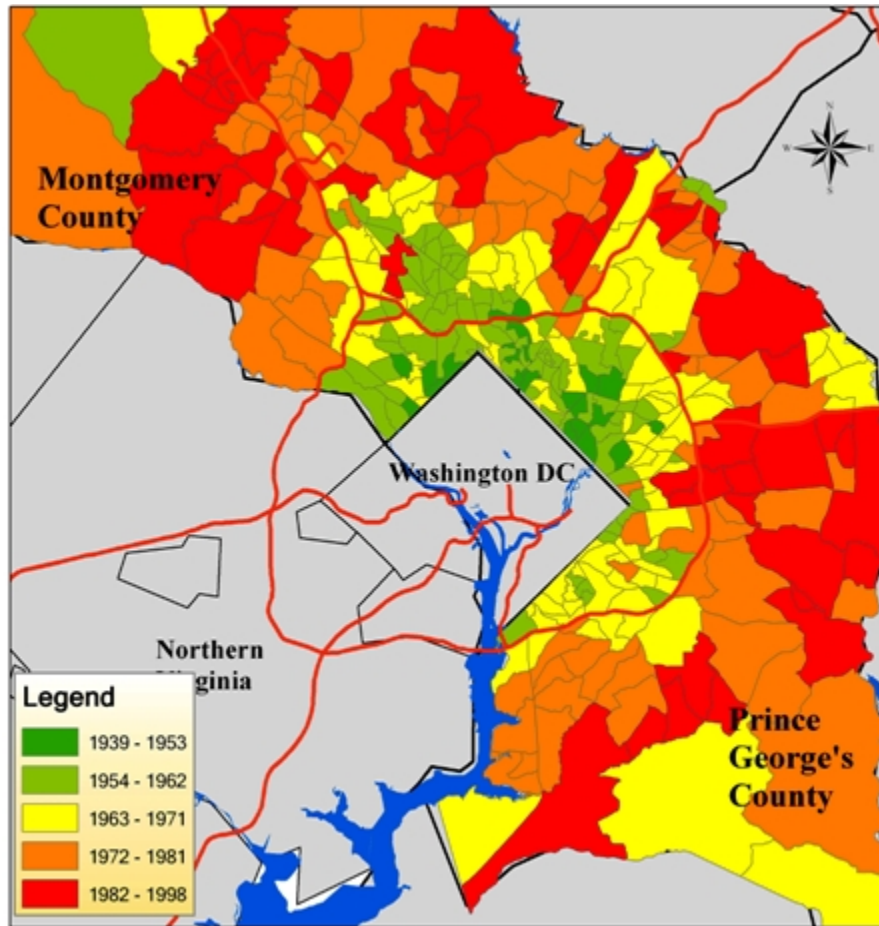
Figure 16: Average Date of Construction (from 2000 Census)

Twenty-one different ZIP Codes were represented in this research, and multiple interviews were conducted in all of the targeted communities, including at least four respondents in each of them.[45] The list of communities in Prince George's includes Accokeek, Bowie, District Heights, Ft. Washington, Glenn Dale, Lanham, Largo, Mitchellville, Upper Marlboro, West Hyattsville and Woodmore. Montgomery County communities included Rockville, Germantown, Gaithersburg, and Silver Spring.

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[45] Accokeek, Fort Washington, Largo/Upper Marlboro, Bowie/Mitchellville/Woodmore are the targeted areas, and "areas" as used here typically refers to ZIP codes, although the fact that these areas are largely unincorporated makes defining the actual communities difficult. As example, several ZIP codes (20715, 20716, 20720, and 20721) refer to "Bowie," although some respondents refer to their communities as Mitchellville, Woodmore, or other specific names while a next-door neighbor may consider themselves in Bowie. Similar dynamics can be found in other areas.
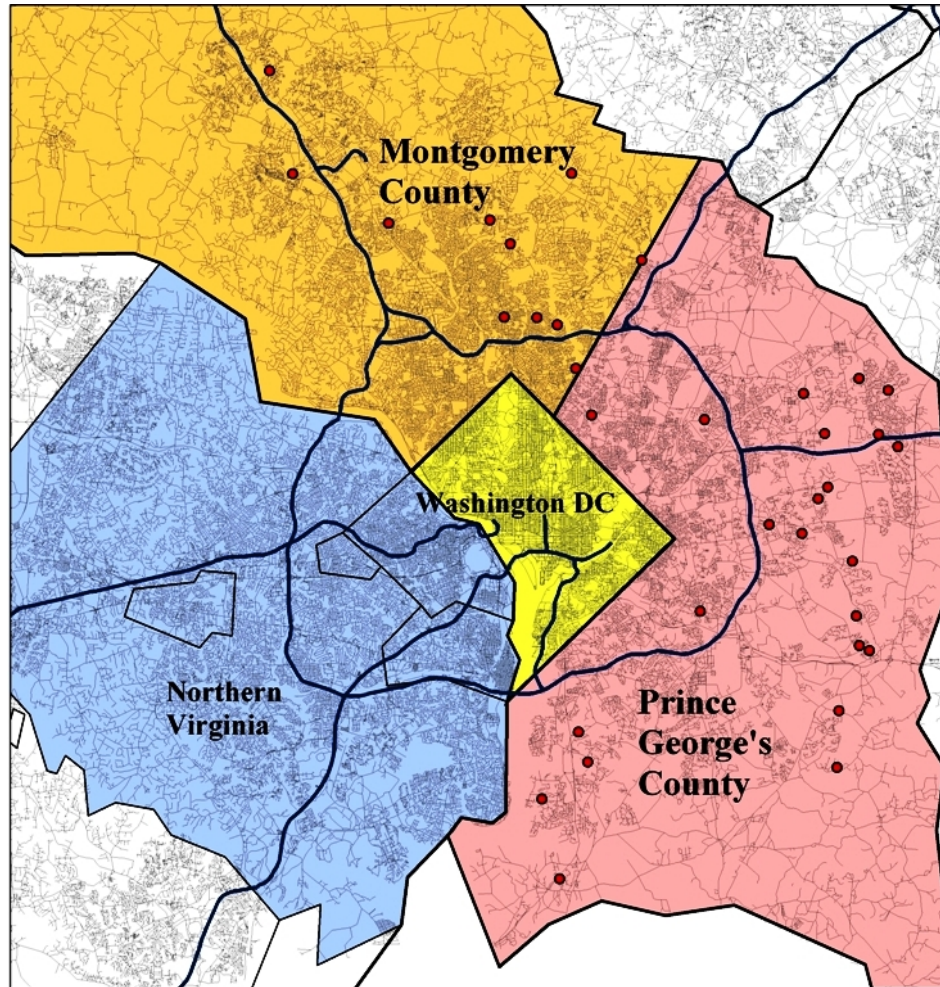
Figure 17: Geographic Spread of Interviews

Annual household income was self-reported by respondents, who picked one of eight

brackets (see table below). As these are mostly middle class households, no one was in

the first tier (income $30,000 or below), and slightly more than half (56%) had incomes

above $90,000. According to the US Census Bureau's 2006 *American Communities*

Survey, median household income in the US was $48,451; in Maryland it was $65,144; in

Prince George's it was $65,851; and in Montgomery County, the median was $87,624

(See Table 3 for a comparison of the incomes in the two counties and within the

respondent population).

Annual Household Income of Respondents	
1 - $30,000 or Below	0
2 - $30,001 - $60,000	4
3 - $60,001 - $75,000	1
4 - $75,001 - $90,000	6
5 - $90,001 - $105,000	11
6 - $105,001 - $120,000	6
7 - $120,001 - 160,000	12
8 - Above $160,000	10

Table 6: Annual Household Income of Respondents

Among the general population, Montgomery County is the higher income county, and median household income in 2006 was $87,624. As table four shows, 39 of 50 respondents reported household incomes in brackets five through eight, so at least that many respondents had higher incomes than the median in Montgomery. Although individual credit ratings, amounts of personal wealth, and other financial characteristics are not clear, income should not prevent most of these residents from having housing choice, as most of the respondents could likely afford to purchase some home in either county if they chose.

The figure below shows the median household incomes of the general population in both counties. While the communities that did not exist in 2000 or those that grew significantly since that time cannot be represented by census statistics, this map presents the most up-to-date representation of incomes in the areas where respondents lived. The respondents in Outer-Beltway Prince George's and in Montgomery County live in middle and high income areas, (although no respondents lived in the highest income areas in southwestern Montgomery County where 2000 median incomes were over $160,000.)
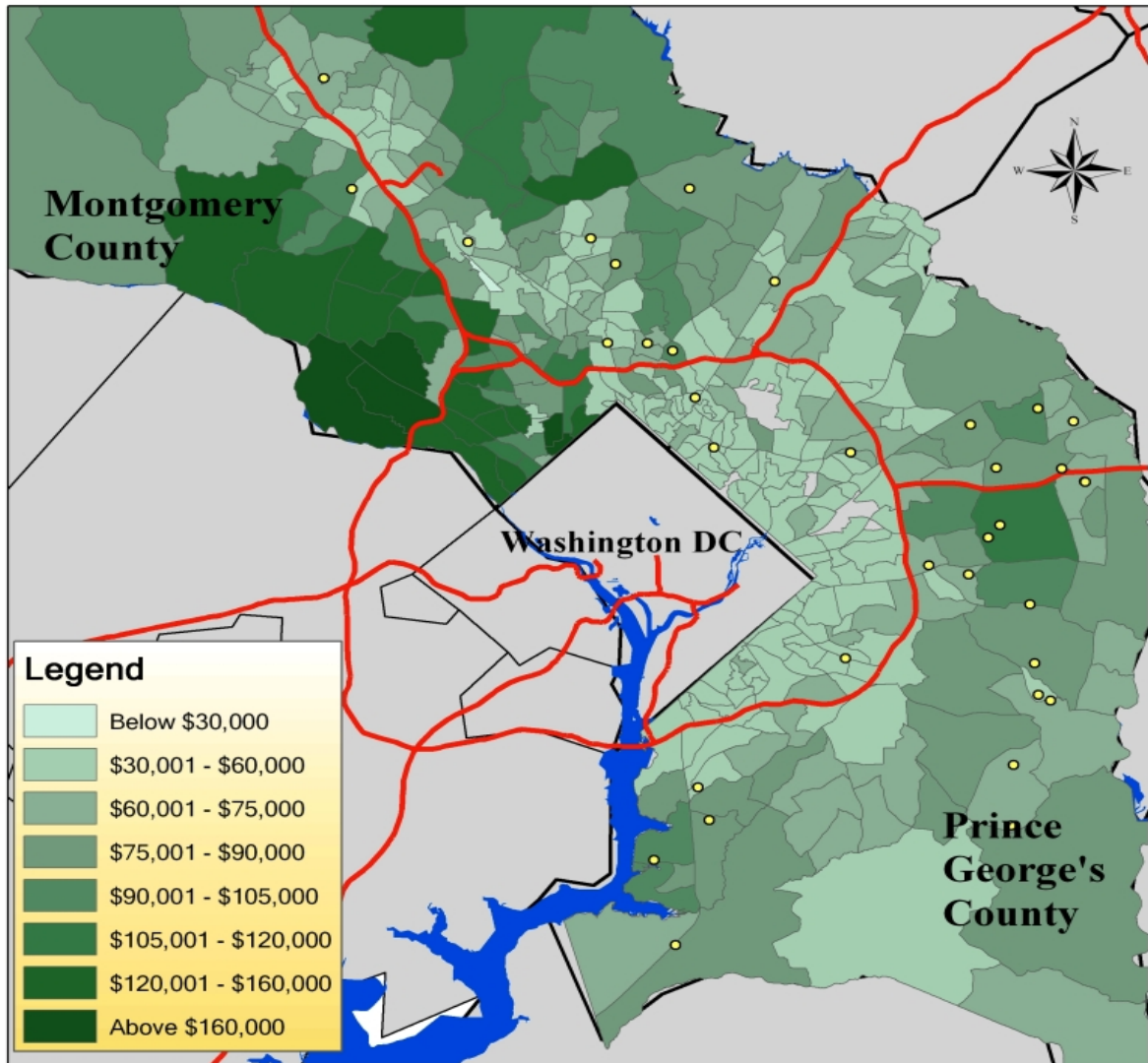
Figure 18: Median Household Income, Census 2000

Respondents also reported their education levels and the names of the colleges and universities that they attended; this enabled the researcher to determine the type of degree and the racial mix at the university they attended. As discussed earlier, education level also serves as an indicator of their ability to find middle class employment and reflected their ability to qualify for middle-class jobs. One respondent, a retired meat wrapper and spouse of the originally targeted respondent, was the only one not to have attended

college.[46]   Four respondents (8%) had some college or an associate's degree, 12 respondents (24%) had bachelor's degrees, and the remaining 33 (66%) had graduate degrees. These degrees were from a variety of institutions: 12 respondents (24%) were educated at historically black colleges or universities, 19 (38%) were educated at predominately white institutions and 13 (26%) attended both types of universities. The remaining 5 respondents (10%) attended community colleges or other non-residential institutions. Using an informal networking method to attract volunteers resulted in respondents with a range of university experiences. As might be expected, given the high education levels, there were a range of professional occupations, including the following:

Respondents' Occupations (Self Identified)			
Account Manager	Director of Court Reporting	Labor Relations Consultant	Psychologist
Accountant	Director, Education Leadership	Lawyer	Real Estate Broker
Budget Coordinator	Director, Grants Management	Legislative Analyst	Retired (2)
Chief Medical Technologist	Electronic Engineer (retired)	Meat Wrapper (Retired)	Security Specialist
Civil Engineer	Executive Assistant GS-12	Mentor Teacher	Senior Compliance Specialist
Clinical Social Worker	Finance Manager (2)	Network Engineer	Senior Software Engineer
Community Planner	Financial Advisor	Patent Examiner	Special Educator (2)
Community Relations Manager			
Confidential (Federal Government)	Graduate Assistant / Graduate Student (3)	Photographer	Sr. Account Executive

[46] She was married to a man who had attended college and was included in the sample because of the marriage (both were interviewed). In addition, as she was an original (1991) homeowner in a middle class townhouse development in Bowie, and other respondents recommended her for the perspective she provided on how the neighborhood had changed over time.

Coordinator	Health Administrator	Program Administrator	Teacher (4)
Dentist	Health Services Officer / Grants Management Specialist	Program Manager	Urban Planner
Director of Administration			

Table 7: Respondent Occupations

As 90% of respondents have bachelor's degrees or higher, they are clearly within the group of African Americans that the national data shown to be suburbanizing at a relatively high rate.

The following table displays the marital status and gender of respondents. Thirty-three respondents were female and of them, 24 (73%) were married. Overall, 36 of 50 (72%) were married.   Of the 17 men, 12 (71%) were married.

County/Area	Number of Respond-ents	Married Men	Married Women	Single Men	Single Women	Non-married Couple (Men)	Non-married Couple (Women)
Outer Beltway Prince George's	35	9	18	3	5	0	0
Inner Beltway Prince George's	3	1	0	0	1	1	0
Montgomery - Silver Spring	9	1	6	1	1	0	0
Montgomery - Other	3	1	0	0	2	0	0
Total	**50**	**12**	**24**	**4**	**9**	**1**	**0**

Divorced and Separated Individuals are categorized as "single." Non-married couples include one respondent living with a partner that he was not currently married to.[47]

Table 8: Marital Status and Gender of Respondents

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[47] All couples interviewed in the survey included partners of the opposite sex, and no one self-identified as lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgendered, although questions regarding sexuality were not asked in the screening process or in the interviews.

Other demographics shaped the respondent pool, particularly place of origin and political identification. Geographically, these respondents hailed from various locales across North America, but 24 (48%) had lived in the region at some point before purchasing their home. Sixteen respondents (32%) lived in Washington D.C., nine respondents (18%) grew up in Prince George's County, and three (6%) grew up in Montgomery County. Excluding those who had only lived in the D.C. metropolitan area, 18 respondents (36%) were from the South, 12 (24%) were from the Northeast, two (4%) were from the Midwest, two (4%) from the West, and four (8%) previously lived outside of the U.S.[48]   The 2006 American Communities survey estimated that a majority of Prince Georgians were born outside of the state (57.2%), and the respondents were largely from outside of the area as well – 41 respondents (82%) had not previously lived in Prince George's or Montgomery.[49]

In terms of political affiliation, 43 respondents (86%) were identified as Democrats and five respondents (10%) were identified as Republicans. The remaining four percent did not identify with either party.[50] With the strength of the Democratic Party in this region and the low number of elected Republican officials, (the delegation to the Maryland General Assembly and the U.S. Congress from these counties is 100% Democratic) this amount seems representative.

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[48] Totals do not add to 100% due to the fact that 15 respondents previously lived in multiple regions.
[49] 77.1% of Montgomery Residents were born outside of Maryland (2006 American Communities Survey)
[50] Party identification came solely from the interviews. Those that mentioned registration with either party along with being independent in their voting patterns were identified as members of that party.

These demographic figures both describe the respondents as a group and begin to identify some of the possible subgroups that exist within their population based on differences in income, age, family composition, education, place of origin, and party affiliation.

External Mobility Limiters

The design of the study and the recruitment process of respondents were carefully structured to minimize the effects of many of the potential mobility limiters, particularly those external to the respondent. As discussed earlier, by interviewing middle income African Americans in the Washington, D.C. suburbs, the threat of income and economic volatility was lessened to the greatest extent possible. All respondents owned cars (although several used the Metro subway system for commuting), so access to transportation was not an issue. The Washington region has neighborhoods of various racial mixes and income mixes, so those concerns were alleviated as well.

There were several potential mobility limiters that were still "in play" despite the carefully selected population: historical policies with discriminatory effects, racial steering, discrimination, racism, and racial violence. The historical policies and segregation patterns of Washington, D.C. play a role, as the western (predominately white historically) portion of the city borders Montgomery County, and the eastern (predominately African American historically) area of the city border's Prince George's. The county's own development patterns and housing values also play a role in shaping existing neighborhoods, and the racial patterns that developed are similar in the city and its suburbs.

Respondents rated "a neighborhood with a history of racial problems" on the 1 to 5 (of Deal-breaker to Necessary) scale. Responses to these theoretical neighborhoods were overwhelmingly negative, and 38 of 50 respondents (76%) agreed that this was a deal-breaker that wound prevent them from living there. Eleven of twelve (92%) of the remaining respondents considered this a negative (albeit not strong enough to prevent them from moving there). Major racial incidents within the immediate D.C. suburbs did not occur during the time of data collection, other than minor incidents of graffiti in Bowie, and no respondents brought up racial incidents or violence as a deterrent factor.

In an attempt to discover evidence of racial steering, respondents were asked if they used a real estate agent and if they felt steered towards certain neighborhoods. While several respondents complained of poor skills by their agent, none described influence that could be described as racial steering. Among many of the newer homeowners, the use of the internet is proving to be the great equalizer; potential homeowners gain access to listings online by themselves; therefore, several respondents selected interesting neighborhoods and homes before retaining the services of a real estate agent to help with the actual purchase. Some respondents went as far as to search local crime statistics, school rankings, or census data on their neighborhoods before purchasing. For this group, the wide array of public information on the internet enabled them to make quite informed decisions.

Interview and Survey Design

Each respondent was interviewed and asked to fill out a survey that included questions regarding neighborhood characteristics and personal information. Each question was design to investigate the preference for amenities (general and racial/cultural) and limiters (internal and external), and the responses helped in the refinement of the conceptual framework in Chapter 3. These questions were designed to investigate the factors that influenced why respondents made the neighborhood choices that they did and what the costs and benefits were perceived to be.

Prior to taking the survey, each respondent was interviewed. These recorded interviews took approximately 60 to 90 minutes to complete. Respondents were asked several questions regarding their background, the process by which they chose their current neighborhood, the advantages or disadvantages of their current neighborhood and County, as well as their preferences in neighbors, their personal politics, their opinions on race and race relations, and questions about their family. These interviews were semi-structured. Pretests showed that a conversational method worked best for gaining responses (both expected and unexpected). The open ended and qualitative nature of these interviews provided many opportunities for respondents to share their true feelings about their neighborhoods, their local counties, and their opinions of majority black and non-majority black neighborhoods. These interviews provided information that complemented and expanded the analysis of the surveys. For example, from the interviews it was possible to determine the region of birth of respondents, and this

information was also included in the descriptive statistical analysis of quantitative data. The analytic strategies and methods will be described below.

The surveys and interviews included questions in the following categories: neighborhood racial composition, neighborhood racial history, black owned businesses and products, income level and social status of neighbors, quietness, safety, cleanliness, recreation options, religious institutions, public school quality, upscale shopping options, location relative to work, transportation options, housing costs, and elected leaders that are sensitive to the needs of African Americans. The survey allowed the responses to the questions to be quantified for different subgroups within the respondents, and the interviews allowed more detail and exploration of individual stories and the investigation of new correlations (see Appendix C for the survey instrument). The qualitative analysis program QSR NVivo was initially used to manage and structure qualitative data, but technical problems with transferring interview transcriptions necessitated a more time-intensive process of manual aggregation of data using printed transcripts and Microsoft Excel spreadsheets. Together, these tools use the list of options above to attempt to capture as many of the potential demand factors as possible.

Respondents were also asked to agree or disagree with several statements. These statements were designed to investigate the possible factors behind some of the preferences that were demonstrated in the previous set of questions. In that way, these questions were designed to delve into respondents' preferences or desires for integrated neighborhoods, the advantages of a predominantly black community, the relative

importance of racial composition to school quality and home values, their willingness to leave the neighborhood or the County, their desire to have African American public officials, their desire for their children to attend racially integrated schools, their belief in the success of the civil rights movement, their opinion about the future economic trajectory of African Americans, the racial composition of their friends, their belief that whites hold negative stereotypes, and the racial composition of their workplace.

Finally, the survey asked simple demographic questions including gender, year of birth, education level, institutions attended, job titles, occupation, and income level. From these questions, it was possible to confirm that respondents had "white collar" jobs and whether or not they have attended a historically black college or university. All respondents' responses to these questions were coded on a spreadsheet and analyzed using quantitative analysis software (SPSS and Excel).

These interviews and surveys combined to create multi-faceted profiles of each respondent. Observer notes were taken at the time of the interview and immediately after. These notes included the main reasons for each respondent's location in their current neighborhood, as well as any noteworthy quotes and conclusions.

This research design had several benefits: the subjects were engaged in the subject matter for an hour to an hour and a half before taking the survey, so they were able to give thought-out opinions after sharing initial views and reactions. This was particularly important as some initial answers shifted after some reflection and continued

conversation. This effect was commonly observed on questions regarding ideal racial mix for a neighborhood, the factors which lead one to remain in his or her neighborhood, and other questions. In some cases, these answers changed after follow-up questions were asked and the respondent had a moment to reflect on the answers. Several subjects specifically noted that many questions related to issues that they had not heard or thought about before, and that they had revealed opinions and motivations that surprised them.

Three respondents called the interviewer after completing the interview to amend their responses on the consent form to ensure that their anonymity was maintained – after some hindsight, they were afraid that the responses that they gave would make them appear more prejudiced (towards blacks or whites) than they were comfortable being.[51] As example, one married woman residing in Silver Spring shared her opinion that people in Bowie/Mitchellville "are pretenders" and preoccupied with "backbiting and keeping up with the Joneses." She noted on the survey form that the process had "caused her to think a little closer about her neighborhood," and notes indicate that she was one of the three to call later to ensure that her information was confidential.[52] Several others shared similar concerns during their interviews.

In the combination of interviews, field notes and participant observation, the study is similar to the format used by Pattillo-McCoy (1999). In her description, this part of the analysis becomes a "theoretically inclined ethnography" as the answers of the participants will be used to test the theories espoused earlier. The addition of the

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[51] 20772-4, 20774-5, 20901-3
[52] 20901-3

quantitative data, the multiple site visits that were undertaken in each of the communities, and dozens of informal conversations with current and former residents of both counties combine to create a picture of neighborhood choice in both counties.

Measures

The open-ended nature of the semi-structured interviews allowed respondents to identify each of the attributes that they found to be important and revealed many of the factors (internal and external) that limited their choices. This led to the refinement of the preferences and mobility limiters that are contained within the conceptual framework. Each individual's questionnaire could be used to analyze the relevance of many of these factors, but the necessity of a standardized survey for all respondents meant that the survey could not be adapted to reflect lessons learned during the interviews.[53] Later studies could quantify these measures further and attempt to test all of them empirically. The key advantage of the open-ended question is the ability to find items that were not previously thought to be important. The interview and survey questionnaires are located in the appendices B and C. All respondents tested some potential factors using the chart that uses a modified Likert scale[54] to find out a respondent's preferences that were included with the survey. This study attempted to find potential measures of a neighborhood's degree of desirability. At this stage of understanding the issue, generalizability of the magnitudes of these factors is much less important than the

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[53] One example of this was the inclusion of a question that asked respondents to rate "the presence of Latino neighbors" which proved to be too broad – respondents indicated that the number/percentage of Latinos is what could make a difference, and that it depended on their income levels, amount of overcrowding, etc. Questions about the Latino population could have filled an entire section.
[54] It does not use declarative sentences, but uses the traditional Likert format by presenting a continuum of responses from strongly negative to strongly positive for each individual factor.

creation of a sufficient list of factors to cover the decision-making patterns that the subjects displayed.

The open-ended nature of the research design allows respondents to self-define key terms such as neighborhood, shopping options, "good schools," or a location that is close to some amenity. This avoids a problem for researchers such as Freeman (2000), who have met with complications when trying to adequately define "neighborhood." For this analysis, one's neighborhood boundaries are whatever boundaries one perceives when making residential choices, a term that varied depending on the geography that each individual perceived as his or her neighborhood. As the focus of this study is on preferences and the factors influencing them, and the latest data at the ZIP Code, census tract, or block group levels are eight years old and outdated, the exact boundaries of the neighborhood are unimportant. Due to the lack of data at the neighborhood level since the last census, it was impossible to find answers about recent movers from that data source.

Other factors provided challenges in quantifying them, and they were left to the individual respondent's definition. When the discussion of shopping options, the definition varied somewhat within the pool of respondents (some meant upscale shopping and some meant better grocery stores). The elaboration of what those options meant helped to explain the responses. Allowing respondents to define and explain "good schools" led to the elucidation of the fact that respondents were generally more satisfied with the elementary schools in their neighborhood (particularly in Accokeek), but they

were more concerned about the education in the regional high schools. Distance to amenities was complicated: it became clear that respondents' tolerance for traffic and driving distance varied greatly, and so the effect of the distance of an amenity on the desirability of a neighborhood varied as well – five miles for one driver was more of an issue than for another respondent. These factors require careful consideration before measures are created.

