

TENANTS AS HOUSING AUTHORITY COMMISSIONERS

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ABSTRACT

During the past 15 years, the concept of tenant participation in low-income public housing has received an increasing amount of attention. Although there are many types of tenant participation, the focus of this article is on the tenant as a housing authority commissioner. The purposes of the study are to: 1) provide a profile of housing authority boards and commissioners and 2) examine nine factors thought to be associated with tenant representation on local housing authority boards. A questionnaire was mailed to a nationwide sample of 397 housing authority directors. Size and region of housing authority, number, sex, and race of commissioners and degree of tenant participation are found to be associated with tenant representation on local housing authority boards. The Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), local housing authorities, tenant organizations, tenants at large, and proponents of tenant participation should benefit from the findings of the study in development of guidelines and/or policy regarding tenant participation on local housing authority boards.

INTRODUCTION

The concept of tenant participation in the management of low-income public housing has received an increasing amount of attention and support as evidenced by the literature during the past 15 years according to Diaz (1979). The literature reveals valid reasons for advocating tenant participation in the management of low-income housing. In an analysis of tenant management, proponents of tenant participation in the management of low-income public housing hypothesize that it will result in "...improved maintenance and general operations, less vandalism and greater security" (Diaz, 1979, p. x). Diaz continues that when tenants have a voice in management, they will have a feeling that the housing is theirs and that they have input into policy created to meet their needs. Knox, Kolton, and Dwarshuis (1974) state that the

process of alienation and anomie might be halted if tenant participation became a key strategy for fostering identification with the housing community and for insuring involvement of resident input in improving their community (p.48).

Kolodny (1983, p.1) concludes that if tenants "...are not made part of the solution, they are likely to remain or become part of the problem."

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The United States Congress and the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) have been supportive of tenant participation in the management of low-income public housing and of tenants as housing authority commissioners. This encouragement is documented in HUD circulars (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, circular HM 7401-1, 7/14/70 and circular HM 7401.1, 1/28/71). Section 211 of the Housing and Urban Development Act 1970 states:

Section 1 of the United States Housing Act of 1937 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following: [It is the sense of the Congress that no person should be barred from serving on the board of directors or similar governing body of a local public housing agency because of his tenancy in a low-rent housing project.]

Support continued as a Task Force on Tenant Participation in the Management of Low-Income Housing was appointed by HUD in 1977 to serve for a one-year term. The function of the Task Force was to provide "...recommendations to the Secretary on the development of regulations for tenant participation in public housing management" (HUD, 1978a, p. 1). One aspect of tenant participation considered and recommended by the Task Force was the inclusion of tenants as commissioners on public housing authority boards. The Task Force recommended the following regulations:

All PHA Boards with three commissioners shall have at least one tenant commissioner and all PHA Boards with more than three commissioners shall have at least two tenant commissioners. If necessary, local conflict of interest laws shall be pre-empted to allow tenants to serve as commissioners. In those instances where the local governing body serves as the PHA Board of Commissioners, in addition to the duly elected representatives, residents shall be appointed as voting representatives on all PHA matters in the same number as above (HUD, 1978a, pp.13-14).

Although tenant commissioners are rarely mentioned in current literature, tenant management continues to receive some attention. Kolodny (1983) refers to tenant management as one of the vogues of public policy. He maintains that "Tenant management is neither obsolete nor has it been abandoned. It is, however, out of favor" (p. 1). He goes on to state "...that at least 11 sizeable public housing projects in the county are currently managed by resident corporations" (p. 1).

Bratt (1985) mentions tenant management in a critique of public housing. The National Tenant Management demonstration is generally viewed as successful. It demonstrates that tenants can gain the needed skills to manage public housing and can do it as well as previous management. The National Tenant Management demonstration also provides jobs for tenants and increases overall resident satisfaction (Bratt, 1978). Silver, McDonald, and Ortiz (1985) point out, however, that proponents of tenant management have been too optimistic and ignore evidence that tenant management has not always been successful.

