

## THE PROCESS OF BLACK SUBURBANIZATION

by

PHILLIP LEROY CLAY

B. A. (with Honors) University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill

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Certified by

Thesis Supervisor

Accepted by

Chairman, Departmental Committee on Graduate Students





## ABSTRACT

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Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning, Massachusetts Institute of Technology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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While there have been numerous studies of black mobility, and separately of blacks in the suburbs, there have been no systematic inquiries into the process by which this migration takes place. This thesis is an investigation of the process of black suburbanization. The hypothesis suggests that black suburbanization is a function of the level of black "effective demand." The thesis is organized around three elements to test this hypothesis. Who, among blacks move to the suburbs, what type of physical setting (housing and neighborhood) do they move to, and what pattern emerges in their settlement? Census data and case studies are the sources of data.

With respect to the first element -- who among blacks moved to the suburbs -- the major finding was that those who move were younger and better off (economically) than incumbent black suburbanites or blacks who are in the central city. This finding is contrary to the conventional wisdom based on earlier censuses, and comes through quite convincingly when the gross population flows are examined.

It was also found that characteristics of the housing and the neighborhood were very closely related to the level of well-being and the percentage of blacks in the neighborhood. For example, lower-income blacks were in neighborhoods with the worst physical characteristics and the greatest percentage of black population. The better-off blacks were in newer areas where there were fewer, but more recently migrant blacks.

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Having dealt with the population and physical environment variables, the final element has to do with the pattern of settlement of blacks in the metropolitan areas. Washington and Newark were used as cases in this regard. While the conventional wisdom had specified that the pattern was typically one of "spillover" or "enclave," the evidence from the two case studies and other evidence suggest that a more accurate and more inclusive description is that of "sectoral" movement, usually in the direction where the oldest or most modest housing is located. In looking at the evidence that bears on the hypothesis of the thesis, it appears that the hypothesis is confirmed, and that the evidence further suggests that there are several alternative formulations of "effective demand" which seems to be confirmed in the thesis research. They include the expected result of expanded black income, but also formulations which reflect a decline in the general market preference for housing which ends up in black occupancy. In the discussion of process then, it seems that "effective demand" explains which blacks move and the type of physical setting they move to, and that the pattern is sectoral with the speed, direction and concentration being affected by the number, origin, and class of prospective black migrants.

In conclusion, a number of goals were specified for policy in this area. These goals revolved around issues of free choice, maintenance of stock, ending segregation, and promoting stability. A number of policies already in place are reviewed, and some suggestions for intervention to achieve the goals are made.

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Since 1973, when I started to work on the research which led to this thesis, I went through a number of different research designs in the area of black suburbanization. My interest in this topic was provoked by an article written by Professor Bernard Frieden in 1970, as well as articles by Professor Bennett Harrison who raised questions about the nature of opportunities for blacks beyond the rim. While other writers have looked at various aspects of the suburbanization of blacks, this thesis is the first effort to systematically get at the process issue. And while some may regret that the thesis does not address issues of "quality of life" or "integration" in the suburbs, understanding of process is central to making better sense of these other areas. It is hoped that this contribution will be useful to practitioners and researchers in the field.

There are many people to whom I would like to extend my thanks for the help they provided in the completion of this thesis. First, I would like to thank my colleagues in the Department of Urban Studies and Planning whose teaching and support provided the basis for my research abilities. I am especially grateful to Professor Lloyd Rodwin (who was chairman for most of my tenure as a student), for generous financial support and for the opportunity to participate collegially in the Department. I also want to extend my gratitude to the members of the Joint Center for Urban Studies of M.I.T. and Harvard for a research fellowship and for a friendly and congenial atmosphere in which to work.

There are several individuals to whom I owe a special debt. I am grateful to Chuck Libby, Wren McMains and Greg Barry for their assistance in extracting the Public Use Sample Tape for computer analysis. I am grateful to Eunice Grier and her colleagues at the Washington Center for Metropolitan studies for much of the case data on Washington. These individuals helped me in pulling together the best possible data in this research area where good data are scarce.

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Finally, I would not have survived this exercise without the loving patience and consideration of my wife, Sandy. She willingly and graciously shared the burdens imposed on me in all my graduate student years. She was helpful in very special ways.

To all of these people (and many others too numerous to list here), I owe a debt and a share of the credits, but since it is in the last analysis my work, I fully assume the responsibility for the errors and imperfections of this first major work.

Phillip L. Clay  
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## Chapter One

## INTRODUCTION

In the decade of the 1960's, we witnessed a one-third increase in the number of blacks in suburbia. During the same decade, suburban residence became the model residence for the urban American -- with the suburban population exceeding both the core city and non-metro areas in population. Bound up in the little houses and apartment buildings that dotted the area beyond the rim is more than shelter but a complex package reflecting more than two decades of change -- in the pattern of metropolitan residence, in the relationship of suburbs to the central cities, and in the relationship of the suburbs to each other. Earlier, suburbs were dependent on the city for administration, housing, jobs, commerce, and culture. More recently and in varying degrees, suburbs have become much more independent of the city, and with each other, and are often separately viewed as the "outer city," or "spread city."

The predominance of the suburb in the metropolitan scheme has also been associated with class segmentation -- resulting in greater class differences among suburbs, and greater homogeneity within suburban neighborhoods. Additionally, we have witnessed the dispersal of functions once thought to be completely central. Speciality stores with everything from pianos to designer fashions have suburban branches, or more recently only suburban locations.

As suburbs were growing rapidly (starting in the 50's) and as whites were tripping over each other to get out of the city, blacks saw the northern central city as the new frontier. Some blacks did move to the small industrial towns and to the urban fringe. A very few even moved to suburbs, but for the most part blacks were concentrated in the central city. In fact, a few blacks have been in the suburban ring of most metropolitan areas for decades, though these suburbs were often on the urban fringe.

The magnitude of suburban migration is substantial. In 1960, there were 2.7 million blacks in the suburbs. By 1970 there were 3.5 million. This represents an increase of nearly one third, or more than 800,000 people. The total suburban population, during this period, increased by a similar percentage from 55 million to 76 million. The percentage increase in numbers of suburban residents was nearly equal (30%) for both races. The variation among regions and among different classes of cities will be discussed later. It is significant to note here that migration (compared to natural increase) accounted for more of the black increase than it did for whites. Thus, what we are discussing here is not a massive movement, but a modest one whose parameters are of significant interest. (Table 1-1)

The complex interaction of people, housing neighborhood and metropolitan characteristics with respect to black suburban migration has not been sorted out, despite the fact

that knowledge of such interaction is critical to any positive response to policy issues. The study of black suburbanization is not an isolated inquiry. It is part of a larger inquiry into differentiation in the suburbs which has resulted in age, class, occupational, ethnic, and other distinctions being emphasized. These studies are being undertaken around the country and will be referred to here from time to time. These other studies are directed at a number of issues, but none of them is directed towards the determination of the process by which black suburbanization takes place.

The origin of this as a thesis comes from three sources. First, there was the perception that the conventional wisdom with respect to black migration to, and settlement in the suburbs no longer represented the whole of observable change in black migration. The notion that blacks in the suburbs were systematically poorer and isolated in black enclaves was not consistent with what seemed to be happening. Moreover, even if the conventional representation still held, the explanation for how it got to be that way, and the dynamics of it have not been generally articulated. Almost all of the investigations into metropolitan mobility in recent years has been based on a central city population, and not suburban populations. Blacks were not really represented well in these studies. Black suburbanites were also obscured in the



Table 1-1

Percentage Shares of Total U.S. Population  
Growth by Geographic Areas, 1930-1970  
(%)

| <u>Decade</u> | <u>All Metro-<br/>politan Areas</u> | <u>All Central<br/>Cities</u> | <u>All<br/>Suburbs</u> | <u>All Nonmetro-<br/>politan Areas</u> |
|---------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------|--|
| 1930-40       | 65.9                                | 27.0                          | 38.9                   | 34.1                                   |
| 1940-50       | 86.1                                | 35.0                          | 51.1                   | 13.9                                   |
| 1950-60       | 84.4                                | 20.1                          | 64.3                   | 15.6                                   |
| 1960-70       | 83.9                                | 13.4                          | 70.5                   | 16.1                                   |

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census and  
Cited in Anthony, Downs,  
Opening up the Suburbs (New  
Haven; Yale University Press,  
1973), p. 18.

detailed census publications and ignored (or only inadequately sampled in large-scale surveys). Few surveys over-sampled blacks to get a significant number of cases for statistical analysis.

A second issue which attracted my interest in this area was the concern for what was happening to blacks. We know from past experience that with economic expansion, more blacks have higher incomes (though the general dimensions of intra and inter-racial income inequality were not changed), more blacks have sufficient income to exercise choice outside the ghetto, and that resistance to blacks as neighbors has selectively declined. We also know from experience and from a decade of popular and scholarly inquiry that inner city areas were going through rapid change as a result of neighborhood life cycle changes and urban renewal. Blacks left neighborhoods in rather substantial numbers. In cities like Washington, Newark, New York, Los Angeles, blacks had to be going somewhere. Since it was clear at an early date that some suburban areas were opening to blacks, it became increasingly interesting to know who was moving, where they were moving, and in what pattern they settled. This was especially significant since many non-southern, jurisdictions passed open housing laws in the mid 1960's and a federal law was passed in 1968. This doesn't suggest cause, but does suggest the importance of the issue. A few success

stories of blacks in the suburbs aroused a desire that the real process, including the disaggregated dimensions, be fully exposed.<sup>1</sup>

A third source for this effort was the feeling that there was a need to get a handle on what was happening in the metropolitan markets involved in the quest for the advancement of civil rights. In addition to the housing market, the capital, labor and education markets were of interest.

Finally, it was important to understand, for families and households, how they made decisions about these markets in terms of mobility between communities in the metropolitan area. Even if there was not torrent of blacks moving to the suburbs, the process of those few who did move would be instructive for the expansion of real opportunities to others. All of these issues pointed in the same direction -- an examination of the process of black suburban migration. Process in this context may be operationally viewed as an interrelated set of facts about black mobility, suburban physical environments, metropolitan ecology and social change which explain the increases in the black suburban population (natural increase, intra-suburban movement, migration from central city and relocation from other SMSA's) and their pattern of settlement in the suburbs.

Conceived this way, it is expected that the thesis would make the following contributions to Urban Studies:

- 1) In addition to all of the speculation, we will be able to specify the process of black suburbanization and from that have a better idea of the variables (population, housing, neighborhoods) which might lead to black movement to the suburbs.
- 2) It would contribute to the understanding of the increasing suburban differentiation. While individual suburban communities display homogeneity, there is heterogeneity in suburbia by inner ring vs. outer ring, by age of population, by family stage characteristics, and by class (income) status. Black suburbanization may be related to these issues.
- 3) It would contribute to policy-making in the areas of housing generally and specifically to policies involved in advancing free residential access by blacks. In short, the search is for the elements (variables) which might be manipulated to expand the opportunity and

improve the response to a broader range of blacks in a broader range of communities than presently might exist.

All three of the expected contributions come together to offer an opportunity for a contribution which is both unique and useful. The thesis involves an analysis of past research and new analysis of census data. The effort is an examination of the process of black suburbanization, not an examination of qualitative issues often raised in connection with blacks in suburbs (such as black well-being, integration, comparative opportunity, suitability, etc.).

Because "process" is so central to the analysis, the following four questions are critical:

- 1) Who are the blacks who have moved to the suburbs, and how do they compare to white suburban incumbents, and black center city residents? How do suburban blacks with different origins and lengths of residence compare?
- 2) What housing characteristics of blacks in the suburbs are associated with the different suburbs?
- 3) What are the characteristics of the suburban neighborhoods in which blacks live, and how

do the characteristics of the neighborhood interact, dynamically, with characteristics of the population?

- 4) Combining the elements cited above, what pattern and changes in the pattern in the metropolitan area are associated with black migration to suburbs in the 1960's?

The combination and synthesis of the elements reflected in the above questions will describe what black suburbanization is all about, the circumstances under which it occurs, and provides insight into the direction, size and speed of future change. In short, the conclusion should have substantial explanatory power for what is observed, and be predictive of what might happen.

The evidenciary and analytical requirement for the completion of this research are substantial, and as in the case of most small scale and exploratory research, there are some limitations. The major limitations here are:

- 1) A full analysis would require substantial demographic, economic and social data for migrants and incumbents. There is little available data prepared in this way. The census which is the primarily data source here, provides only limited data on black

suburban migrants separate from black suburban incumbents. As a result of this limitation, some of the necessary analysis to better document the difference between the groups cannot be made.

- 2) There is no available data in some related areas (i.e., black aspiration, mobility attitudes, housing and neighborhood quality, suburban satisfaction levels, etc.) which get at behavioral issues not reflected in census data. The few studies in which the issues have been addressed have black samples so small that subtle differences would not be statistically significant, or are not available for the range of suburban communities which blacks now inhabit. Therefore, on these behavioral issues, our reliance is on secondary, sometimes dated, information.

#### The Changing Metropolitan Balance

If there is an overall theme to the metropolitan development in the 1960's, it is one of increasing structural differentiation. Our facile notion of homogeneous suburbia must give way to the fact that while there is micro-homogeneity in suburbia, the macro perspective is one of great diversity.

Yonkers and Hastings-on-the-Hudson in the New York SMSA, and Somerville and Newton, in the Boston SMSA, are examples of quite different suburbs within the same metropolitan area. Within a single suburban ring, we find old industrial satellites, bedroom suburbs, new towns, rural areas and medium-sized municipalities. Each of them is in a different stage of the life cycle of communities and each is affected differently by the dynamics of economic and social change. School enrollments, occupational status, quality of housing, among other things, vary greatly.

The analytical significance of this suburban differentiation is that the search for the process of black suburbanization will not be a unidimensional investigation. Just as there are different type suburbs and different characteristics of movers, there must be different processes at work in migrant's getting there and in their later mobility. Given that the move to suburbia is more than technical (across the corporate line of the designated central city), some housing and population variables in the experience must define what is going on. Understanding the process in some detail could change the nature (and the specificity) of our dialogue about blacks in the suburbs.

The differentiation cited above is not new, but some significant changes are clear. The suburbs have existed



for a long time, but their population always a relatively dependent minority concentrated in fashionable middleclass havens, or in industrial satellites, or in a rural hinterland. A casual or laizzez-faire attitude was taken because these communities were not the locus of our civic leadership, economic development, or cultural or social institutions. The issues have become important more recently because of the changes in the share suburbia has of all of these resources, because of the political and economic dominance which suburbs have, and because of the increasing class and racial segmentation in the metropolitan area.

There was always a hope of alliance and cooperation between the city and its ring because of the human and historical ties of people in the metropolis. Skeletal metropolitan institutions were established, cooperative agreements and wide-area authorities proliferated. Reform and progressive commentators and politicians awaited the day when a broad-based metropolitan government would develop. It was assumed that the suburban resident was from the central city of his metro and that he cared about the old neighborhood in which part of his family might live or where he might work or shop. We also implicitly assumed a certain amount of public regardness on the part of suburbanites which could be called on if a political mechanism could be devised to facilitate it. In the 1960 census

(showing migration 1955-60), only 13 of the 28 large SMSA studies had more new suburbanites coming from the center city than from outside the metropolitan area. In the 1970 census (showing migration 1965-70), only one SMSA was in a similar situation.<sup>2</sup> This clearly indicates that the suburban population in any given place is the result of a very mixed immigrant group with no necessary connection to the central city.

What is significant about this is that there is some significance to the differentiation which is occurring. The general character that the places have bespeak their function. There are "industrial suburbs," "rural fringe communities," "bedroom suburbs," "upper middleclass suburbs," etc. All of these type suburbs are represented and suggest the dimensions of the differentiation within the suburban ring. This quite general observation already exposes the necessity of disaggregation (of community type and migrant type) in the present investigation.

The demographic change is accompanied by economic and political changes which are generally characterized by a decline in the central place function. The recent decade has witnessed the out-movement of selective economic function -- spreading anxiety (often exaggerated) through the country and resulting in disinvestment in the inner city. This disinvestment has not

been total, but has been very substantial. It is an interesting question whether the disinvestment in the city pushed blacks from the city, or if suburban neighborhoods were particularly attractive. It is also interesting to ask whether blacks, like some whites, moved to the suburbs in pursuit of economic opportunity there, or if, for blacks, the residential move was unrelated to economic opportunity. These questions will be addressed in the chapters which follow.

In the political arena, power in the state legislature and in the Congress has shifted suburbanward with the population. Of course, "one-man, one vote" ruling is responsible for much of this, but the demographic shift is nevertheless most important. The political autonomy and power of suburbia has emboldened suburban jurisdictions to use their political power to reflect the private (even parochial) interests or prejudices. "Home-rule" is no longer either benign or quaint.

Against this growing dominance of the suburbs, the role and fate of the center city has received considerable attention. One scenario would suggest that the city would wither away to be a heterogeneous mixed-use central place with only a few traditional central functions, fortified luxury areas, and vast decaying ghettos of trapped blacks. White workers in this scenario would be an imported labor force.

Another, more cautious scenario, would imagine that the city would retain its central place function, though sharing many of these functions with the suburbs. They see the investment in, and attractiveness of, the city to be too great to be abandoned. They would point to the potential for community and economic development. They, would also suggest that the city could be viable even if blacks should rise to demographic and political dominance, especially if a greater urban commitment is made.

Recent evidence supports the latter view more than the former. In cities like Detroit, Washington, Atlanta and even Newark, a new hope has replaced some of the earlier pessimism. White flight has lessened, new office towers are rising and in some cases, whites are moving back to the city, albeit to particular select locations. The fiscal crisis seems less ominous (if recession and inflation can be controlled) than it did earlier when normal revenue and expenditure projections were completely divergent.

#### Blacks and Metropolitan Growth

Much of the disillusionment with the center city was by whites of the physical inventory and of social fabric. The disillusionment by blacks seems to spring from another source which has been summarized by Eliot Liebow as the feeling of

3  
obsolescence. He suggests that blacks had a sense that they

and, especially their communities, were no longer needed by the economy or the society for any valuable function. This was assumed to be reflected in the low wages which blacks were paid, as well as in the public and private disinvestment in the central city neighborhoods (though some investment in other sectors of the central city were made -- convention centers and sports arena, for example). The neglect was not seen as "benign." From this attitude, he suggests, sprung the rebellions of the 60's, the alienation of the youth, and the growing class and racial segregation. With large areas of the city inhabited by poor blacks, such a feeling, if not predominant among blacks, is seen as widespread.

This attitude carries over to the neighborhoods. Disinvestment (and abandonment) in the city by the institutions tells prospective black homeseekers that there is no longer any reasons to assume appreciation and development, and therefore that capital investment would be unwise. This has occurred despite attempts to save the area by the infusion of federal assistance or the local attempt at the management of neighborhood change.

The anxiety about the role of blacks and the decline of neighborhoods were occurring as public services declined and as capital investments were made either in the suburbs (expressways, water and sewer extensions, etc.), or to shore up the CBD

economy (office buildings, sports and convention centers, universities, etc.). These factors reinforced the worst expectations of whites, helped to quicken their exit, and reinforced the notion among blacks that the central city's social problems were not on the top of the nation's urban agenda.

For most of the period between 1965-70, we were in a period of economic expansion, and with it an expansion of expectations by blacks. These expectations were political (spurred by rising black political power in the city), economic (more blacks moving into higher paying and status jobs), and social (the feeling that with or without integration, the opportunity to realize fuller participation was at hand). The selected opportunities which did open up reinforced these expectations. The reality and the myth of these opportunities are responsible not only for some black residential movements, but also for political aggressiveness, economic ventures and other initiatives.

This change produced a group of blacks who may or may not have shared the worst feeling about the core city, but who nevertheless, were at least marginally able to exercise some residential choice, and to participate in the broader trends in the society. While it is not suggested that a substantial class-schisms were produced among blacks, it is demonstrable (as will

be shown in subsequent chapters) that blacks, differently circumstanced, and in different cities, came to see their residential interests and needs differently from other blacks. Many moved to the suburbs, others to new central city locations, and still others chose to stay put. The factors associated with their choices and the subsequent ecology of their settlement are the focii of this research.

To pursue the goal of the thesis, the chapters follow below. Chapter Two reviews the findings which other researchers have had with respect to black suburbanization and related issues. Chapter Three explores the evidence for several popular explanations for black suburbanization. This chapter also presents the requirements for a strong theoretical statement on "process."

Chapter Four and Five begin the original exploration of process of black suburbanization -- focusing in turn on who moves, and on housing and neighborhood characteristics of black suburbanites and their referents. Chapter Six examines two case studies which focus on the pattern (and correlates to the pattern) of black settlement, incorporating population, housing and other pertinent data on the Washington and Newark SMSA's. Chapter Seven will incorporate all the findings from previous chapters by specifying the process of black suburbanization in all its relevant aspects. The effort concludes with an analysis of policy implications which emanate from the findings. The research agenda in this area is also included.

NOTES

1. For example, see the special issue of Time (June 17, 1974).
2. See generally, Joseph Zikmund, "Sources of Suburban Population: 1955-60 and 1965-70," a paper prepared for the Conference on the Suburban Reshaping of American Politics, April 9-10, 1972, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa.
3. These ideas were presented by Eliot Liebow in a talk at the Joint Center for Urban Studies - Harvard-M.I.T., March 12, 1974.



## Chapter Two

THE PROCESS OF URBAN AND SUBURBAN DEVELOPMENT:  
A REVIEW OF THE LITERATUREIntroduction

A literature search on the process of black suburbanization is important, ironically, because the relevant literature in the area is specifically focused on this question. What does exist with some significant focus is relatively recent, exploratory and ad hoc. Much of it is journalistic or based on noncurrent sources.

Literature in the more general area of suburbanization is more prolific, however, and goes back over many years. Blacks are essentially ignored in that literature both because there have been only a few blacks in the suburbs, but also because the few who were there were not thought to be significant in the context of the issues raised in research focused on metropolitan development.

More significantly with respect to the literature on suburbanization, there is a lack of consensus on what constitutes "suburban" and what data and variables are most critical. For example, "suburb" in analytical terms, refers to more than a geographical place (outside the central city

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\*Full citations for items in this chapter can be found in the bibliography.

in contiguous urban areas) but some combination of place and person characteristics. There may be some suburban-like places in the technically defined central city, and there may be some city-like places in the area designated as suburban.

In writing and discussion on this area, it is often pointed out that the census demarcations of city and suburban are not necessarily consistent with variation on the two variables noted above. There is the implicit suggestion that researchers in this area should create some ad hoc criteria to demarcate center city and suburb. While that may be useful in some areas of research on suburbia, it does not seem useful here because political boundaries represented in the census are real "decision units" and if the research is oriented toward application, evidence about political significant units is important. The best discussion of the issues of units and measures in this research area is presented by Schnore (Schnore, 1972).

What will become clear in the course of this chapter and later in the thesis is that there is a need for a better source of research data in this area. As the reader will note from the literature search and from later discussions, the analysts rely heavily on the decennial census which is inadequate both because it misses many of the qualitative issues, and because the political boundaries (city and suburban) are not always meaningful in terms of the life styles

associated with density, stage in family life cycle, and other factors. The literature search here proceeds to a review of the urban literature which relates to blacks in the suburbs, and to suburbanization and heterogeneity issues related to black opportunity.

#### Suburbanism and Suburbanization

The specification of what constitutes the suburban life style has been a major source of debate. The issue is important in that it relates to the question as to whether it is the life style and aspirations or the geographic unit that is important in discussing the issue in suburbia. Some authors (Bell, 1968; Clark, 1966) have argued that suburbia determines that families who move there will have a different life style. It is thought the density, the homogeneity and the orientation toward the family and the neighbors are determined by something in the suburbs and will lead to a life style that can be characterized as suburban. Other writers have disagreed and suggested that suburbs do not determine life styles, but that people with certain aspirations and styles have found the opportunity and environment to realize these life styles in the suburbs (Berger, 1968; Gans, 1967). Gans and Berger, while admitting that families tend to predominate in the suburbs, note that in the city, the diverse characteristics of the city are the result of its multiple functions rather than the fact that few people there share values associated with suburbia.