The "Interviewer Effect" and Concerns of Bias

As an African American male and a native of the Washington, D.C. area, my background brought several potential benefits and a few possible concerns. The benefits included a level of comfort that a same-race interviewer could bring to the process – in studies such as the Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality, "every effort was made to match the race of the interviewer and respondents" to attempt to get honest answers from participants (Krysan and Farley 2002). In another study of 30 couples in Prince George's and Fairfax County, Virginia, Lacy was viewed suspiciously by local residents who did not know her, and the researcher shared how she was not taken seriously by one man because she did not have business cards proving her university affiliation as example of her "difficult time convincing some black men that [she] was really conducting a study" (Lacy 2007, 230). This was not my experience, and I did not feel my credibility questioned or my seriousness challenged. It is not clear if gender played a role in being taken seriously by male and female respondents, but the interviews were generally comfortable discussions. I did have business cards and an official looking survey description that went out by email. Further, as an insider in the community, I disarmed potential concerns by

explaining to respondents my background. Since this study is also focused on the choice of neighborhoods, my familiarity with the area allowed me to ask specific and pointed follow-up questions about particular communities.

However, this familiarity also came with a risk – that I could bias the results of the survey with my preconceived notions of how African- American homeowners act (or *should* act), and that I would not question certain points of view that appeared to coincide with my preconceived notions of what was happening. As example, if I made assumptions about why people were making their choices before they told me about them, then I could influence their answers.

Several strategies were implemented to mitigate this possibility: First, questions were ordered to place open-ended questions first (after exploring their background), so that the respondent's could introduce their thoughts on key topics before they were asked anything specific. Specifically, the respondents were asked which factors influenced their decision to move from their last home, and their reasons for picking their current neighborhood. This allowed the respondent to answer the main research question early in the conversation. In addition, the inclusion of follow-up questions in the standard interview protocol and survey clarified the respondent's position by investigating some of the same issues with different wording in the questions. This sequence worked towards ensuring that opinions were thoroughly examined.

The overall design was developed after feedback from the pilot interviews, in which it became clear that the general order of questions was important, even in a semi-structured interview format. The questions early in the interview set the tone and pace for the conversation, as well as placing certain issues into the respondent's mind. It became clear that asking respondents about their background, their neighborhood, their opinions about the counties and general thoughts about neighborhoods and racial mixes was best done in that order. This gave respondents who had not thought about these issues an opportunity to think about their opinions and the reasons for their actions. For most of the respondents, this conversation was the first time that they had considered the issue or critically examined their choices in neighborhoods, so this ordering allowed them to understand themselves better and give more thoughtful answers. For that reason, it was also determined during the pilot interviews that the survey was best administered at the end of the conversation, after they had thought about and discussed the issues.

Possible concerns included the possibility that respondents would be influenced or encouraged to give answers that match the proposed theories in this proposal or that they may be unreflective and/or give meaningless answers that compromised the analysis. Following the pilot, the questionnaire that guided the interviews and recording of interviews was developed. In addition, there was a specific concern on the part of the researcher of the potential for this bias. All conclusions on the interviews were based on multiple sentiments being shared – responses that were not shared amongst multiple respondents were not accepted as generally conclusive (merely as anecdotes.) The conclusions that follow are based on trends within the respondents.

The use of the snowballing sampling technique presented another potential bias – that the respondents would merely be acquaintances in the same circle of friends. To minimize this effect, when one respondent from a neighborhood was interviewed, he or she was asked to recommend the study to neighbors. This was particularly useful in Bowie, Largo, and Accokeek, as neighbors provided additional perspectives that complemented the results of the interviews with the original respondents.

Another concern was that unreflective answers would be given that reflect generally accepted wisdom in the African American population – that respondents would give answers that they felt that they "should" give to fit in with the cultural or political norms of their peers. This was a valid concern, as evidenced by the initial assertions of many, in that they thought that equally mixed neighborhoods were best but also loved their predominately black neighborhood and would not consider moving. After continued questioning of this apparent inconsistency, it appeared that many of them felt that they "should" say that they thought that 50/50 was ideal, either because of the perceived importance of racial equity or the benefits of diversity. It is possible that some would give answers that reflected what they felt was ideal overall, even if they wanted something different personally.

While a range of respondents and perspectives were found, several potential respondents, particularly those in Montgomery County, expressed trepidation about the study and did not want to participate. One woman who moved to a smaller house in a majority white

neighborhood in Rockville from a majority black neighborhood in Prince George's because she was "tired of living with those people" refused to participate in the interview because of how she may be portrayed. Most of them were concerned that they would appear to be racist in their responses. Those who were concerned about appearing racist were afraid because of their negative perceptions about the majority African American neighborhoods and the people living in those areas. This may be a clue to their ingrained desire to support African American neighborhoods, even if their other preferences would lead them elsewhere.

As mentioned earlier, the research question and subject matter were discussed with many other homeowners in these counties, at least twice as many as were eventually interviewed. Many of those who participated in informal discussions would not or could not participate in the formal interview/survey process, but this allowed the opportunity to critically examine some of the differences between respondents and non-respondents. While these homeowners who did not participate in the formal study seemed to generally share the perceptions and conclusions of the respondents (similar perceptions of each county and reasons for choosing one over the other), they were usually "softer" in their opinions. Stated otherwise, the respondents appeared to have stronger opinions than non-respondents, but they were not particularly different in the general character of their preferences. Respondents were much more likely to explain their positions in detail (before, during, and after the audio recordings). It was as if some residents in Montgomery County wanted to explain why they would make a decision that may make them appear to betray the African American community by choosing to live with whites.

Conversely, those in Prince George's wanted to explain why they made their choice despite the generally accepted "benefits" of the majority white county (which many of them did not accept as benefits).[55] It proved surprisingly difficult to schedule interview times for many of the homeowners who expressed interest in participation, and accordingly, those who were interviewed either were more motivated to participate or had more free time than those who were not interviewed. This supports earlier comparisons of the two groups.

Primary Data Analysis

The analytic strategy for this project is described by Yin (2003) as *relying on theoretical propositions*. The study was based on a set of theoretical propositions that guided the literature review, hypotheses, research design, and the analysis. At each step, the theory was reviewed and refined to fit the data that existed – this study was based on understanding why middle class African Americans live in the neighborhoods that they do.

Creswell (1998) builds on the work of Stake (1995) to describe a series of processes of data analysis that can be used in case studies. The analysis used in this project consisted of a combination of these measures: a detailed *description* of each case involving interview notes, analysis of interview transcripts and site visits to the respondents' neighborhoods. *Categorical aggregation* was used to capture similar responses across individuals that indicated preferences or factors that potentially influenced preferences.

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[55] These are the Prince Georgians who could not think of a benefit to living in Montgomery County when asked.

Patterns were established and investigated among categories, leading to *naturalistic generalizations* about the data. In the final stage, *description*, generalizations were made about the larger cases (the groups of homeowners) and how they compare to existing literature.

There is an interview questionnaire in Appendix B. While this questionnaire is an accurate representation of most of the questions that were asked, each interview was unique. As mentioned earlier, a conversational method worked best, with an organic flow from topic to topic. This was done in the spirit of asking the open-ended question, and it allows the respondent to fully expound on a topic in a natural way, instead of forcing them to respond to particular questions in strict order. The interview questionnaire was used as a checklist to ensure that the proper questions are asked during the course of the interview, while allowing the respondent to "tell their story" in a comfortable way.

After these interviews were conducted, the answers of the respondents were separated aggregated into various categories. These included:

- Location of home*
- Sex*
- Hometown*
- Number of children (under 18 and over 18)*
- Year of birth*
- Interview length*

- Year of move in*
- Interview location*
- Type of house*
- Education level*
- Willingness to drive
- What keeps them in the neighborhood*

- Things that they would change in their neighborhood*
- Familiarity with other parts of the region at the time of the move*
- Level of county pride
- Importance of black elected officials*

- Racial mix of previous neighborhoods*
- Ideal percentage of African Americans in neighborhood*
- The importance of a new home
- Whether cost was predominately important to their move.*

Some of these areas proved more useful for comparison and general conclusions than others, especially as not all respondents answered all of the same questions. Questions with an asterisk were investigated at each interview while others were not asked of all individuals. Some issues did not appear to affect housing decisions of any respondents - these included racial steering by real estate agents and fear of racial violence, as no respondents indicated that these issues influenced their move. Comments, opinions, and choices that are specific to a particular individual were noted and are presented as such in the results, but most individuals reflected those of others in the study. All items were reviewed as part of an individual's profile and their placement in one of the preference groups that will be explained in Chapter 6. This avoided problems of bias, as *direct interpretation* of results might introduce bias to the results by focusing on an individual case's specifics to explain the actions of large groups of people.[56] Due to the reliance on reported financial information, individual income figures are rough estimates at best, and the lack of consistent numeric data was characteristic of the process – husbands and

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[56] Direct Interpretation is a term used by Stake (1995) to draw meaning from a single case without comparing it to other cases

wives sometimes differed on their own household incomes. Other data, such as purchase price, current value, age of home, and size of home were originally asked of respondents, but their responses were replaced when an alternative source of data was found that was objective and reliable – for these, data came from the Maryland state property tax assessment database. While this data source is not a precise estimator of current home values in a fluid housing market, it was perhaps the only source that enabled objective comparisons of homes in different neighborhoods and counties.

Field notes of the researcher were another source of data, and they were used in analyzing each individual's profile as part of the description. The notes were initially written immediately after the interviews and were revisited as transcripts and recordings were reviewed to ensure that key information was not missed.

The survey data were more easily transferred into a spreadsheet format; most values were numeric, and every respondent was asked the same questions. Those questions that were not numeric (mostly the demographic questions at the end) were given a numeric value and recorded. The survey data on the spreadsheet began with preliminary information that included interview number and county/sub area of county. After that, the questions were added in the order that they were asked.

The first section of survey questions were potential neighborhood characteristics that were scored by respondents on a scale of 1-5. A one was a "deal-breaker" that would prevent the respondent from moving there, a two meant that it was negative but would

not prevent a move to such a place, a three was neutral, a four was positive and would improve the respondent's opinion of a place, and a five meant that item was necessary, and a must-have in any neighborhood that the respondent would consider. There were 26 items scored in this section, and they were:

a. An all-white neighborhood with no Black neighbors

b. A majority white neighborhood, but one with several Black neighbors

c. A racially mixed, 50/50 neighborhood

d. A majority Black neighborhood with at least some white neighbors

e. A nearly all-Black neighborhood with a few white neighbors

f. An all-Black neighborhood with no white neighbors

g. The presence of Latino neighbors

h. A neighborhood with a history of racial problems

i. Black-owned business nearby

j. Black-oriented products available in stores (e.g. hair care products, books, movies, food, etc.)

k. neighbors at my same income level

l. Neighbors above my income level

m. Neighbors below my income level

n. Neighbors of the same social status as me

o. A quiet neighborhood

p. A safe neighborhood

q. A clean neighborhood

r. Public park/recreation nearby

s. Good church nearby

t. Good public schools

u. Upscale shopping nearby

v. Short commute to work

w. Convenient to transportation (highways/Metro)

x. Paying less for housing than other neighborhoods in the area

y. Elected leaders that are sensitive to the needs of African Americans.

z. Other? (Write in)

The next section of questions on the survey consisted of statements that respondents were asked to agree or disagree with. Respondents could strongly agree, agree, remain neutral, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements:

a. *Assuming a safe neighborhood with comparable schools and housing prices to those where I currently live, I would prefer to live in a more racially integrated neighborhood.*

b. *There are substantial advantages to living in a predominantly black community.*

c. *The racial composition of my neighborhood is much less important to me than the quality of the schools and home values.*

d. *I regularly travel outside of the county to go to the kinds of places that I cannot find in my community.*

e. *It is important to live in a community where African Americans hold public office.*

f. *It is important to me that my children attend racially integrated schools.*

g. *African Americans have gained a great deal from the efforts of Civil Rights leaders.*

h. *African Americans are on an upward economic trajectory that will continue in the future.*

i. *All of my close friends are African American.*

j. *Many of the people I socialize with are white.*

k. *Most whites hold negative stereotypes about blacks even if they don't say them out loud.*

l. *Most of the people I work with are white.*

In the final section of the written survey, respondents were asked demographic information, including their gender, year of birth, highest level of education, name of their college, current occupation, job activities, ZIP code, income range, and an open section to add comments. Each of these items were added to the main spreadsheet and

paired with other data – the information from the interviews that was requested of all respondents. These data included:

- Year of move in,

- Years at address,

- Region(s) of birth,

- Was respondent from D.C.,

- Was respondent from Montgomery,

- Was respondent from Prince George's,

- Racial composition of their previous neighborhoods,

- Were young children in the home,

- Whether there were adult children,

- Political party affiliation,

- Percentage of African Americans in their ideal neighborhood, and

- Percentage of African Americans in their ZIP code (from the 2000 Census).

Finally, the spreadsheet included property assessment data from the Maryland State Department of Assessment and Taxation files for each property. These allowed a reliable measurement of property value and the cost of housing in each county. These items included:

- Base Value of Land*

- Base Value of Improvements*

- Total Base Value*

- Phased in Assessment Value (as of July 2007)*

- Phased in Assessment Value (as of July 2008)

- Year Built*

- Total Enclosed Area (in Square Feet)*

- Last Date Property Sold*

- Last Sale Value

- Penultimate Sale Date

- Penultimate Sale Value

- Computation of Dollar per Square Foot (Using Home Value and 2007 Assessment)*

The asterisks denote categories that were available for all of the properties and are useful in the final calculations of housing cost.

Together, these data sources provided robust information on the respondents and allowed a multifaceted approach to understanding decisions about which neighborhoods African Americans in this region were choosing. Although this study design allows for in-depth analysis of each individual's housing decisions, including both preferences and the factors affecting those preferences, a total sample of 50 persons is relatively small when compared to the total population of African Americans of above median income in the two counties (347,874 according to the 2006 American Communities Survey.)[57] Due to the relatively small size for a quantitative study, the comparison between individuals or sub-groups is suggestive of patterns that may exist in the larger African American population. For many factors and questions, the search for patterns in the responses could not be conclusive.

Conclusion

This project investigates the previously established national phenomenon of African - American suburbanization by looking at the Washington region as a microcosm of the national population of African Americans with choice in their neighborhood decisions. This design includes the collection of many forms of data: interviews, surveys, site visits, property tax data, and informal conversations. All of them are necessary to fully investigate the reasons why middle class African Americans in Prince George's are

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[57] 152,669 in Montgomery and 543,079 total African-Americans in Prince Georges. By definition, half are above the median income for the group.

moving and living there – why they are choosing a majority African American area, what

forces affect that decision, and what costs and benefits they perceive in that move.

Chapter 6: Results

The main hypothesis, as discussed in Chapter Three, was that access to racial/cultural amenities and comfort drew middle class African Americans to majority African American neighborhoods, and qualitative and quantitative methods were designed to test this. The diversity of preferences within the African American middle class precluded a simple conclusion – racial/cultural amenities do exist, and some, but not all, African American homebuyers move to a majority black neighborhood because of them. This research found three distinct groupings of homeowner preferences within the study population: those who made a purposeful decision to live in a majority African American area, those that made a purposeful decision to live in a majority white area, and those who were open to both kinds of areas and chose their neighborhood based on their personal calculus of costs and benefits. Persons in all areas acknowledged the existence of these amenities, but participants disagreed about their value. While people move to neighborhoods and remain there for a variety of reasons, these three distinct groups indicate the general patterns of decision-making by middle class African American homeowners. The previous chapter described the respondents and their characteristics; this chapter presents the results of the data analysis.[58]

Preference Groupings

The interview transcripts and notes were used to characterize each respondent's desire to live in neighborhoods of differing racial composition, and three distinct groups emerged

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[58] Appendix F contains descriptions of all respondents and their preferences

based on individual racial preferences. These categorizations represent a spectrum of neighborhood choices; as such, those who would only live in one specific county (and type of neighborhood) or the other are at the extremes. Some respondents fell very close to the dividing line between one category and another, so the following categories represent the best estimate of the amount of respondents in each group. For some respondents, their preferences evolve over time as they learn more about the available options, so the groups are not necessarily binding for life. Each individual's placement into a group is based on their current reasoning for their residential location, which came from discussions with them during the interview process. The relative sizes of these groups are not necessarily reflective of their size in the larger population, but instead represent the key divisions between different homeowner decisions.

Common themes were observed in the stories of multiple respondents, and these groupings take into account the respondents' revelations about themselves, their descriptions of their friends and neighbors, and the conversations with others in this group, including those who would not or could not be interviewed. All types therefore exist, in the general population, to some degree, and demonstrate the complexity of these housing choices.

Group 1: Purposeful Choice of a Majority African American Community - Pro Prince George's

These homeowners chose their neighborhoods because of the community's majority African American status, and they make this choice while acknowledging the costs that

come with their choice of that predominately African American community. For them, race mattered, and they have chosen majority African American neighborhoods in Prince George's County over more racially mixed or predominately white neighborhoods in Montgomery. Nineteen respondents (38%) fell into this category, including 18 of 35 in outer beltway Prince George's and one of the three respondents in the inner beltway area. Members of this group are sometimes natives of Washington, DC (East of Rock Creek Park) or Inner Beltway Prince George's County who made the progression outwards to newer homes in more preferable neighborhoods in Outer Beltway Prince George's. Others are from across the country but are drawn to Prince George's explicitly because of its status as a majority African American middle-class county. The following table lists key factors that have influenced the neighborhood location of each respondent in Group 1.

Group 1 - Purposeful Choice of a Majority African American Community - Pro Prince George's		
Interview Number	Initials[59]	Key factors in neighborhood location
20607-1	S.M.	Enjoys living amongst upper middle class progressive blacks, isolation of neighborhood.
20607-2	M.M.	Enjoys living amongst upper middle class progressive blacks, isolation of neighborhood.
20607-3		Likes mix, but always lived in black neighborhoods
20706-1	J.D.	Bought because of higher/increasing property value, and safer location. (Moved before racial transition of neighborhood - but looking to move to majority black Mitchellville)
20716-1		Prefers majority black, but likes diversity
20721-1	R.C.	Liked new neighborhood and social network
20721-2	C.C.	Moved due to husband's preference, family nearby
20721-4		Prefers Prince George's and building black community
20721-6	A.M.	Preferred black neighbors, growing roots in community - first black neighborhood
20744-2		Always lived in black neighborhoods
20744-3	K.G.	From low-income background, believes in black community
20772-2		Loyal to county - wants to prove that Prince George's is good
20772-3	C.M.	Sees home as escape from whites and inner city problems
20772-4	J.F.	Grew up in majority white neighborhood, moved to black neighborhood for identity
20772-5	T.S.	Proud to live in black professional neighborhood
20774-1	R.R.	Potential to be politically involved (connected) in county
20774-2		Lived in black neighborhoods entire life, active in community
20774-3		Likes having role in community, being near church

Table 9: Key Factors in Neighborhood Location – Group 1

Homeowners who are originally from Washington, DC or lower-income neighborhoods in inner-Beltway Prince George's have made the classic progression outwards from the central city for homeownership opportunities, less crime, or simply "better neighborhoods" in the suburbs. This outward movement often developed in tiers that reflected the "ring" pattern of suburban development that occurs in many cities. The neighborhood progression in this region typically began with a residence in the eastern half of Washington, D.C. and then a series of moves, beginning with a move to inner

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[59] Initials are only provided for respondents who are quoted in the text.

beltway Prince George's (by either the respondent or their parents, depending on the age and wealth of the parents), and concluded with a move further out into a newer developing community. During these moves, respondents often relocated in such a way that allowed them to keep ties to churches, family, and friends in their old neighborhoods and to keep their jobs in the city. This was especially true of those who moved outwards along a single highway route over time, living in different communities along the way. The next move outwards for many of these persons may be to outlying counties, particularly Charles County to the south.

K.G. came from a working-class background - her mother worked in retail, and she was born in the Eastgate Gardens public housing project in Southeast Washington, D.C. [60] She lived a few other places and eventually bought a home in Forest Heights in 1990. Forest Heights is located inside the beltway in Prince George's County, just a few miles from the D.C. border. In 2002, she looked for a low crime neighborhood and left Forest Heights to move down Route 210 a few miles to Fort Washington. She chose this neighborhood for the wooded seclusion, varied home designs, and quietness, but she specifically wanted to remain in the county. She wanted to be both close to family and friends and in a place that was comfortable – to her, that comfortable neighborhood was majority African American. In that way, she is typical of homeowners who have made the move to a more advantageous community but wanted to remain a part of an African American community.

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[60] Respondents who are named in the study have been given pseudonyms to protect their identities.

A similar group includes those who specifically wanted to live in Prince George's explicitly because of its growing, majority black status – unlike the above woman, these homeowners explicitly referred to race as a key determining factor. While this includes those who would be considered "militant" or "separatist" by earlier studies, it also includes those who do not have such a strong political agenda. Many are choosing these neighborhoods out of a desire to raise their children in a neighborhood with role models who "look like them" and perceive this potential boost to self-esteem to be a key advantage to raising children in these neighborhoods. This group also includes those who actively see themselves as part of the experiment of a black middle class community. These are often staunch defenders of the county, they express frustration at negative portrayals in the media or the dearth of upscale shopping in the county, and many are taking steps to address both of these issues (along with others).

T.S. grew up in Southeast Washington and in two inner-beltway Prince George's communities, previously purchased one townhouse in Upper Marlboro, and had just moved to a custom-built single family home in the Collington Estates subdivision of Upper Marlboro, a neighborhood that she estimated at 99% African American in 2007. She works as a special education teacher in Silver Spring, so she is familiar with both counties. She briefly looked in Montgomery County before purchasing her current home and decided that it was not worth the premium to live in Silver Spring. Although she considered Montgomery due to her place of employment, and considered various criteria, she preferred majority African American neighborhoods in Prince George's. When asked if she would prefer to live anywhere else, assuming she could afford it, T.S. picked other

Prince George's communities. She has had occasional contact with racism throughout her life and reported being upset when people talk negatively about Prince George's in an uniformed manner. She has moved there to show her son role models. When people ask her why she does not move to a nice Montgomery County community, she says:

> "No," because I really want my son to see what it's like to be around other educated black professionals. I feel like it starts at a young age, you know. I really do, I feel like if you start them young, and then you can get them a good backbone, a strong backbone, then you can move wherever. Because they have a good sense of self and who they are.

She is proud of where she lives and was happy to discuss why she made her choice, as well as why others are mistaken about her county.

Neighborhoods such as Woodmore carry with them a certain amount of social cachet that is of a certain value to many prospective homebuyers. These addresses can bestow upon residents another status symbol to go along with their luxury homes, luxury cars, and other accoutrements of the upper middle class lifestyle. These neighborhoods continue the legacy of the traditional wealthy enclaves that have existed for generations, but today, they are larger in size and often gated or otherwise separated from neighboring communities which may be less affluent (to varying degrees) or have somewhat older housing stock.

E.D. is a real estate broker who lived in the Woodmore South neighborhood. She was a military brat and was accustomed to diverse communities, had lived in the Adams Morgan neighborhood of D.C., and moved to her home in 1995. It was a new community when she moved in, and she did not know that it would become majority black – she

became an accidental separatist in that regard. She seemed slightly uncomfortable when discussing her neighbors and the discussion eventually revealed that the level of elitism amongst her neighbors was the issue. She and her husband considered themselves to be low-key, and "not in for a lot of glitz and glamour;" she reported that they eventually stopped being invited to the fabulous Christmas parties thrown by the neighbors because she did not get along with the hostesses, as she:

> …did not have the fur coat and I didn't shop at Nordstrom's. I was not really part of that group anymore, so as the years went on, I voiced those concerns, because sitting around at parties, the conversations would be what one bought or what one did. And since I was not doing those things I was not getting invited as often. So that was very interesting, I watched that whole thing evolve and peter out.

While E.D. is flexible in her choice of neighborhood and belongs in Group 3, her anecdote describes the other hostesses who are a key part of Group 1: those who enjoy the status of being in an affluent African American neighborhood. The affluent African Americans who live in Woodmore are distinguished not only by race, but by their very high incomes. This creates an issue for some, even for African Americans, as class barriers form.

Figure 19: Barrier for the Elites

Some of these barriers are literal, as the above photograph demonstrates. This barrier separates a new development (homes built since 1995) from older homes built in the two decades before that. On the near side of the barrier, neighbors reported that recent sales prices were in the $380,000 to $875,000 range, while homes on the other side were selling in the $300,000 to $400,000 range.

A woman on the lesser value side of the barrier complained that there were no public spaces for children to play with each other. "People enjoy their big yards," and "the neighbors try to keep outsiders of a different caliber out." She also was troubled that "Bowie is a little racist, but when my daughter comes home, it is very comforting and confidence building despite that." For her, "progressivity is more important than racial mix," and she also moved to her neighborhood early in construction of the subdivision and before it became majority black, but is happy that there are people like her in the

neighborhood. She had no plans to leave; whether she was specifically looking for it or not, she found a majority black high-income neighborhood for people similar to her. While she can be categorized as flexible and a member of Group 3, her descriptions of her neighborhood reveal some of the motivations for those in Group 1 – many find the exclusivity of Woodmore and similar communities appealing.

Why choose a majority black neighborhood?

Many affluent African Americans prefer majority African American neighborhoods when enough of the amenities that are important to them exist in that neighborhood, including some amenities that are particular to their race or culture. For others who have little need for those racial/cultural amenities and comfort, majority white neighborhoods are often preferable for their additional benefits (either perceived or actual).

R.R. was born in Rochester, New York, in a neighborhood that was approximately 50% black. He was a veteran of the U.S. Army, with degrees from a predominately white state university (SUNY Buffalo) and an Ivy League graduate school (Princeton). Immediately after leaving graduate school, he moved to the Washington region for a policy job with the federal government and was also concurrently working toward a second master's degree along with his full-time job. After living in an apartment in Southwest Washington near his place of employment, R.R. became excited about Prince George's County and bought a condominium in Largo. He enjoyed being part of what local politicians routinely described as the nation's first middle class, predominately African American county. For him, "Prince George's offers, like I said, it kind of piques my intellectual curiosity about -- well, I believe African Americans will make a difference

here. Obviously, we come here with power." Middle class African Americans cannot help but make a difference in the county as they change and shape the area's demographics. Recent history has shown that as many African Americans have bought homes they then argue for the services and amenities that the formerly rural county did not have. For him, the thought goes a step further, as he continues:

> And it is just about being smart about using the resources and the power that we have to expand it, to use it in a positive way and not just to enrich a handful of us, or just for people to sit on thrones like certain politicians who are in the House of Representatives and other places.

Here, he expresses his belief that there is a responsibility to help improve the community, and it falls on him and others like him. He also shared his frustration about "certain politicians" who he felt were more concerned with consolidating power than helping constituents. For him, the responsibility to make improvements fell on everyone with ability to do so. In this, he was not unique, as several homeowners shared similar sentiments and frustrations with those who had the "home as castle mentality." These homeowners generally felt that their socioeconomic status meant that they should contribute and give back to the African American community.