The literature indicates that there are many forms of tenant participation in the management of public housing, including providing information on the needs and concerns of tenants through tenant surveys, complaint systems, and publications. Other forms of tenant participation include employment of tenants to provide goods and services to other tenants, tenant organizations, tenant managers, and tenant commissioners. There is, however, a paucity of information regarding the extent of actual tenant participation. The information that is available is fragmented.

Only two studies (Hartman and Carr, 1969; NAHRO conducts survey on tenant commissioners, 1970) look at tenant representation on local housing authority boards.

Although there are many forms of tenant participation in the management of low-income public housing, this paper focuses on the tenant as a housing authority commissioner, the factors associated with tenant representation on local housing authority boards, and the characteristics of housing authority commissioners and local housing authority boards. This study is conducted to: 1) survey the characteristics of housing authority boards and housing commissioners and 2) explore factors that may influence tenant representation on local authority boards.

The literature and personal experience of one of the authors as a housing authority commissioner indicates the following nine factors are associated with tenant representation on local housing authority boards: 1) housing authority size, 2) geographical location of the local housing authority, 3) presence of a tenant organization, 4) degree of general tenant participation, 5) number of commissioners on the local housing authority board, 6) who selected the local housing commissioners, 7) age, 8) sex composition, and 9) racial composition of the local housing authority board.

For the purpose of this study, tenant representation is defined as the presence of one or more tenant members, voting or non-voting, on the local housing authority board. Tenant representation is divided into two categories: "tenant commissioner present on the local housing authority board," and "tenant commissioner not present on the local housing authority board." The variable "housing authority size" is selected because of "strength in numbers" (of tenants); that is, large housing authorities with large numbers of tenants would be more likely to have greater tenant representation and participation on the board, if the tenants choose to exercise their power and influence.

Housing authority-size categories are the same as those used by Yap, Greenston, and Sadacca (1978) in their Section 8 study. The five categories are: 70 or fewer units, 71-130 units, 131-399 units, 400-999 units, and 1,000 or more units. The variable "geographical location" is chosen because respondents from certain geographical regions might have more liberal attitudes than those from other geographical regions. Geographical location is divided into ten regions, to coincide with HUD's administrative regions (see Figure 1).

Before the conception of the modernization program in 1967, tenant organizations, or councils, were thought of as "clubs" whose purpose was to organize social activities. After the modernization program began, tenant organizations gained new responsibilities, such as their required input into modernization-fund allocation decisions (Bryan, 1971). Therefore, the variable "presence of a tenant organization" is chosen in order to examine whether a tenant organization actually has a "voice" or influence in getting a tenant commissioner on the local housing authority board or whether tenant organizations are still serving in their historical role of social organizations (Bryan, 1971). Therefore, the variable "presence of a tenant organization" is categorized as either "Yes, there is a tenant organization(s), either city-wide, project level or both" or "No, there is no tenant organization."

"Degree of general tenant participation" is chosen as a variable because, if a housing authority has a high degree of general tenant participation, it would logically follow that the housing authority will also have the highest form of