There are several major works on suburbia which have become classics in Sociology and Urban Studies. They include The Levittowners by Gans, Seely's et. al., Crestwood Heights, Dobriner's The Suburban Community, Robert Wood's Suburbia: Its People and Its Politics, Bergers' Workingclass Suburb, to name only a few. While many of these are case studies, they have been instrumental in putting together what is generally known about suburbia. Other significant works have been published. (Whyte, 1960; Dobriner, 1963). Literary contributions have also been made. (Marquand, 1947; Howell, 1971). These sketches account for a substantial part of both the popular/public images of suburbia and policy direction (or non-direction). More recent journalistic accounts have served to update the popular images of suburbanism (Massotti and Hadden, 1974; Danerell, 1968). In the works noted above, there is general support for the conclusion that there is nothing particularly esoteric or qualitatively significant about living in the suburbs. Specifically, the image that one has that a change in one's world view as opposed to one's objective status is associated with suburbanization is not warranted. To say this, however, does not settle the matter. There is thought something significant which separates suburban life styles and patterns from central city life styles and patterns.

Louis Wirth (Wirth, 1938) defined the "urban way of life" many years ago. He included high density primary

relationships, and heterogeneity as the characteristics of this way of life. This concept has dominated urban literature for many years. Opposite characteristics were later used to define suburbs. In a very important article, Gans (Gans, 1973) has challenged this formulation. Gans suggests that the characteristics noted by Wirth are functions of instability and change in an urban-industrial society. They imperfectly distinguish metropolitan communities in terms of settlement and life style pattern. In a situation where there is a choice of communities by individuals (as there is for most groups except blacks), he suggests that it is class and family cycle which defines settlement patterns and distinguish communities. With this important interpretation, suburbs then become the environment for particular class/family cycle groups distributed in a manner consistent with the distribution of status and value (land) in the metropolitan area. In this (Gan's) formulation, class is seen as a combination of social, economic and cultural factors which unite to give the family their particular view of the world. Those with moderate to middle status are more likely to be in the suburbs, while those with lower class or workingclass status are more likely to be found in the center city. The extremes in class status may, in fact, be in both places.

Family stage (or life cycle stage) primarily distinguishes childless and unmarried adults (and the elderly)

from married couples with children, the latter groups being in the suburban part of the metropolitan area more typically. These factors in combination with social organizational factors determine the settlement patterns of metropolitan households. What Gans does in presenting this useful model is to give some more useful way of talking about urban and suburban without sole reliance on the census definition which has no necessary qualitative integrity. Schnore similarly sees class and family stage as important, but he makes the critical addition of race and ethnicity (Schnore, 1972). Of course, this formulation is not complete with respect to elaboration of the "urban" or "suburban" way of life, but that is not central to our mission here.

Proceeding with a more detailed literature search, requires that we have a framework for the review of the literature in this field -- a literature which is only partly addressed to the question of suburbanization as a process, and even less so to the black suburbanization process. Our goal here is to see how the literature might be helpful in developing questions for later analysis. As we noted in the previous chapter, the notion of process in this chapter is perceived to be which blacks move to the suburbs, their neighborhoods, and the pattern of settlement. Put in this context, and keeping in mind the family stage and class

implications of the process of suburbanization, we can proceed in the review by looking at the literature in each of these areas.

#### Who Migrates To The Suburbs

Since 1970, there has been substantial comment in the literature about the migration of blacks to the suburbs. (Connolly, 1973; deVise, 1973; Farley, 1970; Pendleton, 1973; NORC, 1970; Cottingham, 1973; Frieden, 1970; Connolly, 1973; Harrison, 1974; Rose, 1972). While some of these efforts have used the 1970 census, their conclusion is that blacks who have moved to the suburbs have done so in patterns which reflect concentration in a limited variety of areas, principally characterized by spill-over, but also including impoverished enclaves in the suburban ring. None of the authors gave any real prominence to the marginal economic gains which the black suburbanization represented, especially for the recent migrants. The black suburbia which they address is the suburbia of black towns and satellite suburbs which have been noted in suburban literature for many years, beginning with Douglass (Douglass, 1925). They also suggest that blacks are systematically poorer and of no higher status on the non-economic status dimensions than blacks in the inner city. What is clear from these general accounts is that the detail of our review should be greater.

Turning to the area of who among blacks moved to the suburbs and issues of selectivity, there is a substantial amount

of material to help us focus on residential mobility, characteristics of movers, and attitudes towards residential location. In the monographs cited immediately above, there is no general consensus about the characteristics of suburban blacks versus center city blacks. In part, I suspect the reason is that they used different data which captured blacks in suburbia at different points in time. The Connolly article, which is based on the 1970 Census is the most helpful since it does make particular use of the data which captures the most recent migration. In general, however, the literature has been inadequate in not breaking down the black suburbanization into its component parts -- those who moved (migrants), and those who have been there for some time (incumbents). The well-known differences between migrants and incumbents are not tested in the literature which has been gathered on which blacks move to the suburbs (Butler et. al., 1969; McAllister et. al., 1971). These mobility studies suggest that blacks who move from the city's core (the authors are not addressing themselves to suburban migration, but to black mobility generally) are the more prosperous blacks.

Attitudes about racial integration and desegregation of housing and neighborhoods are clearly important to blacks who might contemplate moving. For blacks, these attitudes reflect both the disposition to move and the potential destination. For whites, the attitudes are important for



evidence of receptiveness and tolerance of blacks. While attitudes are not absolutely determinative of behavior, researchers have nevertheless found attitudes a salient area of research. Since there have been so many studies, the literature search here will only summarize the major studies for several points in time for the last twenty years. While notice was taken of black attitudes, most of the research has been on white attitudes. Figure 2-1 summarizes the major surveys taken through 1972. The cell number represents the percent of the white sample answering in the affirmative to the question posed. While one must note that the studies asked different questions and that there are obvious problems in comparison, in general, white attitudes have become more favorable to racial mixing in neighborhoods in recent years. Looking more directly at the attitudes of whites in the suburbs, Wirt and his colleagues found attitudinal differences between city and suburbs were somewhat related to class, but the core of the resistance was the suburban renter who, regardless of education, was much more likely than any other residential or status group to oppose residential mixing (Wirt, Walter, Rabinowitz and Hensler, 1972). They also found that inner (and larger) suburbs were less receptive to the expansion of black rights than smaller, more distant suburban communities.

Pettigrew has made a systematic review of black attitudes on residential integration (Pettigrew, 1973). He

## White Attitudes Toward School and Residential Integration

|  | <u>1942</u>     | <u>1954</u> | <u>1956</u>     | <u>1957</u> | <u>1958</u>     | <u>1961</u> | <u>1963</u>     | <u>1964</u>     | <u>1965</u>     | <u>1966</u> | <u>1968</u>     | <u>1970</u>     | <u>1971</u>     | <u>1972</u> |
|--|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|
| 1. % saying it would make no difference if Negro with same income and education moved into block       |                 |             |                 |             |                 |             |                 |                 |                 |             |                 |                 |                 |             |
| 1a. Detroit SMSA -- % not disturbed by stated event  | 35 <sup>b</sup> |             | 51 <sup>b</sup> |             | 40 <sup>h</sup> |             | 64 <sup>b</sup> |                 | 68 <sup>b</sup> |             |                 |                 | 68 <sup>c</sup> |             |
| 2. % disagree slightly or strongly that whites have a right to keep Negroes out of their neighborhoods |                 |             |                 |             |                 |             | 44 <sup>a</sup> |                 |                 |             | 36 <sup>d</sup> | 50 <sup>a</sup> |                 | 30          |
| 3. % saying Negroes have a right to live wherever they can afford to                                   |                 |             |                 |             |                 |             |                 | 53 <sup>e</sup> |                 |             | 65 <sup>e</sup> | 67 <sup>e</sup> |                 |             |
| 4. % saying they would not move if "colored people" came to live next door                             |                 |             |                 |             | 55 <sup>f</sup> |             | 55 <sup>f</sup> |                 | 65 <sup>f</sup> |             |                 |                 |                 |             |
| 5. % saying they would not move if "colored people" came to live in great numbers in neighborhood      |                 |             |                 |             | 20 <sup>f</sup> |             | 22 <sup>f</sup> |                 | 33 <sup>f</sup> |             |                 |                 |                 |             |
| 6. % saying there would be no limit on the number of Negro families moving in to white neighborhood    |                 |             |                 |             |                 |             |                 |                 |                 |             | 40 <sup>g</sup> |                 |                 |             |

## References

- a. NORC surveys reported in A. Greeley and P. Sheatsley, "Attitudes Toward Integration," Scientific American 225:6 (December 1971) : 13-14 (for 1970, chart indicates 70%; text reports 73%).
- b. NORC survey reported in P. Sheatsley, "White Attitudes Toward the Negro," Daedalus (Winter 1966) : 222,235.
- c. Pertains to Detroit central city and suburbs. The Detroit Area Study 1971 Report to Respondents, Ann Arbor, Michigan:University of Michigan, Detroit Area Study, Project 46822 (January 1972) :7.
- d. NORC survey, N. M. Bradburn, S. Sudman, G. Gockel, Racial Integration in American Neighborhoods, Chicago: University of Chicago, 1970:211-212.
- e. IRS survey, A. Campbell, White Attitudes Toward Black People, Ann Arbor, Michigan:Institute for Social Research, 1971:133.
- f. Gallup surveys, M. Schwartz, op. cit.:62,67.
- g. IRS survey, A. Campbell and H. Schuman, Racial Attitudes in Fifteen American Cities, Ann Arbor, Michigan:Institute for Social Research, 1968:33.

Source: Albert Hermalin and Reynolds Farley, "The Potential for Residential Integration in Cities and Suburbs: Implications for the Busing Controversy," American Sociological Review, Vol. 38, (October 1973), pp. 595-610.

found an overwhelming preference by blacks for interracial living. This was true for areas both inside and outside the South. While many blacks realized the problems of confronting the hostility, the determining emotion was for better neighborhood and housing opportunities.

The self-segregation or separatists goals which had been predicted as a result of "black power" demands seems limited to a minority of non-southern black youth. The majority of blacks who opposed race-mixing did so out of fear, or out of a preference for a tension-free environment. Of course, these questions are asked in the context of poor conditions in the center city. It is an open question how they would respond if faced with a choice of equally good accommodations in the center city as exist in the suburbs. The question has never been asked this way. An examination of this question might begin in an inquiry in the erratic pattern of black suburbanization across the country. It might be hypothesized, for example, that blacks who were able to find housing opportunities which are satisfactory and located in the city did not make the move to the suburbs.

These findings with respect to black attitudes have to be read in light of other information before it can be said that they contribute to the overall theme of this thesis -- the process of black suburban migration. Support for integration (or de-segregation) is clear, but some evidence exists to

show that among blacks who might be mobile, there is some inertia. Langendorf has identified some of the factors in the immobility among blacks who have higher incomes (Langendorf, 1969). For example, higher income blacks may be somewhat more immobile because they are less seriously disadvantaged in housing, or have substantial business or social interests in the black community, or are sensitive to the criticism that might be leveled against them for "coping out" to the suburbs.

While many black political leaders have suggested that there is substantial solidarity in the black community, some researchers have found that the solidarity, to the extent that exists, is not consistent over time or does not include the whole community (Baker, 1974; Patterson, 1972; Safa, 1968; Tauebers, 1969). Olsen found socioeconomic status accounts for variation in black participation (in politics and other community affairs) (Olsen, 1970). Lower status blacks participate much less frequently and consistently than higher status ones. This suggests, if true, that the black masses are presently neither a disciplined political force nor a generally socially integrated one.

Therefore, from all of the literature reviewed on the question of which blacks move to suburbia and their perspectives on suburbia, we find much to be desired. First, we have no disaggregated perspective on how migrants compare with incumbent suburban blacks, nor have we any clear idea what

variables critically distinguish them from one another. The issue of attitudes forces us to conclude that while blacks have a positive attitude toward moving to suburbia, and that whites are increasingly more receptive of residential desegregation, the critical link of black residential preference, given real choices between the city and suburb, has not been explored in the literature.

#### Housing and Neighborhood Change

The second general question which can be addressed by the review of the literature is question of the type of housing and the dynamics of neighborhood change, both in the city and the suburbs, which is associated with the issue of blacks. Also included here is some concern for the role of housing and neighborhood related services which are significant in residential decisions.

In the area of housing, we are most interested in the literature which relates to how housing is transferred from one group to another and what that literature might suggest for the process of black suburbanization. Filtering is the process by which housing units are occupied by successively lower status households. There have been several major studies of the "filtering" phenomenon. The basic theoretical position has been set forth by Lowry, Grisby and Smith (Lowry, 1960; Grisby, 1963; Smith, 1964). The impetus for successive moves of these at the top of the income scale to newer housing can derive from several sources. It can

represent a desire to improve or maintain social status, to respond to changes in family cycle requirements, to avoid undesirable groups/environments, or to respond to what the family may see as obsolescence. This obsolescence may reflect new preference as well as the actual negative characteristics of the unit. The two-car life style, for example, may make a unit obsolescent because it has only limited parking. Value changes are associated with the changes in the socioeconomic groups, and within an area, the poorer people live in the older housing.

The most recent large-scale empirical test of the filtering model was done by Lansing (Lansing, 1969). Addressing himself to the consequences of new construction, he interviewed more than 1100 new home occupants and traced the chain of moves that resulted from the new construction. He found that benefits accrued to households all along the income spectrum. Blacks enjoyed fewer benefits than whites. While the import of the literature is that "filtering" is a useful means to provide housing to the lower income groups, the benefits seems to depend critically on several factors, including the location of the unit, the price of the unit, condition and size of the available stock, doubling, and the extent of discrimination or other market interference (Downs, 1974). These factors clearly suggest that blacks might benefit less than whites because their locational options are fewer, their

greater poverty makes some sub-markets too expensive (even with modest price declines resulting from filtering), and because a loose market and prosperity might lead to un-doubling.

The mobility generated by filtering and the particular forces behind the constant movement raises the question: why do families move, and what are the particular mobility patterns evident in the metropolis. Students of the city are familiar with Rossi's important study of why families move (Rossi, 1955). In the four Philadelphia tracts that he studied, he found that position in the family cycle was the major determinant in the probability of moving. While there is high statistical support for his conclusions, there are other issues of mobility for this thesis, namely particular factors in black residential mobility and whether there is support for the recurring suggestion that "white flight" (from blacks) exist as a major determinant in mobility. Using a national panel study, researchers have found that blacks are more likely to move than whites (MacAllister, Kaiser and Butler, 1971). This is explained largely by their rental tenure. Not only are blacks more likely to move, their moves are more local than whites, typically only a short distance. Only marginal residential improvement (if any at all) is associated with the typical urban black move. Distant moves (within or outside the SMSA) are much less frequent. Further the reasons for moving that blacks and whites



give are different. Reasons associated with space, job changes, tenure changes and upgrading are major reasons for whites to move. For blacks, the dominant reasons are involuntary moves, upgrading, undoubling and costs.

Popular writings and at least one scholarly work has suggested that white migration to the suburbs is in reality "white flight" from blacks in the city (Wilson, 1967; Euest and Zuiches, 1971). The evidence does not support this view. While whites do leave the city to avoid blacks, to suggest that suburbanization is "white flight" misses the critical points about what suburbanization is all about. The suburbanward trek of whites began long before blacks were substantial minorities in American cities outside the South. Substantial suburban movement occurs in cities with few blacks. Empirically, Gans has noted that only 9% of the Levittowners gave conditions in their old neighborhoods as the most important reasons for moving (Gans, 1967). The national panel study cited above noted that only 6.3% of the residents gave general neighborhood inadequacy as a reason of moving. Molotch found that housing characteristics and non-racial demographic changes accounted for the white mobility in the South Shore area of Chicago (Molotch, 1970).

What this literature on filtering shows is the importance of class and family characteristics and preference in the housing market. As family needs and class status (or

perceptions about status) change, the type of housing which is seen as appropriate changes leading to migration to suitable housing (usually suburban). These opportunities are not equally accessible to blacks, however. Racial discrimination, high costs, and locational constraints intervene critically. The items reviewed above are not specifically suburban in their research focus, so the specific suburban impact or the impact at a community scale is not revealed. In the monographs specifically addressed to black suburbanization, the housing in which blacks lived was portrayed as generally poor in line with the marginality of the status of black suburbanites.

The scale of reference in talking about black suburbanization obliges us to turn to a review of the literature in the area of community and neighborhood change. The purpose of this section of the review is twofold. First, we can get some amplification on the change in the physical environment which is more specific than what we have observed in our review of the filtering literature, and second, we can get some feel for the relationship between demographic change and community change. While there are numerous treads in the literature, our attention will be focused on that literature which relates to the "life cycle" of communities. While most of the literature in this area relates to the changes that go on within the central city proper, many of the same dynamics are in effect when the scale is changed to larger entities

within a metropolitan context. The social and physical characteristics which are associated with the various changes will be particularly illuminating in the analysis of census neighborhood characteristics in Chapter Five.

For blacks in the central city, the process of neighborhood change is simply the formation and expansion of a ghetto. This process in its various aspects has been described by several sociologists, economists, geographers, and planners. (Rose, 1969; Rankin and Grisgby, 1960; Burgess, 1928; Glazer and Moynihan, 1963; Morrill, 1965; Frazier, 1967). A computer simulation of the process has been tested by Vandell and Harrison (Vandell and Harrison, 1974). Briefly, the process can be summarized from this literature as follows. When migrants come to the city (in this case blacks, but as Glazer and Moynihan have pointed out it could be other groups as well), an old blighted area in or near the central business district is set aside for them. These may be areas which have been abandoned by previous immigrant groups or other lower income groups. The central city ghetto expands from this core area concentrically, at first, and then sectorally at a rate determined by the growth rate and relative paying ability of the inhabitants. Other local factors (ethnic, topographical, economic) may determine the direction of the sectoral growth. Additionally, there is some differentiation within the ghetto by income and other status variables; the more prosperous

blacks become the leading edge of the sectoral growth that invades and succeeds on a block-by-block basis.

Historically, if the area for this spatial diffusion is limited, or if other factors warrant, more than one ghetto area may develop for blacks in the same city. In all cases, separate ghettos develop for poor whites and for other colored ethnic groups. Sometimes these ghettos may be in areas abandoned by blacks who have dispersed from the original core.

Recent authors have provided additional illumination on the process. Suttles has two works on structural features and territorial attachments in communities (Suttles, 1968, 1972). Wilson collected writings on the urban renewal process as it related to community change and efforts to make public intervention work (Wilson, 1968). Moore and Molotch provides an excellent case study of how the process worked in Chicago (Moore, 1973; Molotch, 1973). The best effort to model the inner city community change process has been performed by Freeman and Sunshine (Freeman and Sunshine, 1970). Their model is useful in that it illustrates the dynamic interaction of economic factors and preferences to explain the change. Public images of housing and neighborhoods has been a recent project of Coleman and Rainwater (Coleman, 1973; Rainwater, 1974).

America has been an urban nation long enough for the suburban ring to have taken on generational characteristics.

We know from Gans that spatial areas can be understood socially in terms of the distribution of class and family cycle groups. (Gans, 1973). Further, we know from Bell that "familism" is more prevalent in the suburbs, while "careerism" and "consumerism" is more prevalent in the city (Bell, 1958). The family stages are superimposed on the neighborhoods. The physical neighborhood has its own life cycle which is associated with values and changes in public images (obsolescence) (Lowry, 1960). Therefore, neighborhoods can be read both in terms of the family cycle of its inhabitants and in the relative value of its stock. Looking at neighborhood change in suburbia in this way is analytically helpful. Hoover and Vernon's classic study of the New York metropolitan region is particularly instructive in this regard. (Hoover and Vernon, 1962). They identified five stages through which communities pass. The first stage is new single family development. This is followed by further single family development and the introduction of apartments. Stage three begins the process of downgrading as the housing becomes obsolescent and occupied by lower status households who occupy the units at higher density. Any construction that occurs in this stage is for the new lower and moderate income families who now inhabit the area. In the fourth stage, thinning out begins, construction (with the possible exception of public housing) ceases and the socio-economic status

further declines. Stage five is the renewal of the area, often at a "higher" use, especially if the area has valuable access, historic or topographic features.

Of perhaps greater present relevance was the observation, by Hoover and Vernon, that the suburban ring might be further segmented by noting the rather consistent differences between suburbs in the inner ring and others in the outer ring of the metropolis. The inner suburbs are the older ones, typically in stages three through five. They are often quite dense and have enjoyed self-sufficiency for some time. They may also have rather diverse inhabitants. Parts of them may have been renewed with high rent apartments along the major arterial ways.

The outer ring, by contrast, is newer with more open land and more homogeneous population. These suburbs are typically in stages one and two, with new construction, mainly of single family units, but more recently of low-density multi-family units. In short, the inner suburbs are the new "zones of emergence" (Sternlieb and Beaton, 1972) and the outer suburbs are the new frontiers or exurbia (Downs, 1974). This brief review of how both central city and suburban neighborhoods change serves to set a context for later analysis of how black suburban migrants settle on the metro-scape. Before moving on, some attention to aspects of housing market behavior and residential mobility would be in order.

A final area of interest in terms of metropolitan neighborhoods and communities is the issue of services and institutions. While the decision about housing is the critical one for the household, housing really refers to a package of services which are provided by the community in which the unit is located. The ACIR and plaintiffs in school finance cases (under the "equal protection" clause of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution) have amply documented the disparities in social and educational services in the suburbs, and between the suburbs and the central city, (ACIR, 1965, 1967). It is especially significant that disparities among suburbs within the same metropolitan area exhibit such marked differences. Given the extensive differentiation already noted, one useful way to look at institutional development and services in the suburbs is to view them as responses to the challenge to shape local government in the image of the people who settle there. Albert Hirschman suggests that there are three responses that people can make to a failing institutions (which we might view as the city, city schools, etc.). The first option is that they can "exit." This option means they simply pull out of the unsatisfactory situation and move to one that is more appealing. The second option is "voice." By this choice, citizens can intervene or join with others to change the system. The third option is the stoic one -- that is, they can exhibit "loyalty" and remain in the system or institution despite its faults. We might say that suburbs

represent the places to which many people have made the "exit." Other researchers have addressed (and disputed) the assertion that because the metropolitan area is a legal non-entity, there are no mechanisms or traditions which serve to adjudicate the myriad interests that have to be dealt with in suburbia. They note that one way this happens is that the various nodes in the polycentric system offer different mixes of public goods (Ostrom, Tiebout and Warren, 1961). Rabinovitz has investigated how this suburban governmental response relates to communities which have had the experience of minority in-migration (Rabinovitz, 1974). Orbell and Uno have done an empirical study using this model in terms of a spatial application. They found that in response to neighborhood problems, whites are more likely to "exit," where blacks will "voice" (Orbell and Uno, 1972).

Given that suburbanites are highly satisfied with their local governments and institutions, and since there is such variety, we might hypothesize that these configurations of services represent what the people in those places really want. While Wirt and his colleagues (Wirt et. al., 1972) found that city-suburban differences in attitudes are based on both individual characteristics and aggregate characteristics, the "exit" hypothesis is still of significant value and will be explored more in Chapter Four. Additional support of an "exit" hypothesis is presented in the paper by Ballabon where he notes in a number of sectors, the growth



of a preference by individuals and groups for non-public services or public services in another jurisdiction when they are dissatisfied with existing offerings (Ballabon, 1972). Needless, to say the options available to the poor are more constrained, and for them, he notes (with respect to ghetto education) the increased efforts to effect the organization and accountability pattern of the schools. Altshuler, similarly notes that whites can leave the city, while black demands have to be articulated in the existing political system ("voice") (Altshuler, 1970).

Thus, the conclusion by Wirt and his colleagues that individual characteristics intervene to determine attitudes towards services and local government in the city and suburb, is not inconsistent with the suggestion that the package of local services is a reflection of the aggregate choices of community for the types and quality of services. This observation is particularly important in the context of the finding that suburban services in some areas are inadequate for black families or families of more moderate means (who cannot afford to purchase the services which the locality may have decided not to provide publically) (Frieden, 1970; OSTI, 1969; Blumenthal, 19754). The services at issue here typically include mass transit, compensatory education, health facilities, and recreation -- most of which are provided publically in the major central cities.