R.R. was similar to other young African American professionals from across the nation in their late twenties and thirties live in a variety of different communities within Prince George's. Many own condominiums and townhouses and are often first-time homebuyers. These homes are headed by single males and females with white-collar jobs or young families. They usually purchase homes for a variety of factors, including the relatively low prices that make homes affordable, but the young professionals in Group 1

view living in an African American community as a positive factor that makes it more attractive to them than other options. Respondents from this group were often active in local political or social organizations, including R.R. who went on to run the condominium association board and another under-35 respondent from South Carolina, who became a board member of the local branch of a national civil rights organization. They often report that they enjoy being in neighborhoods with like-minded "progressives" who generally share political and social preferences, and many prefer majority African American Prince George's for those reasons.

Prince George's was often characterized as a "progressive environment for African Americans." Many expressed their positive views of a place where they could be around other middle class African Americans, including S.M., a 33 year-old mother of three in the enclave of Accokeek: "I think, I mean in our neighborhood in particular, I like living amongst middle class or upper middle class progressive blacks, [although] I know that Montgomery County is more diversified. She referred to Montgomery County as "more diversified" because of its higher percentage of whites and other non-black racial groups. Elsewhere in the discussion, this woman mentioned that she liked that form of racial diversity and thought of it as a positive, as did her husband, but she bought this house because of the quality of the neighborhood elementary school, low crime rates, the ability to have middle class neighbors, and her ability to still have family and the comfort of other African Americans nearby. For her, no amenities or benefits in Montgomery County equaled those of buying in Accokeek – she thought that her isolated neighborhood with other upper middle class African American families was ideal. As a

real estate agent, she also felt sure that these factors would help to maintain the home's value and make her choice a smart financial purchase. Ultimately, she weighed many factors and concluded that she wanted that particular African American neighborhood.

Together, these two respondents reference the feelings of those who find positive elements in these neighborhoods and actively seek them out. During their lives these two lived in several different areas of the country with different racial mixes. They may generally believe that racial diversity has its benefits, and in interviews, they both acknowledged Montgomery County had benefits that their area did not but carefully chose their majority black neighborhoods after researching the matter and reviewing different options around the region. Their housing choices are purposeful; while they were happy to consider all areas, they benefit from the fact that the era of integration in this region has given them the ability to choose an African American middle class neighborhood.

Prince Georgians did not believe in moving to Montgomery for the cachet, as expressed by a J.F, a respondent who shared the story of a friend who is unhappy with his new neighborhood:

> I think there's a misconception about Prince George's County, particularly by white people that feel like it's kind of a "ghetto" county because it's predominantly black, which I think speaks to racial inequalities and stereotypes and just plan racism. I think sometimes African Americans also perpetuate that. I have one friend who lived in Prince George's County and moved to Montgomery County to live in Wheaton and the community that he lived in Prince George's, in my opinion, was much stronger and stable. But he felt it was important to be in Montgomery County because supposedly there was a name that was attached to it and that living in a county that was known for having more white families

would somehow elevate his professional status or make his property more valuable. However, he is experiencing more problems where he lives in Wheaton than where he lived in Prince George's. And I feel that that's something that you hear quite a bit.

J.F. was not clear on the specific problems her friend in Wheaton was having, but she was convinced that her county was getting an unfair reputation. She had great pride and revealed her sense of "ownership" in the county: she felt so strongly that it was the best option that she was critical of her friend who chose a more racially mixed community in Wheaton. As she told this anecdote, she revealed not only her preference for Prince George's but also that people who choose majority white communities because of the supposed benefits are often misguided about those choices.

Internal mobility limiters are a different story altogether, as they affect the mind of the respondent, and in doing so, may affect decision-making. Although most respondents showed no fear of majority white areas, some respondents did. This was particularly notable amongst those who had never lived with whites. The fear was not of outright violence or racism but usually something more difficult to quantify, such as "not being comfortable." One 61 year old woman who always lived in African American neighborhoods explained her decision to always look for African American neighborhoods this way:

> I guess, as I think about it, I probably am more comfortable because I feel as though I can have a voice. That may be, I never really, really gave a lot of thought, but that may be that I might not have a voice if I was in a predominantly white neighborhood. And I think that is important. I mean, I would like to be a part of the decision-making process, and I would like to have whatever I have to say to be heard just as they would and that might not sit too well with some whites, especially those who have not really gotten on board with this race thing. You see, I do not think I will be willing to sit back and be quiet.

She expressed her fear of subtle racism and the possibility of an uncomfortable living situation if she were to live with whites. This also meant that she felt more secure if she was part of a racial group that had power in the neighborhood.

Overall, Cashin's (2004) conception of the "costs of black separatism" accurately describe the tradeoffs that African American suburbanites in Prince George's must make – many live closer to neighborhoods of poverty, face an area with a challenged school system, are touched by crime issues, pay higher rate of property taxes, and reside far from upscale shopping and restaurant options. However, it is clear that the homeowners in this study are largely aware of these issues and either chose a location that addresses the issues more important to them or pick a location that best fits the entire range of their preferences, once racial/cultural amenities and comfort are taken into account.

The Washington suburbs have many different racial combinations in its middle class neighborhoods, and this allows many to find a neighborhood type that satisfies them. Cashin (2004) is concerned that separatism has costs for African Americans, and that it keeps them from reaching the suburban ideal and appreciating the benefits of neighborhoods with more whites. There are some negative effects of proximity to lower income African American communities that spill over to the largely affluent African American communities in those areas. However, the Prince Georgians in this study who choose those neighborhoods have done so after calculating costs and benefits, including the benefits of the racial/cultural amenities and comfort. For some, their middle class status creates an opportunity to help improve the larger community, and that is a benefit

for them (although Cashin might have this on her list of burdens that this group must bear). For others, their neighborhood has exactly what they need to be happy, and they are fine with the status quo. Either way, these African Americans are actively making these neighborhood choices.

The interview data indicate that homeowners are not blindsided, nor do they feel cheated in their housing decisions; for the most part, respondents did their homework and picked the area that they found more beneficial – a seemingly normal economic decision that maximized their utility. Many of these families in Prince George's have found neighborhoods where they believe that they are happier than they would be in Montgomery County.

Group 2: Purposeful Choice of a Majority White Community

All but two of the Montgomery County residents would not seriously consider living in Prince George's.   In some cases, this was due specifically to racial mix and in others it was due to amenities that they associated with majority white neighborhoods. Those that desired to integrate a majority white neighborhood for the benefit of their families fell into this group, but it also characterizes the motivations of those homeowners who moved into majority white neighborhoods in Prince George's before their neighborhoods and the county became majority black. The following table lists key factors that have influenced the neighborhood location of each respondent in Group 2.

Group 2 - Purposeful Choice of a Majority White Community		
Interview Number	Initials[61]	Key factors in choice of neighborhood
20850-1		Likes racial mix, lives in racially mixed neighborhood with investment potential
20876-1		Likes racial and economic mix - lives in mixed neighborhood
20878-1		Scared of property values dropping in black neighborhoods
20901-1	R.C.	Likes mixed race neighborhoods
20901-2		Lives in majority white neighborhood for quality; drives to find Black people/activities
20901-3		Bought because of the racially diverse neighborhood appreciates diversity (Grew up in majority black neighborhood)
20904-1	P.M.	Likes prestige of Montgomery County
20905-1		Only Considered Montgomery - Good neighborhoods in Prince Georges seemed too far from the city
20906-1	C.P.	Prefers white neighborhood, school quality (even though lived in black neighborhood and went to HBCU)
20906-2		More comfortable with racial mix, "blacks in Prince George's fear whites"

Table 10: Key factors in Neighborhood Location – Group 2

There is a significant amount of social status that one can acquire by having a Montgomery County address, and this allows one to live near middle class and wealthy whites. Several respondents in Montgomery County seemed like they would be uncomfortable in a majority black neighborhood, given their perceived lack of status there. One of these was a homeowner who moved into a new, million dollar home in Silver Spring 2.5 years before the interview, P.M.

P.M. was born in the Shaw neighborhood of Washington, D.C., during the 1940s when that neighborhood was all black and all middle class, yet in close proximity to poor black neighborhoods. He thought that those who believe that people should be "post-race" are crazy, and that African Americans are not a cohesive group, as wealth is not evenly

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[61] Initials are only provided for respondents who are quoted in the text.

distributed in the community. He prefers a neighborhood that is less than 50% black. He stated that he was racially harassed by the Prince George's police in 1975, and that incident still colors his opinion of police officers in that county, as the Prince George's police were "a step below the Klan." He believes that most of the whites who are left in Prince George's are "rednecks," and that African Americans from outside the region are moving to Prince George's because of their built in preference for African American neighbors. He saw a key status difference between his neighbors and those in Prince George's County, as he saw Montgomery County as a place for those that are more established in the middle class. For him, the difference in status could be explained by the make of cars:

> **P.M.:** Yeah. Since, you know, Prince Georges County seems kind of strange, you know, it's different, even the cars are different really. I have just picked [it] out myself lately. Let's say you go over to Landover or Mitchellville - you … see more American cars in those areas, Caddys and stuff, Lincolns and stuff, you would never see a Lincoln around here.

> *Interviewer: So more German cars?*

> **P.M.:** German cars, yeah, which we have. Yeah.

In his part of Montgomery County, he perceived that people have a high level of status that prevents them from being seen in a car produced by an American manufacturer, even a luxury car or SUV.

While they preferred their majority white neighborhoods, several of the Montgomery County residents shared preferences for elements of the majority black neighborhood, including camaraderie with people of similar backgrounds or the potential for role models for children. However, many of them chose their location in a majority white area for

better county services, schools, shopping and/or restaurants. The perception from many residents was that they would get better services in Montgomery and that they would be trading something away to live in Prince George's. For persons in this group, generally appealing amenities and services trumped the racial/cultural amenities and comfort.

C.P. was a graduate student in sociology at the time of her interview. She was born in the Brookland neighborhood in Northeast Washington, D.C., had rented in Silver Spring in Montgomery County for a time, as well as Hyattsville in inner-beltway Prince George's, and eventually bought a small 2-bedroom house in Washington with a rehab loan. She wanted to move to a bigger, nicer home, so in 2004, she bought a townhouse for $335,000 in the Tivoli neighborhood in Silver Spring. She picked her home for the school system and underscored that fact several times. "At that point, we couldn't afford anything much bigger in D.C., even though I wanted to stay in D.C., and then, it came down to schools and Montgomery County schools just have the best reputation. P.G. County basically wasn't an option." She had grown up in majority African American neighborhoods but ultimately choose Montgomery for the sake of her son's schooling. She didn't understand her friends that spend a lot of money on homes in Prince George's:

> The schools are crap compared to [Montgomery County] – if you have the kind of wealth that you must have to buy these houses, there should be a certain standard of schooling that you should be able to expect that they're not getting. Then on top of that, just basic services are pretty bad in P.G. County and there [are] serious crime issues. Then just as a consumer, there is, the shopping is really limited and there is not a whole lot of convenience, just the entertainment options.

She thought that the majority white county had too many amenities to turn down. Her ideal neighborhood was 1/3 white, 1/3 African American, and 1/3 Hispanic/Asian. She

reported that she was happy in Tivoli, with its 60% white, 10% African American, and 30% immigrant makeup. She was, in that way, a potential diversity proponent and wanted equal numbers of everyone, but general amenities were more important.

Finally, as many Montgomery residents saw land and housing as cheaper in Prince George's, they perceived those who move to Prince George's as bargain hunters, while they were paying for the advantages for themselves and their families. One woman in Montgomery County remarked:

> I would say the advantage of living in Montgomery County, if you have children, would be the schools. And I think both counties, as far as the park systems are about the same, you know. So that's not – so I would say – crime. Crime seems to be a little better here. And in Prince George's County, you get more for your money as far as housing, so – and it depends. For example, I went to the dentist today, and my dentist lives, she must live way out somewhere, so for her to have her little horse farm or whatever she has, you know, I mean, she probably – I don't know how much it costs, you know, to get something like that here would cost probably twice as much.

From her standpoint, it all came down to the cost of property. She valued the general amenities in Montgomery and thus feels that her proximity to these things makes her home purchase a cost-effective one. We cannot be sure if her friend with the dream house on a horse farm in Prince George's would agree. There are, however, identifiable differences within the study's group of African American homeowners in their preferences for racial mix. Those who prefer African American neighborhoods cite one or more of the racial/cultural amenities as the motivating factor behind their decision; comparatively, those in Montgomery discuss the general amenities in which they perceive in their neighborhoods, particularly better schools, shopping, and restaurants, and the perception that many communities in Prince George's feel too far out for them.

While homeowners in all areas were generally favorable to the concept of racial diversity, several of the Montgomery County residents can claim to "walk the walk" in terms of living in racially diverse neighborhoods.

Homeowners that moved to majority white neighborhoods in Prince George's prior to the 1990s and those who moved to Montgomery County during any time frame are those who are comfortable moving into a majority white neighborhood and whose actions confirmed this. In this group, these persons had some of the longest tenures in Prince George's, while in Montgomery, both new and old residents fit this profile. When they moved, their neighborhoods were majority white, and these homebuyers found good reputations and many of the amenities that they were looking for in these neighborhoods. Prior to the 1990s Prince George's county was not majority African American, so residents that moved in the county before then moved to a majority white, but changing county. In Montgomery, the county remains majority white, even though some neighborhoods have more racially diverse characteristics.

J.D. was born in 1948 and raised in an all African American community in North Carolina. When he bought his first home in 1976 in Riverdale (inner beltway Prince George's) it was satisfactory for a while, but in the late 1980s, he was looking for a better neighborhood where he could raise his young children. He chose Lanham, a community that he estimated was 75% white at that point (and he today estimated the same neighborhood is 75% African American). Originally, he moved to the neighborhood for the convenience to transportation links and a better environment, and at that time, these

were associated with the then majority white neighborhood. As the neighborhood has changed, he has become upset as shopping options worsened as local shopping centers declined. He also described crime becoming more of an issue and a decline in the upkeep of properties which he attributes to new, younger African American neighbors who have moved in. The neighborhood is not as advantaged as it once was. Today, he is considering another move as he raises his grandson – to Mitchellville, for a better-kept neighborhood and decent schools; this would be a similar path taken by some of his previous African American neighbors who moved in around the same time as his family. He originally integrated the community because he determined it was the best option for him and his family and did not let the racial mix of a neighborhood affect him. Instead, he went where he could find a good environment for his family but has ended up with a declining quality of life, and he has a desire to move further out into the deeper suburbs. Even though his current reasoning would place him in Group 1, he moved into his neighborhood as a member of Group 2 – he was a racial pioneer who wanted a better life for his family. J.D.'s story demonstrates the shifting of these groups over time: as Prince George's evolved, and his available options expanded, he came to prefer middle class African American neighborhoods.

Group 3: Compromisers and Flexible Amenity Seekers – Racial Preferences are less important

These individuals are flexible in their preferences for racial mix and the related amenities – they may have moved to a neighborhood of racial composition at one end of the spectrum but considered neighborhoods of the other, or they were indifferent to the racial

mixes in different communities. In the end, they have chosen their current neighborhood

because it offered them the greatest amount of net benefits, not because of racial mix or

the attributes that they perceived in neighborhoods of a specific racial mix. This group

included two of the Montgomery County residents, 17 of 35 in outer beltway Prince

George's and two of three in the outer beltway area. The following table lists key factors

that have influenced the neighborhood location of each respondent in Group 3.

Group 3 - Compromisers and Flexible Amenity Seekers – Racial Preferences are less important		
Interview Number	Initials[62]	Key factors in choice of neighborhood
20607-4	C.C.	Chose on other factors - neighborhood became majority black in a surprise
20715-2		Ended up in majority black neighborhood by accident; likes convenience and price
20715-3		Ended up in majority black neighborhood by accident; likes convenience and price
20715-4		Racial pioneer: moved to a majority white neighborhood in majority black county. Rural native.
20716-2		Original purchaser in community, does not care about majority black - moved to buy
20716-3		Moved because of prices and financing
20720-1		Likes mix of races, but bought because of neighborhood characteristics/price
20720-2		Picked new development, just ended up in a black neighborhood by chance
20721-3	E.D.	Neighborhood transitioned to majority black after move, but enjoys progressivity more than race
20721-5	Z.M.	Likes diversity, lives in majority black neighborhood because of husband (She felt that she "got a nice community," but misses safety/ upscale shopping in majority white areas)
20744-4	I.P.	Enjoys racial/cultural amenities; Concerned about price (also needs white community within driving distance)
20747-1	A.L.	Likes mix of races, but lives in inner-beltway black community for price
20769-1	R.J.	Country native, moved to Prince George's for open space (post-race mindset)
20769-2	H.J.	Likes mix of races, brings mix in daily life, lives in racially mixed neighborhood
20774-4	A.M.	Likes racial mix, and wider diversity
20774-5		Likes racial mix, lives in black neighborhood because of value
20903-1		Neighborhood has heavy immigrant population, likes to be near city. Likes a racial mix (immigrants moved in since her purchase).
20744-1		Picked neighborhood on investment potential and the specific house characteristics
20715-1	A.W.	Ambivalent about Prince Georges
20772-1	R.A.	Bought in Prince George's for investment, may leave soon
20782-1		Comfortable in neighborhood, but ambivalent about majority black places (She considers herself poorer than neighbors and her income is dropping)
20902-1	Q.R.	Lives in White Neighborhood, but goes to black neighborhood for r/c amenities

Table 11: Key Factors in Neighborhood Location – Group 3

For migrants to the Washington area from more southern states, Prince George's is an attractive option for reasons other than racial mix. These residents have moved to Prince

[62] Initials are only provided for respondents who are quoted in the text.

George's largely because of the open space and the relatively large lot sizes available in the last of the region's inner suburban counties to develop. They are often from a rural southern background and often mention the trees, open space, and relative lack of development as positive. These persons often have little desire for the neighborhood amenities that others covet, particularly restaurants, shopping, etc., as they do not mind driving a significant distance.

R.J., a self-described "quasi-farm boy" is one of those persons. He was raised in a small majority African American farming town in Georgia, born in 1962 to a teacher and a mortician. He grew up loving green space, nature, and the safety of his childhood small town, and he dislikes too much concrete and human-made urbanization. He likes to think of himself as a traditional pioneer as he found a plot of land in Glenn Dale, designed his house, and purchased the largest lot of anyone in the study, including a heavily forested portion, to ensure that his sons could grow up enjoying nature. This interview took place on his porch because he was proud of his land. He was drawn to this area of Prince George's largely because of the amount of developable open space that existed. These types of traits define the urbanizing rural southerner.

Those traits do not completely define him or his housing decisions. He sees his home as a "vacation from the world," but could not purchase a home way out in the country because his wife H.J. is from Brooklyn, New York. She loves the subways and the city. For them this house and neighborhood are the result of a compromise; it is enough of a rural feel for him and close enough to the city to keep her satisfied. Like many of the

married couples in the study, their choice represented the combination of their two sets of preferences, although one person (the man in this case) dominated the choice – he picked the property and convinced her to go along with it. The couple met while attending historically black Howard University and this is his second home in Prince George's County. He claimed to not believe that race mattered, and he was not in his words about those that "need" an all-black neighborhood. He said that he did not know that the neighborhood would become predominately African American; he could be described as an "accidental separatist" as he lived in a majority black neighborhood but did not choose his neighborhood based on race.

These homebuyers were similar to others in Prince George's who picked their homes based on a set of features, often before a subdivision has completely finished construction. They may have found a builder that they like and purchase based on a model and plans. Due to Prince George's pace of development and the competitive housing market of the past few years, several homeowners in our sample purchased homes in this manner. For several of these homebuyers, it was impossible to know the racial makeup of their neighborhoods until after they moved in and met their new neighbors as they moved in. Many of them bought from a builder that they liked or saw a good value for the home after shopping in neighborhoods of different racial compositions. If a key factor to them was different (such as the price, features and availability of a home or the neighborhood's physical characteristics), they could have easily ended up in a majority white neighborhood. For some that now live in majority

black neighborhoods, an accident of fate led them to live there, although though they may have been aware of the county's general reputation and identity.

Another factor is that housing in Prince George's is relatively cheap compared to the greater Washington DC area, yet it still possesses potential for building equity. Unlike the traditional expectation of majority African American neighborhoods, the majority of the houses in outer-beltway Prince George's are relatively new homes and not the deteriorating older housing stock left over from white flight. This means that African American home-buyers (and others) who can minimally accept living in a majority African American neighborhood can live relatively close to Washington at a lower price than in other suburbs. This represents those who see the majority African American neighborhoods as an expansion of their choice – they compare these neighborhoods to others, weigh the costs and benefits, and find a home and neighborhood that meets their needs at an efficient price.

A.M. was a 30 year old single female from Philadelphia who purchased a condominium in Fort Washington. She did not do so because it was her favorite place or because she wanted to live in a majority black neighborhood, but she chose it because it was affordable and had suitable prospects for appreciation:

> I wanted two bedrooms and two baths, and I wanted guaranteed parking. I wanted a decent sized kitchen, and I wanted something that had two stories and something that had a high appreciation, a quick appreciation on property since I wasn't planning on being here long term.

She did not visit the neighborhood before signing the contract – in 2004, the housing market was such that she felt the need to jump on the first opportunity. Although price

and appreciation were the primary requirements for her home purchase, she also shared that she was pleased about her community choice, "…and then the community being a progressive African American community where I had a church options, I had store options, I have community options, so if I ever decided to get active, everything is right there for me to do." She estimated that her home appreciated from $140,000 to $250,000 in three years, but she chose an investment in a suitable African American community.

Q.R. was a 28 year-old man who moved to Silver Spring largely because he felt that a Montgomery County address would have more cachet than a Prince George's address. He grew up in Northwest D.C. in a neighborhood that he described as "upper lower class" and had previously bought a home in Adelphi, in inner-beltway Prince George's, but wanted to live in Montgomery County when he found a home that he could afford, so that he could enjoy the bigger "bang for the buck" of a county government that was more responsive, better schools, and higher property values. He felt that it was a step up to move to Montgomery County, but when asked about the advantages of a majority Black neighborhood, he responded that:

> From the African American perspective, it does give you that sense of African American community, and it also gives you closer proximity, in theory, to things that you do that are, I guess, stereotypical black things like, maybe, even like churches or stuff that would normally be located in black neighborhoods, like the barbershop that you cannot really find when you are deeper in Montgomery County.

Further conversation revealed that he returns to Prince George's regularly for his haircuts and Sunday church service. He represents those who live in majority white area for cachet and to take advantage of other amenities, but he forgoes certain other conveniences by making this choice.

Testing the Theoretical Framework – Data Analysis by Neighborhood Type

While the previously described groupings include all of the homeowners who were interviewed, the study also looked at individuals by geographic area, and the quantitative data are analyzed below for all respondents depending on where they live.

While the racial/cultural amenities and comfort attributable to a majority African American community have been discussed, all of the elements in the theoretical framework that were introduced in the third chapter were investigated to determine whether or not they were useful as possible factors affecting neighborhood choice in this region. Those in the group of *compromisers and flexible amenity seekers* rate these factors according to their own individual preferences, and ended up in the neighborhood with the best combination of their preferred attributes. Each factor is discussed below using the geographic location of the respondent to demonstrate how these varied (or did not vary) for homeowners in different parts of each county. These factors were not universally attributable to one area or another, and the way that these factors were rated by individuals varied greatly.

General Preferences

The neighborhood attributes in this category were expected to be universally perceived as positives. Survey findings confirmed that several attributes were viewed in this manner. They included the following: neighborhood quietness and cleanliness, safety, as well as closeness to parks, recreation, and proximity to a church. Each of these indicators was rated positively by most respondents; similar sentiments were found in each geographic area.

Several other items were not universally viewed as positives, and in fact, they were viewed as neutral or even negative by some respondents. These attributes included housing value, school quality, and proximity to shopping and transportation links. This was a surprise as respondents were presumed to favor all of these factors to some degree, but this did not hold for all of these items.

Housing Value

In survey question 1X, respondents were asked to rate their opinion on "paying less for their housing than other neighborhoods in the area" on the "Deal-Breaker" to "Necessary" scale. This question was intended to gauge the desirability of a "good deal" on their housing. It was expected that respondents in Prince George's County would have more value attached to this item while those in Montgomery County would have less. This followed the logic that presumes that residents who purchase land in Prince George's County do so because lower land prices allow one to buy more property there as compared to residents that buy in Montgomery County at higher values because of the perception or reality of a greater set of amenities. In effect, this was testing whether the value factor dominated these location decisions, but the results told a more complicated story of housing and neighborhood decisions.

Seven out of 35 respondents (20%) in outer beltway Prince George's County found that "paying less for housing than other neighborhoods in the area" was a negative; two of these persons said that that would be a deal breaker, and they would not move to an area

where this was the case. No one in Montgomery County found this to be a negative. Overall, 28 respondents (56%) thought of this attribute as a positive, and seven of those respondents found this to be a necessary requirement for a considering a new home, including six respondents in Prince George's County. The remaining respondents reported that they were neutral. These varied reactions are perhaps explained, on one hand, by those who are seeking a deal and on the other hand by those who enjoy the cachet of living in a sought-after, stable neighborhood.

Two of the persons who indicated that "paying less for housing" was negative or a deal-breaker for them lived in Lake Pointe in Largo. For them, problems with the neighborhood were attributed to programs that allowed certain county employees to pay discounted prices for their condominiums or to otherwise circumvent the traditional lending process that led to the poor upkeep, rapid turnover of properties, and some occasional property crime. They wanted to be surrounded by others more like themselves - those who could afford to pay more and who they perceive would better care for their property.

The general perception that there are real differences in property values is accurate; the values do vary between counties, and accordingly, the choices of residents in both counties differ.

All Respondent Homes		Age of Home	Enclosed Area (Sq. Feet)	Property Land Area (Sq. Feet)	$ per Sq. Foot (Home)	Property Assessment (Total)	Property Taxes	County Property Tax Rate (per $100)
Prince George's	Mean	17	2,298	11,907	144	$316,353	$3,037	0.96
	Median	15	1,823	7,213	140	$274,568	$2,636	0.96
Montgomery County	Mean	26	1,824	5,914	221	$401,068	$2,515	0.627
	Median	22	1,407	6,799	257	$312,806	$1,961	0.627
Prince George's Savings (Computed from means)		36.4%	-26.0%	-101.3%	34.8%	21.1%	-20.8%	-53.1%
Source: Maryland State Department of Assessment and Taxation Real Data Property Search Records at sdatcert3.resiusa.org/rp_rewrite/ (Accurate as of November 1, 2007) (See Appendix E for full table)								

Table 12: Summary Housing Data for All Respondents

Homes for Prince George's respondents were newer and larger (in both interior space and property area) than those in Montgomery.   Although the homes were larger and properties were worth more in Prince Georges, the lower overall property values in the county meant that homeowners paid much less per square foot, although property taxes were higher.