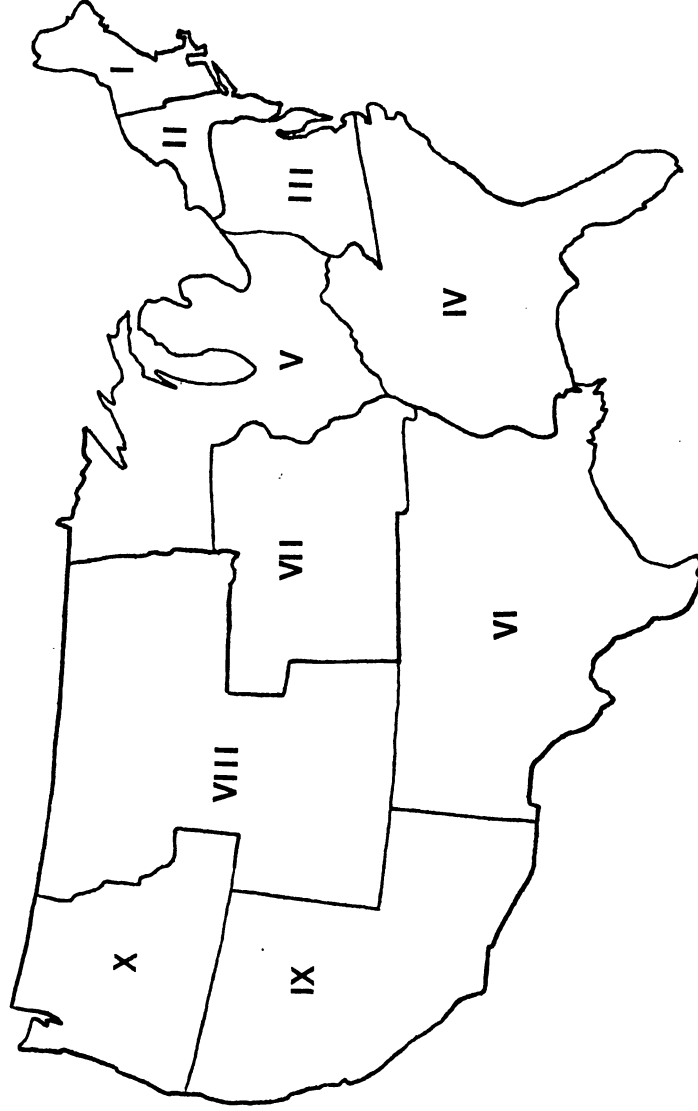


Figure 1. HUD'S administrative regions
Source: Housing Assistance Council

tenant participation--a tenant commissioner on the local housing authority board. Therefore, each responding housing authority is assigned a degree of general tenant participation, either low, moderate, or high, a scale derived from the scores on the Index of Participation. The Index, developed by the investigators, is comprised of various components of tenant participation such as information-gathering devices to ascertain tenant needs and concerns, tenant employees and volunteers, tenant organizations, and tenant commissioners. Each item is assigned a value based on the importance and level of tenant participation. For example, having a tenant commissioner scores a greater number of points than does conducting surveys to find out tenant needs and concerns. The distribution of the Index of Participation scores determines the following categories of general tenant participation: low--0 to 7 points, moderate--8 to 12 points, and high--13 to 26 points. These categories are selected because 1) natural breaks occur at these scores, with respect to the frequency of response, somewhat resembling a normal curve; and 2) the scores are fairly evenly distributed in each category--low (33.6 percent), moderate (28.2 percent), and high (38.1 percent).

"Number of commissioners" is chosen as a variable because the greater the number of commissioners on the local housing authority board, the more willing the board would be to accept a tenant commissioner because his/her voting power would be reduced. This is substantiated by a comment in 1970 from a public housing tenant and a former housing authority commissioner from New Haven, Connecticut who reported that, at the 5th National Workshop conducted by National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials (NAHRO), at first there was a negative attitude toward tenant participation and a fear that the tenants would take over (Tenant-management issues, 1970).

The variable "who selects local housing authority commissioners" is chosen because tenant commissioners may be more prevalent on housing authority boards having commissioners selected by a person(s) or group(s) at both the local and non-local levels. This is because the person(s) or group(s) at the non-local level who selects the commissioners may have fewer political pressures applied to him/her than the person(s) or group(s) at the local level who selects the commissioners.

The variable "age composition" is chosen because a person age 34 and under may have more liberal attitudes on many issues than persons over the age of 35. "Age composition" is categorized as: "housing authority boards with one or more commissioners age 35 and under" and "housing authority boards with no commissioners age 35 and under."