Looking more closely at education (the critical service of near universal interest), there is nothing available to directly compare the adequacy and satisfaction of black parents for suburban schools. White attitudes vary by class and location. Clearly, as we indicated in an earlier section on attitudes, black parents expect that the schools are better for their kids. The research that has been done on the achievement of black kids in the suburbs has been interpreted by Armour and Pettigrew, and was for blacks who were voluntarily bused to the suburbs (Armour, 1972; Pettigrew, 1972). Armour found that the positive results were very marginal at best. Using the same data, Pettigrew found that a much more positive gain was derived. These studies, in fact, shed more light on the problems of measuring the outputs of schools than the gains to be derived by blacks in terms of education in suburbia.

A final comment on institutions in the suburbs might be taken from the literature relating to individual transactions that blacks would have to make in moving to the suburbs. In terms of the cumulative effect of the host of actors involved (brokers, sellers, developers, bankers, fair housers, employers, etc.), Foley reviewed the literature, and has concluded that in addition to individual discriminatory actions that these actors exhibit, there exists a tangled web of responsibility, such that accountability is often difficult to specify, and positive action is more often thwarted (Foley,

1973)). Haar comes to a similar conclusion in an examination of efforts to open the suburbs in the Boston area (Haar, 1974).

This second general area of literature review on housing and neighborhood suggests filtering works in concert with other factors in increasing the differentiation in the metropolitan area. This is carried out by the process of filtering which, when acting differentially with other factors, is reflected in the change which communities experience. The status of communities and their ability to maintain that status is reflected in how they mix their services. Migrants in turn choose neighborhoods (to the extent they can exercise free choice) on the basis of its congruence with their perceptions about what communities ought to be providing.

Needless to say, the literature does not directly address itself to metropolitan and community change issues in the suburbs which are associated with black in-migration. Most of the literature relates to general class status or general change. We cannot be confident in the present research in making conclusions about metropolitan dynamic which are associated with black suburbanization.

#### Metropolitan Patterns of Settlement

The final element in an examination of the literature which might help form hypotheses about the process of black suburbanization is the pattern of racial settlement in the metropolitan area. This area of the literature gets at

issues of metropolitan development, segregation, and the spatial distribution of various status features (social problems, economic opportunity, etc.).

Historically, Warner (Warner, 1969) and Ward (Ward, 1971) noted that differentiation between the city and suburbs has been significant for many decades. It was the affluent who first moved to suburbia. As transportation technology improved, notice was taken of both an inner and an outer ring with the inner ring being occupied by the more prosperous of the workingclass and immigrant groups (Thernstrom, 1964). Warner called the inner suburbs to which working and middle-class people moved the "zones of emergence" -- the next rung up the residential status ladder. Rodwin noted the ethnic clustering in these zones (Rodwin, 1961). The forces ("imperatives") in metropolitan development have been identified by Banfield. (Banfield, 1970). He noted that there have been three forces which ineluctably have led to the type of the metropolitan pattern that we note today. First, there is the demographic imperative. As the population increases, the growth (in spatial terms) has to be upward or outward. The second imperative is technological. With the development of the automobile and mass transit, it is easier to move many people outward rather than upward. Finally, economics became an imperative toward metropolitan growth because given the way wealth is distributed, many more people can afford to have their desires for space satisfied, and have both the time and

money to commute some distance for that satisfaction. The development of the suburbia and the growing trends in metropolitan specialization were noted long before Banfield, however. Douglass (Douglass, 1925) discussed life styles in suburbia in the twenties and saw suburbia as a promising environment. In 1937, Ogburn (Ogburn, 1937), did the first extensive statistical analysis of the social characteristics associated with the city versus the suburb.

Another significant trend in suburban literature has been those efforts to classify suburbs by their functions. This grows out of the early research by Ogburn, and others who showed that suburbs were not an undifferentiated mass. Douglass identified two types of suburbs. These are suburbs which are primarily residential and suburbs which are primarily industrial. He describes the features of these two types as he observed them in mid-nineteen twenties. Ogburn (1937) has a similar typology and provided rich statistical documentation on many variable dimensions which distinguishes them. Works published at mid-century (Bogue, 1959; Hawley, 1956; Schnore, 1951) provides continuing supporting evidence. Schnore noted that in the 40's and 50's, it was the residential suburbs which experienced the most profound growth. It was these suburbs (The Park Forests, Crestwood Heights, etc.) which became subjects of study. This finding is consistent with the notion presented earlier by Gans that class and family cycle functions were driving more families to the suburbs.

This also suggests the substantial earlier interdependence of the suburbs and the city.

This interdependence noted by Schnore in the 40's and 50's has been challenged by several more works (Baker, 1974; Birch, 1974; Zikmund, 1972; Massotti and Hadden, 1974). The important point made by these authors is that suburbs have taken on many more of the functions which make them independent of the city. This relates to the sources of population, economic resources, cultural amenities and political autonomy. What the literature shows is that over the last 100 years suburbs have gone through a change from close association with the city to interdependence to self-sufficiency. The implications of this are tremendous both in the terms of the process by which people and institutions get sorted out, and because of complexity of the factors which have to be taken into account.

Over the last three decades, measures have been taken of the extent of segregation in cities (Taeuber, and Taeuber, 1969, 1974; Cowgill, 1962). Cowgill takes a segregation measure that includes the suburbs (Cowgill, 1962). What these measures of segregation show is increasing metropolitan residential segregation over the years. This is true for the census periods 1940 through 1970. Since Chapter Three is directed toward a critique of theories of black suburban migration, this section will be abbreviated and limited to those general explanations for the separate housing markets for blacks and

whites. Only segregation in the housing market will be dealt with because most of the other segregation and discrimination (education, jobs, social services) are meaningful mainly in the context of neighborhood and housing segregation. While there is probably a little truth in each of the theories, the discussion does not mean to suggest that there is additivity.

The first explanation is that blacks and whites are separated because of socio-economic differences between the races. It is suggested that blacks are poorer and thus their competition yields housing in poorer submarkets in both the city and suburbs. (Pascal, 1967; Hermalin and Farley, 1973). Analysts who have examined this argument are strong in their agreement that if black families were distributed according to their socio-economic status, there would be much less housing segregation than presently exists. The study by Hermalin and Farley is significant in its use of 1970 Census data to reconfirm this finding (using income and education) which was based on 1960 data.

A second theory relates to racial preference. This theory would suggest that blacks are segregated because they prefer to be that way. While it seems true (on the basis of experience of other ethnic groups) that group mobility is associated with major dispersal, the evidence suggests that most blacks have given every evidence of a preference for de-segregated living (Pettigrew, 1970, Brink and Harris, 1968).

The survey showed that in several samplings over more than a decade, blacks desired mixed areas.

A third theory not so easily dismissed, is the economic theory. Proponents of this theory suggest that families make a tradeoff for spaces versus access. The city then is filled with those who pay for expensive space (high income whites) or can only buy limited space (blacks). The suburbs are for those who want more and cheaper space and can afford and will accept greater commuting. (Hoover and Vernon, 1959). This results in whites having a range of residential options, while blacks, limited first by income, and then by segregation, have fewer options. Their options are also more central. While there is clearly some support for this explanation, it is as an explanatory theory, incomplete. For example, many whites who theoretically "ought" (that is, the white poor) to live in the city do, in fact, live in the suburbs, and their proportion have been increasing.

The final theoretical explanation offered for the segregation we observe is that of racial discrimination. This theory says that there are two submarkets -- one white and one black. While most of the stock in the black submarket is filtered down from the white market, only a few housing units shift the other way (as in urban renewal rehabilitation). The submarket structure is maintained by a variety of structural features which serve to perpetuate it over time. Substantial research has been directed toward the examination of this theory.



(Kain, 1969; Rapkin, 1966; vonFurstenberg, et. al., 1974). There is overwhelming agreement by these researchers that actual discrimination (in access and pricing and before that, in education and employment) exists. Suggesting that economic and racial theories may be additive in explaining racial segregation in the housing market, Zelder has attempted to separate the two in the observed segregation (Zelder, 1969). He suggests that the economic explanation accounts for 30-50% of the segregation, and race accounts for the remainder. There exists, however, substantial disagreement on this -- both methodologically and substantive.

In the space below, a review is presented of some of the research which has been done on the relationship between the political structure and the suburbanization process. The story told by this review is that political and institutional tools have been used to shape and segment opportunities in suburbia. The effect has been particularly detrimental for blacks. It has also been detrimental for the nearly half of the population which, in recent years, has been priced out of new suburban development. There are two books which have broadly reviewed suburban politics. Wood does a comprehensive job of presenting the origins of suburban government and the functions that local governments serve in the suburbs (Wood, 1958). Wirt and his colleagues do an updated version which relates the issues of suburban politics to the demographic trend of suburbanization (Wirt, Walter, Rabinovitz and Hensler, 1972). Berger and his colleagues and the Gruens have found

that among both the general suburban population and the suburban influentials, that they are opposed to the introduction of low and moderate income housing in the suburbs (Berger, McKnight and Cohen, 1973; Gruens, 1971). Haar documents the strategic games that suburban governments play in their attempts to prevent the introduction of low and moderate income housing (Harr, 1974). The National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing (NCADH) has extensively documented the link between jobs and housing in suburbia for blacks and the roles local politics plays in thwarting these efforts (NCADH, 1970). Blumrosen has reviewed the legal cases and literature relating to the affirmative obligation of employers to both employ blacks and make sure that reasonably priced housing is available nearby (Blumrosen, 1971).

At the federal level, national policy towards suburbs has been reviewed by numerous groups and individual researchers. Rabinovitz has reviewed federal policy tools (including many inadvertent ones) in suburban development (Rabinovitz, 1971). Wirt and his colleagues make a similar search and offers some suggestions for rationalizing policy towards the suburbs. Others have commented more broadly on urban growth strategies and options for metropolitan development (Downs, 1970; Rodwin and Susskind, 1972; President's Task Force on Suburban Problems, 1968).

Another more specific area in suburban politics of interest in this literature search is the balkanization of

political power in the metropolitan area. The classic study of this phenomenon is Robert Wood's 1400 Governments (Wood, 1961). The book documents the many layers of government created both by the proliferation of general purpose governmental units and the special units which complicate public policy and create systematic inertia. The role that this balkanization plays in the opportunities for housing the low and moderate income and minorities groups has been documented in the research done for the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing cited above. A book by Charles Adrian in 1955 discusses the internal aspects of suburban politics which results in the parochialism of these small units and then argues for governmental integration (Adrian, 1955). Cloward and Piven have concluded that blacks cannot help but lose if there is an attempt to develop a more unified governmental mechanism for the metropolitan area (Piven and Cloward, 1967).

Exclusionary land-use provisions (including zoning, codes, limits on lot size, etc.) are another area of interest. The legal issues as to whether a jurisdiction can exclude a given part of the population has been raised in many court cases and articles. The court cases and the individual issues in them are too numerous to mention in this brief review. Babcock has summarized the major cases and their implications (Babcock, 1972). One conclusion he reaches is that judicial action is a sloppy way to administer change and that there are

clear signs in a few states of a willingness for states to re-enter the picture. Other writers have written more general pieces on the issues (Davidoff, Davidoff and Gold, 1970; Netzer, 1970). NCADH, AFSC, The Urban League, ACLU and Suburban-Action have been leading organizations involved in the legal fight against these provisions. The importance of the exclusionary controls is both in the individual constraints to locating in a particular jurisdiction and in the cumulative effect of these controls over the suburban region. The results of the legal assaults have been to win some limited victories, many at the lower court level and which may appear good on paper, but which suffer the constraint of the judicial intervention -- that is, that the court cannot compel positive remedy. Needless to say, this limits the general usefulness of these rulings. Lawrence Sager, a leading attorney in this field has called for broader action directed at the states who have the ultimate responsibility constitutionally, hoping thereby to wipe away all exclusionary practices in a single case and thus making the rediscovery of the legal wheel in each metropolitan area unnecessary (Sager, 1969).

A final area in suburban politics to be included in this review is interjurisdictional cooperation. While there are many interesting and useful issues subsumed under this topic, the discussion will be limited to those efforts which

have been generally aimed at increasing the suburban opportunities available. The issue of how blacks might be affected by metropolitan government has been addressed by several writers (Marshall, 1972; Wood, 1961; Long, 1970; Johnson, 1972; Cloward and Piven, 1967). While these writers disagree as to the desirability or the inevitability of metropolitan government, there is none among them who see it as the sine qua non of improving the opportunities for blacks or solving the pressing public policy issues often linked to governmental structure. If the creation of metropolitan structures is not impelling, what about voluntary cooperation? The Gruens have described the much heralded Dayton Plan for voluntary inclusion of a "fair share" of low and moderate income housing in suburban Dayton, Ohio (Gruen and Gruen, 1972). Rubinovitz evaluated this scheme and other similar schemes and found them wanting. Specifically, he noted that in the Dayton Plan, that the income limits and the mandated housing costs and types preclude any real low income housing, except perhaps for the elderly (Rubinovitz, 1973). Zimmerman feels that governmental ecumensim will not work, and Cloward and Piven feel that if it works at all, it will be to the disadvantage of the blacks, especially where central city political control has been or can be achieved (Zimmerman, 1971; Cloward and Piven, 1967).

#### Economic Opportunity

An obviously important area of the literature has to do with the economic opportunities associated with the residence

of blacks in the suburbs. Conventional wisdom has it that the movement to the suburbs by blacks cannot help but improve their opportunities. The proponents of this dispersalist view saw a number of advantages and resources being opened up by the decentralization of the urban black population. It is suggested, for example, that opportunities for housing are better for blacks in suburbs (Langendorf, 1969). The strongest arguments, however, are based largely on the research of Prof. John Kain. His early work was done in Detroit and Chicago and included data through the early and middle 1950's (Kain, 1965, 1968). In his many articles and in the articles of people who support his view, the suburbs are seen as the place where the new job opportunities are going. Black unemployment is said to be chronic because blacks do not live where new and better paying jobs are moving. Another part of the argument is more diffuse and relates to the ills that define the "urban problem" (i.e., crime, dependency, delinquency, etc.) (Kain, 1966). It is suggested that public policy ought to break up the ghetto because it is pathological and that the ghetto problems would be more manageable or even less severe if blacks were mixed into an increasingly more suburban general population. This critique of discrimination is based on the assumption that if the housing market is opened, blacks could move to the suburbs where they could get better jobs, and make more money.

Other writers have different notions than Kain et. al. Cloward and Piven argue, that blacks do not gain from

moving to the suburbs and that they pay for the reformer's dream of one integrated society (Piven and Cloward, 1969). Along with Edel and Frieden (Edel, 1972; Frieden, 1970), they suggest that the range of services, the political opportunities, public transportation, school aid and other benefits exist in the city more than in suburbs. Cloward and Piven see suburban integration and metropolitization as an attempt by whites to dilute or disenfranchise blacks who are coming to control some American cities (Piven and Cloward, 1972).

In arguments based on more recent data, urban economists have summarized the latest data on job location and economic aspects of location-related opportunity (Harrison, 1974; vonFurstenberg, et. al., 1974). Their conclusion is that the central city has a wider variety of economic opportunities for blacks than the suburbs, and that jobs in the skill levels that match black central city workers have been growing in the urban core, especially in recent years. There are some complications in the interpretation of these findings.

While we have established in the discussion above that problem-ridden and otherwise inadequate urban neighborhoods were not the main reason for white migration to the suburbs, it has remained a popular notion that somehow suburbs are free from the problems associated with living in the city. Some recent observations have been made that, in fact, social problems (similar to ones associated with "urban crisis") are moving to the suburbs (OSTI, 1969; Massotti and Hadden, 1974;

Kapsis, et. al.; McCausland, 1972). The recent reports of the FBI on national crime statistics also shows that while the tide may be going out in the increase of city crime, the increase in suburban crime is quite in evidence. The authors cited above have noted problems of growing dependency, crime, isolation, infrastructure overloads and rising local budgets. No doubt these problems are particularly acute in the inner suburbs, and in the suburbs where transition is taking place. The problems of the outer suburbs more directly relate to the problems of accommodating growth. Overall, the existence of differentiation and the process of growing differentiation produces the problems the authors have identified.

The literature which has been lumped together here under patterns of metropolitan settlement suggests that the change factors we noted in the earlier section (on neighborhoods) are at work, and are interwoven into the economic, political and institutional fabric of the community. The factors have a racially restrictive intent or effect and blacks seem to enter communities in the context of some change in either their economic status or the relative change in social status of the community.

#### The Special Case of the South

Throughout this thesis, the South will be dealt with separately. There are three reasons for this. First, a declining percentage of the black population lives in the South,



and declining percentage of its urban blacks live in the suburban area. A second reason is that a different pattern of black settlement has exhibited itself in the South. Blacks in southern suburbs have typically been mere outer extensions of a wedge shaped settlement of urban blacks. This is significantly different from the pattern typical of other cities and cited earlier in this chapter. The socio-economic patterning is opposite that in the North, that is in the South status decreases with distance from the center of black settlement in the South (Farley, 1970; Sanoff, 1970; Schnore, 1965, 1966, 1973; Taeubers, 1969). Finally, the vast majority of black migration to the suburbs has been limited to less than a dozen SMSA's -- all of which are outside the South. Major Southern cities, over the last 20 years, have shown marked decline in their black suburban population -- possibly accounted for by annexation of the rural fringes to the central city (Lee, 1971-72).

### Summary

The general role of this chapter has been to prevent a review of literature in the field which would be helpful in developing a hypothesis and understanding of what has been developed by other researchers in the area of suburbanization and the process of black suburbanization. The conclusions and finding with respect to this aim are summarized below:

1. We have been able to find a useful way to think of suburbanization that will be helpful

in analysis. To think of suburbanization in terms of settlement by class and family stage is qualitatively better than strict reliance on the political boundary, though that kind of boundary is also important as a decision unit.

2. We have observed that blacks are in a wide variety of neighborhoods types in the suburbs. It has originally been intended that a listing of suburban places in which blacks lived might be produced after a thorough reading of the literature. That reading made it very clear that such a task, if possible, would be meaningless. There are even a few blacks in Cicero, Illinois. What is done instead is the development of a typology of suburban settings in which a noticeable number of blacks live. The characteristics of these places would be identified and a few examples would be provided. This typology of suburban places is presented in Figure 2-2.
3. The literature which was reviewed that related directly to blacks in the suburbs failed to disaggregate the population streams or to address specifically the elements (who among blacks moved, the type neighborhoods the various types selected, or the resulting pattern of settlement) into which

Figure 2-2

Types of Neighborhood and Suburban Settings in Which Blacks Are Located

| <u>Type of Suburban Environment</u>                      | <u>General Characteristics</u>  | <u>Examples</u>  |
|--|---|--|
| 1. The Black Town on the Urban Fringe                    | These are fringe communities, most of which were started in the 19th century for blacks. They were constructed as community for essentially poorer blacks, and over the years the socio-economic status of the communities have declined even further and the age structure has shifted to an older population. Many of these communities in the South have been caught up in the general suburbanization of the surrounding counties, but these areas typically attract few in-migrants. These areas have been always near 100% black. | Kinlock (Ohio);<br>Urbancrest (Ohio);<br>Richmond Heights (Florida)                                  |
| 2. Black Suburb  | This includes a variety of suburbans built in the last 50 years. In contrast to (1) above, these towns are presently viable and stable. They were not generally developed as black suburbs, but have become so in more recent years. While many of them are poor, some of them are quite moderate in their status position. They may be near the central city, or in more distant enclaves, and provide generally lower cost and more spacious housing than the central city. They are predominately black.                             | Compton (California)<br>East Cleveland (Ohio); East Orange (New Jersey); East Palo Alto (California) |
| 3. Industrial Suburb With a Significant Black Population | There are several suburban places which are industrial in character and have substantial black populations. These tend to be much older industrial places, many having single large industries. The industries tend to be in declining sectors of the economy and the increase in the black population is often associated with the decline in the role of these industries in the metropolitan economic structure.   | Wilkinsburg (Pennsylvania);<br>Joliet (Illinois);<br>Hamtramick (Michigan); Richmond (California)    |

Figure 2-2 (Cont'd)

| <u>Type of Suburban Environment</u>                       | <u>General Characteristics</u>  | <u>Examples</u>   |
|---|---|---|
| 4. Residential Suburbs With Substantial Black Populations | These are the typical suburban communities which ring the cities and whose labor force commutes to the city or to other suburbs for work. These range from the inner suburbs that date back to the 19th century and whose population has changed many times, to newer post WWII suburbs built away from the cities along new transportation routes. Most of these communities have very few blacks, typically less than 1%, while others have very large percentages.   | Shaker Heights (Ohio); Mount Vernon (New York); University City (Missouri); Inglewood (California); Evanston (Illinois)   |
| 5. Affluent Residential Suburbs                           | This type suburb is characterized by the extremely high status that they have <u>vis-a-vis</u> other suburban communities. The residents are professional and business types. The houses are very expensive and on large lots. Hostility and resistance to blacks is generally unnecessary since only a few blacks can afford it. In the equivalent place in each large metropolitan area, few blacks have penetrated this type suburb, though sometimes to a greater extent than they have in the more typical and more moderately priced residential suburbs above. This reflects the greater resistance in these areas and the marginal status of blacks with respect to them. | Looking at the Boston SMSA, for example, inner affluent suburb (1970) have higher percentage black than more moderate suburbs at the same distance from the core. Suburbs such as Lincoln, Newton, Bedford, Concord, Sharon, have higher percentages than Milton, Watertown, Canton, Dedham, etc. |

Figure 2-2 (Cont'd)

| <u>Type of Suburban Environment</u> | <u>General Characteristics</u>  | <u>Examples</u>  |
|-------------------------------------|---|--|
| 6. Others                           | <p>It might also be fairly said that one or two blacks may have migrated to almost any suburb. Even in Cicero, Illinois, there are 4 blacks.</p> <p>In many southern cities, black suburban developments are built. These are not of the sort noted in (1) and (2) above, but rather are in the tradition of (3) and (4), except they are built for and settled by blacks. As such, the cost and quality of the housing is not different from the comparable housing occupied by whites in the same ring and of the same class.</p> | <p>There are some other suburban settings which don't fit neatly in the above categories. These may be university towns, abandoned "gold coasts," "new towns."</p> <p>Respectively, examples are Berkeley, Highland Park (Detroit), and Wyandanch (Long Island), Reston (Virginia)</p> |

Source: These characterizations are summarized from the literature in general.

the process of black suburbanization can be divided. It is not possible to talk about black suburbanization and deal with black suburbanites as a single group. At a minimum, some disaggregation into the migrant and incumbents streams is necessary.

4. While there is a lot of information on neighborhood change, there is very little on the relationship between change in the demographic characteristics which are associated with the change in the spatial/physical characteristics of a neighborhood or community. This represents a critical challenge for an examination of a process which has this type dynamic as a central part of it.

Despite the inadequacy of literature on various aspects of the process of black suburbanization, as it has been defined here, there is no shortage of speculation or theory to explain or describe black suburbanization. These are reviewed in the next chapter, at the end of which, a more formal presentation is made of the hypothesis to be explored in this thesis.

## Chapter Three

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE  
PROCESS OF BLACK SUBURBANIZATIONIntroduction

The nature and role of theory in Urban Sociology and Urban Planning has been noted in the literature.<sup>1</sup> Theory is useful in guiding research and understanding the findings, as well as, in the case of normative theory, in articulating a position to be expressed in policy or political forums. Theory also sets the stage for some continuity in research. This chapter is addressed to conceptualizations on the process of black suburbanization -- that is, explanations for which blacks are in the suburbs, what type environments they are in, and the pattern of their settlement. This examination, as such, is not the examination of how suburbs grew, or even how the black suburban population grew. The process of suburban growth is not interesting from the perspective of this chapter because growth is simply increase resulting from the sum of natural increase and migration over losses in the population. The theoretical issues around the process of suburbanization, as defined above, are more inclusive and more pertinent to the investigation.

In the discussion in this thesis, the emphasis will be on explanatory theory (as distinguished from normative

theory). Explanatory theory in planning, as outlined by Chapin offers a logical construct to explain phenomenon in cities in terms of the origin, structure, growth and change. Such a theory is useful for this examination of black suburbanization and also for the purpose of predicting how the form might change and develop in the future. Chapin has suggested that there are four requirements for an explanatory theory:

1. The theory must have a dynamic element. The theory must explain how phenomena change and grow. This is especially critical in a theoretical explanation on the process of black suburban migration since the change and growth of the population is the focus of the thesis.
2. The theory must be empirically based so that other researchers can verify it at a later time with more appropriate data, or when new circumstances warrant.
3. The theory must be logical and consistent.
4. The theory should not be too abstract and must be plausible as theory, and helpful  

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as a tool.