While the previous table shows the data for the average home in each county, it does not demonstrate actual choices. A new mover to the region with $100,000 of income would have many choices in the region, and an exploration of the actual choices and housing values of respondents in that income bracket can help to clarify the effects of housing values and other characteristics on neighborhood choice.

The table below illustrates the home values for respondents who reported annual household incomes between $90,001 and $105,000. This income group was the modal income group of the survey, including six households in Montgomery and five

households in Prince George's. Looking at this group elucidates several key points. First, by looking at the overall differences between these groups of homes, one can see the housing costs and values for individual homeowners that choose Montgomery or Prince George's. If one assumes that similar incomes reflect similar purchasing power (including credit rating, amount of savings and other financial criteria), Prince Georgians do get "more house for the money." On average, their homes were 7.3 years newer, and the average value (and assumed July 2007 purchase price) of their homes was at least $140,000 less than the average in Montgomery County. The mean sizes of the houses are similar, but the size of the property is much greater in Prince George's: those residents possessed more than five times as much land as the mean of the Montgomery County group.

Respondents with Household Incomes between $90,000-$105,000 per year	ZIP Code	Age of Home (2007)	Enclosed Area (Sq. Feet)	Property Land Area (Sq. Feet)	$ per Square Foot (Home)	Property Assessed Value (2007)	County Property Tax Rate (per $100)	2007 County Property Taxes
Montgomery Silver Spring	20904	3	4,064	9,806	$184	$749,506	0.627	$4,699.40
Montgomery Silver Spring	20906	21	1,407	1,609	$221	$310,330	0.627	$1,945.77
Montgomery Silver Spring	20902	26	1,400	1,367	$223	$312,806	0.627	$1,961.29
Montgomery Silver Spring	20901	45	1,292	7,418	$233	$301,570	0.627	$1,890.84
Montgomery Silver Spring	20901	53	2,920	6,799	$257	$749,470	0.627	$4,699.18
Montgomery Gaithersburg	20878	11	1,177	2,428	$225	$265,332	0.627	$1,663.63
Mean Values		**26.5**	**2,043.3**	**4,904.5**	**$224**	**$448,169**	**0.627**	**$2,810.02**
Prince George's Glenn Dale	20769	7	3,636	101,930	$136	$493,770	0.960	$4,740.19
Prince George's Bowie	20715	20	2,472	10,462	$139	$343,990	0.960	$3,302.30
Prince George's Ft. Washington	20744	42	2,173	13,914	$ 154	$334,623	0.960	$3,212.38
Prince George's Largo	20774	15	1,142	1,416	$155	$177,500	0.960	$1,704.00
Prince George's Largo	20774	12	1,073	1,887	$174	$186,332	0.960	$1,788.79
Mean Values		**19.2**	**2,099.2**	**25,921.8**	**$152**	**$307,243**	**0.960**	**$2,949.53**
Prince George's Savings		**27.6%**	**-2.7%**	**-428.5%**	**32.3%**	**31.4%**	**-53.1%**	**-5.0%**
Source: Maryland State Department of Assessment and Taxation Real Data Property Search Records at sdatcert3.resiusa.org/rp_rewrite/ (Accurate as of November 1, 2007) (See Appendix E for full table)								

Table 13: Housing data for respondents in modal income group

One property in the Glenn Dale section of Prince George's accounts for a large portion of

the difference in mean property square footage. This homeowner loved trees and bought a

large, wooded lot that reminded him of his childhood home, and because of property

values and the amount of undeveloped land in Prince George's, his custom built 3,636

square foot home on a 2.3 acre lot has an assessed value of $493,770 while a 4,064

square foot home in Silver Spring on a much smaller 9,806 square foot lot is assessed at

$749,506.[63] This homeowner was not the only one with a large lot, and despite his exceptional preference for space, his choice is not vastly different than others. Within this income group, the *smallest* single-family home in Prince George's County had a larger lot than the *largest* in Montgomery County – the Prince Georgians clearly owned more land. In the overall study, the eleven largest lots were in Prince George's. This demonstrates the "savings" that any homeowner could have if they were willing to live in a middle class neighborhood that was predominately African American and the extra land that they can have in a county with more land available for development.[64] For those that want to maximize land, Prince George's is a better option.

Age of home may play a role in explaining the difference as well. Figure 13 showed that a concentration of the new housing in Prince George's was located outside of the beltway. The chart below summarizes the age of homes and length of residence for respondents.

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[63] The assessed values come from the state's Department of Assessment and Taxation, and all properties in the state are reassessed every three years on a rotating cycle. As such, assessments may not be accurate measures of a property's market value, but represent the best available and comparable estimate of value. The Glenn Dale home discussed above was purchased for $355,000 by its owner in 2000, and he estimated its current value at approximately $720,000.

[64] One may also question the difference in property taxes between the two counties. However, due to the difference in the tax rate, their yearly taxes are only $40 apart, despite the great difference in value of home. This difference enables respondents in both counties to feel that their taxes are too high, as both households are paying the same amount. In this income band and in others, the pattern remains constant – the Prince Georgian saves on the cost of housing but pay similar taxes. This group demonstrates that Prince Georgians did not prefer their neighborhoods due to tax savings.

County/Area	Number of Respondents	Mean Years at address	Move-ins since 1/1/2000	Mean Age of Home	Homes Built since 1/1/2000
Outer Beltway – Prince George's	35	6.2	74%	13.2	31%
Inner Beltway – Prince George's	3	12.3	33%	36.0	0%
Montgomery – Silver Spring	9	8.3	67%	33.2	11%
Montgomery – Other	3	3.0	100%	13.7	0%
Total	**50**	**6.78**	**72%**	**18.2**	**24%**

Table 14: Respondents' Length of Residence and Age of Home

Of the twelve respondents that lived in homes built since 2000, eleven lived in outer beltway Prince George's. Despite a respondent recruitment process that looked for a wide range of lengths of residence in outer beltway Prince George's, this area still had most of the homes built in this decade. It is clear that the outer beltway Prince George's respondents are more recent movers to newer homes than in the Silver Spring area, but given the small size of those in other parts of Montgomery, it is uncertain where the "newness advantage" lies, but it is possible that the desire for new homes plays a role in which county residents choose. This helps to clarify the answer to the main hypothesis: *those with a dominating preference for large lot sizes, new houses, or more undeveloped land may choose Prince George's not for the racial/cultural amenities and comfort, but for those factors instead* – these are the people in Group 3.

In many of the interviews, respondents were asked if they would have moved to a different county if they had found an equivalent home within their price range. When asked of Prince George's residents, this question was a test of whether or not they would

prefer to move to Montgomery County (or somewhere else), but the value of their home in Prince George's compelled them to stay there. In that group of Prince Georgians making between $90,001 and $105,000 per year, each was asked the question, and the responses were as follows:

Bowie:	This place was ideal
Fort Washington:	Fort Washington: No
Glenn Dale:	No - Happy in Prince George's
Largo 1:	Montgomery, if prices were the same
Largo 2:	Considered Virginia, but taxes were too high, Waldorf[65]

This is an example of the range of responses to this question – while some would have moved to a majority white county if they could afford it, others were firm about wanting to live in a majority African American county above all else. In this income group (and others) Prince Georgians are split between those who purposely chose a majority African American community and those who chose based on the best mix of the general amenities(including price). Residents who find Prince George's to be "ideal" have a strong enough preference for racial/cultural amenities and comfort that their neighborhood location is a foregone conclusion. The woman who lived in Glenn Dale's complete answer about other counties was this:

> No. I'm happy in Prince George's. A lot of people talk about Montgomery County but to me it's too crowded, it's too congested. Prince George's … is building. We might get there. I think Montgomery County is too congested. Anne Arundel, to me, is too far out in terms of distance. Frederick and all the other counties, I don't think I'd be comfortable there because I feel like I'd be in an environment where it's predominantly white, and I wouldn't want that.

She wanted to be in Prince George's despite some of the shortcomings that she (a self-described "city girl" from Brooklyn) did not find in her suburban home. She felt that the

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[65] Waldorf is in neighboring Charles County

county was evolving, and she did not want to be in a majority white county. Later, in the discussion of racial/cultural amenities and comfort, those that had a firm preference for Prince George's mix (regardless of cost) will be discussed.

In summary, land costs less in Prince George's, and Prince Georgians consume more land than those in Montgomery. However, paying less for housing is not always viewed as an advantage, and many Prince Georgians choose their neighborhoods for other reasons. The difference in price does not fully explain why so many African Americans prefer Prince George's, but differences in individual preferences explain the difference between those in Group 1 and those in Group 3.

Schools

The school system in Prince George's County has its challenges relative to Montgomery County. Graduation rates are one measure of a school system's success, and a 2007 *Education Week* study looked at graduation rates of large school districts. The high school graduation rate in Prince George's was 66.9%, and the rate in Montgomery County was 80.3% in 2003-4 (the most recent year available).[66] Respondents' understanding of the school system's reputation was clear, and these data supported perceptions – 48 out of 50 respondents (96%) voluntarily associated relatively poor schools with majority African American Prince George's at some point in their interview. Nonetheless, the importance of "good public schools" differed by geographic area. Most strikingly, the five respondents who were neutral (14%) towards good public schools all

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[66] Education Week's study is online at
http://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/2007/06/12/40gradprofiles.h26.html (accessed 2/29/08)

lived in outer beltway Prince George's. In other areas, all respondents agreed that good public schools are either important or necessary in any neighborhood to consider. This means that those who find good public schools (a general amenity) to be of relatively low importance choose Prince George's. As public schools in majority African American areas are often thought to be of lower quality than those in majority white areas, a relatively low preference for this amenity makes the majority African American area more preferable to them than it would be to others – they are not bothered by the lack of that general amenity.

Background information about these respondents informs an understanding of key differences. The five who were neutral towards the importance of public schools had telling personal characteristics: they were either single with no children, had already enrolled their children into private schools, or were retired without school-aged children. However, other persons with similar characteristics also considered good public schools to be positive or necessary. There is a split in Prince George's between those who are passionate about improving the public school system and its reputation and those who have accepted the current state of the public schools and are comfortable with their situation. Those in the latter group may or may not support change. The data do not allow extrapolation to the general population, but the growing population in the outer suburbs makes this an integral issue for future research.

This may be an insight into the future of the local politics of public school improvement: the area draws people who are willing to move to an area with comparatively poor public

schools, and as the new outer-beltway neighborhoods grow and develop, there are likely to be more and more residents with similar views. This leaves some question as to whether the new residents will demand improvements to the school system with the same fervor as longtime, frustrated residents. In Prince George's, household incomes are lower in the areas inside the beltway, so class issues are tied into geography. Elementary schools are neighborhood schools, so many in the middle class neighborhoods can feel comfortable that the children are attending schools with students from households like their own; however, high schools are regional and draw youth from multiple communities. This results in children from wealthier neighborhoods being placed with those from less affluent neighborhoods. This also means that class division issues within the African American population are an additional dynamic that could come into play. J.F., the 36 year-old homeowner in Upper Marlboro who works with the school system, described the situation this way:

> I think that with the county as a whole that there's some real disparity there. You've got these enclaves in Upper Marlboro and Fort Washington and Bowie and Clinton where you have middle class to very affluent African Americans, and they tend to sort of be in their own kind of closed communities. They are building a lot of planned communities, and then you also have working class African Americans. And I think that there is a very big class distinction in Prince George's County, and I think that's also reflected in the school system where you have, I think, the elementary schools have a good reputation, but by the time you get to middle school and high school, a lot of the more educated or affluent parents pull their kids out, put them in other schools, put them in private schools rather than give back necessarily to the school system and to the community that way.

The class issue also came up in comments such as this one from a 61 year-old grandmother, when she asked whether she thought that there was enough affordable housing in the county: "Yes. I think there's too much. I think there's been a lot of

spillover from D.C. and that has impacted the quality of the schools in Prince George's County and the communities."

The feelings of many residents in majority white Montgomery County are reflected in the words of a fifty year-old mother with a child in the Montgomery County public school system when she was asked if she would consider Prince George's County:

> But we have been in Silver Spring for 10 years at this point. And we really like the schools here, and we were hearing all [of] the negative [comments] about the schools in PG County, so we never even considered moving to PG County.

The general consensus is that schools in Prince George's are challenged and have a worse reputation than Montgomery County, particularly the high schools. The homeowners that move into the county are aware of the perception, and many make their move into the county prepared to deal with it. An unknown number of these new residents have little stake in improving the schools and may not push for change due to their satisfaction with or unwillingness to push for change of the status quo. Current lack of passion or political will towards improving the school system among new homeowners in the county could mean that there is a growing proportion of county residents with little stake in the school system. The quality of schools is not uniform between the two counties, but it may not be as strong a disincentive as it seemingly appears.

Shopping

Shopping, broadly defined, is another area of difference between the two counties. Montgomery County has several large commercial districts and many upscale retailers

and restaurants, while Prince George's has fewer. Large retailers such as Nordstrom, niche retailers such as the Apple Store, and upscale grocers such as Whole Foods Market often have Montgomery County locations, but none in Prince George's. Rockville, Bethesda, and Silver Spring have many of these retailers, so Montgomery residents do not need to leave the county for diverse retail options. Their neighbors in Prince George's County have traditionally had to travel to Montgomery County or to the cities of Annapolis or Waldorf in surrounding counties to find the retailers that their home county lacks. In recent years, more shopping centers have been built and shopping options expanded, but residents are clearly cognizant of a "retail gap" that exists.

These gaps exist in numerous shopping categories ranging from basic necessities to upscale options. Better grocery shopping was a particular concern in the older neighborhoods, but new communities had deficiencies in choice and quality as well. Solidly middle to high income, majority black communities exist in eastern Prince George's, (southern Bowie, Mitchellville, and Woodmore) but residents in these areas often traveled twenty or more miles to shopping areas outside the county to find upscale shopping. Respondents were surveyed about the importance of upscale shopping, and 37 of 49 (76%) found this to be either a positive factor in their housing decision or necessary in anywhere that they would consider living. Ten respondents, or all but two others, were neutral towards upscale shopping. The two who viewed it negatively were Montgomery County residents who lived relatively close to upscale retail areas and viewed this negatively, most likely due to the traffic it caused. One 46 year-old male Bowie resident described the 1990s as follows:

> I mean Bowie Town Center [an outdoor shopping mall] was coming, but at the time people in Mitchellville and like, Woodmore, they were sobbing and moaning because they were like, we have these houses and there are hardly any places for shops, no shopping, no restaurants and this and that.

C.C., a 55 year-old legislative analyst, exemplified those whose tastes were not fully met. She lived in Treeview Estates, an all-black enclave of upper middle class $700,000 and $800,000 homes in far southern Prince George's at the edge of the community of Accokeek.

> If I could make changes, they would have a nicer selection of department stores and nicer shopping mall, high end shopping, they would have metro transit out here, they would do some expansion on the roads. Those are the things they need because it is growing. They are building so many new developments out here. They are going to need additional schools and recreational centers, you know places for the kids to play and hang out. Those are the things that I hope are in the works as they continue to build because they are building right behind us; they are building new homes.

Despite these issues, she and others in that community expressed overall satisfaction with their neighborhoods, and they moved to these neighborhoods without these features and amenities. Her complaints about things that were missing in the area may be directly related to the choice to live in a bedroom community that other residents chose for its "quiet" and "removed" nature. Those who preferred middle-class African American neighbors to shopping and other amenities often wanted all of the above, but as they could not find a neighborhood that was majority black, with middle class neighbors and every general amenity they would like, they chose based on the racial/cultural amenities that were more important.

Meanwhile, in the more dense community of Largo in the central part of the county, some residents chose this area for its more "urban" amenities. R.R., the 34 year-old single male in Largo, said:

> Well, the shopping, the ability to potentially walk to the post office, walk to the bank, walk to eateries, I found that appealing. Though [a] suburb, clearly, it does have some of the benefits of urban life as a result of the proximity to these services and amenities.

Even though he was a highly compensated federal employee, he was not concerned about the lack of upscale shopping nearby and patronized the local businesses, even though most seemed targeted to someone below his salary range (the shopping center across the street was anchored by a discount grocery store, a discount clothing store, a discount furniture store and several fast food restaurants. He was happy in his community and was willing to drive (or take the subway) to shopping, entertainment, and other recreation options when needed.

Prince George's residents have fewer shopping options than Montgomery residents, but they have proven a willingness to drive to the options when needed – this explains the preference ordering – some of those general amenities such as shopping and restaurants are of less importance because homeowners can simply drive to places where these things exist. Prince George's homeowners have shown a willingness to accept the current retail situation as a cost to living in their neighborhood and count on the other benefits and future prospects for more shopping to compensate for this fact.

Transportation

Respondents were surveyed about their preference for short commutes to work and convenience of transportation links – specifically to highways and the Metro. These were viewed positively by most respondents; as 41 of 49 respondents (84%) agreed that a short commute to work with either positive or necessary, and 40 of 50 respondents (80%) wanted to be close to transportation links. However, a minority found these to be negative characteristics of a neighborhood, and interview results help to clarify this perspective. In some cases, concerns over crime are perceived to be brought by Metro bus and rail links, and the road noise and traffic accompanying major commuter routes are issues. This idea is captured by J.F., who from her condominium home in Upper Marlboro expressed her concern about carjackings in her former inner-beltway community of Forestville:

> So being a single woman, I wanted to relocate where I could continue to stay in a predominantly Black neighborhood but to move into an area where there was a lower crime rate and was still accessible to D.C. And Forestville was probably a little bit more urban. There was a little bit more traffic and a little more congestion, so I chose a predominantly Black neighborhood that would be more suburban. So, again, it was accessible to the city, but it wasn't as congested, and it was considerably more quiet.

For homeowners that share her concerns, being removed from the traffic and crime of more urban areas is a positive attribute of the quiet suburban neighborhood.

This was very different than the majority of respondents who found distance and inconvenient transportation options to be negative. Most respondents want to be close to work and the highways and trains that can take them there. For the minority, it seems the "home as castle" mentality is influencing the opinions; for them, major transportation

links bring traffic, noise, pollution and crime, and they are happy with their homes that are relatively removed from the action of areas that are more convenient. There is a clear difference between the two groups. For Group 1 residents such as J.F., transportation was important, but not as important as being in a middle class neighborhood with racial/cultural amenities.

"Good Neighbors"

The definition of a "good" neighbor is very individual, and perceptions of what that meant varied greatly. Respondents were asked in the interviews what kind of neighbor would make an ideal neighbor. While neighbors that maintain their property were generally viewed favorably, the preferred personality for a neighbor differed greatly. Some respondents preferred neighbors that kept to themselves, but other neighbors preferred neighbors that they can become good friends with, have joint parties, or share child-watching duties. There seemed to be no consensus on what qualities, other than the maintenance of property to (at least) the neighborhood standard, were desirable. Respondents that had children did generally prefer that their neighbors had children for them to play with.

The respondents in Fort Washington demonstrate the general range of responses:

1	Look out for each other, willing to work together as a group.
2	Neighbors that would look out, take care of property, be quiet.
3	Friendly, mind their business, helpful, respectful of property, professionals.
4	Speak, keep property up, well-mannered children, community minded.

Some wanted neighbors to partner together and others wanted them to keep to themselves. This difference seemed to be based on individual personality more than location, income, or other factors.

Respondents were asked how they would feel about neighbors of various income levels in their next neighborhood. They were asked separately about potential neighbors who were at the same income level, above their income level, and below their income level. The table below displays the respondents' answers in each category:

Preference for neighbors at the same income level as yourself	Outer Beltway Prince Georges	Inner Beltway Prince George's	Montgomery - Silver Spring	Montgomery - Other	Grand Total	Row Percent
1 - Deal-breaker					**0**	**0%**
2 - Negative	2		1		**3**	**6%**
3 - Neutral	6	1	2		**9**	**18%**
4 - Positive	21	2	5	2	**30**	**60%**
5 - Necessary	6		1	1	**8**	**16%**
Grand Total	**35**	**3**	**9**	**3**	**50**	**100%**

Preference for neighbors at a higher income level than yourself	Outer Beltway Prince Georges	Inner Beltway Prince George's	Montgomery - Silver Spring	Montgomery - Other	Grand Total	Row Percent
1 - Deal-breaker					**0**	**0%**
2 - Negative	3			1	**4**	**8%**
3 - Neutral	12	1	3	1	**17**	**34%**
4 - Positive	19	2	6		**27**	**54%**
5 - Necessary	1			1	**2**	**4%**
Grand Total	**35**	**3**	**9**	**3**	**50**	**100%**

Preference for neighbors at a lower income level than yourself	Outer Beltway Prince Georges	Inner Beltway Prince George's	Montgomery - Silver Spring	Montgomery - Other	Grand Total	Row Percent
1 - Deal-breaker	3				**3**	**6%**
2 - Negative	12		3		**15**	**30%**
3 - Neutral	19	3	4	2	**28**	**56%**
4 - Positive	1		2	1	**4**	**8%**
5 - Necessary					**0**	**0%**
Grand Total	**35**	**3**	**9**	**3**	**50**	**100%**

Table 15: Respondents' preferences for neighbors of various income levels

When asked, 38 of 50 (76%) of respondents said that neighbors at their level were a positive or necessary part of their new neighborhood. This was consistent in each area; 75% of Montgomery County residents and 76% of Prince George's County residents responded in this matter.

Neighbors with incomes above the respondents' level were generally viewed favorably as well. Across all areas, 27 of 50 respondents (54%) agreed that neighbors above their income level were a positive factor. The fact that income above one's own is less favorable than neighbors with near equivalent income may seem surprising at first, but class consciousness works in multiple directions; those who do not want to be the poorest person in the neighborhood did not find this favorable. Those who have recently attained middle class status or feel that they have a tenuous grip on this status may feel inferior to those who have more stable incomes and/or social standing, and would not pay a premium to live in a neighborhood with them.

Neighbors below the respondents' income level were seen differently. The majority of respondents (28/50) were neutral towards this group, but the other opinions split along geographic lines. Three outer beltway Prince George's residents agreed that it would be a deal breaker to have neighbors at or below their income level in their neighborhood, and twelve more viewed this as negative. Only one other outer beltway Prince Georgian described neighbors below their income level as a positive factor. All three Prince Georgians inside the beltway were neutral towards neighbors below their income level. In Montgomery County, three of the nine residents in the Silver Spring portion of the county viewed neighbors below their income level as negative, while two respondents found these neighbors to be a positive factor. In the western portion of Montgomery County, one resident viewed neighbors below their income level as positive and the other two were neutral. The desirability of these neighbors varied, but notably, those middle class residents who lived in areas with more income diversity (inner beltway Prince

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George's and Silver Spring in Montgomery) are more positive towards to those with lower incomes.

Several effects from the interviews reveal themselves in these answers. Neighbors below one's income levels can be seen as potential trouble; these neighbors may be less able to afford their homes, more likely to not keep up their property, be noisier than other neighbors, or even bring a higher threat of crime to the neighborhood. Also playing a factor were the many varied experiences, some more positive and some more negative, that respondents have had with those below their income level. Those in many areas live near those with lower income levels. Those in the western half of Montgomery County and in Prince George's communities such as Accokeek and Woodmore, live in areas removed from what would generally be considered "low income" and these persons seemed split between protecting the status of their neighborhoods and feeling that economic diversity is perhaps good and may be necessary in their areas. During the interviews, several respondents were asked an open-ended question about their opinion of programs that would place lower income persons in their neighborhoods. While there was some concern about the preservation of property values, all of the respondents who were asked this question reacted favorably to the idea. Many respondents did further specify that these persons entering into their neighborhoods should make sure to "fit in" by taking care of their property and matching the cultural norms of their neighborhoods.[67]

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[67] Those that were familiar with the federal Housing Choice Voucher (formerly Section 8) program expressed concerns about the effectiveness of that program, particularly the upkeep of homes by those that were paying lower rents than everyone else – not dissimilar from some of the concerns about what happened in Lake Pointe when many early residents did not pay full price for their homes, and community problems escalated.

At the same time, there were respondents who professed a desire for diversity that was focused not necessarily on racial diversity per se, but diversity that included economic diversity (these persons were usually separate from those that indicated that they were primarily concerned with status). A good example of this comes from T.T., a 31 year old single woman in Germantown, Montgomery County, who defined diversity as mixed race, mixed incomes, and mixed family structures. She said the value of mixing all of these things was that "it adds value to life and gives people different perspective and broadens our thoughts and experiences." For some, the advantageous neighborhood is one with the status that comes from the exclusivity of the neighborhood – this is another racial/cultural amenity for those in Group 1, while many in Group 2 claim that advantage in their majority white communities. Status consciousness does not depend on the racial mix of one's neighbors, and so is not a good predictor of residential location.

Results from these surveys show that respondents reacted favorably to these "general preference" attributes with only few exceptions. The findings from the survey and interview analysis show that value/price of land is an important consideration to many, but it is often not the predominant reason for making their housing decision, particularly for those in Group 1. Shopping and transportation links are generally of importance as well, but the benefits of having these nearby are mitigated by the hassle created by heavy traffic. Good public schools are thought of as a benefit, but many of those who choose to move to areas with questionable public schools self-select to those areas; school quality is not of pressing importance to them for one of a variety of reasons. Each individual's set of preferences is different, and as example, a woman who does not like to shop, prefers to

send her child to a religious school and hates heavy traffic may pick Prince George's if she finds the right house. Together, these findings paint a picture of the complex set of preferences that each person has, and how they combine in different ways. Some people make a decision for Prince George's on the basis of general amenities – just the ones that are personally relevant. On the other hand, general amenities can be a powerful motivator to move to Montgomery. Preferences for general amenities vary on an individual basis, and each individual gives them a different amount of weight. This helps to explain the general difference between those in Groups 1 and 3 – those in Group 1 select Prince George's because their preference set includes a preference for African Americans and related racial/cultural amenities that is strong enough to tip their decision-making, while someone in Group 3 could choose Prince George's based on the general amenities that exist there, with relatively little regard for racial/cultural amenities and comfort.

Preferences for Racial/Cultural Amenities and Comfort

The results of the surveys and interviews support the contention that preferences for racial/cultural amenities do exist. Generally, they fall into the categories of churches, ethnic retail, sense of community, integration, and political incorporation. These factors had an effect on the group of respondents who preferred majority African American neighborhoods, but those who lived in majority white neighborhoods did not always differ in their perceptions of the importance of these factors.