The variable "sex composition" is chosen because female commissioners may be more empathetic and understanding of tenant needs and concerns and be more cooperative in working with a tenant commissioner on the board. The variable "sex composition of the local housing authority board" is divided into two categories: "local housing authority boards with female commissioners" and "local housing authority boards without female commissioners."

"Racial composition" is a variable because a black and/or other minority commissioner may be more empathetic and understanding of tenant needs and concerns and be more cooperative in working with a tenant commissioner on the board.

BACKGROUND

One of the early studies of housing authority commissioners was conducted by Hartman and Carr (1969). Their study contains responses from 1,891 housing

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authority commissioners. They find that the

description of a housing authority commissioner is a white male in the middle or upper-middle income ranges, well-educated in a business or profession, middle-aged or elderly (p. 12).

They point out how different an individual fitting this description is from the average resident living in public housing. They raise the question of

whether a group which is so completely unrepresentative, in basic demographic terms, of the clientele it serves can adequately understand, sympathize with, serve and protect that clientele (p. 13).

Their study finds no housing authority commissioners at that time who are also public housing tenants.

The National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials (NAHRO conducts survey on tenant commissioners, 1970) mailed a questionnaire to 2,700 housing authorities and received 891 responses. From these authorities and previously collected information, it reports that at least 42 housing authorities have tenant commissioners, nine have had tenant commissioners in the past, 58 authorities report they expect to have tenant commissioners in the near future, and 50 housing authorities have commissioners who at one time had been public housing tenants. The largest percentage (41.4 percent) of authorities report that, in their opinion, tenant commissioners would have little or no effect on housing authority operations.

PROCEDURES

The respondents in this study are housing authorities in the United States who participate in the public housing program and manage public housing units. Prior to the main study, a small pilot study, consisting of 20 housing authorities, was conducted for three reasons: 1) to obtain an estimation of the potential response rate, 2) to ascertain whether any of the questions were difficult to understand, were left unanswered, or were answered incorrectly, and 3) to obtain opinions as to the validity of the weighting of each item in the Index of Participation. None of the pilot respondents appeared to have difficulty in answering any of the questions; therefore, no revisions were made to the survey instrument. Changes were made in the Index of Participation, however, based on the findings of the pilot study.

The housing authorities for the main study were stratified according to eight sizes and ten geographical regions. The nationwide sample of 396 housing authorities was selected randomly from each stratum based on their relative proportion to the total population using a table of random numbers.

A questionnaire for data collection was developed by the investigators following a format developed by Dillman (1978) and a tenant-participation framework developed by Knox, Kolton, and Dwarshuis (1974). Categories of occupations of housing authority commissioners were derived from a study by Hartman and Carr (1969). The questionnaire, which was completed by executive directors of housing authorities, contained questions regarding information-gathering devices to ascertain tenant needs and concerns, tenant employees and volunteers, tenant organizations, and numerous questions related to tenant commissioners. Additional descriptive data for the housing authority board were also obtained through the questionnaire.

In order to obtain the study response rate of 78.5 percent (312 respondents), an initial mail-out and a postcard were sent to everyone in the sample. One follow-up mailing was sent to all non-respondents.

Descriptive analysis was used to report data concerning the characteristics of housing authority boards and housing commissioners. Chi-square analysis was used to discover which factors were associated with tenant representation on the local housing authority boards. Crammer's V or Phi was used to indicate the strength of the relationship between pairs of variables.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Profile of housing authority boards

A majority (86.9 percent) of the housing authority boards are composed of five commissioners. Almost all (95.5 percent) of the commissioners have voting privileges (see Table 1).

The occupations of housing authority commissioners vary: 59 percent are employed in professional or technical occupations; 10.3 percent are managers, officials, or proprietors; and about an equal percentage (10.6 percent) are retired. The remaining 20 percent is comprised of laborers, farmers and farm managers, semi-professionals, craftsmen, foremen and operators, service workers, and others. Very few commissioners are paid for their services.