The purpose of this chapter is to review the various explanations which have been offered to determine their adequacy according to the above tests. The more general theories



of urban structure, of community change and of segregation cited in the last chapter do not adequately address themselves to the presence of blacks in the suburbs which is the present focus. What is presented here is both the more informal explanations, and the more formal ones. The explanations are general in the sense that they do not provide any basis for distinguishing black suburbanization by type of community. The theories are what might be called "middle-range theories." That is, they are some where between everyday working hypotheses used in research and formal conceptualizations.<sup>3</sup>

Each of the explanations will be reviewed in terms of the explanation of black suburbanizations which it offers, the evidenciary requirements, the patterns we might expect if the explanations meet our criteria, and some estimation of how much it contributes to the rigorous explanation that we are seeking in this thesis. Each of the explanations has some evidence which has been offered in its support, and this will also be presented. There is no implication of additivity intended in these explanations and the interrelationships between the various explanations will be discussed later in the chapter. The explanations which begin below are rather sharply drawn to highlight the particular role they might play and to test them for adequacy.

Historical Circumstance

The first explanation that will be explored is the suggestion that blacks have always been in the suburbs in significant numbers and it is the growth (by natural increase) of blacks in these places which has suddenly become of

interest.<sup>4</sup> The basis for settlement in the past might have been that blacks were servants or industrial workers in these places and that as time passed blacks remained and developed into a community. The black towns might have developed because of segregation and relegation of blacks to particular places in what may have then been part of the hinterland, but which is now clearly within the metropolitan ring. Settlement in these areas might go back for decades, or may have occurred in the recent decades, especially beginning in the 1940's. We can test the adequacy of this explanation by looking at the population in the places where blacks have historically settled and see if the recent growth (by natural increase) can explain any significant part of the recent increase in the black population.

First, we might turn to "black suburbs." Scattered through the literature are numerous references to black suburban places (suburban places where blacks are and have been a majority). We might focus on the origins, age, growth rates, population structure, and present status of some of these places for the answer to the central question. These places

are, in popular terms, the "enclaves" of black suburbanites. Harold Rose has done the most systematic study of these places, though there have been other studies as well.<sup>5</sup> If this explanation for black suburbanization were true, then we might expect that the increase in black suburbanization would be in areas where blacks have been before, namely, older, rural or quasi-rural parts of suburbia. We would expect that growth would have been by natural increase in those areas and by the migration of blacks to those areas.

What emerges from a review of work in this area is quite unambiguous. Many of these places are in the South, with another group concentrated in the border states (Missouri, southern Ohio, Maryland). Rose identified 12 of these places with a 1960 population totaling 44,000, and a 1970 population of still less than 50,000. The percentage share of the total black suburban population of these communities actually declined between 1960 and 1970. Five of the 12 communities actually lost population between 1960 and 1970. The communities which experienced the greatest growth (Glenarden, Maryland), grew significantly because of its location in the rapidly expanding suburban Maryland (Washington, D.C. SMSA) area. Because many of them were built for the poor blacks who inhabit them, they are generally more reflective of a rural fringe than a growing suburbia. To give a better view, we might look at two of the communities.

In 1960, Glenarden, Maryland was barely an urban place. In an area of only limited real estate development, its population had been stable at less than 1500 people. By annexing some nearby areas, and by developers responding to the demand for new housing for blacks in the Maryland (Prince Georges County) suburbs, Glenarden was able to increase its population to more than 4500 by the 1970 census. The landscape of the community is influenced by the new development of both single family and multi-family housing, and the community has an essentially middle-class character and a young family population. Of all the black communities studied by Rose, this is the only one blessed with locational advantages which lead to such rapid growth. This case, however, is not supportive of the general explanation that black suburbanization grew on the basis of historical circumstances. It was not the native, but the migrant population which swelled Glenarden, and the turnaround in the nature of the community was a function of a larger migration pattern of blacks to Prince Georges County.

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We can contrast this situation with Urbancrest, Ohio, which, in 1960, was similar in many respects to Glenarden. Urbancrest did not grow. Its population was reduced by better than 26%. It was remote and unrelated to the general black population of its center city (Columbus, Ohio). It reflected a somewhat more typical pattern for the older

black suburban enclaves in the areas outside the South. Other similar examples include Brooklyn (Ill.), Lincoln Heights (Ohio), Kinloch (Missouri), and Fairmont Heights (Maryland). These communities declined in their population and became older (age of residents) and poorer in relative terms. Thus, with respect to black suburbs, the evidence does not suggest that they have been responsible for the growth of the black suburban population in terms of a natural increase in their population.

With respect to blacks in suburbs where they are not the majority, we can do the same type of investigation.

Douglass has noted that as early as the 1920's, there have been blacks in suburban areas of the major cities, especially

on the east coast.<sup>7</sup> Many of these places are well-known. Connolly has isolated a list of more than 20 of them which has increased their black population by more than 100% in the

last decade.<sup>8</sup> Since these are mostly older suburban areas, these are particularly interesting. In going through the literature and in looking at the nature of their growth, it is clear that they have grown in recent years principally by migration. More of the evidence for this is presented in the next chapter. (See Table 4-10). That table illustrates convincingly that in nearly all of the SMSA which experienced growth in its black suburban population, natural increase

represented only a relatively small proportion of it. Growth by migration was, conversely, much more significant.

As a point of reference, it should be pointed out that a few urbanized areas have accounted for the 1960-1970 growth of the black population (New York, Los Angeles, Washington, D.C., Chicago, San Francisco, Newark, Cleveland). Of the 800,000 blacks who went to the suburbs during the decade, these metropolitan areas account for 58%. With respect to the locus of black suburban historical concentrations, these SMSA's have not had the greatest historical concentrations. Many of the places which had established concentrations have been in the South and in more modest-sized SMSA's outside the South. The communities within these urbanized areas which have old black suburban concentrations have not grown substantially by natural increase (and some have not grown at all). Further, many of the blacks in these urbanized areas are in neighborhoods where the base for growth by natural increase has been rather small, and therefore, could not account for the growth, by nearly a third, of the total black suburban population.

Second, in the old communities where black have been for some time, there is and has been a declining base for growth by natural increase. An older population with women past the prime childbearing years could not have been responsible for the significant increase in the black suburban population. Further, the contribution to be expected from natural

increase in these historic enclaves, is expected to be even less in coming years as they fail to attract a new young population and as some out-migration by the present youth occurs.

Finally, the physical design of these communities as noted by Rose reflect more of the rural influence than the suburban image that we would expect. While there is some variation from community to community, the houses are typically obsolescent by recent (not to mention present) standards. Thus, short of population displacement, we cannot conclude that they have been critical in our present concern -- the process by black suburbanization.

To explain the black suburban growth by reference to these communities might have had an earlier validity -- in the 1940's and 1950's when migration was not terribly significant and when growth of the black population was limited to growth in places where blacks had been previously. In the recent decade, however, a more dynamic explanation is needed to capture the strong and decisive impact of migration, hence, the justification for this chapter.

#### The Beachhead Theory

The "beachhead theory" is somewhat more dynamic than the first explanation in that it seeks to explain the process of black suburbanization by suggesting that blacks have increased their suburban population by flocking to places in the suburbs where other blacks have recently settled.

Some degree of volition is assumed. Birch noted in New Haven that blacks were initially flocking to neighborhoods with some blacks already. To be valid in the context of this thesis, this explanation must be supported by evidence that the pace, size and direction of black movement to suburbs in particular urbanized areas is such that the general concept of the establishment of a population beachhead is upheld by evidence of the creation of a market or the extension of a market ("network of substitutability" which assumes certain information links, though not necessarily contact); and the migration of demographically similar people who have an interest in living in suburban areas with a substantial black population.<sup>10</sup>

Since there is really no literature on migration in this connection that is at the metropolitan scale, it is not really possible to apply this test fully, especially with respect to the vital role that information linkages might play. We do know (and will show in the next chapter) that the blacks who migrated to particular type suburban places are quite similar demographically to blacks already there and to each other.

The best test given the limited data is an indirect one. The beachhead theory implies a certain preference for blacks to live with blacks as they move to the suburban neighborhoods. There are several points which we might make to show that validity of the beachhead theory in this regard is rather



limited. First, we might expect that blacks would flock to predominately black suburbs. We noted in the section above that this has not been the case, and that many of the majority black suburban communities have experienced declines in their population.

Second, Birch has documented the tensions that blacks have with respect to the choice of living with other blacks in black, or significantly black communities versus moving into the white communities where the opportunities for upgrading and economic return for the housing dollar are generally believed (though not uniformly demonstrable) to be greater.<sup>11</sup> Citing data on New Haven, he noted that mobile blacks were seeking areas where the black population was less than 5%.<sup>12</sup> They avoided places where the black population was higher. Thus, in absence of any intervention by artificial forces into the working of the market, blacks would be dispersed, albeit into clusters where the black proportion would be less than 5%. Similar supporting evidence is presented in Pascal's study of Chicago.<sup>13</sup> In their study of suburban areas in Prince Georges County, Chapin and Zehner noted that after a period of increasing black in-migration, the flow appeared to slacken and even declined as time passed.<sup>14</sup> Of course, it is possible that the blacks moved there together, and that that fact would support a beachhead explanation. The question though is:

did they come there because a group of blacks found this particular area to be desirable, or were they directed there by the workings of the market, or the black sub-market. If the latter is the case, as some of the evidence presented in Chapter Two would suggest, then the process of black suburbanization is something more than what the beachhead explanation would suggest.

The absence of any data on the information link of the substantial portion of the new black suburban population who are outside any such linkage (black moving from other metropolitan areas or from non-metropolitan areas) makes it further unlikely that the process can be explained by the "beachhead theory," even though these blacks who move to the SMSA may conclude that parts of the SMSA are more open to blacks. Their conclusion in this regard is based on many factors -- more complex than any combination of factors implicit in the "beachhead theory."

Finally, the beachhead theory assumes a voluntary role on the part of blacks in choosing places to live. The weight of evidence cited in the last chapter suggests that there are institutional, economic, racial and class forces which restrict the movement of blacks to areas where whites do not want them. The extent to which this is logically true nullifies a notion that blacks independently invade and proceed to grow. Much more complex factors are implied in this

situation and black initiative may play only a minimal role in the final result. Thus, on the basis of such information as we have, it seems unlikely that the growth of the black suburban population can be explained by the establishment of a beachhead and its subsequent growth.

#### Ghetto Expansion ("Spillover")

This is one of the most plausible and popular explanations for the process of growth of the black population. This rather straightforward notion suggests that blacks expand from the core until they reach the city boundary. The population continues to expand in the adjacent suburban areas usually replacing whites. This type of suburbanization might be characterized as more technical than conscious. The requirements for demonstrating its existence are twofold. First, whites must retreat from an area in the spillover suburb, and second, they must be replaced by blacks who move from the inner city. If this explanation were adequate, it would show that black suburbanization has occurred primarily in this restricted way. The literature which has been reviewed in the preceding chapter is enough evidence (for now) to cast doubt on the idea that this rather limited type suburbanization is substantial in its power to explain black suburbanization.

The reader will also note from the last chapter that as the ghetto grows outward, it is the more prosperous and

stable blacks who move into the outer settlement areas. The population on the periphery would be similar to those we might predict would move to the suburbs.

Demonstrating that there is spillover is not the same as demonstrating that spillover explains the process of black suburbanization. This would only be true if it were generally the case that most of the recent black suburbanization has been due to spillover. The evidence here though mixed, is generally unsupportive of this notion. There are some metropolitan areas where the evidence in this regard is rather convincing. In Cleveland, most of the growth in the black suburban population can be accounted for by migration up Euclid Avenue to the suburb of East Cleveland. Similarly, in St. Louis, the suburban neighborhoods adjacent to west St. Louis have absorbed a large part of the black suburban growth. In the other urbanized areas where there has been substantial black suburbanization, the evidence is much less convincing, even though there are some spillover communities. Takoma Park outside of Washington and East Orange outside of Newark are examples. But in all of these cases, this spillover does not account for anything near a majority. New York, Los Angeles and Washington -- the big three -- all have a somewhat dispersed black populations even though there are some spillover communities. Many of their suburbs have some blacks and the bulk of the black suburban population is scattered in five or more of the larger, usually inner suburbs.

Often these are in different sectors of the metro, and not along any single black growth corridor. Looking at other major cities the spillover theory loses its luster even more. Blacks in Chicago are in 15 suburbs with spillover having a minimal impact. Boston's rather small black suburban growth did not result from any spilling over Boston's southern boundary. Detroit presents a special case in that the suburbs which made the greatest gains were inside the corporate boundaries of the city.

Thus, it seems that the spillover explanation applies to only a limited number of situations and that these places are not notable for their contribution to the overall increase in black suburbanization. A substantial part of the suburbanization has been dispersed (albeit in clusters) and in areas not directly in the path of ghetto growth. Even when it has occurred the spillover has been in rather modest proportions and in a few places. This raises questions as to why it was not greater or more massive and why spillover into particular places, and not others equally proximate. This suggests that there must be something else going on in most of the black suburbanization, including the areas which seem to fit the notion of "spillover." The answers to these questions are required before an adequate explanation can be made of process.

### Political Acceptability

Under this notion, blacks move to a suburb in response to favorable political programs or a favorable ambience for blacks. While this explanation might be read as similar to the "beachhead theory," it is separate in the sense that political responsiveness is concurrent with in-migration of blacks, while in the beachhead theory, responsiveness need not exist, only tolerance or acquiescence.

Political responsiveness is interpreted here to be the promulgation of programs which respond to the changing racial composition of the population, while such changes are taking place. There are at least two examples of this phenomenon, though, if this explanation were substantial, we would expect to see a pattern of this responsiveness.

University City is a suburb outside St. Louis. In 1960, it had only 88 blacks in its population of more than 50,000.<sup>16</sup> By 1970, it had more than 9000 blacks in a total population of better than 46,000 (20%). Since it is not a black suburb, the responsiveness to the needs of blacks is significant. During the decade when the number of blacks was increasing and most other suburbs were attempting to keep blacks out, the city sponsored numerous projects which were attractive to blacks and which were designed to help to maintain the viability of the city. In the early 1960's the city passed a fair housing resolution and in 1967 outlawed

unscrupulous real estate practices. There were also fair employment and public accommodations ordinances. To prevent physical decline, code enforcement and inspection services were improved, redevelopment in some sections of town, and financial assistance to homeowners was provided. The city made an official and concerted effort to maintain the quality of life in this essentially middleclass (lower white collar) suburb and to maintain racial mix (to keep both blacks and whites moving in). Though the total population declined during the decade, both blacks and whites continued to move in.

East Cleveland is a suburb adjacent to the ghetto of Cleveland.<sup>17</sup> At the beginning of the decade, fewer than 3% of the population was black. By 1970, almost 60% of the population was black. Many whites left and were replaced by blacks who did not get political power commensurate with their numbers. Power remained in the hands of the (extremely influential) City Manager who, while not an ideological activist on behalf of blacks, indicated that the goal of the city government was to accept the certain growth of the black population and to plan and prepare for the changing service needs of a younger population. Thus, like University City, the city of East Cleveland instituted many programs which were designed to provide for the incoming black population. Unlike, University City, this was essentially a workingclass and lower middle class community. They did more than accept blacks. They responded to needs with the goal of stable mixed community.

There are, no doubt, other communities who more or less responded to the influx of blacks. The conclusions, with respect to the requirements of explanatory theory are more ambiguous, however. First, these communities seem to be more the exception than the rule, and as such, are very special cases. The two empirical efforts to get at issues of acceptability in typical suburban political situations predicted that the results would be quite different. Berger, et. al. in their study of suburban political influentials in the

Chicago area found that opposition to the poor was strong.<sup>18</sup> The Gruens found similar sentiments on a number of questions having to do with suburban acceptance of various housing pro-

grams which might be built for the black and the poor.<sup>19</sup> These studies are clearly more convincing and clearly more solidly founded than the two cases discussed above. They document the strong opposition of building low and moderate income family houses at a scale to be beneficial in any substantial way.

The cases cited above do raise some interesting questions, however. One might ask, for example, if the response was more to deal with a sagging physical stock and an edgy white population than to blacks, or to hold or attract more moderate income families who in the context of then available opportunities, happened to be black. Or perhaps, these suburbs were fighting for their survival in an increasingly



differentiated suburban constellation. Both of the suburbs discussed above, while never poor, lost substantial status (among other ring suburb) in the 1960's in terms of increase in median income and in terms of population growth. Thus, while we can say that there are cases of suburbs which have deliberately done things to attract blacks, this has not been the general case, and the contribution of this explanation to the process of black suburbanization is next to nil.

#### Fair Housing

Another possible explanation might suggest that fair housing activities accounted for a substantial part of the increase in the black suburban population. Support of this explanation would require that identification and recruitment of blacks, the identification of open housing opportunities and their match have produced a substantial part of the black suburbanization which we might expect to be dispersed.

While it is not possible to directly determine if fair housing

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activities in any way affected migrants, it is possible to review evaluations and self-analyses of fair housing activ-

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ities.

There is no real evidence to suggest that fair housing activities played a significant role in the increase of blacks in the suburbs, even though they clearly made contributions which are significant to the families who were helped.

Additionally, it made an indelible impact on the communities which they desegregated. In reviewing this section, we might keep in mind that, only 16% of black suburbanites live in neighborhoods with less than 5% blacks. These are the types of neighborhoods which fair housing groups directed their attention.

A couple of other points might be made. First, the major growth of blacks in the suburbs, or the beginning of that growth began in the mid-1960's. Open housing laws were passed either concurrently or at a later date. The federal law was passed in 1968, and not fully prepared for implementation until 1972.

It might also be suggested that areas where there was the most legal action on behalf of blacks is where there was the most black suburbanization. It is difficult to measure the intensity or the effectiveness of fair housing activity. Such activity was conspicuous in all of the major non-south metropolitan areas. A perhaps better approach is to look at the nature of the activity, and the result. If fair housing is at all helpful in explaining the suburbanization of blacks, there should be some correlation. Nesbitt and Hoeber wrote an important article in which they criticized fair housing activities for restricting their activities to blacks in the middle and upper income categories, and to the more affluent neighborhoods to which they might gain entry.

As a case in point, we might look at the Metropolitan

<sup>23</sup>  
Washington Housing Program. Noting an evaluation by the American Friends Service Committee of their own program provides some interesting insights into the actual outputs of the program. The reports noted that 600 instances of the introduction of blacks into Washington suburbs could be attributed to the MWHP between 1963 and 1967. Interviews with a sample of black buyers and renters show convincingly that it was the black middle class (who the report noted was increasingly able to manage the move for themselves and without assistance) who moved. None of the families had income of less than \$10,000, about half were federal employees in white collar jobs, and about half had moved to Washington in the preceding 5 years. The report does not indicate which suburbs these blacks moved to, but it does note that the fair housing group in Prince Georges County was one of the weaker groups. Ironically, it has been to Prince Georges County

<sup>24</sup>  
that a substantial black migration has taken place. Evaluations of programs by the National Urban League in other cities also conclude that the contribution of fair housing has been minimal because many more opportunities were identified by the fair housing groups than the marginal middle class black home-

<sup>25</sup>  
seekers appeared ready or able to take. The more recent activities of national fair housing groups, however, have been

directed toward a broader attack on housing segregation, including the attack on land-use controls which exclude the poor, more direct involvement in the development of low and moderate income housing in the suburbs, and developing more accountability on the part of employers for providing housing for their

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workers in the suburbs.

Thus, while fair housing might have had some positive effect on bringing blacks to particular places (though it is difficult to partial out the actual dimensions), the overall trend in black suburbanization cannot be credited in any significant way to any of the activities of the fair housing activities.

#### Other Explanatory Theories

There are a couple of other explanatory theories which I will note only because they need to be addressed and not because they have even any other justification.

One idea is that real estate brokers might have had some role in increasing the number of blacks in the suburbs. There are three possible approaches that realtors might take with respect to blacks. The realtors can give blacks access to the suburbs. The general pattern of such access, however, is not one of openness and equality, but rather a pattern characterized by "steering" where blacks are directed to par-

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ticular parts of the suburban ring. They can respond to blacks without prejudice and thus play a neutral role. This

has also been shown not to be the case. Finally, they can prevent blacks from having equal access to housing opportunities.<sup>28</sup> This may be at their own initiative or in response to client or community wishes, or both. There is ample documentation that this is in fact what they do. It can, therefore, be dismissed that realtors have independently contributed to the suburbanization of blacks. What may be the case, and what will be examined in Chapter Six is the notion that they play a role (along with others who might also be accountable) in terms of market forces which they help to shape but also over which they have limited control. They take advantage of whatever the market has created (for their own benefit). What appears to be the case here is misplaced emphasis.

Another case of misplaced emphasis is with respect to the role of exclusionary zoning. It clearly exists as a problem and has been amply documented in the previous chapter. However, there are several reasons why it ought not to be considered as a significant part of an explanation for the presence of blacks in the suburbs.

1. Exclusion through zoning refers principally to new construction and new uses (multi-family housing in formerly single-family area), and not the re-sale and rental of existing units (which accounts for better than 98% of units occupied by blacks in

the areas outside the South). The exclusion in existing housing is accomplished through actions of the institutions involved in housing, either acting alone, or in concert.

2. Exclusion has its strongest effect against blacks without resources, and/or in more expensive parts of the ring. For blacks with high income or in poorer sections of the ring, exclusionary tactics are less significant.
3. Some of the more "people-oriented" exclusion schemes (maximum occupancy, "no-growth," etc.) are of too recent origin to have substantially shaped 1960-1970 patterns -- the primary focus of this research effort.

In presenting such sharply drawn distinctions and without focusing on the many possible combinations and joint explanatory effects, one might be accused of erecting "straw men." With the possible exceptions of the "beachhead effect" or ghetto expansion, hardly anyone would seriously suggest that one of the explanations really explains the growth we have witnessed. Nevertheless, these notions have to be presented because of the contribution they do make and because a review of such possible (or popular) explanations is part of the contribution that the thesis might make.

The astute observer might also argue that two or more of these explanations work in concert in any particular case, and thus, the focus of a chapter such as this should be on all of the possible permutations and combinations. Such possibilities are endless, needless to say. The discussion of cases in Chapter Six should address some of the interrelationships in the two cases used in this thesis.

What is clear, however, and perhaps the major point to grow out of this analysis is that all of the explanations are unsatisfactory in terms of the requirements set forth in the beginning of the chapter. The principal weakness is with respect to the absence of dynamic elements to explain the change, the growth and the process of black suburban migration. For the most part, these theories do not address themselves to economic issues, to the workings of the housing market, to issues of status change, national or local economic issues and to the broad ecological patterns of the given metropolitan area. Nor do they interrelate these variables with age, status and demographic variables of the individuals. A good explanatory theory should address these issues. Thus in developing a hypothesis, all of these issues should be taken into account.

Addressing these issues analytically can be accomplished by looking at the hypothesis and the three elements of black suburban migration. Proceeding from the general hypothesis that it is the increased "effective demand" on the

part of some blacks which explain their growth in the suburbs, the three elements in this thesis are directed to the individual, the neighborhood and physical environment, and the pattern of black settlement over the metroscape. "Effective Demand" as used generally refers to the active ability of consumers to purchase what they want. Thus, in the case of housing we are talking about the actual ability of blacks to buy/lease housing. (Demand generally refers to units needed to put families in the proper shelter.) What is suggested in this hypothesis is that there are an increasing number of blacks who are able to purchase housing services which are consistent with their needs, "class" and family stage -- hence, the hypothesized increased black suburbanization. To suggest (or to prove) the impact of "effective demand" is not unidimensional.

With respect to the present issue, there are several possible explanations for the phenomenon:

- Housing to meet the black demand is not in the central city, and, therefore, black pressure appears on the suburban market.
- Housing to meet the demand exists in selected suburbs (and these become the destination of black migrants.)
- Realtors and other actors guide this demand to specific areas, including suburban ones.



- The change in the pattern of white settlement or changes in whole preferences reduces the relative prices/rents in selected suburban markets so that blacks have "effective demand" by virtue of relative declines in sectors of the primary housing market.
- Blacks are willing to bid more for housing in certain suburban areas than whites.

