

"Housing and School Segregation: Government Culpability, Government Remedies." (2004) These three historical studies, funded by a multi-year grant from the Ford Foundation, trace the development of federal housing and transportation policies in relation to increasing housing and school segregation in American metropolitan areas. These studies take a much closer look at the early decisions and policies within the federal bureaucracy that have been broadly described in works like Douglas Massey & Nancy Denton's *American Apartheid*.

1. ["The Last and Most Difficult Barrier: Segregation and Federal Housing Policy in the Eisenhower Administration, 1953-1960"](#) In the first of these studies, Professor Arnold Hirsch of the University of New Orleans History Dept., addresses the evolution of federal housing policy directly after the *Brown* decision, and includes new evidence of collaboration between the Federal Housing Administration and officials in President Dwight Eisenhower's Administration seeking to evade compliance with the *Brown* ruling by manipulating locations of federally-subsidized housing. Hirsch's work also chronicles the heroic efforts of Frank Horne, an official of the Race Relations Service of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, to reform the system from within.

Hirsch presents new evidence on how Eisenhower's appointments to the Advisory Committee on Housing, the conservative framing of urban renewal legislation, and the silencing of Horne and the RRS staff all posed challenges to creating housing equity. This research makes clear that it was not just local policies and leadership that were responsible for housing segregation, but that federal policies significantly impacted housing disparities and discrimination. [See full text.](#)

Related Articles by Arnold Hirsch include:

Arnold R. Hirsch, **"Searching for a 'Sound Negro Policy': A Racial Agenda for the Housing Acts of 1949 and 1954,"** Housing Policy Debate 11(Issue 2, 2000), 393-441. In this article, Hirsch discusses the ways in which the Eisenhower administration resisted making true moves towards housing equality.

Arnold R. Hirsch, **"'Containment' on the Home Front,"** Journal of Urban History 26 (Issue 2, 2000), 158-189. This piece discusses the creation of federally sponsored racial concentrations in housing and other examples of federal resistance to accepting the implications of *Brown*. Hirsch also describes the hostility that the HHFA had toward Frank Horne, an official of the Race Relations Service of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, who attempted to reform the system.

2. ["The Interstates and the Cities: Highways, Housing, and the Freeway Revolt"](#) Professor Raymond Mohl of the University of Alabama at Birmingham History Dept. analyzes federal transportation policies and programs, particularly highways, and how housing and transportation together helped to create and maintain racially segregated housing patterns in our metropolitan areas. The first part of Mohl's research chronicles the dramatic changes experienced in American cities in the decades after the Second World War. Closely linked to this powerful urban transformation was the construction after 1956 of the national interstate highway system, a 42,500-mile network of high-speed, limited-access highways that linked cities across the country. [See full text.](#)

In addition, Mohl analyzes the freeway revolts that erupted in American cities in the 1960s and early 1970s. Until the mid-1960s, state and federal highway engineers had complete control over freeway route location. In many cities, the new highways ripped through neighborhoods, parks, historic districts, and environmentally sensitive areas. Beginning in San Francisco, citizen movements sprang up to challenge the highwaymen. Mohl presents case studies of freeway building and citizen opposition in Miami and Baltimore to illustrate the larger patterns of the national freeway revolt. [See full text.](#)

Related Articles by Raymond A. Mohl include:

Raymond A. Mohl, "**Whitening Miami: Race, Housing, and Government Policy in Twentieth-Century Dade County,**" *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 79 (Winter 2001), 319-345. In this article Mohl discusses the segregation caused by highways and how expressways in low-income neighborhoods destroyed communities in Miami.

Raymond A. Mohl, "**Urban Expressways and the Racial Restructuring of Postwar American Cities,**" *Jahrbuch für Wirtschafts Geschichte*, No. 2 (2001), 93-97; Mohl writes about the effects that highways and expressways had on urban and suburban communities.

3. ["Democracy's Unfinished Business: Federal Policy and the Search for Fair Housing, 1961-1968"](#) Professor David Freund's groundbreaking study explores the federal government's direct role in the creation of the "secondary mortgage market" in the 1930s and 40s – and its contribution to metropolitan segregation. Freund's starting point is the federal government's campaign to promote "fair housing" during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. Beginning in 1961, the executive and legislative branches declared their commitment to ending racial discrimination in federal housing programs, marking a sharp break with decades of policy that had been instrumental to creating a racially-segregated, "dual" market for residential neighborhoods. To fully understand their efforts and the obstacles that they encountered, Freund revisits the earlier history of government housing policy, reviewing how three decades of federal intervention had left white officials, policy makers, and voters deeply committed to the segregated market for housing. Freund reviews in detail the federal government's creation of the institutions behind the secondary mortgage market, which led to a rapid expansion of the market for homeownership and to a transformed home financing market which systematically denied benefits to people of color. This structural and ideological legacy, Weaver and the IRS would later find out, proved very resistant to change. Freund's study also carefully reconstructs the efforts of Robert Weaver and the members of the Intergroup Relations Service (IRS) in the 1960s to transform both the bureaucratic structure and culture of the powerful agencies that had long given shape to the nation's metropolitan areas. [See full text.](#)

Related Articles by David Freund include:

"Marketing the Free Market: State Intervention and the Politics of Prosperity in Metropolitan America," in Thomas J. Sugrue and Kevin Kruse, eds., [The New Suburban History](#). David M. P. Freund's chapter focuses on the federal interventions which created the modern mortgage market and suburban affluence. He argues that federal government officials at the time also created a myth that the racial segregation and inequality that occurred as whites were

gaining unprecedented access to homeownership was simply a consequence of the “free market”. Further, he posits that this belief continues to contribute to resistance to redistributive policies.

“A Free Market for Housing: Policy, Growth and Exclusion in Suburbia, 1940-1970” in Freund, David M. P., Colored property: state policy and white racial politics in suburban America. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2007. Freund discusses federal housing policies from 1940-1970 which prevented African Americans from having access to homeownership. Racial segregation and exclusion was created through discriminatory lending and insurance practices, among other harmful policies. Freund also points out the ways in which the financial success of suburban white homeowners was attributed to the “free market” and not to interventions by the federal government.