Almost two-thirds (61.9 percent) of the housing authority boards have at least one female commissioner. Slightly over half (51.9 percent) have at least one black and/or other minority commissioner, while slightly over one-quarter (25.6 percent) have at least one commissioner age 35 or under.

Although less than one-fourth (22.4 percent) of the housing authority boards have a tenant commissioner, this represents an increase over Hartman and Carr's (1969) finding that no public housing residents serve on housing authority boards. Only three percent of the Hartman and Carr respondents had ever lived in public housing (Hartman and Carr, 1969). A comparison of findings of the current study and the 1970 NAHRO study shows that tenant representation on local housing authority boards increased appreciably during the '70s. In this current study, moreover, most tenant commissioners (95.7 percent) have voting privileges.

Approximately 29 percent of the housing authority boards have had a tenant commissioner within the past ten years. Only 10.6 percent of the housing authority boards have been requested, by either public housing tenants or tenant organizations, to place a tenant on the board. Of the boards responding, 18 percent have placed a tenant on the board *without* having received a request to do so.

Twenty of the 33 housing authorities receiving a request to place a tenant commissioner on the board report that the request has been honored. The 12 housing authorities reporting that the request has not been honored give the following reasons: conflict of interest (three respondents); director did not know (two respondents); no reason given (two respondents); do not believe mayor accepts tenants as good appointment to housing board; the city council, mayor and state jointly appoint commissioners; the mayor appointed someone from private enterprise; vocal agitation by tenants offended and frightened the board; and the selection of the candidate was less preferable to another tenant advocate.

Table 1. Profile of housing authority boards included in this study

CHARACTERISTIC	NUMBER (312) ^a	PERCENT OF TOTAL (100)
Total number of commissioners		
Four	3	.96
Five	271	86.85
Six	3	.96
Seven	27	8.65
Nine	6	1.92
Eleven	2	.64
Authorities in which all commissioners had voting privileges	298	95.51
Occupations of commissioners		
Professional/technical	955	58.09
Retired	174	10.58
Managers, officials and proprietors	169	10.27
Laborers	107	6.50
Farmers and farm managers	51	3.10
Semi-professionals	43	2.61
Craftsmen, foremen and operators	10	.60
Service workers	3	.18
Others	132	8.29
Salaried commissioners	24	7.69
Female commissioner(s)	193	61.85
Black and/or minority commissioner(s)	162	51.92
Commissioner(s) under the age of 35	80	25.64
Tenant on local housing authority board	70	22.43
Voting privilege of tenant commissioner	67	95.50
Tenant commissioner on the board within the past ten years	89	28.52
Tenant commissioner has been requested Individual or group responsible for the selection of local housing authority commissioners	33	10.57
Mayor	142	45.51
City commissioners	39	12.50
Other	120	41.61
Length of term		
5 years	150	48.07
4 years	55	18.00
2 years	41	13.14
Other	57	21.17
Re-appointment of commissioners possible	302	96.79

^aTotal number of housing authorities included in the study

The mayor had sole responsibility for selecting and appointing housing authority commissioners for 45.5 percent of the responding housing authorities. There are numerous others who are responsible for the selection and appointment of commissioners, including city commissioners, mayor and city commissioners jointly, county commissioners, other housing authority board members, and mayor and housing authority board members jointly, with most (96 percent) of those responsible being at the local level.

Responses regarding the length of term that housing authority commissioners serve vary greatly. Almost half (48 percent) serve five-year terms, 18 percent serve four-year terms, while 13 percent serve two-year terms. Those remaining (21 percent) report that their housing authority commissioners serve various lengths of terms. An overwhelming majority (97 percent) of the respondents report that commissioners could be reappointed for additional terms.

Advantages and disadvantages of tenant commissioners

Housing authority directors were questioned, through open-ended questions, as to the advantages and disadvantages of tenant representation. Of the responding directors, 40.7 report that there are advantages to having tenant representation. Over 87 percent of the directors list provision of input and insight into tenant problems, needs, views and concerns as the main advantage of tenant representation (see Table 2).