Looking at the individual, we might hypothesize that younger, better educated and upwardly mobile blacks would be the ones who would move to the suburbs. This would reflect the notion advanced by Gans that suburbanization is the distribution of families by family stage and by class. Thus, the hypothesis captures both the family stage and the income elements implied here.

A second element, the neighborhood and housing environment, is also hypothesized to relate to increased "effective demand." Because most blacks, despite the gains by some in recent years, still are not generally able to afford newer suburban areas, it is hypothesized that their search for a place in suburbia will be limited significantly to suburbs which are in relative decline when compared to newer areas in the suburbs. This includes older and inner suburbs, and it includes moderately priced housing which is in one sense or another obsolescent (to the new home-buying public). Thus

prospective suburban blacks will demand more than can be provided in the ghetto. Yet most of them cannot afford the new homes which are being built or older homes in rapidly appreciating areas in the ring. The element captures the dynamics of the metropolitan housing market and the larger economic forces at work.

The final element -- relating to the pattern of black settlement on the metroscape -- is hypothesized to reflect the result of the earlier two elements. Blacks would settle in moderate status sectors of the ring. Blacks, in significant numbers could not afford the more expensive sectors, and would not find any attraction to old and poor enclaves which offer no identifiable improvement over inner city communities in housing, jobs or services (hence, the decline of these enclaves as noted above).

While this hypothesis might seem to suggest that blacks move to the suburbs as soon as they have income parity, this would not be a correct interpretation. First, a change in "effective demand" does not necessarily mean a change in income. It could also mean a relative decline in house prices/rents in one area versus another. The relative changes and propensity of blacks to move to them based on some characteristics on their part and on the part of various suburban communities is at the heart of this research. Since there hasn't been any change in the interracial income inequality, the examination

here cannot test whether a simple "incoming strategy" is a work in black suburbanization. The suburbanization has proceeded without greater racial income equality.

There are several supportive findings which other researchers have made which point to this hypothesis.<sup>29</sup> The hypothesis responds to the criteria for explanatory theory specified by Chapin and to the limitations of the alledged explanations discussed above. The hypothesis can then be tested in Chapters Four through Six.

### Conclusions

In this chapter, we have noted that none of the popular notions alone or in concert, explained the observed black suburbanization. They either reflect illusory phenomena, or interesting and real, but minor forces. The explanations which do have some validity in recent years' experience, again leave much unexplained.

The hypothesis offered for that is the increased "effective demand" which propels some blacks to move selectively to the suburbs. Considering the various elements, it is expected that suburbanization proceeds from that increased ability of blacks to settle on the basis of class (income) and family stage.

NOTES

1. For a discussion of the role of theory in urban development, see F. Stuart Chapin, Urban Land Use Planning (University of Illinois Press, 1965), pp. 69-99. For a broader more conceptual essay, see George Homans, "Contemporary Theory in Sociology," in R. L. Faris (ed.) Handbook of Modern Sociology (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1964), pp. 951-77.
2. Chapin, p. 75.
3. For an illustration of the various levels of theory in the social sciences, see, Peter Luphsa, "On Theories of Urban Violence," Urban Affairs Quarterly Number 3 (March 1969), pp. 273-96. I am indebted to Francine Rabinovitz for calling this to my attention.
4. For the earliest statement of significant black suburban settlement and the historical significance can be found in Harlan P. Douglass, The Suburban Trend (New York: The Century Company, 1925), see generally Chapter 4, esp. 97-8.
5. The 12 "places" referred to here are discussed in Harold Rose, "The All-Black Town: Suburban Prototype or Rural Slum?" in H. Hahn (ed.) People and Politics in Urban Society, Vol. 6 of Urban Affairs Annual Reviews (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1972), pp. 397-431. Also see Harold Rose, "The All-Negro Town: Its Evolution and Function," Geographical Review (July 1965), pp. 362-81; Harold X Connolly, "Black Movement to the Suburb," William Pendleton, "Blacks in the Suburb" (unpublished paper).
6. George and Eunice Grier, Equality and Beyond, Chicago: Quadrangle Press, 1966).
7. See Note #3.
8. See #5. For a rather detailed journalistic case study (of Teaneck, N.J.) see Reginald Danerell, Triumph In a White Suburb (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1968).
9. See David Birch, The Economic Future of the City and Suburb (New York: Committee for Economic Development, 1970) p. 34.

10. For a study of mobility where "beachhhead" is significant, see Michael J. Greenwood, "An Analysis of the Determinants of Geographic Labor Mobility in the United States," The Review of Economics and Statistics (May 1969).
11. See David Birch, et. al., Patterns of Urban Change: The New Haven Experience (Lexington: Lexington Book, 1974), pp. 44-50.
12. From my experience with census data, it seems to be the case generally (with middleclass suburbs) that the percentage rarely reaches the 3%. It is more typically less than 1% with a big jump so that the next more typical suburb might have 10% or more black.
13. See A. H. Pascal. The Economics of Segregation (Santa Monica: The Rand Corp., 1967), p. 173.
14. See Robert Zehner and F. S. Chapin, Across the City Line: A White Community in Transition (Lexington: Lexington Books, 1974), p. 21.
15. See Connolly in #5. For a good case, see A. D. Little, Inc., East Cleveland: Response to Urban Change, a report prepared for the City of East Cleveland. April 1969.
16. Data for this was obtained from Solomon Sutker and Sara Sutker (eds.), Racial Transition in an Inner Suburb: Studies of the St. Louis Area (New York: Praeger, 1974), especially pp. 13-14.
17. See #15.
18. See Charles Berger et. al., "Attitudes of Chicago Suburban Influentials Toward the Prospect of Low and Moderate Income Housing in Their Communities." Center for Urban Affairs, Northwestern University, 1973. 86% of the respondents preferred racially mixed housing to all-white housing, but they generally opposed the housing generally.
19. See Nina and Claude Gruen, "Housing Policy and Class Integration," The Annals of Regional Service Vol. 5, No. 2, (December 1971), pp. 102-109. The respondents here see blacks (regardless of class) in low and moderate income housing in the suburbs to be "harmful" to the community.
20. They might, for example, be persuaded to move, or to realize that particular gains might accrue, or, that political and social interest might be aroused. Finally, a desire on the part of prospective blacks might be made to seem more possible.

21. For a general history and evaluation of the fair housing movement, see Juliet Saltman, Open Housing As a Social Movement: Challenge, Conflict and Change, (Lexington: Lexington Books, 1971).
22. George Nesbitt and E. Hoerber, "The Fair Housing Committee: It's Need for a New Perspective," Land Economics, Vol. 41, No. 2 (May 1965), pp. 97-110.
23. See American Friends Service Committee evaluation of its Metropolitan Washington Housing Program, March 1967, p. 26, 41.
24. See Zehner and Chapin in #14. Also see City (special issue on Suburbs, Jan.-Feb., 1971), pp. 45-49.
25. See National Urban League's "The Right to Live -- The Freedom to Buy." New York, National Urban League, 1972. This report evaluates fair housing programs participating in Project Equality.
26. This was confirmed with Suburban-Action in talk with Director Paul Davidoff. For discussion of role of National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, see Jobs And Housing, New York. NCADH, March 1972.
27. See generally, United States Civil Rights Commission, Equal Opportunity in Suburbia (Washington: USGPO, 1974). This volume sums up recent investigations into the access which blacks have in suburbia. See especially pages 18 and 19.
28. For a general reference, see Rose Helper, Racial Policies and Practices of Real Estate Brokers, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1969), especially Chapters 3-6. Also see James L. Hecht, Because It Is Right: Integration in Housing. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1970), especially Chapter 3.
29. There are several allusions or direct statements relating to aspects of this hypothesis. See, Edgar Hoover and Raymond Vernon, Anatomy of a Metropolis (Garden City: Anchor-Doubleday, 1962), pp. 204-206; Karl and Alma Taeuber, Negroes in Cities: Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Change. (New York, Atheneum, 1969), pp. 166-169; Solomon and Sara Sutker, see #16, p. 126; Zehner and Chapin, see #14, p. 22; and David Birch, #9, pp. 34-36.

## Chapter Four

## THE BLACK SUBURBAN POPULATION

Introduction

In this chapter, we focus on the blacks who were in the suburbs in 1970. The focus will be on factors in the self-selection of blacks for suburban resident and the comparison of black suburbanites to their referent groups (white suburbanites, black central city residents). This requires attention to the components of black population changes socioeconomic profiles and attitudes, and examination of specific issues in self-selection. In attempting to ask this general question of who among blacks move to the suburbs, this chapter will lay the groundwork for the next two chapters. The three chapters, taken together, form the evidenciary basis for specifying the process of black suburban migration.

The general point which ties the various parts of this chapter together is that with the rising incomes and expectations of the 1960's, many blacks moved to the suburbs, distributing themselves (subject to the constraints of discrimination) by family stage and status characteristics. Like other metropolitan residents, the space and environment for this distribution was increasingly perceived by blacks to be in the suburbs.

### The Role of Individual in the Specification of Process

Since this chapter is devoted to the discussion of the individual and families in terms of migration, it might be useful to note how the various parts of the chapter relate to each other and to the specification of process. First, the migration of blacks to the suburbs is not unidimensional -- either within a metropolitan area or across regions. Therefore, a first effort ought to be directed at disentangling black suburban population to its component parts. This focus on the gross flow, as opposed to the typical focus on the net flows should contribute significantly to understanding of the actual migration that has taken place. It allows one to look separately at migrants and incumbents in the census year and the base year (in the case of this analysis, 1965 and 1970). We can also separate out the growth associated with migration as opposed to growth resulting from natural increase. Therefore, one section below will examine the gross flows, and socio-economic variables associated with the various streams in selected SMSA's. Another examination will be directed at the relative contribution to black suburban growth of natural increase versus migration. Unfortunately, this breakdown is only available in published form, so that the computer analysis in Part II and in the next chapter will not include this distinction, but will be limited to the standing population in the suburbs at the time of the census.



In addition to the size and direction of gross flows and some characteristics of their streams, attention will also be directed at some issues of selectivity. There are many significant findings which relate to the overall disposition of blacks to move to the suburbs. These will be examined in Part III of this chapter, after attention has been focused on the general socio-economic characteristics of the black suburban population in Part II. This chapter would then set the stage for the linkage made in the next chapter between individual characteristics and characteristics of their neighborhood, and in a later chapter on the pattern of metropolitan settlement.

#### Methodology

Generally, this chapter involves an analysis of census data, mostly from the 1970 Census, but also including some analysis of data from the 1950 and 1960 Censuses as well. The census data can be broken into two parts. The first part of the chapter will include mainly published data from the three most recent censuses. These will include tabulations on the total (sometimes white), and black urban populations. While data for the more inclusive "Urbanized Area" is preferred and will be used whenever available, many of the tabulations here are for SMSA's.

The second source of census data is the Public Use Sample Tape of the 1970 Census. The tape has more than 2700 cases including household heads of black suburbanites, white

suburbanites, black central city and white central city subpopulations. (See Appendix C.) The tape includes a wealth of information for 1970 residents, though notably weak on helpful data on migration between central city and suburb of the respondents. The data is for "urbanized areas" by region and the analysis here, unless otherwise noted, is for regions outside the South. A separate analysis is performed for the South at the end of the chapter.

Additionally, there are many studies, most of which were cited in the literature review, and some special censuses and other government publications which have been helpful in pulling this chapter together.

Needless to say, more could have been gained by a time-series data base and more useful set of questions from census on issues of mobility.

## PART I

### GENERAL DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS: 1950-1970

During the 25 years since 1950, there have been profound changes in the distribution of the metropolitan population. In Table 4-1, we can see that the suburban portion of metropolitan areas have grown tremendously, and that the shift of the white population to the suburbs has been quite substantial. What the table shows more specifically is that in the central city blacks almost doubled their number over the 20 year period, while there was an actual slight decline in the

Table 4-1

Population Change by Location  
Inside and Outside Metropolitan Areas

1950-1970

|              | (In Millions)* |      |      |       |       |       |
|--------------|----------------|------|------|-------|-------|-------|
|              | Negro          |      |      | White |       |       |
|              | 1950           | 1960 | 1970 | 1950  | 1960  | 1970  |
| U.S.         | 15.0           | 18.8 | 22.8 | 135.2 | 158.8 | 177.4 |
| Metropolitan | 8.4            | 12.2 | 16.1 | 80.3  | 99.7  | 113.6 |
| Central City | 6.5            | 9.7  | 12.6 | 45.5  | 47.7  | 45.0  |
| Suburbs      | 1.9            | 2.5  | 3.5  | 34.8  | 52.0  | 68.5  |
| Other        | 6.7            | 6.7  | 6.7  | 54.0  | 59.2  | 63.8  |

Source: U.S. Census Current Population Reports, P-23, No. 24, p. 8,  
and P-23, No. 37, 1971

\*Numbers rounded to nearest tenth

suburbs, however, did show substantial growth, almost doubling from just under 35 million to more than 68 million. The second largest group in terms of percentage growth was the black suburban population. They increased their numbers from just under 2 million in 1950 to 3.5 million by 1970. While the impact of this growth is overshadowed by the more massive white suburban growth in the decade of the 1960's, both groups grew rather impressively.

We can get a more detailed look at the general trends by focusing on the data in Tables 4-2 through 4-6. Table 4-2 shows blacks as a percentage share of the metropolitan population, and decreased their share of the non-metropolitan population. This reflects both the outward movement from the South, and the movement from rural areas of the South to its cities and cities outside the South. The largest increase was the systematic increase in nearly every region in the proportion of the central city population that is black. This influx put a heavy burden on central city housing during the decade. This issue is important and will be addressed later. Blacks significantly increased their proportion of the ring population of the larger SMSA's (those with more than a million people). This was true of every region except the South where the annexation of fringe areas during the decade pulled many blacks into the city.

In Table 4-3, we can see the percentage of blacks as a proportion of the total population in major SMSA's across the

Table 4-2

Negroes as a Percent of all Races by Region,  
Place and Size: 1960 and 1970

(In Percent)

| Type of Residence                            | 1970  |                |                   |       |      | 1960  |                |                   |       |      |
|--|-------|----------------|-------------------|-------|------|-------|----------------|-------------------|-------|------|
|  | Total | North-<br>east | North-<br>central | South | West | Total | North-<br>east | North-<br>central | South | West |
| Total  | 11.3  | 8.6            | 8.2               | 19.8  | 1.9  | 10.3  | 6.6            | 6.5               | 20.4  | 3.6  |
| Metropolitan areas                           | 12.3  | 10.2           | 12.3              | 19.8  | 5.9  | 10.6  | 7.9            | 10.0              | 19.4  | 4.7  |
| Inside central cities                        | 21.5  | 18.5           | 23.6              | 29.4  | 10.9 | 16.4  | 13.2           | 16.8              | 25.1  | 7.8  |
| Outside central cities                       | 4.9   | 3.7            | 2.7               | 10.9  | 2.7  | 4.5   | 3.0            | 2.3               | 11.8  | 2.1  |
| Metropolitan areas of<br>1,000,000 or more   | 13.4  | 12.6           | 14.6              | 21.7  | 7.7  | 11.1  | 10.1           | 12.1              | 19.6  | 6.4  |
| Inside central cities                        | 25.5  | 22.0           | 29.5              | 41.4  | 13.9 | 18.5  | 16.0           | 21.0              | 30.9  | 10.9 |
| Outside central cities                       | 4.5   | 4.7            | 3.5               | 6.9   | 4.2  | 3.9   | 4.0            | 2.9               | 7.8   | 2.9  |
| Metropolitan areas of<br>less than 1,000,000 | 10.9  | 5.1            | 9.0               | 19.0  | 3.6  | 10.0  | 3.3            | 7.0               | 19.3  | 2.3  |
| Inside central cities                        | 17.2  | 10.0           | 16.5              | 25.1  | 7.5  | 14.1  | 6.2            | 11.3              | 23.2  | 4.0  |
| Outside central cities                       | 5.2   | 1.6            | 1.4               | 12.8  | 0.6  | 5.2   | 0.9            | 1.3               | 13.7  | 0.7  |
| Nonmetropolitan areas                        | 9.4   | 2.9            | 1.2               | 19.8  | 1.9  | 9.8   | 1.2            | 1.2               | 21.4  | 0.7  |

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce; Bureau of Census, Current Population Reports, Social and Economic Characteristics of Population in Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Areas, 1960 to 1970, P-23, No. 37, June, 1971.

Table 4-3

Blacks as a Proportion of  
Total Population, 1950-1970

|                    | Total<br>Urbanized Area |       |      | Central City<br>or Cities |       |      | Suburban Ring |      |      |
|--------------------|-------------------------|-------|------|---------------------------|-------|------|---------------|------|------|
|                    | 1970                    | 1960  | 1950 | 1970                      | 1960  | 1950 | 1970          | 1960 | 1950 |
| New York           | 14.9%                   | 10.9% | 8.1% | 22.6%                     | 14.9% | 9.7% | 5.9%          | 4.5% | 3.9% |
| Los Angeles        | 9.2                     | 7.1   | 5.4  | 16.5                      | 12.2  | 7.9  | 4.8           | 3.2  | 2.3  |
| Chicago            | 19.6                    | 16.1  | 11.6 | 32.8                      | 23.0  | 13.9 | 3.4           | 3.0  | 2.9  |
| Philadelphia       | 19.8                    | 17.3  | 14.8 | 33.6                      | 26.4  | 13.1 | 6.9           | 6.1  | 6.7  |
| Detroit            | 19.0                    | 15.6  | 12.8 | 43.6                      | 28.9  | 16.2 | 3.7           | 3.8  | 5.8  |
| San Francisco      | 11.2                    | 9.5   | 7.0  | 20.5                      | 14.3  | 7.9  | 6.0           | 5.5  | 5.9  |
| Boston             | 4.7                     | 3.2   | 2.3  | 16.3                      | 9.1   | 5.0  | 1.1           | 0.8  | 0.8  |
| Washington         | 27.0                    | 24.9  | 23.9 | 71.1                      | 53.9  | 35.0 | 7.6           | 3.7  | 5.4  |
| Cleveland          | 17.0                    | 14.5  | 10.9 | 33.3                      | 28.6  | 16.2 | 3.7           | 0.9  | 9.5  |
| St. Louis          | 19.4                    | 17.0  | 14.6 | 40.9                      | 23.6  | 17.9 | 8.9           | 7.6  | 9.5  |
| Pittsburgh         | 8.5                     | 8.0   | 7.7  | 20.2                      | 16.7  | 12.2 | 3.9           | 3.6  | 4.0  |
| Minneapolis        | 1.9                     | 1.5   | 1.3  | 4.0                       | 2.5   | 1.5  | 0.2           | 0.1  | 0.1  |
| Houston            | 20.4                    | 20.7  | 19.4 | 25.7                      | 22.9  | 20.9 | 5.8           | 10.5 | 10.7 |
| Baltimore          | 28.0                    | 24.1  | 20.6 | 46.4                      | 34.6  | 23.4 | 3.2           | 3.5  | 8.1  |
| Dallas             | 16.5                    | 14.6  | 14.2 | 24.9                      | 19.0  | 13.1 | 2.2           | 2.6  | 18.7 |
| Milwaukee          | 8.5                     | 5.5   | 2.6  | 14.7                      | 8.4   | 3.4  | 0.2           | 0.2  | 0.1  |
| Seattle            | 3.4                     | 3.2   | 2.6  | 7.1                       | 4.8   | 3.4  | 0.5           | 0.2  | 0.4  |
| Miami              | 14.7                    | 13.4  | 12.1 | 22.7                      | 22.4  | 16.2 | 16.9          | 8.7  | 7.4  |
| San Diego          | 5.0                     | 4.3   | 3.7  | 7.9                       | 6.0   | 4.5  | 1.4           | 0.7  | 1.5  |
| Atlanta            | 25.1                    | 27.1  | 28.1 | 51.3                      | 38.3  | 36.6 | 5.8           | 7.6  | 12.1 |
| Cincinnati         | 13.5                    | 12.9  | 11.5 | 27.6                      | 21.6  | 15.5 | 3.8           | 3.9  | 4.8  |
| Kansas City        | 13.5                    | 12.4  | 12.1 | 22.3                      | 17.5  | 12.2 | 6.1           | 7.0  | 11.9 |
| Buffalo            | 9.8                     | 7.7   | 4.5  | 20.4                      | 13.3  | 6.3  | 2.0           | 3.0  | 1.0  |
| Denver             | 4.7                     | 3.9   | 3.1  | 9.1                       | 6.1   | 3.6  | 0.4           | 0.3  | 0.7  |
| San Jose           | 1.7                     | 0.7   | 0.5  | 2.5                       | 1.0   | 0.6  | 1.2           | 0.5  | 0.3  |
| New Orleans        | 32.0                    | 31.2  | 29.4 | 45.0                      | 37.2  | 31.9 | 10.9          | 14.0 | 13.9 |
| Portland           | 2.8                     | 2.5   | 2.1  | 3.3                       | 4.4   | 2.6  | 0.3           | 0.3  | 0.3  |
| Indianapolis       | 16.4                    | 15.4  | 12.7 | 18.0                      | 20.6  | 15.0 | 0.2           | 0.4  | 0.2  |
| Providence         | 2.6                     | 2.0   | 1.7  | 8.9                       | 5.4   | 3.3  | 0.7           | 0.5  | 0.5  |
| Total <sup>a</sup> | 14.4                    | 12.1  | 9.9  | 25.9                      | 19.1  | 12.7 | 4.6           | 3.7  | 4.1  |

<sup>a</sup>Weighted by the size of the urbanized area.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, PC(1)-3 Table 23; Census of Population: 1960, PC(1)-3, Table 21; Census of Population: 1950, Vol. II, Table 34 in Hermalin and Farley, 1972.

Table 4-4

Selected Demographic Changes in the  
Negro Population in Selected SMSA's: 1960-70

| <u>SMSA</u>                | % Change<br>in Sub-<br>urban<br>Whites:<br>1960-70 | Negro Mi-<br>grants to<br>Suburbs:<br>1960-70 | Negro Sub-<br>urban Pop-<br>ulation:<br>1970 | % Change<br>in Negro<br>Suburban<br>Popula-<br>tion:<br>1960-70 | % Black<br>in Sub-<br>urbs<br>1960-70 |
|----------------------------|--|---|--|---|---------------------------------------|
| New York                   | 23.8   | 76,962  | 216,656                                      | 66.1  | 4.8/5.0                               |
| Los Angeles                | 14.4   | 123,148                                       | 240,247                                      | 105.2   | 3.6/6.2                               |
| Chicago                    | 33.9   | 50,782  | 128,299                                      | 65.5  | 2.9/3.6                               |
| Philadelphia               | 21.5   | 48,445  | 190,509                                      | 34.1  | 6.1/6.6                               |
| Detroit                    | 28.2   | 20,008  | 96,655                                       | 26.1  | 3.7/3.6                               |
| San Francisco              | 28.1   | 41,307  | 109,319                                      | 60.7  | 4.4/5.4                               |
| Washington, D.C., Va., Md. | 58.0   | 82,287  | 166,033                                      | 98.3  | 6.4/7.9                               |
| Boston                     | 10.6   | 7,701   | 22,328                                       | 52.6  | .8/1.1                                |
| Pittsburgh                 | 4.2 <sup>a</sup>                                   | 4,173   | 64,980                                       | 6.9   | 3.4/3.4                               |
| St. Louis                  | 26.6   | 43,586  | 124,625                                      | 53.8  | 6.0/7.2                               |
| Baltimore                  | 35.7   | 9,608   | 70,014                                       | 15.9  | 7.0/6.0                               |
| Cleveland                  | 23.4   | 36,674  | 44,773                                       | 452.8 <sup>b</sup>  | .9/3.4                                |
| Houston                    | 63.3   | 4,803   | 66,815                                       | 7.7   | 12.9/8.9                              |
| Newark                     | 10.8   | 54,835  | 140,884                                      | 63.7  | 6.7/9.6                               |
| Minneapolis                | 55.4   | 1,506   | 2,183  | 222.5   | .1/ .2                                |
| Dallas                     | 66.1   | 1,766   | 38,324                                       | 4.8   | 8.3/5.2                               |
| Seattle                    | 62.9   | 2,220   | 3,361  | 194.6   | .2/ .4                                |
| Anaheim(Cal.)              | 132.5  | 1,786   | 3,116  | 134.6   | .3/ .3                                |
| Milwaukee                  | 27.3   | 715   | 1,444  | 98.1  | .1/ .2                                |
| Atlanta                    | 72.5   | 10,606  | 55,616                                       | 23.6  | 8.5/6.2                               |

<sup>a</sup>Pittsburg had substantial annexation during the decade, 1960-70.