Political Incorporation

In the interviews, respondents generally favored majority black leadership, but only 11 respondents (22%) including ten (29%) in outer beltway Prince George's[68] mentioned that the amount of local elected black leadership affected their decision to move to the area where they presently live. Voters in Prince George's County elected their first African American county executive in 1994, and after his two terms, they elected another African American county executive to two terms in office. In 2006, Montgomery County voters elected their first black county executive who remained in office at the time of the interviews. One of those who moved in part because of black leadership was a Silver Spring homeowner who was not a fan of the current county executive in Montgomery. Currently, both counties have African American leadership. Many county council-members and state legislators from Prince George's are African American, including the U.S. Representative for the central part of the county. This allows all voters in the area an up close and personal view of black elected leadership, even those that came to the area before such leadership was in place. K.G., a 47-year old mother who raised three sons in Prince George's, explained the positives noting that "they are role models for my sons," while A.W., a single, politically active Boston native, lamented the fact that even though she made her move to her Prince George's home in Bowie in part because of African American leadership, it "was only an initial utopia" and she was disappointed in what she found when she got there.

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[68] This figure includes two respondents who said it was "a positive" or "it was a plus." All other respondents indicated that there was no effect.

In many cases, this leadership may not live up to the expectations or the hopes of these kinds of voters. Several political leaders were not well liked by this sample of voters. Particularly dissatisfying to respondents was the current County Executive of Prince George's County, a former state's attorney who enjoys great popularity amongst the inner Beltway population and church congregations. During data collection in the fall of 2006, he survived a rare primary challenge for reelection for a position that incumbents have traditionally won with little or no opposition. This may demonstrate a political disconnect between lower income African Americans in Prince George's County and some of the more affluent African Americans who were the focus of this study. Experience for these African American leaders may not be as beneficial as it might seem – dissatisfaction with their particular African American leaders may lead these voters to have less affinity for such leaders in the future. Several respondents noted the difference between African American leaders and leaders that were sensitive to the needs of African Americans, due to differences in the wording of the survey questions and the interview questions on the matter. Though no clear consensus arose on the importance of elected leaders in the interviews, survey findings showed that most were in favor of leadership palatably sensitive of the needs and concerns of African American constituents, independent of race.

The survey specifically investigated the importance of elected leaders. The question asked respondents to measure the importance of having elected leaders that are sensitive to the needs of African Americans. Responses were overwhelmingly in favor of "sensitive leaders" with 43 of the total respondents indicating the importance. Thirty

respondents (60%) agreed that this would improve their opinion of a place, and 13 respondents (26%) said that this was necessary in any place where they would live. However, the interview results mentioned earlier meant that most did not use this information to impact their homebuying decision.[69]

Ethnic Economy

Respondents were asked about the importance of ethnic shopping, specifically black-owned businesses, and separately about the availability of black-oriented products. This definition of "black-oriented" included any product for which African Americans may have distinct tastes, preferences, or needs as compared to other consumers. This specifically included hair care products, books, movies, and food. While respondents were consistently favorable towards availability of the products, there was less support of black-owned businesses. Overall, 34 out of 50 respondents (68%) said that they either felt positively towards proximity to black-oriented products or that they were necessary for them to consider a neighborhood. There was no decline in favorability when considering those in the majority white county, as ten out of twelve in Montgomery County (83%) fell into that category and 24 out of 38 in Prince George's (63%) did; this may demonstrate that those who do not live in majority black areas have an appreciation for these things that are harder to find in their areas. Not surprisingly, all four respondents who stated that black-oriented products were necessary lived in Prince George's, where stores carrying these products are close by.

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[69] This preference was similar across counties – 84% were favorable in Prince George's, and 92% were favorable in Montgomery. However, 28% of Prince Georgians thought that it was necessary, and 17% of Montgomery residents did so.

The support of elements of a local African American economy was also reflected in their opinions of black-owned businesses. Overall, 22 of 49 (45%) were neutral, while 26 of 49 (53%) saw these businesses as positive or necessary. The ratios in favor were similar in both counties, but the two respondents who saw these businesses as absolutely necessary lived in Prince George's. Together, these findings revealed that there was higher support for ethnic products that appealed to them as consumers, but lower support for a version of economic nationalism that would keep money circulating within the African American community.

Of note is that Montgomery residents and Prince George's residents did not vastly differ on these issues. Again, willingness to drive may make a large difference; this is demonstrated by Q.R., the 28 year old male Montgomery County resident who travels to Prince George's County regularly for haircuts at the black barbershop. The majority of respondents found black products preferable and a slight majority were positive in their feelings about black-owned businesses. The availability of these products and businesses is a benefit, but the amount of benefit varies greatly, and the distinction lessens when one is willing to drive to where these things are.

Religious Institutions

This research hypothesized that proximity to religious institutions would be important. Q.R. was also asked if living near his black church was crucial to him, and his reply was "Yes. Maybe not that one, but yes. If I'm that far away from a black church, then I'm too far away from the black community." His story of commuting to church reflects the

story of many in the study: Those that live near their church enjoy the proximity, but these middle class suburbanites all had cars (although some used public transit to get to work during the week). This combined with the relatively low traffic volume on Sundays enables all respondents to attend a church of their choosing, no matter where they lived. One exception to this was E.J., the daughter of a minister who moved to her neighborhood explicitly because of her church; she answered the question about the most important reason for moving to her neighborhood:

> The most important reason is [that] it helps that our church is right down the street. That played a big part. And we had a number of friends over here due to church. And just through, you know, from living in Clinton before, we had several friends that moved from Bowie, and that helped make the final decision.

For her, the connection to church was a neighborhood amenity that she did not want to be without. The church community was interwoven with her social network and combined her friends from church with those who moved from other communities to the Upper Marlboro area. Her attitude about having a religious institution in her neighborhood was the strongest. Other churchgoing respondents shared her idea of the benefits of church home in the area, but it was not seen as necessary.

Other churchgoers who have moved within the area are willing to freely travel to their church of choice. They discussed that it is important to have a church home within driving distance but not necessarily in their neighborhoods. In aggregate, relative proximity to one's church seems to play a small role in the home buying process. It is not clear what effect living near church members or those of similar faith have on neighborhood desirability.

Sense of Community

Businesses and politicians are not the only way in which racial/cultural amenities can reveal themselves; this research also hypothesizes that "sense of community" is also important to many. "Sense of community" in this context means all things that are seen as the direct benefit of being part of an African American community at the neighborhood level: role models for children, adults to socialize with, people that share the same worldview, etc. J.F., the single woman who grew up in a white neighborhood and moved to Upper Marlboro to help embrace "my identity" was an example of this, as was the woman in Upper Marlboro who "doesn't get the warm fuzzies from Montgomery County" and prefers to live in a black neighborhood in Upper Marlboro, even though she lives and works in Rockville.

The importance of role models was a repeated theme in their interviews. C.M., a recently married attorney that was moving into Woodmore, had the following exchange when asked if he saw advantages to living in a majority black neighborhood:

> *Interviewer: Now, in your mind in general, are there advantages to living in a majority black neighborhood?*
> C.M.: Yes, I do. I think the role models, I think images, positive images, the opportunities to get involved, to be active and make a contribution are just heightened in a majority black area more so than a majority white area.
>
> *Interviewer: And all those things are important to you? You think that you see the benefit to your well-being --*
> C.M.: Yes.
>
> *Interviewer: -- or your children's future?*
> C.M.: Lifestyle, my children's future.

This respondent was not yet 30 years old, and this rationale was a major reason for his choice of neighborhood. He was so excited about the idea of Prince George's that he spent months convincing his reluctant wife that it would be the best move for them and their future children.

A.M. (the 30 year old single female in a Fort Washington condominium) could best be described as moderate to indifferent in terms of her desire to live with African Americans, given that she would have lived in a majority white county of Arlington, Virginia if she could have afforded property there. She had the following exchange about the advantages of Prince George's:

> *Interviewer: Are there any advantages to living in Prince Georges?*
> A.M.: Yeah. You have, if you reach out, you have many people tied to the community. When I first moved here in 2000, my friends had relatives in Fort Washington already, and they showed me the area. They had beautiful homes, and they loved their neighbors. They had been there for 25 years, they had their church for 20 years, so there was more of a community and not being as transient for people of color. I think that most people of color in Montgomery are new because they don't know the area as opposed to people in Fort Washington, PG for years…
>
> *Interviewer: So the fact of established people of color there…?*
> A.M.: Gives you role models. And it gives you an idea that if you want to stay here, get married and have children you can stay in this community. You can take ownership of the community and make it better. Our areas have stayed nice. The other point is I like Virginia, so for me, living in Fort Washington makes my commute to Virginia very easy - just across the bridge, 15 minutes, I am in DC, Montgomery is further away from Virginia where I like to go to.
>
> *Interviewer: So if you could afford to live anywhere would you live in Virginia?*
> A.M.: Yeah. I would live in Arlington.
>
> *Interviewer: If you could be anywhere you would be in Arlington?*
> A.M.: Yeah.

> *Interviewer: Getting back to role model, community thing for a second, this community brings you something?*
> A.M.: A sense of pride.

She lives in the area for convenience and cost but would prefer to live in a majority white area. Nonetheless, she spoke of her sense of pride, accessible role models, and sense of community in Prince George's as an advantage.

This understanding of the advantages of majority African American neighborhoods is not foreign to those who live in majority white neighborhoods. As example, L.S., a 33 year-old psychologist in Gaithersburg who had never lived in a majority African American area, said the following when she was asked if there were advantages to living in majority black areas:

> Potentially. There are people that look like you and probably share some of your interests, might share some cultural things or aspects of life that you had growing up. Let's see, because they look like you they might also be more friendly towards you. You might be able to develop bonds with them on a different level, more than just a hello, superficial hello neighborly kind of thing. You might actually be able to develop true friendships. Those are things. Count on them, and then if we think about there are other people that look like you that are doing things like you -- I don't have kids, but if I did have kids, then it would be nice for them to be able to see, for instance, oh, so-and-so is an attorney, or so-and-so is a firefighter, or so-and-so does this or does that job and have other kinds of role models to see that there are options for what kinds of things people can do with their lives and what kinds of things they can have because still -- I still want the same kind of neighborhood characteristics if I lived in a Black neighborhood. So I'd want to be in a Black affluent neighborhood and want my children to be able to see that as well.

She had never lived in a majority African American neighborhood, but she mentioned the same advantages that many of the Prince George's residents did. Together, these three respondents (the avidly pro-Prince George's homeowner, the homeowner who chose

Prince George's based on cost and the homeowner who only considered Montgomery county when home shopping) represent the range of positions on choosing a majority African American community for themselves. Despite their different feeling and choices, they all understand Prince George's as having potential "sense of community" benefits to themselves and their children. This sense of community is the "comfort" part of "racial/cultural amenities and comfort" and is a key element in the decision-making calculus of those who make a purposeful choice of a majority black neighborhood.

Integration

Preferences for integration are varied but relevant. Several who grew up in majority black neighborhoods mentioned that they were just used to living in majority black neighborhoods and did not really consider living elsewhere. Others grew up in majority white areas but now want to experience the black middle class for the first time. Still others find diversity within the black population and are satisfied. Still others had chosen to integrate majority white neighborhoods. One thing was clear: there was no consensus on defining or pursuing diversity, and there was not consensus on a preference for integration. These preferences were wide and varied.

In order to examine their preferences for integration, respondents were asked whether they preferred a racially integrated neighborhood, assuming a safe neighborhood with comparable schools and housing prices to where they lived. This question was designed to find preferences for integration while removing the two big drivers of variations in

school quality and cost from the equation. There was a clear difference between respondents in the various geographic areas.

Assuming a safe neighborhood with comparable schools and housing prices to those where I currently live, I would prefer to live in a more racially integrated neighborhood.						
	Outer Prince George's	Inner Prince George's	Montgomery - Silver Spring	Montgomery – Other	Grand Total	Percent
1 – Strongly Agree	8	2	2		**12**	24%
2 – Agree	14	1	5	3	**23**	46%
3 – Neutral	6		1		**7**	14%
4 – Disagree	5		1		**6**	12%
5 – Strongly Disagree	2				**2**	4%
Grand Total	**35**	**3**	**9**	**3**	**50**	**100%**

Table 16: Frequency count of preference for integrated neighborhoods

Of the eight respondents who disagreed or disagreed strongly with the statement, signaling their distaste for more racially integrated neighborhoods, seven resided in outer beltway Prince George's County. The majority of residents in this area still preferred integrated neighborhoods with 22 of 35 respondents (63%) agreeing or strongly agreeing with the statement and signifying a preference for a racially integrated neighborhood. Of the twelve respondents in Montgomery County, ten were pro-integration and agreed or strongly agreed with the statement (83%), one disagreed and one was neutral. All three respondents who lived in inner Beltway Prince George's County agreed or strongly agreed with the statement.

In answering this question, respondents show evidence of the differences within the population of suburban African Americans. This is perhaps to be expected if the

different neighborhoods are attracting people with different sets of preferences. Those in inner beltway Prince George's County lived in lower income, predominately African American neighborhoods, and their communities were not the most desirable in the region. They might prefer "integrated" neighborhoods due to the perceived benefits that those neighborhoods have over their present neighborhoods – all three noted that their neighborhoods had issues with noise, crime, or poor upkeep of the neighborhood.

People who move into a neighborhood where those of their race are not in the majority are helping to integrate that neighborhood, and it is likely that that they would have a strong preference for "more integrated neighborhoods." Those in Montgomery County live in a majority white area, and their move to majority white neighborhoods has brought them more personal benefits; however, their responses indicate that they were favorable towards majority African American neighborhoods. Those in the wealthier, predominately African American suburbs in outer Prince George's were less likely to favor "more racially integrated neighborhoods" than others were – they had already chosen to live in desirable neighborhoods that were majority African American. In this way, preferences for integration appear to generally match up with residential location.

Respondents were also asked whether or not they thought that there were substantial advantages to living in a predominantly black community. This too showed marked differences between the different areas. While equal numbers agreed and disagreed with the statement (twelve agreed or agreed strongly, twelve disagreed or disagreed strongly,

and of the rest were neutral) answers vary distinctly for each geographic subgroup. The chart below displays their answers.

	Outer Prince George's	Inner Prince George's	Montgomery - Silver Spring	Montgomery – Other	Grand Total
1 – Strongly Agree	5				**5**
2 – Agree	6		1		**7**
3 – Neutral	15	3	6	2	**26**
4 – Disagree	7		2	1	**10**
5 – Strongly Disagree	2				**2**
Grand Total	**35**	**3**	**9**	**3**	**50**

The table is titled: *There are substantial advantages to living in a predominantly black community.*

Table 17: Frequency count of belief in advantages of African American Neighborhoods

All but one of those who agreed lived in outer beltway Prince George's County, but so did nine of 12 who disagreed. The modal answer in all areas was neutral, and this could be explained by the balance (or perception of balance) between the positive and negative characteristics of a majority black neighborhood for many (e.g. a man who enjoys having ideal role models in his Prince George's neighborhood but is disappointed by the struggling school system may be neutral overall), or simple indifference. Outer beltway Prince George's County residents had stronger opinions on this question than did those in other areas, presumably because this area was more ideal for some than for others. The interviews revealed that some residents in this area strongly believed in creating a black middle class community – that moving to the area made them feel like they were part of a movement, and a demonstration of African American economic and political success, while others were equally as strong in their assertions that they did not know the race of their neighbors when they moved into their neighborhoods.

One of those who strongly believed in creating that community was T.S., the special education teacher who lived in both counties but is very proud to live in an African American, professional area. She also takes offense when the county is slighted:

> Well, you know, just look at the news. It's a big point. I've always said I'm going to write them. Everything is P.G. County, murder, murder, murder, murder. But you know, when I lived over here [in Montgomery County], we had our car broken into, we never had it broken into in P.G. County – that's funny, and, I mean, I mean sure enough, my husband's car was dented in, like his door and everything, but, you know, and then like, the schools, you know [indiscernible], I used to work in P.G. County schools, and they come over here, I was like, I don't even understand why these kids are passing, and our kids didn't pass some of these tests – it made me think, I just think it's bogus. I do, I just think something is going on, and people do, they just, they look at P.G. County, they know there's some nice places [indiscernible] even my co-workers will say, "Oh, but I know in the area where you live, it's not like that," because they know that I live in a good neighborhood, is really the way they're saying it.

She also stated that she was comfortable being described as a woman who greatly values her middle class majority black neighborhood and living with middle class African Americans – that's why she chose Prince George's.

Her opposite was R.J. – the graduate of historically black Howard University from rural Georgia who bought a home and large property in Prince George's but claimed that race is unimportant. When asked about his knowledge of the racial makeup of his neighborhood, the following exchange occurred:

> *Interviewer: So did you know anything about the racial makeup when you...*
> R.J.: I did not care.
>
> *Interviewer: Did not care?*
> R.J.: No. Never an issue.

Interviewer: Okay.
R.J.: No place I have ever lived that I cared about who -- what race the people were. I just cared about whether the neighborhood was safe. That was my major concern. And that the neighbors here are Caucasian but -- whatever. It is no big deal.

Interviewer: Okay. So the percentage here, what would you say the racial makeup of the neighborhood is?
R.J.: We have one -- two different race families in this neighborhood of 16 houses, so mostly 80 percent African American.

Interviewer: Okay. That has no bearing on any…
R.J.: It never had any bearing, at least where I wanted to live. I do not -- again, my issue as you probably -- the never-ending thing is safety, is a good environment. That is all I care about.

Although his background would lead one to believe that he may be in favor of Black neighborhoods, he was adamant in his assertion that he had no idea of the racial mix, nor did he care – he said that he moved into his new large home in a developing neighborhood purely because of physical attributes. This assertion was not entirely credible, given the amount of research he performed, as it seems unlikely that he had no clue of the county's general racial mix.   He refused to offer an ideal racial mix when it was requested and was neutral on whether or not there were advantages to a majority black community. He represents those that say that they are post-race and only live in majority black areas because they consider a wide range of possible neighborhoods, and that one just happened to meet the most criteria. It is unclear how many in the general population fall into each camp, but it is clear that there are different positions on the issue.

Overall, while a majority prefers more integrated neighborhoods, respondents are split on whether a predominately African American community provides them with net benefits. This is perhaps the clearest indication of the differences in opinion within the African American middle class. Most (but certainly not all) believe that racial integration is a positive thing, and respondents are split down the middle about whether predominately African American communities provide benefits. There are substantial numbers of African Americans on both sides of the issue, and otherwise similar individuals disagreed on these issues.

Racial Mix

Respondents were surveyed about the favorability of various racial distributions in neighborhoods, and the first six of those focused on different ratios of blacks to whites in a neighborhood, while the seventh focused on the presence of Latino neighbors. A table displaying these preferences by geographic location of respondent is below.

An all-white neighborhood with no Black neighbors	Outer Prince George's	Inner Prince George's	Montgomery - Silver Spring	Montgomery - Other	Grand Total	Percent
1 - Deal Breaker	15	1	5	1	**22**	44%
2 – Negative	14	2	3	2	**21**	42%
3 – Neutral	6		1		**7**	14%
4 – Positive					**0**	0%
5 - Necessary					**0**	0%
Grand Total	**35**	**3**	**9**	**3**	**50**	

A majority white neighborhood, but one with several Black neighbors	Outer Prince George's	Inner Prince George's	Montgomery - Silver Spring	Montgomery - Other	Grand Total	Percent
1 - Deal Breaker	3				**3**	6%
2 – Negative	9		5		**14**	28%
3 – Neutral	14	1	2	3	**20**	40%
4 – Positive	7	2	2		**11**	22%
5 - Necessary	2				**2**	4%
Grand Total	**35**	**3**	**9**	**3**	**50**	

A racially mixed, 50/50 neighborhood	Outer Prince George's	Inner Prince George's	Montgomery - Silver Spring	Montgomery - Other	Grand Total	Percent
1 - Deal Breaker					**0**	0%
2 – Negative	2				**2**	4%
3 – Neutral	9	1	2		**12**	24%
4 – Positive	20	2	6	3	**31**	62%
5 - Necessary	4		1		**5**	10%
Grand Total	**35**	**3**	**9**	**3**	**50**	

A majority Black neighborhood with at least some white neighbors	Outer Prince George's	Inner Prince George's	Montgomery - Silver Spring	Montgomery - Other	Grand Total	Percent
1 - Deal Breaker			1		**1**	2%
2 – Negative	2	1	1		**4**	8%
3 – Neutral	17	2	3	3	**25**	50%
4 – Positive	13		4		**17**	34%
5 - Necessary	3				**3**	6%
Grand Total	**35**	**3**	**9**	**3**	**50**	

A nearly all-Black neighborhood with a few white neighbors	Outer Prince George's	Inner Prince George's	Montgomery - Silver Spring	Montgomery - Other	Grand Total	
1 - Deal Breaker	1		2		**3**	6%
2 – Negative	4	1	1	1	**7**	14%
3 – Neutral	17	2	2	2	**23**	46%
4 – Positive	12		3		**15**	30%
5 - Necessary	1				**1**	2%
No Answer			1		**1**	**2%**
Grand Total	**35**	**3**	**9**	**3**	**50**	

An all-Black neighborhood with no white neighbors	Outer Prince George's	Inner Prince George's	Montgomery - Silver Spring	Montgomery – Other	Grand Total	Percent
1 - Deal Breaker	5		3	1	**9**	18%
2 – Negative	11	2	3	1	**17**	34%
3 – Neutral	15	1	3	1	**20**	40%
4 – Positive	3				**3**	6%
5 - Necessary	1				**1**	2%
Grand Total	**35**	**3**	**9**	**3**	**50**	

The presence of Latino neighbors	Outer Prince George's	Inner Prince George's	Montgomery - Silver Spring	Montgomery – Other	Grand Total	Percent
1 - Deal Breaker					**0**	0%
2 – Negative	2		2		**4**	8%
3 – Neutral	28	2	4	1	**35**	70%
4 – Positive	5	1	3	1	**10**	20%
5 - Necessary				1	**1**	2%
Grand Total	**35**	**3**	**9**	**3**	**50**	

Table 18: Neighborhood Racial Preferences of Respondents

The all-white neighborhood where the respondent would be the only African American was particularly unfavorable; 43 out of 50 (86%) responded that this neighborhood was either a negative or a deal-breaker in moving to a neighborhood, while the remaining seven respondents were neutral. None of the respondents thought favorably about this type of neighborhood; not even those who had integrated a neighborhood in the past.

Respondents were then asked about living in a majority white neighborhood. Here, answers were more normally distributed, with those living in the majority white county

more favorable than those in the majority black one. Notably, five out of twelve Montgomery residents (42%) viewed a majority white neighborhood as a negative although this represented their present housing choice. One can conjecture that these residents chose their neighborhoods for other benefits of the area, even though they found the racial composition of Montgomery County less than ideal, and they may choose an area with a larger black population in the future.

R.C. was a software engineer from the New York area, and he was adding an addition to his home in Silver Spring at the time of the study. After he spent some time discussing the possible benefits of comfort in majority black neighborhoods and that he saw no advantage to living in a majority white neighborhood, he was asked why he then lived in a majority white neighborhood. His answer, in its entirety, was simply, "Home: castle. Once I am inside I don't know what is going on out there." For him, as for many others, he performed his calculation of costs and benefits. He saw a house that he liked with easy access to the Beltway thus requiring a shorter commute, so he bought it. He was aware of costs and benefits to his neighborhood as well as those in other neighboring counties, but he picked the home that met enough of his criteria and was in his price range. Although he was only 41, he never plans to leave his home. He had located his "castle" and shared that he and his wife can travel for anything that their neighborhood is missing. This idea of the home-as-castle mentality helps to explain why many respondents may be more willing to live in neighborhoods that are missing amenities of any kind.

The 50/50 neighborhood was most favorable overall. This mix was viewed favorably by 36 respondents (72%), and zero respondents chose this mix as a deal-breaker – this indicates that all of them would be willing to consider such a neighborhood. The positive view was shared by those living in newly developing majority black neighborhoods; over two-thirds (20/35) of outer-beltway Prince Georgians responded favorably to this mix. Even though this mix appeals to the widest range of respondents, there are very few neighborhoods that have it (Refer to the neighborhood typology map earlier). Even in this metropolitan area with a substantial proportion of middle class residents of various racial backgrounds, this neighborhood type proves elusive.

The next question asked about majority black neighborhoods. In outer-beltway Prince George's, only two respondents (6%) were negative towards majority black neighborhoods. Given the composition of their actual neighborhoods, this may be a reflection of their own neighborhood satisfaction. Similarly, very few Montgomery residents disliked majority black neighborhoods, with only 2 out of the 12 (17%) indicating responses that were not favorable. Only one respondent in the sample (a Montgomery County resident) said that a majority black neighborhood would be a "deal-breaker."

However, when the proposed neighborhood composition changed to an entirely all-black neighborhood, some strikingly different results occur. No one in Montgomery County viewed this positively, and only 4 out of 38 (11%) Prince Georgians did. It is important to note that "All black neighborhoods" are rare in reality – none of the ZIP codes under

study were above 90% African American. This option asked about a more African Americans than a typical "majority black" neighborhood or even a "nearly all-black" neighborhood, rather it specifically asked about a place with no one of any other race.

Despite census data showing otherwise, five respondents perceived and self-described themselves as living in 100% African American neighborhoods, all of which were in outer-beltway Prince George's. This perception is more likely when using a more limited definition of neighborhood – one's cul-de-sac or neighboring blocks, and here, a 100% African American neighborhood is more likely[70] Of these five respondents, three were neutral, one was positive, and one was negative towards all-black neighborhoods. The interviewee did not ask about specifically about all black neighborhood, so unfortunately, this information cannot be further explored. The three respondents who live in older, less affluent communities inside the beltway did not see all black neighborhoods as positive. It is likely they associated it with crime and related issues in their neighborhood or nearby neighborhoods that they all mentioned. Interestingly, their own situation may prevent them from fathoming the single race middle-class neighborhood that may be most advantageous to them. These single-race neighborhoods appeal most to those who both shun racial diversity and to those who already live near middle-class, single-race neighborhoods.

Preferences regarding the presence of Latino neighbors were measured as well. Here, a solid majority of 70% (35 of 50) of all respondents were neutral on this topic. It became

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[70] Respondents 20721-1, 20720-2, 20607-1, 20607-2, 20721-2 described their neighborhoods as 100% African-American. 20747-1 was 99.9% and 20716-3, 20772-5, and 20721-3 described their neighborhoods as 99% African-American

clear during discussions with respondents that this question was difficult to answer, and that their perceptions of Latino neighbors was shaped by either their belief in interracial diversity or their personal experience with Latinos in their neighborhoods. It is clear that the growing presence of Latino households in this region will require that a third racial group be added to future studies.

*Respondents who found racial mix "**necessary**" in their next neighborhood*	**Outer Prince George's**	**Inner Prince George's**	**Montgomery - Silver Spring**	**Montgomery - Other**	**Grand Total**
Majority/All White	1	0	0	0	**1**
50/50 or Majority/All White	1	0	0	0	**1**
50/50	2	0	1	0	**3**
50/50 or Majority/All Black	1	0	0	0	**1**
Majority/All Black	2	0	0	0	**2**

Respondents that marked multiple mixes as "necessary" are only represented once. If a respondent marked multiple mixes under a single category, answers were consolidated. Respondents that marked both 50/50 and a neighborhood that was majority one race are marked in the appropriate combination category.