Table 2. Advantages of tenant representation on local housing authority boards

Advantage	Number of Respondents (127) ^a	Percent of Respondents (100)
Provides input and insight into tenant problems, needs, views and concerns	111	87.40
Relays information from the board to tenants and serves as a buffer between the board and the tenants	10	7.87
Helps the tenants to understand the administrative workings of the housing authority	5	3.93
Tenant can be present at all regular meetings	1	0.78

a. Seventy-two housing authority directors responded that there were no advantages to having tenant representation on local authority boards; 133 respondents did not answer the question

Disadvantages to having tenant representation on local housing authority boards are reported by 35 percent of the respondents, although 45 percent did not answer the question. Approximately 43 percent of those reporting disadvantages list lack of objectivity/conflict of interest on the part of the tenants (see Table 3).

Table 3. Disadvantages of tenant representation on local housing authority boards

Disadvantage	Number of Respondents (111) ^a	Percent of Respondents (100)
Lack of objectivity/conflict of interest	48	43.24
Lack of confidentiality	13	11.71
Not qualified/knowledgeable	11	9.90
Dwell on minor problems	10	9.00
Jealousy and/or resentment from other tenants	9	8.10
Elderly tenants are not interested	7	6.30
Tenant commissioners have a poor relationship with the housing authority board	3	2.70
Gives misinformation to the board about tenants and/or gives misinformation to the tenants about the board	2	1.80
Other	8	7.20

a (59 housing authority directors reported that there were no disadvantages to having tenant representation on local housing authority boards; 142 respondents did not answer the question)

Factors Influencing Tenant Representation On Local Housing Authority Boards

Six variables are found to be significantly associated with tenant representation on local housing authority boards: 1) housing authority size, 2) geographical location, 3) degree of general participation, 4) number of commissioners, 5) sex composition, and 6) racial composition of the local housing authority board. Three variables are not found to be significantly associated with tenant representation on local housing authority boards: 1) presence of a tenant organization, 2) who selects the local housing authority commissioners, and 3) age composition of the local housing authority board.

Tenant representation on local housing authority boards is found to be significantly associated with housing authority size ($p < 0.001$). A Cramer's V of 0.27 indicates a weak association. Overall, there are almost 3.5 times as many housing authorities without tenant representation on their housing authority boards (240 or 77.2 percent) as there are housing authority boards with tenant representation (71 or 22.8 percent).

Table 4 shows that, in general, as housing authority size increases, so does the probability of a tenant commissioner being present. Only 14.3 percent of boards with 70 or fewer units have tenant commissioner present on the board as compared to 53.3 percent of boards with 1000 or more units (see Table 4).

Tenant representation on local housing authority boards is found to be significantly associated with geographical location ($p < 0.001$). A Cramer's V of 0.52 indicates a moderate degree of association between the two variables.

Some differences in distribution between the ten geographical regions are apparent. Tenant representation on local housing authority boards is significantly greater in Regions I and II (Northeast) and IX and X (West). In four contiguous regions, IV and VI (South) and V and VII (Northcentral), tenant representation is significantly less (see Table 5).

Table 4. Tenant representation on housing authority boards by housing authority size

Tenant Commissioner Present	HOUSING AUTHORITY SIZE					Row Total
	70 or fewer units	71-130 units	131-399 units	400-999 units	1,000 or more units	
Yes	14.3 (16)	21.8 (12)	20.3 (15)	30.0 (12)	53.3 (16)	22.8 (71)
No	85.7 (96)	78.2 (43)	79.7 (59)	70.0 (28)	46.7 (14)	77.2 (240)
Column Total	100.0 (112)	100.0 (55)	100.0 (74)	100.0 (40)	100.0 (30)	100.0 (311) ^a

$\chi^2 = 21.96$ $df = 4$ $p < 0.001$ Cramer's V = 0.2657

a. One observation missing

Tenant representation on local housing authority boards is found to be significantly associated with degree of general tenant participation ($p < 0.01$). A Cramer's V of 0.18, however, indicates a weak association between the variables.