<sup>b</sup>Accounted for almost entirely by ghetto "spillover" to East Cleveland.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce; Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, PHC(2)-1.

Table 4-5

The Percentage of the Black Population  
in Suburbs of Selected SMSA's: 1960 and 1970

| <u>SMSA</u>   | <u>Black Population 1960</u> |                |                     | <u>Black Population 1970</u> |                |                     |
|---------------|------------------------------|----------------|---------------------|------------------------------|----------------|---------------------|
|               | <u>SMSA</u>                  | <u>Suburbs</u> | <u>Suburban (%)</u> | <u>SMSA</u>                  | <u>Suburbs</u> | <u>Suburban (%)</u> |
| New York      | 1,227,625                    | 139,694        | 11.3                | 1,883,292                    | 216,656        | 11.5                |
| Los Angeles   | 461,546                      | 117,099        | 25.3                | 762,844                      | 240,247        | 31.4                |
| Chicago       | 890,154                      | 77,517         | 8.7                 | 1,230,919                    | 128,299        | 10.4                |
| Philadelphia  | 671,304                      | 142,064        | 21.1                | 844,300                      | 190,509        | 22.5                |
| Detroit       | 558,879                      | 76,647         | 13.7                | 757,083                      | 96,655         | 12.7                |
| San Francisco | 226,013                      | 68,012         | 30.0                | 330,107                      | 109,319        | 33.1                |
| Washington    | 495,483                      | 83,746         | 16.9                | 703,745                      | 166,033        | 23.5                |
| Boston        | 77,792                       | 14,627         | 18.4                | 127,035                      | 22,328         | 17.5                |
| Pittsburg     | 161,499                      | 60,807         | 37.6                | 169,884                      | 64,980         | 38.2                |
| St. Louis     | 295,416                      | 81,039         | 27.4                | 378,816                      | 124,625        | 32.9                |
| Baltimore     | 385,995                      | 60,406         | 15.6                | 490,224                      | 70,014         | 14.2                |
| Cleveland     | 258,917                      | 8,099          | 3.1                 | 332,614                      | 44,773         | 13.5                |
| Houston       | 277,049                      | 62,012         | 22.2                | 383,807                      | 66,815         | 17.4                |
| Newark        | 224,084                      | 86,049         | 38.4                | 348,342                      | 140,884        | 40.4                |
| Minneapolis   | 20,702                       | 677            | .3                  | 32,118                       | 2,183          | 6.7                 |
| Dallas        | 165,800                      | 36,558         | 22.0                | 248,666                      | 38,324         | 15.4                |
| Seattle       | 28,261                       | 1,141          | 4.0                 | 41,609                       | 3,361          | 8.0                 |
| Anaheim(Cal.) | 3,171                        | 1,330          | 41.9                | 10,179                       | 3,116          | 30.6                |
| Milwaukee     | 63,187                       | 729            | 1.1                 | 106,532                      | 1,444          | 1.3                 |
| Atlanta       | 231,474                      | 45,010         | 19.4                | 310,619                      | 55,616         | 17.9                |

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970,  
PHC(2)-1 and appropriate volumes.



Table 4-6

General Characteristics of 1960 and 1970  
Metropolitan Population by Race and Place (1960/1970)

| <u>Characteristics</u>   | <u>Black</u>                 |                              | <u>White</u>                 |                              |
|--|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
|  | <u>Central City</u>          | <u>Suburban</u>              | <u>Central City</u>          | <u>Suburban</u>              |
| Median Income of Families (1969 Dollars)                                     | 4840/6794                    | 4383/6986                    | 7881/9797                    | 8486/11,155                  |
| Average Family Size  | 4.0/4.1                      | 4.5/4.4                      | 3.4/3.3                      | 3.7/3.7                      |
| Percent Adults (over 25 years) With High School Education                    | 43/63                        | 38/55                        | 62/74                        | 67/81                        |
| Percent of all Families Below Poverty Line (1969 Dollars)                    | 40.8/24.7                    | 50.9/23.2                    | 13.8/10.2                    | 10.4/5.4                     |
| Median Age (Both Sexes)  | 25.5/22.5                    | 23.1/23.6                    | 32.9/32.7                    | 28.6/27.3                    |
| Labor Force Participation Rates (a) Male (b) Female                          | (a)80.7/78.2<br>(b)46.8/51.9 | (a)81.3/76.6<br>(b)46.0/54.2 | (a)80.7/78.2<br>(b)39.8/44.1 | (a)81.3/76.6<br>(b)34.3/41.9 |
| Negro Median Earnings as Percent of White Median Earnings for Employed Males | 63/75.3                      | 50/64.9                      | -                            | -                            |

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, P-23 #37, 1971.

country. A similar set of conclusions emerges as noted in Table 4-2. What is significant here is the many differences between the various cities, and the often erratic pattern (resulting from massive demographic changes) that they have had since the 1940's in terms of their black population. In Table 4-4, we can see the absolute and relative changes in the suburban population of the principal SMSA during the decade of the 1960's. We can get some idea in Table 4-4 of the dimensions of the growth, and we can further note that in many of the larger SMSA's, the 1960-1970 recent migrants account for a substantial part of the total SMSA black suburban population. The proportion goes to as much as one half in Los Angeles and Washington so that the absolute number is as significant as the percentage change. Table 4-5 gives some indication of the percentage of the black population living in the suburbs of the selected SMSA's. While the national figure is 16% (including all metropolitan areas), we can observe a wide range in 1970, and a general increase (except in the South) between 1960 and 1970. What is more generally obvious from all of these tables is the variation in the pattern among the cities. The low relative change values are limited to SMSA's with small black populations, to cities with large numerical bases, or, to cities in the South. The high relative values are not limited to cities with large black populations. Witness Los Angeles, Pittsburgh and Anaheim. The explanation of these and other patterns is reserved for Chapter Seven.

Having noted the major demographic trends since the 1950's, a little attention might be given to a comparison of blacks and whites in the suburbs as recorded in the 1960 and 1970 census. In Table 4-6, we note a general increase in well-being as measured by the selected variables for both races during the decade. Suburban blacks marginally exceeded city blacks' in income in 1970, for the first time, though little convergence with whites was noted. While suburban black families were larger than central city families, some slight convergence to the white norm was noted. The number of poor families in suburbia was more than halved for both races, while more modest declines were registered among central city families of both races. While age relationships among whites remained about the same, the black central city family became much younger. While all of these issues are quite a bit more complicated and will be discussed further in Part II of this chapter, what is clear is that there has been significant demographic shifts during the decade(s) and these shifts have included some increases in the black suburban population and some possible realignments in status relationships.

#### Gross Flows of the Black Metropolitan Population

In looking at the gross flows of the black metropolitan population, there are five streams which we can analyze. Each of these streams has different implications for what we can conclude about the demographic change in the

population. (The reader will note that census defined migration referred to here is that which took place between 1965 and 1970.) Households who moved before 1965 are not included here as migration, but are considered part of the incumbent population. David Birch has observed the difference in the rate of migration in the first part as opposed to the second part of the decade. He noted that the black suburban population grew at an annual rate of .7% before 1966, and an annual rate of 8% between 1966 and 1968.<sup>2</sup> The decade totals were more than 800,000 nationally. Therefore, most actual suburban migrants should be included here as migrants. The reader will also note that the census reports this information for metropolitan areas.

The first group to be considered in the analysis of the streams is the non-movers or incumbent population. This will be the largest group and represents those who were in the same house in the two time periods (1965 and 1970). The next largest group is those who moved within the city or suburban part of the SMSA. It is not possible to determine how far they moved, or if they improved their status by moving. The full importance of this group cannot be determined except in a case analysis. For example, it will be interesting to note if blacks moved to formally white neighborhoods on the edge of the city, or if the more typical pattern of black residential mobility (short distance within the ghetto) was the case.

The second major group of interest is those who moved between the city and the suburbs. A third group of major interest, especially in the suburbs, is those blacks who moved to the suburbs from other SMSA's. This group is a major source of the white suburban population.<sup>3</sup> These two groups would reflect both local change and trends in the black population redistribution between metros and between cities and suburbs. A final group in the stream analysis is those blacks who migrated from non-metropolitan areas.

We can begin the discussion by taking a look at the dimensions of the various streams (the gross flows) in the black suburban population. In Table 4-7, we can note the proportion of the 1970 population accounted for by each of the streams. The bulk of the 1970 black suburban population did not move between 1965 and 1970. The most interesting streams are those which moved from the central city to the suburbs and to the suburbs from other metropolitan areas. They account for most of the 800,000 blacks who became suburbanites during the decade. In terms of the number of blacks who moved to suburbs from the central city, the range is from 4% in the Philadelphia SMSA to 25% in the Los Angeles SMSA. The blacks who moved from another SMSA to the suburbs of the selected SMSA are a significant part of the growth. The major point to notice there is that in Philadelphia, San Francisco and Boston SMSA's most of the new blacks to suburbia came from other SMSA's.

Table 4-7

Percentage of the Population and Mobility Status of Negro  
Males 5 Years and Older in Selected SMSA's: 1970\*

| SMSA          | Central City |            |                          |                   |                        |                     | Suburbs |            |                     |                        |                        |                     |
|---------------|--------------|------------|--------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|---------------------|---------|------------|---------------------|------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|
|               | Total**      | Same House | Move Within Central City | Move From Suburbs | Move From Another SMSA | Move From Non-metro | Total** | Same House | Move Within Suburbs | Move From Central City | Move From Another SMSA | Move From Non-metro |
| New York      | 100          | 54         | 30                       | -                 | 2                      | 1                   | 100     | 51         | 24                  | 8                      | 3                      | 3                   |
| Los Angeles   | 100          | 40         | 35                       | 4                 | 1                      | 3                   | 100     | 40         | 17                  | 25                     | 8                      | 2                   |
| Chicago       | 100          | 47         | 38                       | 2                 | 2                      | 2                   | 100     | 47         | 23                  | 10                     | 5                      | 4                   |
| Philadelphia  | 100          | 53         | 31                       | 1                 | 2                      | 1                   | 100     | 51         | 23                  | 4                      | 6                      | 2                   |
| Detroit       | 100          | 46         | 35                       | 3                 | 6                      | 3                   | 100     | 52         | 21                  | 11                     | 6                      | 3                   |
| San Francisco | 100          | 44         | 32                       | 4                 | 8                      | 2                   | 100     | 43         | 25                  | 9                      | 10                     | 3                   |
| Boston        | 100          | 35         | 36                       | 6                 | 6                      | 4                   | 100     | 44         | 19                  | 9                      | 11                     | 3                   |
| Washington    | 100          | 48         | 30                       | 1                 | 4                      | 3                   | 100     | 35         | 16                  | 21                     | 9                      | 5                   |
| Newark        | 100          | 43         | 39                       | 3                 | 4                      | 3                   | 100     | 45         | 25                  | 11                     | 5                      | 2                   |
| St. Louis     | 100          | 48         | 35                       | 2                 | 2                      | 2                   | 100     | 44         | 25                  | 13                     | 4                      | 3                   |
| Miami         | 100          | 50         | 28                       | 4                 | 4                      | 4                   | 100     | 51         | 11                  | 21                     | 4                      | 4                   |
| Atlanta       | 100          | 45         | 33                       | 4                 | 4                      | 5                   | 100     | 43         | 25                  | 17                     | 4                      | 4                   |

\*Percentages rounded to nearest whole.

\*\*Totals do not equal 100%. Total include persons abroad in 1965 and persons for whom place of residence in 1965 was not reported.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970 Subject Reports, Final Report PC(2)-2C, "Mobility in Metropolitan Areas." Table 15.

Table 4-8 shows the median age of males (5 years and older) and gives some indication of the age structure of the black population in the various streams. We know generally that the black population is substantially younger than the white population. The median age for whites is 29 years and the median age for blacks is 22. This is a reflection primarily of higher fertility and a higher mortality among blacks. What this figure shows generally is that the black suburban population is younger than both the white population and the black central city population. This indicates the predominance of younger black families in suburbia. (Boston and Newark are exceptions.) What is also clear from Table 4-8 is that the black migrants are much younger than the longer term black suburban residents. This trend is quite marked in all cases except Miami. These younger males have made the suburban exit at the early stages of the adult life and presumably before that have peaked in terms of income potential and occupational status. This clearly suggests that under favorable economic conditions and with increased opportunities, a good deal more mobility is possible.

Table 4-9 focuses on family incomes of blacks in the various streams. The table shows the percentage of families with total incomes of more than \$10,000. In all cases, the proportion of black suburban families with incomes greater than \$10,000 is greater than in the central city of the same SMSA. In most of the cases, the black who

Table 4-8

Median Age of Negro Males 5 Years and Older and Mobility Status  
In Selected SMSA's: 1970

| SMSA          | Central City |            |                          |                   |                        |                          | Suburbs |            |                   |                        |                        |                          |
|---------------|--------------|------------|--------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|---------|------------|-------------------|------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
|               | Total        | Same House | Move Within Central City | Move From Suburbs | Move From Another SMSA | Move From non-metro Area | Total   | Same House | Move From Suburbs | Move From Central City | Move From Another SMSA | Move From non-metro Area |
| New York      | 27.2         | 29.9       | 25.7                     | 26.4              | 25.1                   | 22.5                     | 27.4    | 32.2       | 24.5              | 25.4                   | 25.2                   | 22.1                     |
| Los Angeles   | 27.6         | 35.2       | 25.7                     | 25.5              | 24.6                   | 23.0                     | 23.5    | 25.6       | 21.4              | 22.6                   | 23.5                   | 22.4                     |
| Chicago       | 25.5         | 27.9       | 24.4                     | 23.9              | 25.0                   | 22.8                     | 24.3    | 27.8       | 23.4              | 26.6                   | 20.9                   | 23.2                     |
| Philadelphia  | 27.7         | 34.8       | 23.7                     | 23.4              | 25.1                   | 24.0                     | 25.1    | 33.3       | 21.9              | 24.8                   | 22.1                   | 21.3                     |
| Detroit       | 27.1         | 35.8       | 24.8                     | 26.2              | 24.9                   | 22.7                     | 24.6    | 28.7       | 22.1              | 24.0                   | 24.1                   | 23.2                     |
| San Francisco | 27.5         | 34.8       | 24.7                     | 25.2              | 25.3                   | 22.7                     | 25.8    | 29.8       | 22.9              | 26.1                   | 25.6                   | 22.5                     |
| Boston        | 24.2         | 29.1       | 20.6                     | 19.8              | 23.1                   | 21.8                     | 27.0    | 36.2       | 24.5              | 26.1                   | 24.9                   | 22.6                     |
| Washington    | 27.4         | 32.4       | 25.8                     | 28.0              | 25.9                   | 23.2                     | 25.4    | 28.9       | 23.0              | 25.8                   | 23.7                   | 24.9                     |
| Newark        | 24.0         | 25.3       | 23.1                     | 23.9              | 23.8                   | 21.5                     | 28.8    | 35.9       | 25.0              | 26.3                   | 26.6                   | 23.0                     |
| St. Louis     | 25.5         | 33.1       | 21.4                     | 26.7              | 26.0                   | 22.5                     | 23.5    | 28.1       | 20.6              | 23.8                   | 25.1                   | 23.2                     |
| Miami         | 27.5         | 30.2       | 26.5                     | 28.0              | 27.2                   | 23.4                     | 22.6    | 23.5       | 23.3              | 18.6                   | 24.6                   | 21.6                     |
| Atlanta       | 25.1         | 29.2       | 24.3                     | 22.5              | 26.5                   | 22.9                     | 23.3    | 25.0       | 21.3              | 23.8                   | 22.8                   | 25.2                     |

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970 Subject Reports, Final Report PC(2)-2C, Mobility Metropolitan Areas, Table 15.



Table 4-9

Percentage of Negro Families With Incomes in Excess of \$10,000  
Per Year By Mobility Status in Selected SMSA's: 1970\*

| SMSA          | Central City |            |                          |                   |                        |                          | Suburbs |            |                     |                        |                        |                          |
|---------------|--------------|------------|--------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|---------|------------|---------------------|------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
|               | Total        | Same House | Move Within Central City | Move From Suburbs | Move From Another SMSA | Move From non-metro Area | Total   | Same House | Move Within Suburbs | Move From Central City | Move From Another SMSA | Move From non-metro Area |
| New York      | 33           | 34         | 32                       | 38                | 34                     | 35                       | 47      | 49         | 37                  | 68                     | 46                     | 43                       |
| Los Angeles   | 34           | 38         | 30                       | 31                | 30                     | 27                       | 43      | 47         | 38                  | 41                     | 40                     | 34                       |
| Chicago       | 39           | 38         | 39                       | 38                | 41                     | 35                       | 51      | 53         | 46                  | 56                     | 50                     | 54                       |
| Philadelphia  | 36           | 40         | 30                       | 30                | 33                     | 33                       | 39      | 43         | 34                  | 49                     | 40                     | 36                       |
| Detroit       | 44           | 49         | 40                       | 46                | 40                     | 41                       | 46      | 51         | 40                  | 37                     | 41                     | 57                       |
| San Francisco | 39           | 44         | 35                       | 42                | 32                     | 31                       | 44      | 46         | 39                  | 54                     | 44                     | 42                       |
| Boston        | 28           | 33         | 26                       | 24                | 19                     | 30                       | 47      | 51         | 39                  | 59                     | 49                     | 33                       |
| Washington    | 43           | 49         | 37                       | 43                | 46                     | 41                       | 50      | 50         | 36                  | 63                     | 57                     | 45                       |
| Newark        | 30           | 31         | 30                       | 35                | 27                     | 29                       | 48      | 51         | 42                  | 52                     | 57                     | 43                       |
| St. Louis     | 29           | 33         | 25                       | 22                | 28                     | 24                       | 33      | 33         | 25                  | 46                     | 36                     | 27                       |
| Miami         | 21           | 22         | 19                       | 25                | 23                     | 23                       | 25      | 28         | 22                  | 23                     | 27                     | 26                       |
| Atlanta       | 28           | 29         | 28                       | 23                | 36                     | 30                       | 29      | 26         | 24                  | 43                     | 29                     | 28                       |

\*Percentages rounded to nearest whole

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970 Subject Reports, Final Reports PC(2)-2C  
Mobility in Metropolitan Areas, Table 15. 1971.

migrated from the central city is more likely to have higher income than the black worker who has been in suburbia for some time or the black worker who migrated from another metropolitan area. While a number of very important variables are not controlled—female labor market participation (high), occupational status (low), etc., clearly the black migrant to suburbia is very likely to be higher income than blacks who were already there. Of course, the black suburban incomes are less than white suburban incomes by a substantial margin.

This brief look at the difference in the streams of the black suburban population suggests that a younger more mobile and marginally more middle class group of blacks are moving among whites who are doing substantially better and blacks who have been there for some time. This is despite the fact that the incumbent blacks are older and more settled.

There have been no other studies of the population streams involving blacks specifically. Zikmund has studied the streams generally in terms of the sources of suburban

<sup>4</sup>  
population. He noted that suburbs are increasingly getting their white population from an intermetropolitan circulation rather than from out-migration by whites. This is principally due to the fact that in many cities, the base among whites for such migration has been very seriously eroded.

The proportion of blacks in this category is also significant, though obviously the base for blacks is far from depleted.

There have been a couple of studies using 1960 data to look at the streams generally. Contrary to the Burgess and Hoyt models that the growth is initiated from the center, the Tauebers, and Goldstein and Mayer found the increasingly the sources of the suburban population is immanating from

<sup>5</sup> elsewhere. Goldstein and Mayer concluded that status polarization (among whites) was not being produced by this trend, especially when the ring as a whole is considered. Whites of a broad income and status range could be found in the suburbs, and differentiation was occurring among the suburbs, as well as the well-known status difference between the city and the suburbs. We can come to a similar conclusion about blacks. Blacks of broad status dimensions can be found in the various streams. The issue of inter-suburban differentiation will be discussed in a later chapter.

#### Natural Increase Versus Migration

A final observation might be made about relative contribution of migration and natural increase to the growth of the suburban black population between 1960 and 1970. In Table 4-10, we note that migration accounts for substantially more of the population increase than natural increase. Given the numbers in the Table 4-10, this reaffirms the importance

Table 4-10

Components of Change in Black Suburban Population  
of Selected SMSA's: 1960 to 1970  
(Percent Growth over 1960 Black Suburban Population)

| SMSA          | Components of Change |               |
|---------------|----------------------|---------------|
|               | Natural Increase     | Net Migration |
| New York      | 25.3                 | 33.7          |
| Los Angeles   | 34.9                 | 96.3          |
| Chicago       | 28.9                 | 45.8          |
| Philadelphia  | 18.6                 | 19.3          |
| Detroit       | 19.2                 | 14.8          |
| San Francisco | 27.4                 | 62.4          |
| Washington    | 27.6                 | 117.9         |
| Pittsburgh    | 12.6                 | 6.1           |
| St. Louis     | 22.0                 | 37.2          |
| Cleveland     | 56.9                 | 658.0         |
| Houston       | 18.3                 | (5.5)         |
| Newark        | 19.8                 | 48.9          |
| Dallas        | 18.8                 | (11.6)        |
| Seattle       | 33.6                 | 152.9         |
| Atlanta       | 22.2                 | 11.4          |

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population 1970, "General Demographic Trends for Metropolitan areas," PHC(2)-1, and appropriate volumes.

Note: The table includes growth over a 1960 base by natural increase (excess of births over deaths) and by migration. For example, in Dallas, based on the black population in Dallas suburbs in 1960, they grew by 18.8% in 1970. In terms of migration, the number who came was less than the number who "left," so that an 11.6% decline was noted in terms of migration.

of migration as the important aspect of black demographic change in the suburbs in the last decade. The exceptions to this conclusion are almost all limited to Southern SMSA's, Detroit and Pittsburgh where natural increase was more significant.

### Summary

In this brief survey of broad national demographic trends, we can see that more blacks moved (in absolute and relative terms) to the suburbs during the decade of the 1960's than in any previous decade and their numbers included a broad range of groups -- some clearly poor, and some clearly middle-class. We noted also that in metropolitan areas, and increasing proportion of the black population is in the suburbs, and finally that migration from central cities and from other metropolitan areas is mainly responsible for the net growth of the black suburban population.

## PART II

### SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROFILE OF THE BLACK SUBURBAN POPULATION

In this section, a detailed comparative profile of the black suburban population (with the white suburban and black central city population) is presented. The data for the chapter, unless otherwise cited, is the Public Use Sample of 1970. An extract tape of 2760 cases, including 690 black suburbanites was prepared. The other cases on the tape are of white suburbanites, black central city, and white central

city heads of households. Each case contains information on the head of household, the characteristics of the housing unit he(she) occupies, and the characteristics of the neighborhood in which they live. The black suburban sample is a 100% sample of this category on the 1 in a 100 Public Use Tape. The other sub-groups are chosen randomly in the same proportions as black suburbanites exist in the region. Thus, households in the same regional units are compared. To that extent, when we compare black suburbanites with the other groups, we are comparing them to these people in mainly large urbanized areas in the Northeast, Midwest, and West Coast. The Southern households are analyzed separately in this chapter. The general analysis is of heads of households outside the South who are under 60 years old. The reader will also note that it is an analysis of the standing population and not just migrants. Given the census variables on the Tape, it is not possible to determine whether the household was suburban in 1960 or 1965.<sup>6</sup>

#### Age and Fertility

In looking at the age and fertility patterns of the black suburban population, attention will be directed at age structure, dependency and fertility. Table 4-11 summarizes the age structure by race and place of residence. What we note in the Table is the predominance of the young in the black population in both the central city and the suburbs. What is equally significant is that for blacks in the suburbs

Table 4-11

Age Structure of Total and Black Population in Urbanized Areas  
For Both Sexes By Central City and Ring in 1970  
(in percent)

| Age   | Total        |        | Negro        |        |
|-------|--------------|--------|--------------|--------|
|       | Central City | Suburb | Central City | Suburb |
| LT 5  | 8.2          | 8.5    | 10.7         | 10.6   |
| 5-9   | 9.0          | 10.3   | 12.1         | 12.5   |
| 10-14 | 9.3          | 10.7   | 12.0         | 12.6   |
| 15-19 | 9.1          | 9.2    | 10.0         | 10.5   |
| 20-24 | 9.0          | 7.5    | 8.0          | 8.2    |
| 25-29 | 7.0          | 6.9    | 6.8          | 6.8    |
| 30-34 | 5.5          | 6.0    | 6.0          | 6.2    |
| 35-39 | 5.2          | 6.0    | 5.7          | 5.9    |
| 40-44 | 5.7          | 6.5    | 5.7          | 5.6    |
| 45-40 | 5.9          | 6.5    | 5.2          | 4.9    |
| 50-54 | 5.5          | 5.6    | 4.5          | 4.2    |
| 55-59 | 5.2          | 4.6    | 3.9          | 3.5    |
| 60-64 | 3.7          | 3.7    | 3.2          | 2.8    |
| 65-69 | 4.5          | 2.8    | 2.6          | 2.3    |
| 70-74 | 3.0          | 2.1    | 1.7          | 1.4    |
| GT 75 | 4.1          | 2.9    | 2.0          | 1.8    |

\*Totals do not equal 100% due to rounding

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, PC(1)-C-1. 1970.

over the age of 40, their relative frequency declines substantially compared to whites. The black suburban population then is composed mainly of children and young adults, somewhat different from the black central city population and vastly different from the white population.