Table 19: Necessary Racial Mixes

Organizing the results to concentrate on those with the strongest opinions helps to elucidate preference ordering. The above table shows the number of times that homeowner marked a specific racial composition as necessary for the respondent's next neighborhood. Only eight respondents overall (16%) felt strongly enough about their preferred racial mix that they marked it as necessary, and the strong opinions are, with one exception, solely in outer beltway Prince George's and these preferences were spread across the entire range. Most respondents were not firmly tied to a single racial mix in their next neighborhood.

On the other hand, respondents were clearer about what they did *not* want in their next neighborhood. The following table looks at "deal-breakers" – the racial compositions that would prevent a respondent from moving to a neighborhood. As respondents could have multiple deal-breaking compositions, each composition must be looked at individually. This chart gives an estimate of the undesirability of each type of neighborhoods.

Number of respondents who found specific racial mix a "deal-breaker"	Outer Prince George's	Inner Prince George's	Montgomery - Silver Spring	Montgomery - Other	Grand Total
All White neighborhood	15	1	5	1	**22**
Majority White neighborhood	3	0	0	0	**3**
50/50 neighborhood	0	0	0	0	**0**
Majority Black neighborhood	0	0	1	0	**1**
Nearly all Black neighborhood	1	0	2	0	**3**
All Black neighborhood	5	0	3	1	**9**

Table 20: Deal-Breaking Racial Compositions

No respondents found the evenly mixed, 50/50 neighborhood to be a deal-breaker, and this demonstrates this racial composition as the least objectionable – everyone was at least willing to consider a neighborhood of this mixture. All of the Prince George's residents and all but one of the Montgomery residents are willing to consider a majority black neighborhood, as a strong majority of respondents found that neighborhood to be unobjectionable as well.

All-white neighborhoods are a different story: many respondents were not willing to be pioneers in integrating majority white neighborhoods, including half of the respondents who already lived in majority white Montgomery County. Exposure to majority white

neighborhoods did not make these homeowners more willing to integrate an all-white neighborhood in the future – the Montgomery residents objected at a higher rate than the Prince George's residents (50% to 42%).   For this group of well educated, high income African Americans, perhaps the members of their racial group that are most likely to thrive as integrators, a sizable number (22 of 50 or 44%) would not consider moving to a neighborhood with no other African Americans. (On a separate question, respondents were asked about moving to a neighborhood where neighbors were of lower income than themselves, and only three respondents marked it as a deal-breaker, revealing that the prospect of integrating all-white neighborhoods of unspecified income levels is generally *more* objectionable than having lower-income neighbors.)

The survey data suggests some differences between those living in predominately black and predominately white neighborhoods: First, Montgomery homeowners have greater preference for racial integration while Prince George's homeowners see greater advantages in predominantly black communities and secondly, Montgomery homeowners are more favorable toward 50-50 neighborhoods while Prince George's homeowners are more favorable toward majority and nearly all-black neighborhoods.   The qualitative analysis concluded that homeowners in Groups 1 and 3 may both live in a majority African American neighborhood and differ greatly on the importance of those amenities, while those in Groups 1 and 2 typically live in different counties and differ on the importance of racial/cultural amenities in their neighborhoods and the comfort of having racially similar neighbors. Together, this data shows that there are key differences within

the population, but these differences are not always along geographic lines. At best, the supplementary hypothesis is partially upheld by this data.

Diversity

While most respondents professed an affinity for diversity within neighborhoods, a small minority of those actively chose neighborhoods that reflected this desire. For those that define diversity in the traditional, multicultural, multiracial sense, Prince George's does not have as many options for that kind of diversity. A.L. was a 32 year-old living in the new townhouse development of "Fairfield Commons" in the inner-Beltway community of District Heights, a place where townhouses that were less than a decade old were next door to apartment complexes with some of the lowest rents in the county. He attended Morehouse College and lives with his fiancée in his first home. He believed that "black communities are stronger when there is (an income) mix" and in this way was an example of those who appreciate economic diversity: His neighborhood provided him with a great deal of economic diversity, even if he preferred more diversity in the traditional, racial sense.

R.C. and C.C. are husband and wife, and moved to their Mitchellville home in 2003. They had a new home built for them and were some of the first residents to move into their neighborhood.   Over the next three years neighbors would also build homes and move in to complete what has become an almost complete and mostly African American Their 3,984 square foot home was purchased at a cost of approximately $500,000 and they estimated their home's current value at $729,000 based on recent purchases of other

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homes in the neighborhood. The neighbors got along well, and the couple was satisfied that they all seemed to share the same values. At a glance, the neighborhood appears to be the standard middle class African American neighborhood with little diversity – everyone is racially similar and has enough income to purchase these large new single-family homes. This seemed to be the standard enclave – demographically identical people grouping together. However, the wife of the couple (C.C.) revealed that there was a key difference: most of the neighbors on her cul-de-sac were "Non-American Blacks" and represented a range of countries and cultures. She was very enthusiastic about the numerous parties that she attended at the homes of her neighbors and how each party reflected the host's nation of origin. She embraced the diversity that she found in her neighborhood, even though it did not fit the traditional definition.

Diversity and many of the other factors were much more complicated concepts than originally envisioned. Individual homeowners defined, measured, and ranked many factors differently, and contributed to the wide range of preferences within the African American homeowner population. Stated preferences for diversity were not useful in determining neighborhood location of respondents and therefore did not support the main hypothesis or the supplementary hypothesis of the study.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the results of a comprehensive analysis of individual neighborhood choices. The interviews revealed that three broad preference groups exist within the population, but they do *not* coincide with geographical boundaries. Particularly, those in outer beltway Prince George's who live in middle class African

American neighborhoods are not a single, cohesive group. Two persons could be neighbors (or even part of a single family) and have very different reasons for living in the same neighborhood: homeowners in Prince Georges were split between Groups 1 and 3. All groups had members of varied ages, backgrounds, amount of exposure to whites in the past and present, etc. Preferences for general amenities do not differentiate those who choose majority black neighborhoods from majority white neighborhoods, most do not consider political incorporation in their buying choices, and there is no consensus on a preference for racial integration. None of these general factors give satisfactory explanations for the different homebuying decisions of African Americans. The survey questions measured favorability of certain factors, and for most of these factors, middle class African Americans either agreed that they were good things (when asked about parks, low crime, etc.) or disagreed about them, but not along geographic lines (when asked if there were advantages to a predominately black community. These decisions are more complicated than can be explained in the survey, and simple geography is not enough to explain one's preference ordering.

However, this research was designed to look not only at the quantitative data, and the qualitative data is crucial to explaining decisions of homebuyers and deciphering their preference ordering. Even though 72% of these homeowners rated a future move to a 50/50 neighborhood at 4 or higher on the 5 point scale, including 69% in outer beltway Prince George's, these numbers are conjectures about the future that may or may not represent actual choices, and are limited in their explanatory power to determine why

someone lives where they do currently. The interviews allowed examination of the factors that led to an individual's current neighborhood choice.

For those in Group 1, the benefits of a majority black neighborhood were important enough to tip their decision to one of those neighborhoods. For those in Group 2, the benefits of racial diversity/majority white neighborhoods were important enough to tip their decision, and the flexibility of group three means that benefits tied to race were not as important. The relative importance of race-related benefits helps to determine the neighborhood that one may choose. This can be understood by looking at the continuum of acceptable neighborhood compositions – for Groups 1 and 2, the race-related neighborhood characteristics are important enough that they have determined their present neighborhood locations.

Range of Individual Preferences

Group 3: Flexible Amenity Seekers

Group 1: Purposeful Choosers of Majority Black	Group 2: Purposeful Choosers of Majority White

All Black ⟵ **50/50** ⟶ **All White**

Racial/Cultural Amenities (Political, Social, and Economic) Lower Housing Costs	General Amenities (Public Schools, Shopping, Restaurants, Services)

Overall tax burden, expectation of economic return, house characteristics, prestige, diversity and other neighborhood characteristics vary across neighborhood types and individual preferences

Range of Neighborhood Attributes

Figure 20: Continuum of Acceptable Neighborhood Compositions

The above graphic shows the continuum of possible neighborhood compositions, represented by the dual-headed arrow. Above it are the preference groups, with the first group choosing neighborhoods with racial compositions from all black to 50/50 and group two choosing neighborhoods in the range of 50/50 to neighborhoods with all white neighbors. The third group chooses between all neighborhood types, as a particular racial mix is less important to them than other attributes. The list of attributes is below the arrow, and shows the difference between the racial and cultural amenities that can be found in majority black communities and the more general amenities in majority white communities. Below that are a group of attributes that vary widely depending on the

particular house, neighborhood or individual's perception, and can be found in neighborhoods of any racial mix.

Majority African American neighborhoods in Prince George's County suffer from some of the same problems found in other majority African American areas around the nation: a perception of higher crime, poorer schools, and fewer retail and entertainment options than in majority white suburbs within the region. However, majority white neighborhoods in Montgomery County lack the racial/cultural amenities and relative affordability of majority African American Prince George's. Residents in both places miss the benefits of the other area. The continuum demonstrates the benefits for African Americans who live in a majority black community (despite the relative lack of general amenities) and costs to living in the majority white community (despite the relative abundance of general amenities). This supports the conclusion that African Americans have inherently compromised housing choice and are often forced to make a decision about which of their overall preferences they can afford to minimize to fit the available options, even in a metropolitan area with an abundance of neighborhood types.

The main hypothesis posited that access to cultural or physical amenities associated with African American culture and the comfort of living with other African Americans lead those who have strong preferences for these factors to choose predominately black neighborhoods. This hypothesis was upheld, as those respondents in Group 1 fit this profile perfectly, and the racial mix was important enough for each of them to tip the scales in favor of a majority black neighborhood for themselves and their families.

However, those in Groups 2 and 3 were equally favorable to many of the racial/cultural amenities, but it can be argued that none of those persons have "strong" preferences for African American neighborhoods or racial/cultural amenities within their neighborhood.

The supplementary hypothesis predicted a stronger preference for racial/cultural amenities by those who live in predominately black suburban neighborhoods than for those that live in predominately white suburban neighborhoods. This hypothesis was partially upheld, as desire for these neighborhoods depends on each homeowner's personal set of preferences and limitations, and these preferences are sometimes, but not always tied to one's residential location. The first two preference groupings are directly tied to current residential location, but the flexibility of those in Group 3 makes these distinctions less clear.

Chapter 7: Discussion and Conclusion

Planners must understand the attraction to racially homogeneous neighborhoods that influence some African Americans' housing decisions. This project was designed to help to explain the variety of residential preferences. By looking at both the quality of local amenities and their importance to individuals, planners can better understand the condition of these neighborhoods and what needs to be addressed to create communities that better fit the needs of residents.

From the interviews, it is clear that many of the homeowners in Prince George's prefer African American neighborhoods, and it is also clear that there are costs and benefits related to that preference. Real estate is cheaper per square foot in majority-black Prince George's than in Montgomery, and many businesses are either owned by African Americans or target African American consumers. Residents can find communities with neighbors who look like them and whose upward trajectories will inspire them or their children. At the same time, the place where these benefits exist are in a county with little upscale shopping and one of the lowest performing public school systems in the state. Generally, the African American homeowners in Montgomery see the list of advantages and disadvantages differently, and all homeowners have picked the neighborhood and community that *best* meet their preferences, even if the perfect neighborhood that meets *all* of their preferences cannot be found.

In addition to the previously mentioned conclusions from the research, there are several general findings from the project.

- *Neighborhood choices are compromises*
- *Middle class homeowners are conscious of tradeoffs*
- *Class divisions may be exacerbated when a large black middle class exists*
- *"Diversity" is a broad concept*
- *Willingness to drive is a key factor and many are willing to drive for what is missing in their neighborhoods*
- *Unique preferences may create different housing markets*

These enable a more informed discussion about the formation of African American concentrations now and into the future, and have implications for public policy. This chapter will discuss each of these.

General Findings:

- *Neighborhood choices are compromises*

As different neighborhoods have different benefits and costs, each prospective homeowner must weigh the pros and cons of each place. Where will the middle class African American couple who likes the comfort of a majority black neighborhood but also desires good schools for their child move? It depends on a range of other factors: whether they can afford (and are they willing) to send their kids to private school, how important the newness and size of their home is, how far are they willing to drive for what they are missing, where their social network is centered, whether they view the concept of building the black community as relevant and important to them, etc.

Not only does each individual go through this process in their own mind, but couples must then negotiate with each other to decide what the consensus is. Amongst these respondents, the one spouse usually leads the decision-making process. Newlywed couple

Z.M and A.M. studied the area for months, and the husband's strong desire for the majority black neighborhood in Prince George's eventually won her over, but their preferences put them in different categories: A.M., the husband is in Group 1, while Z.M. is in Group 3. Similarly, for R.J. and H.J., the husband's love for the wooded location eventually won the wife over, despite her love of the city. For them, the suburbs in Glenn Dale were the best compromise between the desires of a "country boy" and a "city girl."[71]

- *Middle class homeowners are conscious of tradeoffs*

Generally, the recent homeowners who purchased in Prince George's in the last decade were conscious of the county reputations when they chose to live there and weighed their decisions accordingly. They used a range of resources to find out about the area, including their personal networks of friends and relatives, the media, and reflections on prior experiences and visits to the area; they were largely aware of the tradeoffs that came with living in either place. In recent years, easy access to information over the internet has made even more information available to this group.[72]

Once they moved into these neighborhoods, these individuals had the financial means to move from the majority African American neighborhood if they were dissatisfied but

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[71] This also evidence of a possible gender imbalance, as these two wives came to follow their husband's wishes in their new homes, and it seemed clear that they would have chosen other neighborhoods if they had controlled the housing decision for their families. This dynamic is not universal, as M.M. moved to Accokeek in the house that his wife, S.M. had purchased, but it may be an issue where both partners purchase a home together and have opposing preferences.

[72] While homeowners claimed that racial steering had little effect, Galster and Godfrey (2005) and others who study steering find that real estate agents often treat buyers of different races differently, and that racial steering has not declined in recent years. Racial steering may be difficult to see when one is involved in the transaction.

respondents did not indicate plans to do so.[73] Respondents who were among the first to move to their neighborhoods who may not have predicted their subdivisions' future racial mix, but knowledge of the county's reputation gave them clues about what to expect. For most, their individual relationships with their future neighbors were the largest set of unknowns.

- *Class divisions may be exacerbated when a large black middle class exists*

While the number of "inside the beltway" respondents was small, their concerns elucidated key differences between those populations inside and outside of the beltway, and these reflect the class differences on either side of the divide. Property theft and crime were bigger issues inside the beltway, as were concerns of affordability, and the blending of high income and low income residents. These respondents also voiced specific concerns about local economic development, neighborhood revitalization, safety, and the condition of the public schools for those who could not afford private school. These concerns were much greater and more immediate in the lower income, older communities inside the beltway. The differences between residents of these areas may become greater as more residents of higher incomes move to the new communities outside of the beltway. The physical class barriers of the high-income subdivision in places such as Woodmore, and the desires of parents for neighborhoods with role models for their children creates an opportunity for isolation of the two groups. Politicians are often popular in one section of the county or the other, and this may be related to

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[73] Several respondents indicated strong likelihood of moving in the near future: R.A. and R.R. were thinking of moving to bigger/better homes in an area with a similar (majority African-American) mix. J.D. wanted to move to majority African-American Mitchellville from his inner-beltway neighborhood. I.P. was thinking of leaving the region.

developing class issues – a sign of residents on both sides of the physical and economic divide having different concerns.

New movers to majority black areas such as Prince George's tend to have relatively low investment in the school system, and political motivations often differ from longtime residents, especially lower income residents. Few of these homeowners moved to the area because of the local leadership, although many find African American political leadership to be a positive factor. Amongst those not working in education, reticence about the state of the county's school system was high – they would be fine with improving it but are also resigned to the fact that that is not happening anytime soon. All but two respondents in Prince George's mentioned the reputation of the schools as a potential issue in their county, and all were aware that the reputation existed. Many were also cynical about the local government's ability to fix the problem. When asked about their potential to support higher taxes to fix the schools, respondents indicated that they would pay if there was a guarantee that more money would lead to actual improvement. At the same time, there is an undercurrent of dissatisfaction with the high taxes that are paid in the county, given the level of services that they receive. Despite this, overall satisfaction with their choice of neighborhood remained high. The high levels of satisfaction imply that despite the residents' awareness of deficiencies, many of them are happy enough with the status quo. A key reason for this is self selection, as many potential residents who highly prefer top-ranked public high schools or other missing amenities would not move to outer-beltway Prince George's at all, and instead choose another jurisdiction.

- *"Diversity" is a broad concept*

Diversity is important to many of these homeowners and is seen as a benefit to most. Some describe diversity in terms of race, but others identified forms of "intra-race diversity" that they find in their African American neighborhoods including national origin of their immigrant neighbors and regional origin within their American-born neighbors. Different people value the various kinds of diversity differently, so defining diversity in a limited way weakens the understanding of these housing decisions.

- *Willingness to drive is a key factor and many are willing to drive for what is missing in their neighborhoods.*

The close proximity of places in the region allows all to drive to what they are missing near home. One can live in a majority white neighborhood in Montgomery County and drive to Prince George's to find a barbershop, bookstore, or large church that caters to African Americans, yet live in a top-ranked school district and close to the upscale shopping and other benefits of Montgomery County. Similarly, Prince George's residents often drive to neighboring counties for shopping, employment, and other things that may be missing in their area. The close proximity allows residents that are willing to drive to have the benefits of the entire region, regardless of their chosen neighborhood.

- *Unique preferences may create different housing markets*

As many homeowners in Prince George's see the majority African American environment as a positive, it is likely that they value such a community higher than other homebuyers in the housing market. As the population of middle class African Americans in the region grows, the demand for housing in these areas may remain high, reducing

concerns of wealth-building advocates who find that homeowners traditionally sacrifice equity to live in an African American neighborhood with an aging housing stock.

Is Black Beautiful?

It has been established that there are advantages and disadvantages to black suburban communities and white suburban communities, so measuring communities by general amenities alone may not capture the full desirability of a neighborhood. Simply put, an individual's particular framework of preferences determines the overall benefit of one community over another. It is impossible to state whether the homeowners in one of these counties are better off than those in the other, because the individuals who prefer each county tend to have different sets of preferences that make their living situation ideal.

Persons of similar income and background may differ greatly on what is important to them in a community and what is important to avoid in a community. The amount of influence by real-estate agents (be it with well-meaning or nefarious intent) was much lower than had been anticipated. With few exceptions, respondents had chosen the neighborhood that, out of all of the neighborhoods in the area, suited their needs best at the time. No one stated that their preference for a particular racial composition forced them to choose a neighborhood that left them otherwise dissatisfied. These respondents appear to have made sound economic decisions based on their own unique criteria – as is to be expected of middle class homebuyers who can afford to choose between different neighborhoods. For married couples, determining their set of criteria necessitated an

extra step of determining what that family's combined preferences were, but most households in both counties were satisfied.

As this study required volunteers, it is possible that this particular sample contained a greater proportion of satisfied residents than in the general population. This could be true if those who are ardent county supporters are more likely to volunteer to participate in order to promote the county. Those who have negative comments may have been concerned about sounding anti-black. If true, this would limit one's ability to make concrete calculations about all of the residents of these counties and their priorities, but would not weaken the study's demonstration of the range of those priorities and the many different kinds of neighborhoods that are ideal for a middle class African American household. It is clear that for many, holding all other criteria constant, there is great benefit to a neighborhood with a high concentration of African Americans.

Towards a more thorough understanding of racial concentrations

Perhaps the most commonly understood benefit of integration is that African Americans are allowed to move into formerly all-white neighborhoods and are then able to benefit from the advantages that such environments provide. Having free choice in location is their right, but for many African Americans, living in the majority-white neighborhood is not an ideal outcome. Each individual desires a neighborhood that meets as many of their desired preferences as possible, with a particular focus on the most important attributes to them. This means that there is not universal consensus by homeowners of any race on

what the important attributes are and which of them are positive or negative; instead, the values for general and racial/cultural amenities range widely.

Racial integration is impossible to universally categorize as generally positive or negative or of great importance or little importance. Some of these residents originally came from the "urban ghetto" described by Massey and Denton, Wilson, Pattillo-McCoy, Farley et al, Harris, and other authors, but see these majority-African American middle-class neighborhoods as ideal. For other residents, there are glaring flaws that make these areas less attractive than other options. Massey and Denton's application of "underclass" to all racial concentrations was understandable, given the relatively small size and low concentrations of non-poor African Americans – Prince George's wasn't majority African American until the mid-1990s. Today, the amount of middle class African Americans in some metropolitan areas means that the issue of racial concentration is much more complex than it used to be – it is no longer sufficient to label all African American communities as disadvantaged. However, just as Krysan and Farley (2002) found that African Americans in Atlanta preferred neighborhoods with high densities of African Americans, this study finds that this is true of many Washington area African Americans as well. These preferences are likely not exceptions, but reflective of the communities and societies in which they live.

African Americans' preference for a 50/50 or even racial mix appears to represent two things: first, it represents a neighborhood with a certain amount of positive attributes, such that persons of different races would feel comfortable. They assume that there is

enough of an African American preference for some of the racial/cultural amenities and comfort and enough of the general amenities that whites would be willing to reside there (though studies of white racial preferences show that very few are comfortable in a 50/50 neighborhood). Secondly, it is a numerical representation of a neighborhood where everyone gets along and represents American society at its ideal proportion. Many in the study stated a preference for neighborhoods that were 50/50, 33/33/33 or "proportionate" and discussions revealed that such a neighborhood was ideal explicitly because it represented a state where racial tensions had dissipated, and all groups could learn to live with each other (and learn about each other). Many of those who were perfectly satisfied with their own 75-100% African American neighborhoods referred to these even distributions as their ideal for the above reasons. Others also referred to the strength of their desire for ethnic diversity in their neighborhoods, a response that reflects the usual intent of the question. With this knowledge, the preferences of African Americans should be understood in a different light, as aspirations not only for themselves, but also for American society.

Many of these middle class African Americans believe in their right to live anywhere and also believe that racially proportionate neighborhoods are ideal, but still prefer the advantages of their majority African American neighborhoods. Respondents who indicated an ideal racial mix that was different than their current neighborhoods explained that they were satisfied with their neighborhoods for themselves, and their answers often represented a general idea of what was best. Many balance their personal

desire for community building with other African Americans with their desire for an integrated society.

This argues for a re-examination of the proper interpretation of racial segregation. While useful for examining housing patterns and pointing to possible cases of current racial discrimination or the lingering effects of past discrimination, racial concentrations do not always imply disadvantage. In cases where middle class African Americans are choosing majority African American neighborhoods as their ideal neighborhoods, racial concentrations are the best option in their eyes and a reflection of the market. In places where African Americans are forced into majority African American neighborhoods due to a lack of other, reasonable options, this represents a restriction of their choice. The common usage of indices of segregation (including the popular dissimilarity index) to measure disadvantage of the minority residents in an area is problematic unless that measure of segregation is combined with other measures of community well-being. Few would consider Woodmore residents to be disadvantaged due to their residence in a racially segregated neighborhood. The people in that income bracket who prefer majority white neighborhoods or want to live in Montgomery County do live there. For low-income African Americans, there may not be as much choice in the racial makeup of their neighborhood; they can only go where they can afford to live. However, some proportion of them undoubtedly prefers racial/cultural amenities to the more general amenities. Given this, the segregation indices are but one tool that indicates possible social problems in a neighborhood.

Fair Housing

The fight for fair housing and the eventual elimination of racial discrimination in the housing market is crucial, as illegal discrimination distorts the choices that are available to prospective homebuyers. In the absence of illegal influences that limit mobility, African Americans desire to live in various kinds of neighborhoods and communities, with various racial compositions. Once those homebuyers are free to choose homes and neighborhoods that best suit them, the racial distributions of those neighborhoods are less important to the concept of fair housing than the fight to ensure that quality services are available to all neighborhoods. Government resources would be better spent on addressing the aforementioned deficiencies in these communities that have a strong, committed population, and preventing discrimination in the housing market than on attempts to create stable, racially-mixed communities. Each homeowner sees his or her individual choice as the best environment for themselves and their families, and these preferences and the motivations behind them should be respected.

Planners must ask what this means for future development of metropolitan areas with sizable African American populations. DeKalb County, Georgia has become majority African American and has a median household income above the national average. There are smaller communities and neighborhoods elsewhere where African Americans with mobility are choosing majority-black communities for the benefits that they find there. However, as Helling and Sawicki (2003) found, the predominately African American areas of Atlanta (including those in DeKalb) are less accessible to restaurants, grocery shopping, etc., than are majority white areas. This has important implications for

planners as these homeowners help to shape how neighborhoods and communities evolve, and the politics of different racial and income groups affect transportation, development, employment, schools, and other issues relevant to local policymakers. In order to be effective, planners must understand this dynamic and adapt to the needs of different communities.

African Americans may have preferences that differ from other groups, so present understanding of metropolitan housing markets will have to evolve. Many young African Americans in the D.C. metropolitan area aspire to live in the wealthy majority-black community of Woodmore if and when they become financially able and do not necessarily covet the wealthy areas of predominately white Montgomery County. If other racial groups do not aspire to live in Woodmore because it is in a majority-black area, then planners (and those who work in the local real estate market) need to understand this difference. Fair housing laws prevent any discussion of race or related neighborhood characteristics by realtors and others in order to prevent discrimination, but *all of these African Americans did not find a majority Black neighborhood completely by accident.* Some did not know who their future neighbors would be and several bought houses before construction in their neighborhoods was complete, but most were generally familiar with the county's reputation as "good for Blacks" and only ten percent of all respondents viewed a hypothetical move to a majority-black neighborhood negatively.

Another question is the income diversity and the potential for divisions based on class. These African American neighborhoods are just minutes away from lower income

African American neighborhoods in the same county, so what are the effects of these two groups on each other? The woman who thought there was too much affordable housing in the county and that it affected her quality of life negatively might not support any efforts to preserve affordable housing as more high-income African Americans move in -- she is not alone. Affordable housing advocates must be aware of this issue and quickly, particularly as the Washington real estate market evolves and costs rise.

Social programs that are designed to encourage and create mixed-income communities must take into account the strong view of many homeowners of their "home as castle" mentality – many have built their homes out in these suburbs to remove themselves from the real and perceived problems of lower-income communities and to create comfortable homes for their families, much as white families did when these areas became integrated.