For housing authority boards with tenant commissioners, the percentages increase as the degree of general tenant participation increases (low - 12.4 percent; moderate - 25.3 percent; and high - 30.3 percent). The percentages of the housing authority boards without tenant representation decrease as the degree of general tenant participation increases (low - 88.6 percent; moderate - 74.7 percent; and high - 69.7 percent) (see Table 6).

Tenant representation on local housing authority boards is found to be significantly associated with the number of commissioners on the board ($p < 0.001$). With a Cramer's V of 0.51, a moderate degree of association exists between the two variables.

Table 5. Tenant representation on housing authority boards by geographical location of the housing authority

Tenant Commissioner Present	REGIONS										Total %
	I %	II %	III %	IV %	V %	VI %	VII %	VIII %	IX %	X %	
Yes	61.5 (8)	68.7 (11)	14.3 (2)	8.1 (6)	13.2 (7)	22.4 (15)	2.9 (1)	25.0 (4)	81.3 (13)	50.0 (4)	22.8 (71)
No	38.5 (5)	31.3 (5)	85.7 (12)	91.9 (68)	86.8 (46)	77.6 (52)	97.1 (33)	75.0 (12)	18.7 (3)	50.0 (4)	77.2 (240)
Column Total	100 (13)	100 (16)	100 (14)	100 (74)	100 (53)	100 (67)	100 (34)	100 (16)	100 (16)	100 (8)	100 (311)a

$\chi^2 = 84.71$ df = 9 p < 0.001 Cramer's V = 0.5219

a. One observation missing

Table 6. Tenant representation on housing authority board by degree of general tenant participation

Tenant Commissioner Present	Degree of General Tenant Participation			Row Total %
	Low %	Moderate %	High %	
Yes	12.4 (13)	25.3 (22)	30.3 (36)	22.8 (71)
No	88.6 (92)	74.7 (65)	69.7 (83)	77.2 (240)
Column Total	100 (105)	100 (87)	100 (119)	100 (311)a

$\chi^2 = 10.53$ df = 2 p < 0.01 Cramer's V = 0.1840

a. One observation missing

Of all the responding housing authorities, 86.9 percent report five commissioners on their housing authority board, while only 8.7 percent of the reporting housing authority boards have seven commissioners and only two percent have nine commissioners. Slightly over two percent have varying numbers of commissioners (see Table 1). Of those housing authorities with seven member boards, there are almost five times as many with tenant commissioners as without tenant commissioners. Conversely, of those housing authority boards with only five members, there are almost six times as many without tenant commissioners as with tenant commissioners. In the remaining two categories, "nine" and "other", the percentages of housing authorities with and without tenant commissioners is

fairly evenly divided (see Table 7).

Table 7. Tenant representation on housing authority board by number of housing authority commissioners

Tenant Commissioner Present	Number of Commissioners				Row Total
	Five %	Seven %	Nine %	Other %	%
Yes	14.5 (39)	82.1 (23)	60.0 (3)	66.7 (6)	22.8 (71)
No	85.5 (230)	17.9 (5)	40.0 (2)	33.3 (3)	77.2 (240)
Column Total	100 (269)	100 (28)	100 (5)	100 (9)	100 (311) ^a

$\chi^2 = 80.25$ $df = 3$ $p < 0.001$ Cramer's V = 0.5097

a. One observation missing

Tenant representation on local housing authority boards is found to be significantly associated with sex composition of the boards. A Phi value of 0.25 indicates a weak relationship between the two variables.

Of the respondents, 61.9 percent report that they have female commissioners on their housing authority boards (see Table 1.) Table 8 shows, however, that housing authority boards with at least one female commissioner are three times more likely to also have a tenant commissioner present than are boards without any female commissioners (30.9 percent versus 9.5 percent) (see Table 8).