Turning to the dependency ratio, we can get further evidence about age structure. The dependency ratio reflects the burden of the non-productive (0-14 years and over 65 years) portion of the population on the productive portion (15-64). Of course, it is expected and natural that there would be this unproductive proportion of the population. Significantly, this measure indicates the burden that the black communities and households have to carry in terms of housing, food and other amenities. It could be hypothesized that the black suburban population would have a lower ratio owing to the predominance of the working population in a migrant group. In Table 4-12, we can see that this is not the case. The ratio is higher for blacks generally, but it is higher still for suburban blacks. Since it is clearly not the dependent aged who account for the high ratio, two possible explanations remain. First, it is possible that there are more youth in the age pyramid in the black suburban population. We can see in Table 4-11 that is true. Another possibility is higher fertility of black suburban women. Given the findings of other researchers that more educated blacks move to the suburbs, we would not expect that they would have higher fertility.



Table 4-12

Dependency Ratios for Total and Negro Population  
For Urbanized Areas: 1970\*

|                         |      |
|-------------------------|------|
| <u>Total Population</u> |      |
| Central City            | 26.5 |
| Suburban                | 29.5 |
| <u>Negro Population</u> |      |
| Central City            | 32.8 |
| Suburban                | 35.7 |

\* percent of Population 0-14 years and 65 years or over

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, PC(1)-C1

Table 4-13

Children Ever Born to Married Women (Per 1000, Aged 35-44)  
in Urbanized Areas by Total and Black Population in 1970

|                         |      |
|-------------------------|------|
| <u>Total Population</u> |      |
| Central City            | 3010 |
| Suburban                | 2964 |
| <u>Negro Population</u> |      |
| Central City            | 3463 |
| Suburban                | 3557 |

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, PC(1)-C1, 1970.

Yet Table 4-13 indicates that fertility is higher. This rate, however, can be partly discounted by the fact that there are more black women in the lower end of the child-bearing age range than there are in other distributions, thus, the ratio for the whole range would be higher.

In conclusion, then, it seems that the age structure of the black suburban population is dominated more substantially by the youthful population. Further, many of the adult black women in the population have not yet reached the end of the child-bearing cycle, so that further expansion in the next decade by natural increase can play a more critical role than it played in the past decade.

#### Head of the Household

We turn in this section to the discussion of the head of the household. Since the head of the household is the critical individual in the household for obtaining resources and for setting the family social and economic status, it might be useful to give some attention to a few variables which will set the heads of households in the proper context.

About half of suburban heads, regardless of sex or race, are under 40 years old. While there is no big difference between races in terms of age, blacks are slightly more likely to be under 40. This slight difference is accounted for by the moderate variation among black and white women ( $\gamma = -.32$ ) more than the difference between black and white men ( $\gamma = -.08$ ). Two-thirds of the white women heads (67%), compared to one-half (51%) of the black women heads are over forty.

Table 4-14

## Selected Characteristics of Northern Female Heads, Aged 20-59 Years, 1970

| Characteristic   | White Suburban | Black Suburban | Black Central City |
|--|----------------|----------------|--------------------|
| Percent with at least HS education                               | 66.7           | 53             | 44.9               |
| Percent with Family Income of \$10,000 or more                   | 28.5           | 12.0           | 14.0               |
| Percent who worked in 1969                                       | 71.4           | 72.0           | 67.8               |
| Percent who never married  | 14.3           | 24.0           | 19.8               |
| Percent with no kids under 18 years                              | 54.8           | 38.0           | 38.8               |
| Percent under age 40 years                                       | 33             | 49.0           | 56.2               |
| Percent with other relative present (not including own children) | 11.9           | 21.0           | 19.0               |
| Percent with white collar occupations                            | 65.7           | 41.8           | 36.7               |

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample, 1970 (Neighborhood Characteristics) - author extract. (Note: hereafter referred to as "Public Use Sample Tape Extract")

Focusing on blacks by center city versus suburban residence, the hypothesized younger suburban heads don't exist. Again, in both city and suburbs, approximately half of the heads are under 40 years old. The gamma for age by place of residence is only .03. Nor are gammas significant when we look separately at the center city and suburbs. The respective gammas are  $-.14$  and  $.03$ . The zero order partials for age by race in the suburb is  $.05$  and between central city and suburban black head,  $.001$ . Neither are significant, even at higher orders.

Age is a basic measure and what it suggests is that despite general age structure differences noted in Table 4-11, that among actual heads the distribution, by age, northern heads is quite even, with any deviation accounted for by differences among black and white women. We will go into more in the next chapter about where these people might be and the kinds of ecological correlates which are attached to age. Since it is not expected that suburban blacks would be much younger than suburban whites, the finding is not surprising.

We can turn now to social (level of education) and economic status (relation to poverty levels) variables.

Education is one measure of status (income and occupation will be discussed later) that differentiates people into status groups, and thus according to Gans and others helps to differentiate between city and suburb. Looking at northern suburbanites generally, it is as expected that whites

would have more education than blacks. More than a third of white heads compared with only a fifth of black heads have education beyond high school. Sixty percent of the black heads compared to 40% of the white heads have less than a high school education. This is a highly significant relationship ( $X^2$ ,  $p$  = greater than .001).

Looking at age/sex groupings, however, changes the picture. Younger black heads are likely to have more education than older black heads to the same degree as younger white heads exceed their older peers. Still, only 27% of suburban black male heads have education beyond high school compared to 47% of white males. Among female heads in the same race/age group, there is no significant difference in the suburban sample. Between central city and suburban blacks, there is no significant difference until age is controlled, in which case the younger heads have significantly more education. In the city, 21% of the younger versus 12% of the older heads have education beyond the high school, while in the suburbs the percentages are 17% and 24%, respectively.

Thus, while blacks have substantially less education than whites in the suburbs, the differences between blacks in the central city and the suburbs are minimal.

Since the income variables will be analyzed later, we might note the residence and poverty of the households.

Poverty is defined in terms of the BLS level for 1969. Comparing suburbanites by race, there is a significant difference between incidence of poverty in the racial groups. Blacks are more than twice as likely to be poor (16% versus 6%) than whites. The gamma is a moderate  $-.25$ . A comparison of blacks by city and suburban yields a gamma of only  $.13$ . Twenty percent of central city households are poor, compared to 16% of comparable suburban households. Significantly, among whites only 3.6% of the male heads of households are below the poverty line, while 26.2% of the female-headed households are in poverty. Among blacks, again significantly, only 9.3% of the black suburban male headed households are in poverty, compared to 35% of the female headed households. Thus, in suburbia and the city, poverty is concentrated in the female households -- among both races.

To complete the analysis of heads of households, we turn to a comparison of female-headed households. This is done in a summary way by means of a profile presented in Table 4-14. The picture that emerges of white suburban female heads is of an older group of women, most of whom have been married, and who no longer have small or school-age children at home. While many of them are poor, more than a quarter had incomes exceeding \$10,000 per year in 1969. They are essentially a well-educated, white collar working population who we might guess lived there with their

families over the years and when they are no longer with their husbands remained in communities where they have ties.

The suburban picture of black suburban female heads (16% of total black heads, compared to 9% for whites) is more complicated. The alledged "pathological matriarchy" associated with black central city female headed households (27% of total black heads) clearly is not in evidence. While these women are poorer, younger, and have more children at home, most of them do work, have been married, are mature and have white-collar (clerical-office work) occupations. Further, they compare favorably with black female heads in the central city. What this points up is the need to analyze female heads of households from the perspective of what are the dynamics of this form of household in suburbia, rather than from the assumption of inherent pathology. We need to know what the qualitative differences are between the situation of city and suburban female heads of household, and which of these differences are within the capacity of public policy. Such an analysis would be interesting. Some more attention is given to their neighborhood contexts in Chapter Five.

#### Family Status

A clearly important aspect of the black suburban population is the marital status of the population. Since marriage is a normal family state, deviation from the norm, especially in a familistic environment and in the absence of supportive relatives in the household would be of significance.

Table 4-15 shows the marital status of heads of households in suburbia by race. As expected, there is a significant difference between black and white on this score. When this data is controlled for age, the strength of the relationships takes on additional importance as it is the young (in the black population) which is more likely to be unmarried. Looking at central city blacks compared to suburban blacks (Table 4-16), the relationship reverses, but blacks in the central city are more likely to be unmarried. The difference is strong ( $\chi^2$ ,  $p = .008$ ). This never married group whether in the city or in the suburb, is four times as likely to be poor, and 70% of these households have less than \$7,000 annual income. Needless to say, this group is largely female.

In terms of the number of children (under 18), there is no significant difference, either between the races, or between blacks in the city versus those in the suburbs. Among families who have kids, about half of each category has one or two kids, and the other half has three or four kids. Further, there is no significant difference between the number of kids by income groups. Blacks do tend to have more large families than whites, but the number of such families (with more than five kids) is small (9.2%). One interesting finding is that black households in the suburbs are equally likely to have no children (35%). About one-third of suburban households have no children, and among them, the proportions are equal (35.3% versus 35.2%).



Given the importance that the extended family has played for blacks,<sup>7</sup> one other measure of comparability with respect to families is the presence in the family unit of relatives of the head, other than their own children. One in every six black suburban family has other relatives present, while only 6% of the white households have another relative. For blacks, this is primarily associated with female headed households. Poverty level black families, notably, are less likely to have relatives present than other families. There is no significant difference in the incidence of relatives present between central city and suburban blacks, even when income and family status is controlled ( $X^2$ ,  $p = .94$ ).

Thus far, we have looked at a number of family status variables which suggest that for most part, blacks who move to the suburbs are different from their white neighbors, but only somewhat different from their central city brothers in terms of family status variables, but quite similar with respect to the family size. To take a combined look at the influence of family form and the presence of kids, Table 4-17 presents a display of family stage for the populations. Several important differences appear. First, among blacks, young families, single heads, and individuals make up a slightly larger part of the households in the suburb than they do for the white suburban population. This is not

Table 4-15

Marital Status of Suburban Head By Race, 1970 (percent)\*

|                | <u>White</u> | <u>Negro</u> |
|----------------|--------------|--------------|
| Married        | 81.3         | 65.0         |
| Once Married** | 12.4         | 26.0         |
| Never Married  | 6.2          | 8.9          |

\* includes both sexes

\*\* includes heads who were separated, divorced or widowed

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample Tape Extract

Table 4-16

Marital Status of Black Heads by Central City and Ring: 1970  
(percent)\*

|                | <u>Central City</u> | <u>Ring</u> |
|----------------|---------------------|-------------|
| Married        | 53.7                | 65.0        |
| Once Married** | 35.1                | 26.0        |
| Never Married  | 11.2                | 8.9         |

\* includes both sexes

\*\* includes heads who are separated, divorced or widowed

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample Tape Extract

Table 4-17

Family Stage of Suburbanites by Race, 1970 (Percent)

| <u>Family State</u>                    | <u>White</u> | <u>Negro</u> |
|--|--------------|--------------|
| Husband-Wife under<br>35 with chldn    | 36.8         | 32.2         |
| Husband-wife under<br>35 with no chldn | 2.9          | 9.2          |
| Husband-wife over<br>35 with chldn     | 44.0         | 30.6         |
| Husband-wife over<br>35 with no chldn  | 2.6          | 7.3          |
| Single parents and<br>Individuals      | <u>13.8</u>  | <u>20.6</u>  |
| TOTAL                                  | 100.0        | 100.0        |

Source: U.S.Bureau of the Census, Public Use  
Sample Tape Extract

unexpected because blacks are new to the suburbs. It does illustrate the selectivity of the migration for younger families, and particularly for families without children, suggesting the possibility that suburban migration is important to the black families both for its present value and also for the future family needs. It is significant that the under 35 years families are such a significant part of the overall distribution. This is the group that would be expected to be more mobile, to demand better opportunities, and to take advantage of their own resources to the maximum degree. Further analysis by family stage will be included in several of the following sections -- on income, housing and neighborhood variables.

What is clearly evident from this analysis of families is that a situation exists which is much more complex than conclusions that suburban blacks are younger than their white counterparts, and further that they are younger, more educated and more familial than their central city brothers. Thus far, age, education, income, and sex intervene significantly alone or in concert with each of the variables. What is clearly possible and will be tested in the next chapter is that different neighborhood types have discrete profiles, and the ambiguity with respect to suburban population will be clarified with the addition of neighborhood analysis.

### Employment

In this section, attention will be focused on the employment and labor force characteristics of the males -- black and white in the suburbs, and black males in the central city. The attention to males has been singled out for three reasons. First, we have noted how males and females are different in their characteristics as relates to the labor force. Second, it is the male who heads most families, regardless of race and place. Finally, it is his occupational status which sets the families status, especially in the long run. While no researcher has seriously charged that employment or labor force characteristics determine black suburban migration, nor has it been demonstrated that accessibility to suburban jobs explains black suburban migration, the issue is nevertheless important to us because it is one more part of the criteria by which we judge who among the black metropolitan population has moved to the suburbs, and how they compare with the referent groups. Specifically, this analysis will attempt to identify differences by type worker, industry, occupation, earnings, employment status, and place of work among the groups. In terms of industry, we know that there are some industries which experienced higher annual rates of growth than others. Growth industries might, for example, have employed blacks more than declining or slow growing ones. In terms of the public sector, Bennett Harrison has identified some important differences

between public employment and private employment and the implications of those will be explored.<sup>8</sup> We have witnessed some modest changes in the occupational distribution of blacks. How all of these variations relate to the metropolitan black residence will be the subject of this section.

Turning first to industry, we note in Table 4-18, that personal income from some industries has grown substantially faster than the U.S. average. Government and Services have been the major growth areas, while Primary Industries and Trade had shown significant declines.

Looking at Table 4-19 for males, we can first see that the industrial distribution is significantly different ( $\chi^2 = 22.54$ ,  $p = .03$ ). Suburban blacks have pulled ahead of whites in public administration, but still lag significantly in other trade areas. With the exception of business and repair services, blacks have at least token representation in other areas. The significant relationship noted for males, does not hold for female heads ( $\chi^2 = 13.04$ ,  $p = .29$ ).

Comparing center city and suburban blacks, no significant relationship is found ( $\chi^2 = 15.47$ ,  $p = .16$ ). While the two black groups are nearly even in terms of public administration, the professionals are nearly twice as likely to be suburban (13% vs. 6%). In other industrial categories, the proportions are nearly even as well. In conclusion, blacks are getting into the industrial structure in the growth areas,

Table 4-18

Annual Average Growth Rate of Civilian Income from Participation  
In Current Production by Industry for Regions Outside the South:  
1960-1970

| Industry  | Annual<br>Average<br>Growth Rate (percent) |
|---|--|
| TOTAL   | 6.6  |
| Farm  | 2.3  |
| Mining  | 3.9  |
| Contract Construction                           | 5.9  |
| Manufacturing                                   | 6.0  |
| Wholesale and Retail Trade                      | 5.1  |
| Finance, Real Estate and Insurance              | 7.3  |
| Transportation, Communications<br>and Utilities | 5.9  |
| Services  | 8.6  |
| Government                                      | 9.4  |
| All Others                                      | 6.5  |

Source: Survey of Current Business, Vol. 41, No. 8, August 1961 Table 70, p. 19, and Vol. 51, No. 8, August 1971, Table 70, p. 37 in Andrew Brimmer, "Regional Growth, Migration, and Economic Progress in the Black Community," address presented at Bishop College, Dallas, Texas, September 15, 1971, p. 27.

Table 4-19

Industry of Suburban Male Workers by Race: 1970 (Percent)

| Industry                           | White | Negro |
|------------------------------------|-------|-------|
| Primary and Construction           | 10.1  | 9.3   |
| Manufacturing                      | 33.7  | 37.2  |
| Transportation                     | 7.2   | 8.6   |
| Communications                     | 2.0   | .4    |
| Utilities                          | 2.3   | 3.7   |
| Wholesale and Retail Trade         | 14.7  | 10.0  |
| Finance, Real Estate and Insurance | 4.2   | 1.1   |
| Business and Repair Services       | 5.9   | 2.2   |
| Personal Services                  | .7    | 1.5   |
| Professional Services              | 10.5  | 13.0  |
| Public Administration              | 7.5   | 11.9  |
| Other                              | 1.3   | 1.1   |

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample Tape Extract



but their distribution clearly does not match that of whites and does not distinguish them from blacks in the central city. While some encouragement can be taken from black participation in the government sector, the implications for dependence are substantial and prospects for the future (especially in local government) are unclear. However, blacks have not moved to the suburbs to take advantage of the growth of jobs in trade, in electronics, or in business services, and as such, blacks cannot be presumed to be suburbanizing in response to shifts in the metropolitan industrial mix.

Looking at occupation, we find some interesting trends. Table 4-20 summarizes the change in the distribution of full-time (50 weeks) black males between 1960 and 1970. What the Table shows is a very complicated picture in terms of the occupational status of the black metropolitan population. One thing that is clear is that the overall occupational distribution has shifted upwards so that there are more blacks in the higher occupational strata. There has also been a shift in the status distribution between city and suburb. In 1960, suburban blacks did not lead central city blacks in any of the top four categories of workers. In 1970, suburban blacks lead in all but one of them. The city blacks retained their lead in terms of share of workforce employed as operatives and craftsmen, however. While Table 4-20 presents the breakdown for all employed black males across the country, we might now turn to the computer sample for a further breakdown.

Table 4-20

Percent Distribution of Occupations of Black Males, 16 Years  
and Over Employed 1960 and 1970 By Place and Total

| Current occupation group<br>and sex | 1970  |              |                            |                             |       | 1960         |                            |                             |       |                |
|-------------------------------------|-------|--------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------|--------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------|----------------|
|                                     | Total | Metropolitan |                            |                             | Total | Metropolitan |                            |                             | Total | Non-<br>metro. |
|                                     |       | Total        | Inside<br>cent'l<br>cities | Outside<br>cent'l<br>cities |       | Total        | Inside<br>cent'l<br>cities | Outside<br>cent'l<br>cities |       |                |
| Employed, total                     | 100.0 | 100.0        | 100.0                      | 100.0                       | 100.0 | 100.0        | 100.0                      | 100.0                       | 100.0 | 100.0          |
| Professional & technical workers    | 5.8   | 6.7          | 7.0                        | 5.9                         | 3.4   | 3.3          | 3.8                        | 3.9                         | 3.2   | 2.2            |
| Managerial workers                  | 4.1   | 4.4          | 4.4                        | 4.5                         | 3.2   | 1.4          | 1.7                        | 1.9                         | 0.7   | 0.9            |
| Clerical workers                    | 8.6   | 10.8         | 10.6                       | 11.4                        | 2.6   | 6.1          | 8.4                        | 9.7                         | 3.2   | 1.2            |
| Sales workers                       | 1.6   | 1.7          | 1.7                        | 2.0                         | 1.2   | 1.6          | 2.2                        | 2.2                         | 1.8   | 0.5            |
| Craftsmen                           | 14.2  | 15.2         | 15.5                       | 14.1                        | 11.1  | 10.0         | 10.9                       | 11.3                        | 9.6   | 8.2            |
| Operatives                          | 30.6  | 30.4         | 31.3                       | 27.3                        | 31.1  | 27.0         | 29.7                       | 30.9                        | 25.1  | 21.3           |
| Nonfarm laborers                    | 18.9  | 17.7         | 17.5                       | 18.8                        | 22.2  | 24.3         | 23.4                       | 22.1                        | 28.5  | 26.2           |
| Service workers                     | 11.7  | 12.3         | 12.0                       | 13.7                        | 10.1  | 15.5         | 18.1                       | 17.6                        | 20.3  | 10.4           |
| Farmers and farm laborers           | 4.5   | 0.7          | 0.2                        | 2.6                         | 15.0  | 10.6         | 1.8                        | 0.3                         | 7.7   | 29.0           |

- Represents zero

<sup>1</sup> In 1960 includes persons, not shown separately, who did not report an occupation. Since occupations were imputed for such persons in 1970, the data for 1970 and 1960 presented here are not strictly comparable. The 1960 data may be made more comparable to those for 1970 by multiplying the number of persons in each occupation by the factor obtained when the total number of employed persons is divided by the sum of the persons in all occupations. The percent distributions for 1960 shown in this table were obtained using this method.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Survey, P-23, No. 37, 1971

Table 4-21

Occupational Distribution of Non-Southern Males, Aged 20-59,  
In The Five Major Occupational Groups by Race and Residence  
1970

| Occupational Group                                 | White<br>Suburban | Black<br>Central City | Black<br>Suburban |
|--|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| Professional, Technical,<br>Managers and Officials | 30.7              | 6.3                   | 12.9              |
| Sales, Clerical and<br>Office Workers              | 15.3              | 13.1                  | 17.0              |
| Craftsmen and<br>Operatives                        | 43.3              | 50.5                  | 41.3              |
| Laborers (nonfarm)                                 | 4.6               | 11.7                  | 10.9              |
| Service Workers                                    | 6.1               | 18.0                  | 17.9              |

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample Tape  
Extract

There were 4.5 million black males 16 years and older in 1970. The labor force participation rate for them was 72.6% (compared to 78% for all males, 16 years or older). More than 550,000 of the males are in the ring and 74% are in the labor force. More than 85% of those in the prime working ages (22-65) are in the labor force, however. Of these, 5.8% of the ring blacks and 6.7% of the central city blacks were unemployed during the census period in 1970. This compares with rates of 3.9% and 4.1%, respectively, for whites at the same time.

Among the sample of non-southern males between the ages of 20 and 59 who are heads of households in the city and the suburbs, the occupational distribution is listed in Table 4-21. Whites clearly have the edge on status in this distribution ( $\chi^2 = 47.59, p = \text{greater than } .001$ ). Black suburbanites are much more likely than the city blacks to be white collar. The conclusion is warranted that black suburbanites have, on the whole, greater representation in the higher occupational status groups than black central city residents, though predictably lower than their white neighbors. Central city blacks also have greater representation in the operative category, while no differences are evident in the lower occupational category.

Occupational groups is not the only way to look at occupational status. Bennett Harrison has noted the importance of public employment, especially for blacks. He

notes they have higher wages, that opportunities have opened up in recent years and that some of the security, wage and other issues are more favorable. Comparing black and white suburbanites in our sample, blacks are twice as likely as whites to be publically employed (27% versus 13%). It is also interesting to note that blacks are only one-third as likely to be self-employed as suburban whites. The publically employed blacks are far better educated. Further significance emerges when age is controlled. Younger whites are more likely than older whites to have public sector jobs, but for blacks, age is not important with respect to public employment. Among whites, private employees and the self-employed are much more likely to earn more than \$10,000, while among blacks, the public employees earn more. The percentage who earn more than \$10,000 is 25.4, while only 19.4% of the private employees earn as much. Further, the public employees are predominately white collar. More than 43% are in the white collar occupations, compared to 19.4% of the private employees who are white collar.

Comparing blacks in the center to those in the ring, the significance evaporates. A comparable number are publically employed in each area. Similar insignificance pertains to the wages they are paid. Despite this analysis, the trends in public employment do not appear to be very important in terms of selectivity for suburban migration by blacks.