*These African American homeowners may be **more** hostile to these mixed-income efforts than other groups, as their grasp on the middle-class identity and respectability may be more tenuous than others.* It may be easier to mix incomes by attracting middle-income residents to lower income areas with attractive housing, reasonable costs, good security, and a location close to the middle-class communities. This is the kind of community that drew in A.L. to a new townhouse development in an area full of non-luxury apartments with some crime issues in the inner-Beltway community of District Heights. He represents young homeowners who are willing to move to an area that is becoming more improving economically. As gentrification by middle income African Americans is likely to be less threatening to lower income African Americans than gentrification by

another racial group, attracting middle class homeowners to less expensive housing opportunities in established communities may be the easiest way to create mixed-income communities in terms of the politics. The question remains whether there are enough middle class African Americans that are dedicated to helping to "improve the black community" and value the related racial/cultural amenities more than all of the general amenities that they would pass up by living there. If so, there would be an added benefit of simultaneously helping to revitalize older neighborhoods.

Government's Role

As a result, several policy options become immediately evident. If one of government's goals is to provide truly equal housing opportunity then majority African American neighborhoods should be respected for their racial/cultural amenities. Simultaneously, they must be supported in order to address deficiencies that are related to former government policies with discriminatory effects and any discriminatory actions in the private sector. Because of the legacy of enforced segregation, redlining and other racially divisive policies of the past, these communities do not always start off on an even footing, and require a policy focus in terms of economic and community development in order to help ensure the best outcomes for residents and their children. This would argue for policy options that enhance choices and provide opportunities, including the following:

- Education funding / reform in majority African American areas

- Economic / job development in these areas

- Promotion of commercial development reflective of and sensitive to the local population

- Continued efforts to promote fair housing and reduce/eliminate discrimination

In total, this argues for a larger focus on equality through freedom of choice and less on integration / assimilation into "white America" as a goal of policy. This reveals the flaw that "colorblind" policies have: an implicit effect of removing individual elements of cultural groups that make up American society. The survey results that a sizable minority (44%) of these respondents would not even consider integrating an all-white neighborhood confirms that there are greater perceived social costs and a net negative individual benefit of integrating these neighborhoods despite the existence of general amenities in these neighborhoods. If these middle class respondents don't find the benefits to be worth the costs of moving, wouldn't lower income African Americans face the same disadvantages in all-white communities?

These results show that at least one group in American society finds it important to maintain part of their own group identity in addition to their overall "American" identity. African Americans may choose to live in concentrations with other African Americans in order to compensate for other societal conditions they face, and this is an argument for protecting their rights to the racial/cultural amenities and comfort that they desire, along with the general amenities that all Americans desire. Although the centuries-old legacy of slavery and discrimination supported by national, state, and local governments and the private sector is unique to African Americans, many other ethnic and immigrant groups may be similar, and further research should be done on their choices. These are not second choices, these are their best choices given the racial issues that continue to exist outside of the neighborhood.

This is not, however, a rejection of the need for current policies that deconcentrate poverty, as directed by the courts in Hills v. Gautreaux (1976) and reaffirmed in Thompson v HUD (2005) and other cases, but rather a caution that the amount of whites in a neighborhood cannot be accurately used as a proxy for the total amount of benefits provided in that neighborhood for African Americans, and decisions that focus solely on income level or on racial mix to determine the benefit or detriment of an area to individuals are shortsighted, at best.   These results confirm that many individuals aspire to live in strong black communities, and therefore importantly suggest that integration and deconcentration of poverty cannot be defined as synonymous.

Programs that deconcentrate poverty are crucial but promoting the development of communities is also important.   The cases decided in the New Jersey Supreme court collectively known as the *Mount Laurel* decisions[74] established that state's requirement that municipalities provide affordable housing to right various zoning ordinances that unconstitutionally had the effect of excluding low income persons (particularly African American residents) from certain municipalities (particularly majority white suburbs). The legislature later created the Council on Affordable Housing to develop regulations on affordable housing for municipalities and developers.   While this decision and its ramifications are complex, the subsequent adoption of policy is an example of a largely suburban state acknowledging the lack of affordable housing, attempting to integrate groups of various socio-economic statuses, thereby creating a more integrated racial mix.

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[74] These cases are: *Southern Burlington County N.A.A.C.P. v. Township of Mount Laurel*, 67 N.J. 151 (1975) and *South Burlington County N.A.A.C.P. v. Township of Mount Laurel*, 92 N.J. 158 (1983)

It does not appear that this program acknowledges or attempts to address the racial/cultural amenities that are compromised by African Americans who move to a majority white community. A truly comprehensive program would provide true housing choice by acknowledging not only the benefits that exist in the suburban communities but also the benefits that exist in strong African American communities for many residents. In a state such as New Jersey, this would mean an investment of funds in school equality, job creation, economic development, physical infrastructure, transportation options and other government services in the communities that are already majority black, so that the residents who live there can have options that better approximate true housing choice, and would be able to keep their community ties and the associated racial/cultural benefits.

If many middle class African Americans, a group who would presumably have an easier time adjusting to middle class, majority white suburban communities, look to a majority black community to provide them with the most benefits, then low-income African Americans would presumably face even more challenges. If a substantial portion of the African American community prefers these racial concentrations and believes them to be most beneficial, then is racial integration with the intent of eliminating concentrations of racial minorities desirable as a direct or indirect policy goal? It seems clear that it cannot be – integrating a majority white area must be understood as but one strategy to achieving uplift of African Americans, and a variety of preferences should be accommodated.

State and federal affordable housing programs must be concerned about poverty concentration, but their guidelines and regulations should not promote racial integration

at the possible expense of the people in those programs. Program participants should be able to choose the neighborhoods and communities that they find most beneficial, even if that community is majority African American. While education about the possible options and the costs and benefits of neighborhoods are always beneficial, it is possible that some low income African Americans may choose a majority African American neighborhood because it is the best option for that person, even if it is a compromise – after all, many in the middle class are free to make that same choice.

The Income Dynamic and Housing Affordability

A challenge to the preservation of affordable housing is created by the income dynamic that is evidenced in Prince George's. These higher income communities are not only in the same county but are situated just a few miles from low income communities. While most respondents were generally agreeable to the idea of creating and preserving affordable housing, some were outwardly hostile to the idea of creating any more affordable housing than currently exists in the county. Some respondents openly stated their opinion that too much affordable housing currently exists in the county and point to the problems that the concentration of relatively low income housing cause, usually focusing on a disincentive for upscale retail that more typically serves the higher income communities and increased crime, specifically property crime that is often theorized to be a result of jealousy.

The differentiated interests of higher and lower income households, specifically the desire of those in the middle class to maintain the middle class status of their

neighborhoods, create a disincentive for higher income households to support affordable housing initiatives. This is perhaps unique to a county with such a range of incomes, as the higher income families may not feel as secure in their middle class status as families in Montgomery County or other high income areas. These fears are not altogether unreasonable, as a great influx of additional lower-income housing could hurt property values and negatively affect the county's middle class persona, an issue especially important to those who see themselves as part of the mission to create a sustainable African American middle-class county.

Further, county leaders are concerned with keeping tax revenues high in order to maintain services, and lower-cost housing can be seen as a burden. Prince George's property tax cap (known as TRIM) prevents local government from raising funds through tax increases (Prince George's already has the highest county property tax rate in the state, next to Baltimore City[75]). Lower income households do not provide the same amount of tax revenue as those that can afford more expensive property, and this results in a financial disincentive for the preservation of affordable housing, particularly in a county with residents that feel that their low-income neighbors across the beltway are a drain on their resources.

Accordingly, the preservation of affordable housing must be done in a matter that is sensitive to those concerns. Impact fees for new developments should ensure that they pay for all additional costs that the new housing provides and should be paired with affordable housing requirements on subdivisions of a certain size, thereby preserving

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[75] Baltimore City is an independent city and equivalent to a county.

affordable housing in the new and fast-growing neighborhoods, while also ensuring that the new housing does not harm the local quality of life or the county's bottom line.

This study provides an argument for community development strategies that acknowledge different preferences and provide choice – these would be strategies that are developed with an understanding of the history of an area and the people that live there and the implications of policy decisions including the costs and benefits to different groups. These would acknowledge the racial implications of past policy decisions as well as proposed new policies and result in policy that reflects these realities and achieves intended goals. In this way, the supply of initiatives of planners and policymakers, and the developments of the private sector would meet the specific, nuanced demand of predominately African American communities.

The most straightforward way that such a policy could be effective would be to focus on revitalization and adding some of the missing general amenities to lower income majority black communities that have been deprived of them over time. This could be combined along with other programs that reduce barriers and create homeownership opportunity expansion that would enable African Americans (along with other Americans) to purchase homes in the best communities for themselves and their families. With green space, transportation options, commercial development, economic development, and quality housing stock, it may even be possible to attract middle class African Americans to areas with lower income African Americans, much like A.L., who moved to a new, middle class condominium development in the heart of District Heights despite its

concentration of urban problems, and R.R. who wanted to part of African Americans who are "making a difference" – he was attracted, in part because of the racial/cultural amenities, but his community would likely be stronger and attract more middle class homeowners if the more general amenities were added. The fact that middle class African Americans usually live in close proximity to low-income African Americans is seen as a problem by some theorists who believe that this reduces their benefits and creates class tension (such as Cashin 2004), but the range of preferences within this group means that some proportion would be willing to do so, in part because of their personal commitment to building strong African American neighborhoods. Attracting this population is likely the most efficient and practical option for true revitalization of certain lower income neighborhoods with potential.

Partnering for Change

Embracing the preferences and benefits in majority African American communities may be able to influence revitalization policy into the future, especially if class issues can be addressed. The *More in the Middle* initiative was officially launched on January 10, 2008 in Baltimore, Md. The Associated Black Charities of Maryland and the Annie E. Casey Foundation partnered with a strategic collaborative of researchers (including the Brookings Institution and Sage Policy Group), academics, community organizations, other foundations, practitioners in the community development field and community activists to embrace their mission to create a renaissance in Baltimore through an expanded African American middle class in the city. The three phases of their plan are to grow, retain, and attract African American middle class residents to the city through

various policy initiatives and actions by the public and private sector. The "attract" phase was developed through their study of African Americans in the Baltimore suburbs who could be attracted to the city if issues with crime and the schools were mitigated, and they would also like to grow and retain the existing middle class in Baltimore. Their strategy is in its nascent stage, but it will rely on their ability to focus available resources and to use existing middle class African Americans as a lynchpin to hold their revitalization plan together. They are attempting to eventually attract some of the same African Americans who move to outer beltway Prince George's, albeit those who prefer the city lifestyle.

While Baltimore's effort is just beginning and its future success is uncertain as yet, this racially competent revitalization plan intends to capitalize on the fact that many African Americans prefer majority African American neighborhoods and the possibility that this can be used to help revitalize the city. Other cities and neighborhoods may find that many middle class African Americans will move to their targeted areas if certain racial/cultural and general amenities exist, and this group may be much easier to attract than other groups. The political realities of gentrification mean that long-time African American residents of formerly declining neighborhoods are likely to be less threatened by newcomers that share their ethnic background than they are by those of another group. (An unfortunate side effect is that issues of class difference may fester when cloaked under racial similarity.)

While those in the field of sociology who believe that class has completely eclipsed race as the relevant social divide may disagree, this research posits that it is the intersection of race and class that create the complexity in neighborhood choice and the related social problems. The usefulness of racially competent development strategies is that it can be a way to expand choice. It gives individuals the freedom not only to move to, but the potential to build the communities that they desire. Racially concentrated communities may have their own set of flaws and benefits but represent the best option for many members of the African American community. Racially competent does not mean racially specific – rather, the promotion of all housing opportunities, including those in majority African American communities and majority white communities, allows any who choose to live there to benefit from that investment, and would increase the probability of success by better reflecting the desires of individuals.

While a majority African American county, several of the neighborhoods in outer beltway Prince George's were not identified as 100% African American by respondents. The minority of whites who have no problem living in a majority African American neighborhood would benefit from investment in those communities as well – community development initiatives that provide all communities with at an adequate level of amenities improves their housing choices as well.

This concept may be politically threatening to those whose politics are based in the belief that assimilation into mainstream American society is the goal of the civil rights movement and the best outcome for minority groups. This includes those at both of the

ends of the political spectrum. Many social conservatives and social liberals believe in assimilation as a positive, because it fulfills the seemingly divergent goals of dispersing the political power of African Americans for the former and eliminating racism for the latter. Racially competent development policy may seem anathema to both. However, this policy is an example of using a different method to reach the same ends.

Ideally, if younger generations are less racist than their predecessors, the improvement of African American neighborhoods would attract more whites as race relations improve and their racism declines; in turn, fewer African Americans will need respite from societal racism. This may never happen or may only happen far into the future. In the short term, racially competent development policy would provide African Americans with choice that is more equivalent to that of most other Americans. It may not be politically expedient, but it could be part of a strategy to deal with the racial issues that persist in America.

Conclusion

This project aimed to find out why middle-class African Americans who live in African American neighborhoods live where they do and to test hypotheses regarding the existence of racial/cultural amenities in those neighborhoods and differences in the preferences of those who live in neighborhoods of different racial compositions. It is clear that residents in majority-black outer-beltway Prince George's feel that their communities are lacking in certain areas: the public schools are an issue, as are upscale retail and entertainment options. However, racial/cultural amenities and comfort provide

compensating advantages for many residents, and as a result, neighborhood satisfaction is high.

Despite the deficiencies in amenities that homeowners find, most are satisfied with their choice and would consider making the same selection in the future. There was a willingness among many to "buy into" the community. Instead of only considering simple economic factors such as distance to work, cost, and amenities, these residents also consider the benefits associated with being part of a majority-black community as having some utility. For those who value racial/cultural amenities greatly, a majority-black neighborhood in Prince George's is a happily-chosen destination. For those who value these less than the reputation of the local public school system or proximity to certain employment centers or amenities, majority-white neighborhoods in Montgomery County are favored with equal enthusiasm. There are different benefits to both areas, and the particular combination of preferences in individual households determines which area one finds more favorable.

The relevance of this study goes far beyond the college-educated African Americans of the Washington, D.C. area. It is highly likely that African Americans in other cities have similar preferences – 60 percent of respondents had not previously lived in the Washington metropolitan area, and so these respondents represent a cross-section of the African American population and the preferences that they bring with them to this region. All of the preferences expressed by respondents may be applicable to other ethnic or cultural groups - several interviews and discussions mentioned the area around the

Takoma/Langley Crossroads at the intersection of the two counties, known for its concentration of recent immigrants. Concentrations of immigrants such as the one in the "International Corridor," as this area is sometimes known, also offer the advantages of racial/cultural amenities. Here they may be even more important than for African Americans; there are the additions of a common language and the shared connections of their home country's culture, food and customs. Many other communities and neighborhoods, both in the Washington area and beyond, are known for their concentrations of one group or another. The individual desire to live in these ethnic and cultural enclaves and the collective effect of these preferences on housing choice and residential patterns cannot be ignored: the composition of these communities shape how actions by public and private actors in housing, economic development, education, criminal justice and other policy areas are perceived.

Often, perception is not the only issue – there are concrete differences in the policies that are pursued in different areas, and the priorities of residents. In Prince George's County, the differentiation between higher income African American communities outside of the Beltway and lower-income communities inside of the Beltway create very different communities, despite their racial similarity. Middle and upper-income African Americans have some concerns that are distinct to African Americans but also have concerns that are distinct to those in their income brackets. As such, many of the issues that are important to them are not unique to this group, although their particular combination may be distinct. Most other middle and upper income Americans are unlikely to be concerned with having African American role models for their children,

and lower income African Americans are unlikely to be concerned about having their fair share of upscale shopping and restaurants nearby. This unique set of priorities of this group of homeowners reflects what policies they do (or do not) push for in local politics, and assumptions that they are in line with other African Americans on all issues or other middle and upper income Americans on all issues are both flawed. Their preferences are a unique blend of these influences, and as such, are both similar to and different from both groups. Public sector decision-makers must be conscious of these preferences, promote policies for economic development and revitalization that reflect the importance of all of these amenities to their constituents, and incorporate this knowledge into development plans and any public/private partnerships.

As African American income levels and homeownership rates rise, planners' understanding of their residential patterns and preferences must grow as well. For many middle class African Americans, the immediate benefit of the fight for integration and housing choice is the ability to choose the option to live in a healthy, majority Black community.

Appendices

Appendix A – Increased Suburbanization of African Americans

African American Households in U.S. Metropolitan Areas

	1985	1987	1989	1991	1993	1995	1997	1999	2001	2003
Percent in Central Cities	71.1%	71.5%	69.4%	68.8%	67.5%	66.0%	65.4%	63.9%	59.1%	57.2%
Percent in Suburbs	28.9%	28.5%	30.6%	31.2%	32.5%	34.0%	34.6%	36.1%	40.9%	42.8%
Total AA Suburban Households	2,435,000	2,494,000	2,799,000	2,899,000	3,140,000	3,457,000	3,588,000	4,024,000	4,817,000	4,955,000
City-Suburb Difference	(3,547,000)	(3,760,000)	(3,560,000)	(3,497,000)	(3,383,000)	(3,242,000)	(3,196,000)	(3,093,000)	(2,151,000)	(1,680,000

Source: U.S. Census Bureau. 1985-2003. Current Housing Reports, Series H150, American Housing Survey for the United States. (Author's Computation)

Percentage of African Americans in Metropolitan Areas Living in Suburbs, by Education

	1985	1987	1989	1991	1993	1995	1997	1999	2001	2003	Percentage Difference, 1985-2003
Non-High School Graduates	25.6%	23.7%	25.5%	25.4%	25.0%	29.1%	28.4%	30.5%	37.3%	38.1%	48.6%
High School Graduates	28.7%	23.3%	30.3%	31.0%	32.3%	31.4%	32.4%	33.9%	37.5%	40.0%	39.4%
4-Year College Graduates+	37.0%	36.6%	39.6%	40.8%	44.2%	44.0%	47.0%	45.7%	52.9%	54.2%	46.4%

African American Median Household Income

	1985	1987	1989	1991	1993	1995	1997	1999	2001	2003
Central City	$12,727	$14,993	$16,976	$17,572	$17,021	$19,021	$20,490	$22,976	$25,559	$26,175
Suburb	$20,468	$22,077	$23,451	$24,918	$26,446	$26,739	$31,056	$33,475	$32,880	$34,900
Income Ratio	1.61	1.47	1.38	1.42	1.55	1.41	1.52	1.46	1.29	1.33

Source: U.S. Census Bureau. 1985-2003. Current Housing Reports, Series H150, American Housing Survey for the United States. (Author's Computation)

Appendix B - Interview Questionnaire

 (Revised 5/1/2006)

I would like to ask a few questions about the neighborhood that you live in, and the kind of neighborhood you would like to live in. This information is being collected for a PhD dissertation project at the University of Maryland. All personal information will be kept confidential. Thank you for taking the time to participate in this project.

Background

I would like to begin by asking you a few questions about your background.

1. Where were you born?

2. What kind of work did your parents do?

3. How would you describe the neighborhood you were born in?

Neighborhood Choice

Now, I would like to ask you a few questions about your neighborhood.

4. How long ago did you move to this neighborhood?
   o Why did you move from your previous neighborhood?

5. Do you rent or own?

6. Thinking back to when you first came to the area, what factors influenced your choice to move to this neighborhood? *(Probe)*

7. How familiar are you with the different kinds of neighborhoods in this area?

8. What sources did you use when considering where to live?
   o Did you know anyone here?
   o Did you visit before moving?

9. What were your most important reasons for moving to this neighborhood?

10. Would you have moved to a different county if you had found an equivalent home within your price range?

11. How would you describe the racial mix of your neighborhood?

12. How would you describe race relations in your neighborhood?

13. How would you describe race relations in the D.C. area?

Advantages/Disadvantages
As every neighborhood is different, I would like to ask you a few questions abut the advantages and disadvantages of living in your neighborhood and other areas in the region.

14. Could you name some of the reasons that you stay in this neighborhood? (Probe for positive and any negative factors if necessary)

15. What changes would you make to this neighborhood to improve it?

16. Are there advantages to living in Montgomery County as opposed to Prince George's?
    o If so, what are they?

17. Are there advantages to living in Prince George's as opposed to Montgomery County?
    o If so, what are they?

18. What's missing in the neighborhood?
    o What's missing in the county?

19. Are you thinking of leaving?
    o If so, why?

20. Is anyone you know thinking of leaving, or already left your neighborhood?
    o If so, why?

Neighbors

The people in a neighborhood are often an important part the decision to move or stay in a certain neighborhood. Now we would like to ask a few questions about your ideal neighbors

21. What kind of neighbors would be the ideal neighbors? (open ended)

22. Are there advantages to living in a majority Black neighborhood?

o   If so what are they?

23. Are there advantages to living in a majority White neighborhood?
    o   If so, what are they?

24. How would you describe your ideal racial mix for a neighborhood? (Probe if necessary)

25. Would you prefer neighbors of the same income level as you, higher level, lower level, or mixed?

Politics

26. Do you identify as Democrat, Republican, or Independent?

27. Did you vote in the last major election (2004)?

28. Do you think that it is important to have Black leadership in elected office?

    o   If yes, did the amount of local Black leadership affect your decision to move here? How?

Family and Religion

Next, a few questions about your family life and religious views

29. Do you attend religious services?
    o   How often?
    o   Do you consider yourself to be a religious person?

30. Should there be more or less government spending on programs for the poor?

31. Do you currently have school-age children?
    o   How many?
    o   What school do they attend?
    o   Do you have any problems with the school?

32. Do you currently have any adult children?
    o   How many?
    o   Are they married?
    o   What are their occupations?
    o   Where do they live?

33. (If no to the previous two questions) Do you plan on having any children?

o Would you send your children to a public or private school? Why?

34. Would you send your children to a historically Black college or university? Why or why not?

35. Would you support higher taxes, if money went to improve the public schools?

36. How would you react to your children living in a majority-Black area?

Race and Race Relations

In this section, we will ask a few specific questions about race relations

37. Is the racial mix at your workplace different than in your neighborhood?
           (Probe for whether they prefer a certain mix in neighborhood given the composition at work)

38. How common is racism in society?
    a. Is it more or less in the D.C. area?
    b. Is it more or less in (the county where you live)?
    c. Do you experience racism in your daily life? How?

39. Is there more or less racial violence in this area than in other places?
    d. How often do you worry about racial violence?

40. (If in a majority Black Neighborhood) Did you feel that your real estate agent tried to encourage you to live in a Black neighborhood?

Appendix C –Survey Questionnaire

This survey was distributed to interviewees after they had completed their discussions

(Revised 8/1/2006)

INTERVIEW NUMBER: _____

This questionnaire is being given to all interview participants in order to give you a chance to record your own opinions in light of the discussion today. Please mark your answers where indicated.

First are a few questions about potential neighborhood characteristics. These are things that your neighborhood may or may not have, but we would like you to tell us how important these things would be to you if you had to move. Please rate your opinion of these items on a scale of 1 to 5.

	1 **Deal-Breaker** *(would prevent me from moving there)*	2 **Negative** *(but would not prevent me from moving there)*	3 **Neutral** *(no opinion or this item would not affect my choice)*	4 **Positive** *(would improve my opinion of a place)*	5 **Necessary** *(must have this in order for me to consider living there)*
a. An all-white neighborhood with no Black neighbors					
b. A majority white neighborhood, but one with several Black neighbors					
c. A racially mixed, 50/50 neighborhood					
d. A majority Black neighborhood with at least some white neighbors					
e. A nearly all-Black neighborhood with a few white neighbors					
f. An all-Black neighborhood with no white neighbors					
g. The presence of Latino neighbors					
h. A neighborhood with a history of racial problems					
i. Black-owned business nearby					
j. Black-oriented products available in stores (e.g. hair care products, books, movies, food, etc.)					
k. neighbors at my same income level					

	1 Deal-Breaker (would prevent me from moving there)	2 Negative (but would not prevent me from moving there)	3 Neutral (no opinion or this item would not affect my choice)	4 Positive (would improve my opinion of a place)	5 Necessary (must have this in order for me to consider living there)
l. neighbors above my income level					
m. neighbors below my income level					
n. Neighbors of the same social status as me					
o. A quiet neighborhood					
p. A safe neighborhood					
q. A clean neighborhood					
r. Public park/recreation nearby					
s. Good church nearby					
t. Good public schools					
u. Upscale shopping nearby					
v. Short commute to work					
w. Convenient to transportation (highways/Metro)					
x. Paying less for housing than other neighborhoods in the area					
y. Elected leaders that are sensitive to the needs of African Americans.					
z. Other? (Please fill in below)					

How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Assuming a safe neighborhood with comparable schools and housing prices to those where I currently live, I would prefer to live in a more racially integrated neighborhood.

(1) Strongly Agree   (2) Agree   (3) Neutral   (4) Disagree   (5) Strongly Disagree

There are substantial advantages to living in a predominantly black community.

(1) Strongly Agree   (2) Agree   (3) Neutral   (4) Disagree   (5) Strongly Disagree

The racial composition of my neighborhood is much less important to me than the quality of the schools and home values.

(1) Strongly Agree   (2) Agree   (3) Neutral   (4) Disagree   (5) Strongly Disagree

I regularly travel outside of the county to go to the kinds of places that I cannot find in my community.

(1) Strongly Agree   (2) Agree   (3) Neutral   (4) Disagree   (5) Strongly Disagree

It is important to live in a community where African Americans hold public office.

(1) Strongly Agree   (2) Agree   (3) Neutral   (4) Disagree   (5) Strongly Disagree

It is important to me that my children attend racially integrated schools.

(1) Strongly Agree   (2) Agree   (3) Neutral   (4) Disagree   (5) Strongly Disagree

African Americans have gained a great deal from the efforts of Civil Rights leaders.

(1) Strongly Agree   (2) Agree   (3) Neutral   (4) Disagree   (5) Strongly Disagree

African Americans are on an upward economic trajectory that will continue in the future.

(1) Strongly Agree   (2) Agree   (3) Neutral   (4) Disagree   (5) Strongly Disagree

All of my close friends are African American.

(1) Strongly Agree   (2) Agree   (3) Neutral   (4) Disagree   (5) Strongly Disagree

Many of the people I socialize with are white.

(1) Strongly Agree   (2) Agree   (3) Neutral   (4) Disagree   (5) Strongly Disagree

Most whites hold negative stereotypes about blacks even if they don't say them out loud.

(1) Strongly Agree   (2) Agree   (3) Neutral   (4) Disagree   (5) Strongly Disagree

Most of the people I work with are white.

(1) Strongly Agree   (2) Agree   (3) Neutral   (4) Disagree   (5) Strongly Disagree

Finally, a few questions about you:

What is your gender?

Male   Female

What is your year of birth?

19____

What is the highest level of education that you have completed?

Where did you attend college?