"Racial Composition" is divided into two categories: "housing authority boards with black and/or other minority commissioners" and "housing authority boards without black and/or other minority commissioners." Tenant representation on local housing authority boards is found to be significantly associated with racial composition of the board. A Phi value of 0.19 indicates a weak relationship between the two variables.

There is a fairly even distribution between the percentage of housing authority boards with black and/or minority commissioners (51.9 percent) and the percentage of boards without black and/or other minority commissioners (48.1 percent) (see Table 1). Table 9 demonstrates that a housing authority board is twice as likely to have a tenant commissioner if it also has black and/or other minority commissioners (30.6 percent versus 14.7 percent). A possible reason for this might be that minority and tenant commissioners are often one and the same.

Table 8. Tenant representation on housing authority boards by sex composition of the local housing authority board

Tenant Commissioner Present	Presence Of At Least One Female Commissioner		Row Total %
	Yes %	No %	
Yes	30.9 (60)	9.5 (11)	22.9 (71)
No	69.1 (134)	90.5 (105)	77.1 (239)
Column Total	100 (194)	100 (116)	100 (310) ^a

$\chi^2 = 11.17$ df = 1 P < 0.001 Phi = 0.2470

a. Two observations are missing

Table 9. Tenant representation on housing authority board by racial composition of the local housing authority board

Tenant Commissioner Present	Presence Of At Least One Black and/or Other Minority Commissioner		Row Total %
	Yes %	No %	
Yes	30.6 (49)	14.7 (22)	22.9 (71)
No	69.4 (111)	85.3 (128)	77.1 (239)
Column Total	100 (160)	100 (150)	100 (310)

$\chi^2 = 11.17$ df = 1 p < 0.001 Phi = 0.1898

a. Two observations are missing

Tenant representation on local housing authority boards is not found to be significantly associated with tenant organizations, who selects the commissioners, or age composition of the housing authority board.

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

Six variables are found to be significantly associated with tenant representation on local housing authority boards: 1) housing authority size, 2) geographical location, 3) degree of general participation, 4) number of commissioners, 5) sex composition and 6) racial composition of the local housing authority board.

Tenant representation on local housing authority boards is significantly greater in the housing authorities that manage 1,000 units or more of public housing, possibly because larger housing authorities have a greater number of tenants with the power to make demands on the housing authority board (strength in numbers).

Tenant representation on local housing authority boards is also significantly greater in Regions I and II (Northeast) and IX and X (West). This may be due to the fact that one or more states in each of the four regions has made a formal statement requiring or permitting a tenant(s) to serve on the local housing authority board by either statute or state attorneys general's opinion.

Tenant representation on local housing authority boards is significantly greater on boards with seven or nine commissioners than on boards with five commissioners. One tenant commissioner on a board consisting of seven or nine commissioners may be viewed as having little power (only one out of seven or nine votes).

Tenant representation on local housing authority boards is significantly greater in the housing authorities with a moderate or high degree of general tenant participation. A housing authority with a moderate or high degree of general tenant participation may logically also have the highest form of tenant participation--a tenant commissioner.

Tenant representation on local housing authority boards is significantly greater on the housing authority boards with at least one female commissioner present, or at least one black and/or other minority commissioner present, possibly because commissioners from either of these groups may be more empathetic and understanding of tenant needs and concerns and, therefore, may be more cooperative in working with a tenant commissioner.

Three variables are not found to be significantly associated with tenant representation on local housing authority boards: 1) presence of a tenant organization, 2) who selects the local housing authority commissioners, and 3) age composition of the local housing authority board. The present study provides an inventory of factors that are associated with tenant representation on local housing authority boards. Not only HUD, but local housing authorities, tenant organizations, tenants at large, and proponents of tenant participation should benefit from the findings of this study in the development of guidelines and/or policy regarding tenant representation of local housing authority boards.

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