What is your occupation? (Job title)

What kinds of things do you do at work? (Your actual job activities)

What is your zip code?

Please place a check next to the income range that best describes your household income:

_____Below $30,000
_____Between $30,001 and $60,000
_____Between $60,001 and $75,000
_____Between $75,001 and $90,000
_____Between $90,001 and $105,000
_____Between $105,001 and $120,000
_____Between $120,001 and $160,000
_____Above $160,000

Please feel free to write any other comments below. Thank you for your time and participation.

Appendix D – Survey Results

Note:
Area 1 = Outer Beltway Prince Georges,
Area 2 = Inner Beltway Prince Georges,
Area 3 = Silver Spring/ Eastern Montgomery County
Area 4 = All other Montgomery County

Count of 1a - All White Pref	County/Area				
1a - All White Pref	1	2	3	4	Grand Total
1	15	1	5	1	22
2	14	2	3	2	21
3	6		1		7
Grand Total	35	3	9	3	50

Count of 1b - Majority White Pref	County/Area				
1b - Majority White Pref	1	2	3	4	Grand Total
1	3				3
2	9		5		14
3	14	1	2	3	20
4	7	2	2		11
5	2				2
Grand Total	35	3	9	3	50

Count of 1c- 5050 pref	County/Area				
1c- 5050 pref		1	2	3	4 Grand Total

1c- 5050 pref	1	2	3	4	Grand Total
2	2				2
3	9	1	2		12
4	20	2	6	3	31
5	4		1		5
Grand Total	35	3	9	3	50

Count of 1d - Majority Black Pref	County/Area				
1d - Majority Black Pref		1	2	3	4 Grand Total

1d - Majority Black Pref	1	2	3	4	Grand Total
1			1		1
2	2	1	1		4
3	17	2	3	3	25
4	13		4		17
5	3				3
Grand Total	35	3	9	3	50

264

Count of 1e - Nearly all Black Pref	County/Area				
1e - Nearly all Black Pref		1	2	3	4 Grand Total
1		1	2		3
2		4	1	1	1	7
3		17	2	2	2	23
4		12		3		15
5		1				1
?				1		1
Grand Total		35	3	9	3	50

Count of 1f - All black pref	County/Area				
1f - All black pref		1	2	3	4 Grand Total
1		5		3	1	9
2		11	2	3	1	17
3		15	1	3	1	20
4		3				3
5		1				1
Grand Total		35	3	9	3	50

265

Count of 1g - Latino Pref	County/Area				
1g - Latino Pref		1	2	3	4	Grand Total
2		2		2		4
3		28	2	4	1	35
4		5	1	3	1	10
5					1	1
Grand Total		35	3	9	3	50

Count of 1h - Racial History pref	County/Area				
1h - Racial History pref		1	2	3	4	Grand Total
1		25	3	7	3	38
2		9		2		11
4		1				1
Grand Total		35	3	9	3	50

266

Count of 1i - Black Business pref	County/Area				
1i - Black Business pref		1	2	3	4	Grand Total
2		1				1
3		16	1	4	1	22
4		15	2	5	2	24
5		2				2
?		1				1
Grand Total		35	3	9	3	50

Count of 1j - Black products pref	County/Area				
1j - Black products pref		1	2	3	4	Grand Total
1			1			1
2		1				1
3		12	1	1		14
4		18	2	7	3	30
5		4				4
Grand Total		35	3	9	3	50

Count of 1k - Neighbor income same pref	County/Area				
1k - Neighbor income same pref		1	2	3	4 Grand Total
2		2		1	3
3		6	1	2	9
4		21	2	5	2	30
5		6		1	1	8
Grand Total		35	3	9	3	50

Count of 1l - Neighbor income high	County/Area				
1l - Neighbor income high		1	2	3	4 Grand Total
2		3		1	4
3		12	1	3	1	17
4		19	2	6	27
5		1		1	2
Grand Total		35	3	9	3	50

268

Count of 1m - Neighbor income low	County/Area				
1m - Neighbor income low		1	2	3	4	Grand Total
1	3				3
2	12		3		15
3	19	3	4	2	28
4	1		2	1	4
Grand Total	35	3	9	3	50

Count of 1n - Neighbors same social	County/Area				
1n - Neighbors same social		1	2	3	4	Grand Total
2	3				3
3	11		3	1	15
4	14	3	6	1	24
5	7		1		8
Grand Total	35	3	9	3	50

269

Count of 1o - Quiet neighborhood pref	County/Area				
1o - Quiet neighborhood pref		1	2	3	4	Grand Total
3		1				1
4		12	2	5	2	21
5		22	1	4	1	28
Grand Total		35	3	9	3	50

Count of 1p - Safe neighborhood pref	County/Area				
1p - Safe neighborhood pref		1	2	3	4	Grand Total
1		1				1
3		1				1
4		8	3	3		14
5		25		6	3	34
Grand Total		35	3	9	3	50

270

Count of 1q - Clean neighborhood pref	County/Area				
1q - Clean neighborhood pref		1	2	3	4	Grand Total
3		2		1		3
4		8	2	2	2	14
5		25	1	6	1	33
Grand Total		35	3	9	3	50

Count of 1r - Park Pref	County/Area				
1r - Park Pref		1	2	3	4	Grand Total
1		1				1
2				1		1
3		6	1		1	8
4		19	1	5	2	27
5		8	1	3		12
?		1				1
Grand Total		35	3	9	3	50

Count of 1s - Church pref	County/Area				
1s - Church pref		1	2	3	4	Grand Total
3		14	2	3		19
4		13	1	4	3	21
5		7		2		9
?		1				1
Grand Total		35	3	9	3	50

Count of 1t - schools pref	County/Area				
1t - schools pref		1	2	3	4	Grand Total
3		5				5
4		19	3	4	1	27
5		11		5	2	18
Grand Total		35	3	9	3	50

Count of 1u - Upscale shopping pref	County/Area				
1u - Upscale shopping pref		1	2	3	4	Grand Total
2				1	1	2
3		7	1	1	1	10
4		22	2	6		30
5		5		1	1	7
?		1				1
Grand Total		35	3	9	3	50

Count of 1v - commute pref	County/Area				
1v - commute pref		1	2	3	4	Grand Total
2		2				2
3		5	1			6
4		18	2	6	1	27
5		9		3	2	14
?		1				1
Grand Total		35	3	9	3	50

Count of 1w - Transportation pref	County/Area					
1w - Transportation pref		1	2	3	4	Grand Total
1		1				1
2		1				1
3		7			1	8
4		21	2	5	1	29
5		5	1	4	1	11
Grand Total		35	3	9	3	50

Count of 1x - Pay less pref	County/Area					
1x - Pay less pref		1	2	3	4	Grand Total
1		2				2
2		5				5
3		8	2	4	1	15
4		14	1	4	2	21
5		6		1		7
Grand Total		35	3	9	3	50

Count of 1y - Sensitive leaders pref	County/Area				
1y - Sensitive leaders pref	1	2	3	4	Grand Total
3	6		1		7
4	19	2	7	2	30
5	10	1	2		13
Grand Total	35	3	9	3	50

Count of 1z - Other pref	County/Area				
1z - Other pref	1	2	3	4	Grand Total
99	34	2	9	2	47
Active Neighborhood Association - 4	1				1
Neighborhood should have every racial denomination in it - 5		1			1
Upscale Grocery Store - 4				1	1
Grand Total	35	3	9	3	50

Count of 2a - Integration agree	County/Area				
2a - Integration agree	1	2	3	4	Grand Total
1	8	2	2		12
2	14	1	5	3	23
3	6		1		7
4	5		1		6
5	2				2
Grand Total	35	3	9	3	50

Count of 2b Predominately black advantages	County/Area				
2b Predominately black advantages	1	2	3	4	Grand Total
1	5				5
2	6		1		7
3	15	3	6	2	26
4	7		2	1	10
5	2				2
Grand Total	35	3	9	3	50

Count of 2c - race less school and home	County/Area				
2c - race less school and home		1	2	3	4	Grand Total
1		9	2			11
2		10	1	3	2	16
3		7		2	1	10
4		7	2	2		11
5		1				1
All Important		1				1
Grand Total		35	3	9	3	50

Count of 2d - Travel outside county	County/Area				
2d - Travel outside county		1	2	3	4	Grand Total
1		8	1		1	10
2		14		1	1	16
3		2		2		4
4		9	2	4	1	16
5		2		2		4
Grand Total		35	3	9	3	50

Count of 2e - Black office holders	County/Area				
2e - Black office holders	1	2	3	4	Grand Total
1	8				8
2	16	2	3		21
3	8	1	3	3	15
4	3		3		6
Grand Total	35	3	9	3	50

Count of 2f - Integrated schools	County/Area				
2f - Integrated schools	1	2	3	4	Grand Total
1	10	1	2		13
2	12	2	5	3	22
3	9		2		11
4	3				3
5	1				1
Grand Total	35	3	9	3	50

Count of 2g - gained from civil rights	County/Area				
2g - gained from civil rights		1	2	3	4	Grand Total
1	18	2	3	1	24
2	12		5	2	19
2.5	1				1
3	2	1	1		4
4	1				1
5	1				1
Grand Total	35	3	9	3	50

Count of 2h - Upward economic trajectory	County/Area				
2h - Upward economic trajectory		1	2	3	4	Grand Total
1	11				11
2	20	1	5	1	27
3	3	1	3	1	8
4	1		1	1	3
hopefully	1				1
Grand Total	35	3	9	3	50

279

Count of 2i Black friends	County/Area				
2i Black friends		1	2	3	4	Grand Total
1		9	2			11
2		13	2	3		18
3		5				5
4		7	1	2	3	13
5		1		2		3
Grand Total		35	3	9	3	50

Count of 2j - socialize white	County/Area				
2j - socialize white		1	2	3	4	Grand Total
2		7		1	1	9
2.5		1				1
3		5	1	3	1	10
4		18	2	4	1	25
5		4		1		5
Grand Total		35	3	9	3	50

Count of 2k - whites stereotype	County/Area				
2k - whites stereotype		1	2	3	4	Grand Total
1		7	1			8
2		19	2	4	2	27
3		4	1	2	1	8
4		4		1		5
5		1		1		2
Grand Total		35	3	9	3	50

Count of 2l - white coworkers	County/Area				
2l - white coworkers		1	2	3	4	Grand Total
1		4		3	1	8
2		12	1	4	1	18
3		5			1	6
4		10	1	2		13
5		2	1			3
N/A		2				2
Grand Total		35	3	9	3	50

Appendix E – Property Value Data

ZIP Code / Interview Number	County/Area	Reported Income Level	Census 2000 % black in Zip	SDAT Base Value (Land)	SDAT Base Value (Improvements)	SDAT Base Value (Total)	SDAT - Phased in Assessment 7/1/2007 (Total)	SDAT - Year Built	SDAT - Enclosed Area (Sq. Feet)	SDAT - Property Land Area (Sq. Feet)	$per SQFT (Home, 2007 Assess.)
20904-1	Mont. - Silver Spring	5	37.2	$ 101,800	$ 474,300	$ 576,100	$ 749,506	2004	4,064	9,806	184.43
20906-1	Mont. - Silver Spring	5	22.8	$ 120,000	$ 190,330	$ 310,330	$ 310,330	1986	1,407	1,609	220.56
20902-1	Mont. - Silver Spring	5	18.7	$ 100,000	$ 166,060	$ 266,060	$ 312,806	1981	1,400	1,367	223.43
20901-3	Mont. - Silver Spring	5	23	$ 199,720	$ 101,850	$ 301,570	$ 301,570	1962	1,292	7,418	233.41
20901-1,2*	Mont. - Silver Spring	5	23	$ 257,760	$ 491,710	$ 749,470	$ 749,470	1954	2,920	6,799	256.67
20905-1	Mont. - Silver Spring	6	17.5	$ 125,010	$ 140,920	$ 265,930	$ 404,396	1983	1,872	12,508	216.02
20903-1	Mont. - Silver Spring	7	32.1	$ 50,000	$ 133,050	$ 183,050	$ 231,920	1952	1,156	4,776	200.62
20906-2	Mont. - Silver Spring	7	22.8	$ 159,250	$ 306,670	$ 465,920	$ 465,920	1988	2,247	9,154	207.35
20876-1	Mont. - Other	4	17.3	$ 45,000	$ 34,900	$ 79,900	$ 172,580	1985	900	1,687	191.76
20878-1	Mont. - Other	5	8.8	$ 49,800	$ 116,200	$ 166,000	$ 265,332	1996	1,177	2,428	225.43
20850-1	Mont. - Other	8	10.1	$ 73,500	$ 213,470	$ 286,970	$ 447,922	1999	1,634	7,500	274.13
20706-1	Pr. Geo. - Inner	6	68.8	$ 61,090	$ 175,600	$ 236,690	$ 386,490	1969	3,291	14,902	117.44
20782-1	Pr. Geo. - Inner	6	56.2	$ 60,120	$ 108,390	$ 168,510	$ 248,273	1946	1,813	5,225	136.94
20747-1	Pr. Geo. - Inner	7	89.9	$ 45,000	$ 107,090	$ 152,090	$ 200,890	1998	1,408	1,884	142.68
20772-2	Pr. Geo.- Outer	2	62.6	$ 45,000	$ 87,050	$ 132,050	$ 132,050	1985	1,230	1,680	107.36
20772-4	Pr. Geo.- Outer	2	62.6	$ 33,000	$ 99,000	$ 132,000	$ 132,000	1997	1,050	892	125.71
20774-4	Pr. Geo.- Outer	2	75.5	$ 50,000	$ 94,730	$ 144,730	$ 212,702	1987	1,320	2,533	161.14

20716-2,3 **	Pr. Geo.- Outer	3	40.1	$ 60,000	$ 166,450	$ 226,450	$ 226,450	1992	1,492	1,614	151.78
20715-1	Pr. Geo.- Outer	4	13.8	$ 60,000	$ 128,280	$ 188,280	$ 188,280	1984	1,228	1,309	153.32
20774-3	Pr. Geo.- Outer	4	89	$ 27,250	$ 81,750	$ 109,000	$ 186,332	1992	1,071	1,416	173.98
20772-1	Pr. Geo.- Outer	4	62.6	$ 60,000	$ 131,550	$ 191,550	$ 191,550	1998	998	1,678	191.93
20744-2	Pr. Geo.- Outer	4	75.5	$ 50,520	$ 137,130	$ 187,650	$ 234,390	1980	1,164	9,200	201.37
20769-1,2*	Pr. Geo.- Outer	5	45.8	$ 129,460	$ 364,310	$ 493,770	$ 493,770	2000	3,636	101,930	135.80
20715-4	Pr. Geo.- Outer	5	13.8	$ 70,640	$ 273,350	$ 343,990	$ 343,990	1987	2,472	10,462	139.15
20744-1	Pr. Geo.- Outer	5	75.5	$ 125,990	$ 113,830	$ 239,820	$ 334,623	1965	2,173	13,914	153.99
20774-2	Pr. Geo.- Outer	5	89	$ 28,120	$ 84,380	$ 112,500	$ 177,500	1992	1,142	1,416	155.43
20774-1	Pr. Geo.- Outer	5	89	$ 27,250	$ 81,750	$ 109,000	$ 186,332	1995	1,073	1,887	173.66
20721-4	Pr. Geo.- Outer	6	83.3	$ 60,000	$ 121,150	$ 181,150	$ 270,956	2000	1,556	1,872	174.14
20772-5	Pr. Geo.- Outer	7	62.6	$ 70,670	$ 362,240	$ 432,910	$ 432,910	2006	3,704	10,757	116.88
20772-3	Pr. Geo.- Outer	7	62.6	$ 71,000	$ 312,150	$ 383,150	$ 383,150	1992	3,000	14,073	127.72
20607-3,4	Pr. Geo.- Outer	7	48.5	$ 71,600	$ 311,360	$ 382,960	$ 447,116	1992	3,495	20,026	127.93
20715-2,3*	Pr. Geo.- Outer	7	13.8	$ 70,620	$ 329,370	$ 399,990	$ 399,990	2001	2,956	10,260	135.31
20607-1,2*	Pr. Geo.- Outer	7	48.5	$ 71,600	$ 318,960	$ 390,560	$ 456,160	1996	3,288	20,001	138.73
20744-4	Pr. Geo.- Outer	7	89	$ 26,250	$ 78,750	$ 105,000	$ 138,000	1989	980	4,237	140.82
20744-3	Pr. Geo.- Outer	7	75.5	$ 72,120	$ 184,800	$ 256,920	$ 330,670	1973	2,344	25,247	141.07
20716-1	Pr. Geo.- Outer	7	40.1	$ 60,000	$ 163,730	$ 223,730	$ 223,730	1992	1,492	1,649	149.95
20720-1,2 ***	Pr. Geo.- Outer	8	43.3	$ 71,180	$ 398,800	$ 469,980	$ 469,980	2001	4,088	15,810	114.97
20721-1,2	Pr. Geo.- Outer	8	83.3	$ 176,150	$ 301,190	$ 477,340	$ 477,340	2004	3,984	15,577	119.81
20721-3	Pr. Geo.- Outer	8	83.3	$ 72,600	$ 446,320	$ 518,920	$ 518,920	1995	3,864	30,000	134.30
20774-5	Pr. Geo.- Outer	8	89	$ 100,920	$ 686,950	$ 787,870	$ 787,870	2006	5,808	13,289	135.65
20721-5,6	Pr. Geo.- Outer	8	83.3	$ 70,000	$ 208,180	$ 278,180	$ 278,180	1998	1,834	2,475	151.68

Notes:

Total number of households is lower than total number of respondents due to several interviews of married couples.

* In the absence of other information, if two members of a household reported two different consecutive income levels, then lower figure is used.

** In this retired household, reported income was two levels apart (2 and 4). The difference was split

*** The working spouse in this household reported a higher income than the retired spouse. After investigation, that figure was used

Categories for yearly household Income:

1 - Below $30k
2 - $30k-60k
3 - $60k-$75k
4 - $75k-$90k
5 - $90k-$105k
6 - $105k-$120k
7 - $120k-160k
8 - Above $160k

Appendix F – Description of Respondents

Interview Number	County/ Area	City	Age	Gender	Marital Status	House-hold Income	Education Level	Child 18 or Under In Home	Year of Move-in	Importance of Majority Black Neighborhood	Percent Black in Ideal Neighbor-hood	Census 2000 % Black in Zip
20607-1	Prince George's - Outer	Accokeek	33	Male	Married	$120k-160k	Bachelor's Degree	1	2003	4 - Positive	Less than 50	48.5
20607-2	Prince George's - Outer	Accokeek	33	Female	Married	Above $160k	Master's Degree or Higher	1	2003	4 - Positive	75-100	48.5
20607-3	Prince George's - Outer	Accokeek	57	Male	Married	$120k-160k	Master's Degree or Higher	0	2007	4 - Positive	Unspecified equal mix	48.5
20607-4	Prince George's - Outer	Accokeek	55	Female	Married	$120k-160k	Some College / Associate's degree	1	2007	4 - Positive	50	48.5
20706-1	Prince George's - Inner	Lanham	59	Male	Married	$105k-$120k	Some College / Associate's degree	1	1988	3 - Neutral	50	68.8
20715-1	Prince George's - Outer	Bowie	41	Female	Divorced	$75k-$90k	Bachelor's Degree	0	2004	3 - Neutral	Unspecified equal mix	13.8
20715-2	Prince George's - Outer	Bowie	46	Female	Married	Above $160k	Master's Degree or Higher	1	2001	2 - Negative	Unspecified equal mix	13.8
20715-3	Prince George's - Outer	Bowie	49	Male	Married	$120k-160k	Master's Degree or Higher	1	2001	3 - Neutral	50	13.8

20715-4	Prince George's - Outer	Bowie	67	Male	Married	$90k-$105k	Master's Degree or Higher	0	1987	3 - Neutral	Less than 50	13.8
20716-1	Prince George's - Outer	Bowie	37	Female	Married	$120k-160k	Master's Degree or Higher	1	1996	4 - Positive	Less than 50	40.1
20716-2	Prince George's - Outer	Bowie	60	Female	Married	$30k-60k	No College	0	1991	3 - Neutral	Unspecified equal mix	40.1
20716-3	Prince George's - Outer	Bowie	66	Male	Married	$75k-$90k	Some College / Associate's degree	0	1991	4 - Positive	Unspecified equal mix	40.1
20720-1	Prince George's - Outer	Bowie	61	Female	Married	Above $160k	Master's Degree or Higher	0	2001	4 - Positive	Less than 50	43.3
20720-2	Prince George's - Outer	Bowie	64	Male	Married	$60k-$75k	Bachelor's Degree	0	2001	3 - Neutral	Less than 50	43.3
20721-1	Prince George's - Outer	Mitchellville	54	Male	Married	Above $160k	Master's Degree or Higher	0	2004	3 - Neutral	50	83.3
20721-2	Prince George's - Outer	Mitchellville	42	Female	Married	Above $160k	Bachelor's Degree	0	2004	3 - Neutral	50	83.3
20721-3	Prince George's - Outer	Bowie (Woodmore)	50	Female	Married	Above $160k	Bachelor's Degree	1	1995	5 - Necessary	Refused to name a mix	83.3
20721-4	Prince George's - Outer	Mitchellville	38	Female	Single	$105k-$120k	Master's Degree or Higher	0	2005	4 - Positive	50	83.3
20721-5	Prince George's - Outer	Bowie (Woodmore)	32	Female	Married	Above $160k	Master's Degree or Higher	0	2007	2 - Negative	Less than 50	83.3
20721-6	Prince George's - Outer	Bowie (Woodmore)	29	Male	Married	Above $160k	Master's Degree or Higher	0	2007	4 - Positive	51-74	83.3

20744-1	Prince George's - Outer	Ft. Washington	55	Female	Married	$90k-$105k	Some College / Associate's degree	0	1999	3 - Neutral	50	75.5
20744-2	Prince George's - Outer	Ft. Washington	55	Female	Married	$75k-$90k	Master's Degree or Higher	0	1984	3 - Neutral	51-74	75.5
20744-3	Prince George's - Outer	Ft. Washington	48	Female	Married	$120k-160k	Bachelor's Degree	0	2002	3 - Neutral	Less than 50	75.5
20744-4	Prince George's - Outer	Ft. Washington	34	Female	Single	$120k-160k	Bachelor's Degree	0	2004	3 - Neutral	Less than 50	89
20747-1	Prince George's - Inner	District Heights	32	Male	Engaged (Living Together)	$120k-160k	Bachelor's Degree	0	2005	3 - Neutral	Refused to name a mix	89.9
20769-1	Prince George's - Outer	Glenn Dale	45	Male	Married	$105k-$120k	Bachelor's Degree	1	2000	3 - Neutral	Refused to name a mix	45.8
20769-2	Prince George's - Outer	Glenn Dale	43	Female	Married	$90k-$105k	Master's Degree or Higher	1	2000	3 - Neutral	Unspecified equal mix	45.8
20772-1	Prince George's - Outer	Upper Marlboro	37	Male	Single	$75k-$90k	Bachelor's Degree	0	2004	3 - Neutral	50	62.6
20772-2	Prince George's - Outer	Upper Marlboro	34	Female	Married	$30k-60k	Master's Degree or Higher	1	2001	4 - Positive	Unspecified equal mix	62.6

20772-3	Prince George's - Outer	Upper Marlboro	36	Female	Married	$120k-160k	Master's Degree or Higher	1	2003	3 - Neutral	Less than 50	62.6
20772-4	Prince George's - Outer	Upper Marlboro	36	Female	Divorced	$30k-60k	Master's Degree or Higher	0	2003	5 - Necessary	75-100	62.6
20772-5	Prince George's - Outer	Upper Marlboro	32	Female	Married	$120k-160k	Master's Degree or Higher	1	2005	5 - Necessary	51-74	62.6
20774-1	Prince George's - Outer	Largo	34	Male	Single	$90k-$105k	Master's Degree or Higher	0	2003	3 - Neutral	50	89
20774-2	Prince George's - Outer	Largo	41	Male	Single	$90k-$105k	Master's Degree or Higher	0	1996	3 - Neutral	50	89
20774-3	Prince George's - Outer	Largo	61	Female	Divorced	$75k-$90k	Master's Degree or Higher	0	1995	4 - Positive	50	89
20774-4	Prince George's - Outer	Upper Marlboro	34	Female	Married	$30k-60k	Master's Degree or Higher	1	2006	4 - Positive	Unspecified equal mix	75.5
20774-5	Prince George's - Outer	Upper Marlboro	35	Female	Married	Above $160k	Master's Degree or Higher	1	2007	4 - Positive	Less than 50	89
20782-1	Prince George's - Inner	West Hyattsville	61	Female	Divorced	$105k-$120k	Master's Degree or Higher	0	1991	2 - Negative	Less than 50	56.2
20850-1	Montgomery - Other	Rockville	29	Male	Married	Above $160k	Master's Degree or Higher	1	2004	3 - Neutral	Less than 50	10.1
20876-1	Montgomery - Other	Germantown	31	Female	Single	$75k-$90k	Master's Degree or Higher	0	2005	3 - Neutral	Unspecified equal mix	17.3
20878-1	Montgomery - Other	Gaithersburg	34	Female	Single	$90k-$105k	Master's Degree or Higher	0	2003	3 - Neutral	Unspecified equal mix	8.8
20901-1	Montgomery -	Silver Spring	41	Female	Married	$90k-$105k	Master's Degree or	0	2005	4 - Positive	50	23

20901-2	Montgomery - Eastern	Silver Spring	42	Male	Married	$105k-$120k	Bachelor's Degree	0	1999	3 - Neutral	50	23
20901-3	Montgomery - Eastern	Silver Spring	50	Female	Married	$90k-$105k	Master's Degree or Higher	1	1984	4 - Positive	Less than 50	23
20902-1	Montgomery - Eastern	Silver Spring	28	Male	Single	$90k-$105k	Master's Degree or Higher	0	2006	4 - Positive	51-74	18.7
20903-1	Montgomery - Eastern	Silver Spring	60	Female	Married	$120k-160k	Master's Degree or Higher	0	1980	1 - Deal-breaker	Less than 50	32.1
20904-1	Montgomery - Eastern	Silver Spring	63	Female	Married	$90k-$105k	Bachelor's Degree	0	2004	3 - Neutral	Less than 50	37.2
20905-1	Montgomery - Eastern	Silver Spring	33	Female	Married	$105k-$120k	Master's Degree or Higher	1	2005	4 - Positive	Unspecified equal mix	17.5
20906-1	Montgomery - Eastern	Silver Spring	34	Female	Married	$90k-$105k	Master's Degree or Higher	1	2004	3 - Neutral	Less than 50	22.8
20906-2	Montgomery - Eastern	Silver Spring	39	Female	Separated	$120k-160k	Master's Degree or Higher	1	2000	2 - Negative	Unspecified equal mix	22.8

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