In terms of place of work among suburbanites, blacks are only slightly more likely to work in the central city than whites (31% versus 24%). This is roughly in line with the national average for large SMSA where a quarter of the suburban workers commute to the central city for employment. Among whites, those who commute to central city jobs earn slightly more than those who work in the suburbs. Among black suburbanites, the variation is more pronounced. More than 27% of the blacks who migrate to the city earn more than \$10,000, while less than 17% of those who work in the suburbs earn that much. The unmistakable conclusion here is that job opportunity could not be a reason for black migration to the suburbs. The best occupational opportunities are gathered by those who have taken advantage of suburban residence but who commute to central city jobs in the major growth areas of government and professional services. So, while black suburban migration might have been selective of the higher status in terms of income and occupation, it does not appear that they went there for better jobs. Income and occupation are not reasons for, but facilitating factors in, the black suburban migration.

Before turning away from employment, we might briefly look at the labor force participation of the spouses. Since they are not on the computer tape, the published data is used. Table 4-22 summarizes the findings. Black suburban wives participate to a much higher degree than the wives of

central city blacks or to suburban wives in general. The differences are especially pronounced for wives with children under age 6. The participation rate is twice as high among black wives. The contribution that black wives make to the family income of black suburban families, then, is most significant, and consistent even during the child-bearing years. This is particularly important to keep in mind in the next section on family income.

#### Family Income

While family income between blacks and whites have become more equal nationally over the last 25 years, an opposite conclusion is reached when the regional breakdown is noted as in Table 4-23. As it appears, only in the South did the black family income become more nearly like white income. In all other regions, blacks have not made gains in family income relative to whites. Looking at between group and within group (racial) income inequality, Horowitz has found that two trends have appeared.<sup>9</sup> While inequality among whites has declined generally, inequality among blacks, after scoring some declines in the early and mid-60's, has reversed itself so that over two and a half decades there has been no real improvement, but a widening of the gap between blacks and whites. What does this say for the present subject? First, it suggests that blacks might not have made gains relative to whites in intra-metropolitan mobility, and

Table 4-22

Employment Characteristics of Negro and Total Female Spouses,  
16 Years and Older By Place, 1970

| Characteristic   | Total<br>Suburban | Black<br>Central City | Black<br>Suburban |
|--|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| Labor Force<br>Participation Rate  | 42.5              | 49.2                  | 51.7              |
| Percent Unemployed of<br>Total in Labor Force  | 4.6               | 7.3                   | 6.8               |
| Married Women in Labor<br>Force with Husband<br>Present of Total with<br>Husband Present | - <sup>a</sup>    | 51.0                  | 55.0              |
| Percent in Labor Force<br>with Husband Present<br>and                                    |                   |                       |                   |
| a. with children less<br>than 6 years  | 24.0              | 47.6                  | 51.5              |
| b. with children 6<br>to 17 years  | 45.5              | 58.2                  | 61.7              |

<sup>a</sup> not calculable from present tabulations

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population, 1970,  
PC(1)-C1



Table 4-23

Relative Median Income of Black and White Families, 1947-1972<sup>a</sup>

|   | U.S. | Northeast | N. Central | West | South |
|---|------|-----------|------------|------|-------|
| Ratio of Black-to-White<br>Family Income    |      |           |            |      |       |
| 1972  | 0.59 | 0.64      | 0.70       | 0.71 | 0.55  |
| 1971  | 0.60 | 0.67      | 0.69       | 0.71 | 0.56  |
| 1970  | 0.61 | 0.71      | 0.73       | 0.77 | 0.57  |
| 1967  | 0.59 | 0.66      | 0.77       | 0.75 | 0.54  |
| Ratio of Nonwhite-to-White<br>Family Income |      |           |            |      |       |
| 1967  | 0.62 | 0.68      | 0.79       | 0.84 | 0.54  |
| 1966  | 0.60 | 0.69      | 0.74       | 0.79 | 0.51  |
| 1965  | 0.55 | 0.66      | 0.74       | 0.83 | 0.49  |
| 1964  | 0.56 | 0.67      | 0.72       | 0.78 | 0.49  |
| 1963  | 0.53 | 0.65      | 0.73       | 0.76 | 0.45  |
| 1960  | 0.55 | 0.68      | 0.73       | 0.81 | 0.43  |
| 1958  | 0.51 | 0.69      | 0.72       | 0.70 | 0.44  |
| 1957  | 0.54 | 0.71      | 0.71       | 0.72 | 0.46  |
| 1953  | 0.56 | 0.72      | 0.76       | 0.82 | 0.49  |
| 1950  | 0.54 | --        | --         | --   | --    |
| 1949  | 0.51 | --        | --         | --   | --    |
| 1947  | 0.51 | --        | --         | --   | --    |

<sup>a</sup>Regional data are not available in the Current Population Reports prior to 1953. Data for blacks are available only since 1967.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60. Cited in Ann Horowitz, "The Pattern and Causes of Changes in White-Nonwhite Income Differences: 1947-1972," in Von Furstenberg, et.al. (eds.) Patterns of Racial Discrimination, (Lexington, Mass., Lexington Books, 1974) p. 151.

Table 4-24

Median Earnings of Male Year Round Workers by Race  
and Residence, 1959 and 1969 (in 1969 Dollars)

|                    | <u>1959</u> | <u>1969</u> |
|--------------------|-------------|-------------|
| White Central City | 6850        | 8403        |
| White Suburban     | 7467        | 9593        |
| Black Central City | 4652        | 6274        |
| Black Suburban     | 4161        | 6696        |

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Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Survey, P-23, No. 37, 1971.

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Table 4-25

Family Stage of Black Urbanized Area Population  
(Outside the South): 1970\*

| Family Stage                                 | Central<br>City | Suburban |
|--|-----------------|----------|
| Husband-wife under 35<br>with children       | 25.4            | 32.2     |
| Husband-wife under 35<br>with no children    | 15.3            | 9.2      |
| Husband-wife 35 and<br>over with children    | 26.8            | 30.6     |
| Husband-wife 35 and<br>over with no children | 5.9             | 7.3      |
| Single Parents and<br>Individuals            | 26.5            | 20.6     |

---

$\chi^2=12.43$       4df       $P=.01$

\*Weighted sample specifies that the black suburban population is 16% of the total black population in urbanized areas.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample Tape Extract

second, since inequality among blacks has increased, the migration of an increasing number of blacks may be a manifestation of spatial separation to make residence more reflective of income status. The other point is that almost a third of black households in 1970 had incomes exceeding \$10,000 per year. This is a substantial improvement since 1960, though it is considerably less than the majority of whites with such incomes. While this reflects an incipient class (measured by income alone) polarization among blacks, it does provide a substantially larger pool of black families who have greater effective demand, and who, like whites, seek to get the maximum leverage with their income. Thus, family oriented young black families with rising incomes would move to the suburbs, while the city would host those who could or would not move or those who were older and perhaps indisposed to pull up roots. Some preliminary data on these two assumptions will be presented in this section.

Table 4-24 presents male earnings for 1959 and 1969 by place of residence. There are several interesting points illustrated in the table. The first observation is that black suburbanites have surpassed black central city residents in income, though the difference is much less dramatic than the differences between whites. Looking at the size of the gaps, however, presents some more interesting facts. In 1959, \$3,306 separated black and white suburbanites. In 1969, that gap had been reduced to \$2,897

Table 4-26

Total Family Income by Family Stage for Blacks in Northern  
Urbanized Areas by Central City and Ring: 1970 (percent)

| Family Stage                                    | Family Income (Central City/Ring) |           |           |           |           |
|---|-----------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
|   | LT 4000                           | 4-7K      | 7-10K     | 10-15K    | GT 15K    |
| Husband-wife<br>under 35 with<br>children       | 9.3/8.4                           | 17.4/11.8 | 31.4/26.9 | 31.4/38.7 | 10.5/14.3 |
| Husband-wife<br>under 35 with<br>no children    | 48.1/44.1                         | 23.1/35.3 | 11.5/5.9  | 5.8/5.9   | 11.5/8.8  |
| Husband-wife<br>35 and over with<br>children    | 7.7/4.4                           | 18.7/21.2 | 24.2/24.8 | 28.6/29.2 | 20.9/20.4 |
| Husband-wife 35<br>and over with<br>no children | 45.0/33.3                         | 25.0/48.1 | 10.0/11.1 | 10.0/7.4  | 10.0/.1   |
| Single parents<br>and Individuals               | 31.1/30.3                         | 28.9/28.9 | 21.1/23.7 | 10.0/7.9  | 8.9/9.2   |
| Central City                                    | $\chi^2=74.55$                    | 16 df     | P=LT .001 |           |           |
| Suburban  | $\chi^2=104.45$                   | 16 df     | P=LT .001 |           |           |

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample Tape Extract

indicating migration of increasingly better off blacks. In terms of the 1959 and 1969 median, the group with the smallest gain was the white central city population. The gap between them and white suburbanites almost doubled suggesting that they did not keep pace. The group with the largest gain was the black suburban population. Theirs was the largest absolute increase on the smallest base. They also reduced the gap between themselves and the central city population by about one-seventh. In income terms, this table shows the shift in the earnings of the black suburban population has been large and has resulted from a in-migration of younger adults during a time when income inequality in the total black population (as noted above by Horowitz) was growing. It seems likely that black suburbanization was not part of growing inequality among blacks since the inequality between black central and suburban blacks was reduced. Likewise, there was a reduction in inequality between suburbanites by race. This happened despite the fact that migration was selective of higher income blacks.

In earlier sections of this chapter, we have noted some of the variables associated with the income differences between blacks in the city and those in the suburbs; and among suburbanites of both races. We noted that poverty was concentrated in female-headed households where it existed in the suburbs, that higher income among blacks was associated with younger suburban black males who are professional,

often on the public payroll, and who work in the city. As has been noted before, suburbanization might be looked upon, in part, as a distribution of families by their stage in the family cycle and by their class (as reflected in income). To get a look at this phenomenon, we might look at the distribution. A weighted sample was prepared to attempt to test the distribution of blacks by family stage in the central city and the suburbs.<sup>10</sup>

One might now ask if blacks are distributed by family stage and class (income) over the metro. As Table 4-25 indicates, this seems to be the case. Blacks in the central city are distributed significantly differently from blacks in the suburbs with respect to family stage. Familial units predominate more in the black suburban population than the city population.

Turning to income (as a proxy for "class"), it is clear in Table 4-26 that the incidence of family incomes of \$10,000 or more is higher in the suburbs. It is important that this is true of the husband and wife families with minor kids present. The incidence for poverty for all categories is lower in the suburbs. This distribution of families in the suburbs by stage, and the family income patterns associated with it, are consistent with the notions cited in Chapter Two that the essence of suburbanization is the distribution of families by stage in the family cycle and by

Table 4-27

Selected Characteristics of Suburbanites by South and Non-South Residence and by Race: 1970

| Characteristic   | White Non-South<br>Suburban | White South<br>Suburban | Black Non-South<br>Suburban | Black South<br>Suburban |
|--|-----------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| Husband-wife families as a percent of total households             | 81.3                        | 83.9                    | 65.0                        | 63.6                    |
| Percent of families with incomes of \$10,000 or more               | 64.1                        | 51.6                    | 37.7                        | 30.3                    |
| Percent of heads with white collar occupations (both sexes) (male) | 47.2                        | 48.1                    | 26.3                        | 20.6                    |
| Percent of heads with education beyond high school                 | 35.5                        | 36.6                    | 20.9                        | 19.5                    |
| Percent of head under 40 years of age                              | 51.1                        | 50.8                    | 50.1                        | 49.2                    |
| Percent of families with 3 or more children under 18 yrs. of age   | 27.3                        | 11.9                    | 28.7                        | 30.3                    |
| Percent of families with income of LT \$4000                       | 8.3                         | 11.3                    | 16.8                        | 24.6                    |

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census Public Use Sample Tape Extract



class (family income). The distribution might be even more pronounced were it not for the restraints put in blacks by racial discrimination, and by income. Nevertheless, such suburbanization as has occurred has been far from random, and supportive of the hypothesis of this research.

In this thesis generally, the South is being looked at separately because of different patterns noted in Chapter Two. In order to provide some contrast and perspective, selected characteristics are presented in Table 4-27. As can be seen, except for the greater concentration of poverty on the part of both races, there are no large differences between the North and the South which cannot be accounted for by race. As the discussion in Chapter Two should indicate, this does not mean that with respect to the process of black suburbanization, there are not differences between the North and South. There is still the net decline in black suburban movement and growth in the South, and the historical patterns are still influential. What may be at work is the influence of the substantial increase in the relative position of the South in socio-economic terms -- both for blacks compared to whites, and the region compared to the rest of the nation. Another possible explanation for the absence of significance is the relatively small number of large urbanized areas in the South. These few large areas which existed in 1970 have been locus of population growth, industrial development more significant in the last decade

than for any other region with a substantial black population, with the possible exception of the West (where newly migrated blacks did not achieve such relative gains to whites) as Southern blacks experienced. A final possible explanation for the narrowed gap in the South is that the South experienced a substantial migration of its black population -- to the North and to the larger and medium sized cities. This reshuffling would mean that the urbanized areas would have an increasingly young, vigorous and more educated black population residing in the core. The black fringe communities have either been annexed to the city, or black suburban developments have sprung up to provide suburban residential alternatives in a still segregated metropolis. Unlike in the North, many more blacks move into new housing (as opposed to "filtered down housing"). In the next chapter, interesting results should emerge as a closer look at housing and neighborhoods is provided.

### PART III

#### ISSUES IN SELECTIVITY

In Chapter Two, we noted some of the factors that other researchers have found which are a source of inertia for blacks who are financially capable of migration to the suburbs. It was further noted in that chapter that the walls of discrimination have been erected and maintained from the outside.

In the analysis in this chapter, it was noted that blacks have distributed themselves by family stage and class between the central city and the suburb. Bonnie Bullough did a rather preliminary study of three samples of blacks in central and suburban Los Angeles, and found that alienation, powerlessness and anomia were variables which were highly correlated with black movement to desegregated areas.<sup>11</sup> While the study seems to be extremely useful in explaining how segregation is reinforced (or coped with) within the black community, there are some conceptually less controversial and more concrete barriers which emerge from a careful consideration of the findings in this chapter and the literature previously cited.

The first is that residential mobility is a serious matter, especially when it involves a move to another type of community or to a place distant enough to require a pulling up of roots. The innocence with which integration was touted in the 1960's never seems to have caught on in the area of housing as it did in, say, employment. Pettigrew picked up some of this in his review of previously cited survey data on black attitudes about housing. More than integration, blacks were looking for neighborhoods in which they might build a happy life. Preference for integrated communities assumed they were better and had brighter prospects. The typical new suburban community is clearly out of the reach of most of the black families in the population, and as we shall see in the next two chapters,

their choice was clearly constrained. It may be that the black families who choose to make the move did so with no illusion about suburban bliss but in a clear calculation aimed at getting the most with what they had to offer.<sup>12</sup> In this chapter, we have established their marginality with respect to whites in suburbia, and in a later chapter, we shall see how marginality impacted on their neighborhood and housing choice, and on the pattern of settlement in the case areas. It may be that the mainstream working-class and marginally middle-class black families were never convinced that idyllic suburbia was within their reach. What was within reach was far from idyllic. This may explain the difference between expressed desire for integrated communities (central city versus suburban) with characterized suburban migration.

What the analysis in this chapter also shows is that the decision that blacks made could not be a random one. In the literature search and in this chapter, the differentiation of the suburban population has been noted and emphasized. We have established in the analysis the capacity of a larger (than 1960) percentage of the black population who can afford to move. This will be expanded more in a later chapter where the "effective demand" analysis is presented. It is nevertheless clear from this chapter that blacks did not make substantial relative income gains on whites. There are, however, other ways to look at demand.

Suburbs are in one sense very responsive to the local conception of what local government ought to provide in terms of services and amenity. With the exception of black suburbs, or suburbs with substantial black populations, it is likely that the choice for blacks of more moderate status would be most complex, at the least, assuming as we must under the present arrangements, that blacks will not be significantly subsidized in their suburban residence or in the services provided there.

This differentiation is very significant to those who have depended on public services in the transportation, health, recreation and the like, and who find many suburbs lacking in those services. Limitations in this area intervene in the selectivity implied in the socio-economic analysis. In one sense, the finding that many of the young professional couples migrate suggests that we are seeing the advance garde of the surge in black upward mobility. Clearly, this is the popular notion.<sup>13</sup> These blacks, like similarly classed whites, are less dependent on public services, and would appreciate the amenities of the suburbs. The numbers of blacks in this situation is growing, but is still relatively small, and is by no means completely, or for that matter, the majority of those who migrate. If the city core is even partly revitalized to respond to the middle class family, many such families -- both black and white, might reconsider suburban

residence. The remainder of the migrants (the majority) might well be moving to areas not prototypically suburban.

Another factor can be noted as well. Unlike among white families who "exit" the city to be in more congenial environment, and to exercise "voice" in a more politically homogeneous environment, it is not clear that blacks can make that calculation (on "exit" and "voice") at all. "Exit" and "voice" have an obvious racial and demographic element relating to homogeneity which blacks cannot share. Further, because of the nature of the services, it is not clear that blacks who leave the city are moving to better services or more services.<sup>14</sup> Though there are some exceptions, it is generally true that blacks will not have more political voice in the suburbs. This suggests that the blacks in the city who feel politically efficacious might be indisposed to migrate. In most of the large urbanized areas, there is reason to feel this way as black political stocks rise.

Political efficacy can be a trait of both the young and the more mature members of the black community. To the extent that this is felt by the young, it constraints migration that might have otherwise taken place. Thus, it is easy to see how massive "black flight" is most unlikely, and how many small issues can affect the selectivity in migration.

To be more specific, a look at some of the possible "costs" that blacks who move to the suburbs might have to pay.

1. Social-Psychological Costs -- social uprooting, personal insecurity in a new environment, detachment for black personal services, break in family relationships, and support.

2. Financial Costs -- relocation costs, costs of services which were free or low cost in the city, housing premium, and marginal, if any, economic gains.

3. Political Costs -- loss of a more liberal social and public services agenda (except perhaps education, but clearly this is not true of all suburbs), loss of electoral leverage.

4. Institutional Costs -- loss of opportunities for leadership, ethnic socialization, and social services, deprivation of leadership and broad social status range in the black community.

Of course, not all blacks have (or perceive) these "costs" (or all of them). Blacks who move between metropolitan areas, who have only been in the central city a short time, have high socio-economic status, or who have more cosmopolitan tastes may not view these "costs" listed above as either applicable or important. Where real suburban opportunities arise, the analysis in this chapter would indicate that they would be prime candidates for suburban migration. To blacks, for whom these costs are very real, suburban migration might result from force (there is no suitable housing in the central

city), or from a situation (such as "spillover") where suburbanization is more technical than conscious.

Because of the economic marginality of the black population, movement of large numbers of blacks to large rich and more liberal (or tolerant) suburbs is unlikely. This raises again the issue of white attitudes, (especially whites of more moderate income in older suburban areas) and how they impact upon selectivity issues among blacks. It is clear from the literature search chapter that their attitudes are less favorable to blacks moving in than their more prosperous white suburban neighbors. Two new books from a recent community study in a working-class white suburb outside of Washington suggests that attitudes are only part of the story.<sup>15</sup> While these were the whites who might be expected to be hostile, as it turns out they were reasonably accommodating to black in-migrants (13% of total in-migrants in the study year). While there was no love, whites did live peaceably with blacks in an increasingly desegregated suburb.

What do communities like this show for issues in selectivity of blacks? They show that blacks recognize and are willing to deal with white attitudes as they are. The problems faced by working-class people and their daily struggles took precedence over the racial hostilities that might have erupted. Second, there is less social support among whites for overt individual racism, even among more



moderate status whites. It is no longer "in" to stone black families as they move into neighborhoods. While it still happens, it is far more isolated than in the past. For areas where several black families move in, as in the suburbs studied by Chapin and others, the prospects for violent resistance are much reduced (though prospects for white flight are high).

Finally, and perhaps most significantly, the option left to whites to avoid blacks in their daily life (neighborhood, jobs, schools) are rapidly narrowing. Few white families in the middle and lower status range can totally avoid blacks in their daily activities. This reinforces the point made above that the social support for overt racism is declining. As blacks recognize this, the invisible barrier to movement will gradually erode and the choices open to blacks will be perceived to be more plentiful.

One final point of great importance in terms of selectivity is the role of national economy. It is clear that the greatest strides made by blacks in terms of socioeconomic status are made in periods of expansion in the economy.<sup>16</sup> It is at that time, that jobs are more plentiful, employment is more secure, and capital is more available. It is also at that time that gains are made relative to whites. The surge in black migration and absolute economic gains during the 1960's came at the height of the expansion (1967 - 1969).

While we have little evidence of the post-1970 experience, it is clear that blacks did not make these gains in the early 1960's, and that in the early 1970's blacks have slipped in income status relative to whites, while becoming more polarized in terms of within group status. Thus, the other factors noted in this chapter with respect to selectivity will work best during expansion. Recessions inhibit migration not only because of the tight money and the slack in home building, but also because of the personal insecurity that accompanies economic stagnation.

### Conclusion

The data in this chapter generally confirms the hypothesis expressed with respect to who among blacks have moved to the suburbs. The blacks are slightly younger, somewhat better educated, and a little better off economically than central city blacks. There is substantial variety, however, and a significant number of poor families are included among new black suburban families, though this poverty is concentrated in female-headed households. Looking at blacks by family stage, it was shown that younger black nuclear families make up a larger portion of the black suburban population than of the black central city population. Many factors operate to constrain migration that might be

predicted from the factors uncovered in this investigation -- factors having their origin in both the barriers erected by white society and attitudes of blacks formed on the basis of their individual and group estimates of possible benefits and costs of suburban residence. The real convincing evidence with respect to findings noted above will be clearer when we continue with the neighborhood analysis in the next chapter.

## NOTES

1. In the discussion in this chapter, no distinction is made as between black suburban migrants and incumbents, unless such a distinction is specified.
2. See David Birch, The Economic Future of City and Suburb (New York: Committee of Economic Development, 1970), p. 31.
3. For a discussion of the sources of the suburban population in recent decades, see Joseph Zikmund, III. "Sources of the Suburban Population: 1955-60 and 1965-70," a paper prepared for the Conference on the Suburban Re-Shaping of American Politics held at Temple University, April 1970.
4. Ibid.
5. See generally Karl and Alma Taeuber, "White Migration and Socio-Economic Differences Between Cities and Suburbs," American Sociological Review, 29 (1964), pp. 718-29. See also S. Goldstein and K. Mayer, "Population Decline and Social and Demographic Structure of an American City," American Sociological Review, 29 (1964), p. 48-54. A comprehensive perspective is presented in Leo F. Schnore, Class and Race in Cities and Suburbs (Chicago: Markam Publishing Company, 1972).
6. A variable does exist on the tape relating to place of residence in 1965. Unfortunately it does not allow us to distinguish migrants from city to suburbs, only inter-county migrants (in addition to non-movers, intra-county and inter-state movers). This is not useful for our purposes in it does not uniformly distinguish between the central city and the suburban part of the urbanized area.
7. See J. J. Jackson, "Family Organization and Technology," in Kent Miller and Ralph Dreger (eds.), Comparative Studies of Blacks and Whites in the United States, (New York: Seminar Press, 1973), pp. 408-49.
8. See Bennett Harrison and Paul Osterman, "Public Employment and Urban Poverty: Some New Facts and Policy Analysis," Urban Affairs Quarterly, 9:3 (March 1974), pp. 303-36.

9. See Ann Horovitz, "Trends in the Distribution of Family Income Within and Between Racial Groups," in G. vonFurstenberg, Ann Horovitz and Bennett Harrison (eds.), Patterns of Racial Discrimination, Vol. II. (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1974), pp. 202-3.
10. In weighted sample of metropolitan blacks suburban blacks were weighted .16 to reflect the national percentage of suburban blacks in the black population of urbanized areas.
11. See Bonnie Bullough, Social-Psychological Barrier to Housing Desegregation, Los Angeles, Housing, Real Estate and Urban Land Studies Program, UCLA, 1969.
12. As an example, we might note Chapin's discussion of moderate income blacks moving into a working-class (and "hard living") suburbs outside Washington. See Robert Zehner and F. Stuart Chapin, Across the City Line: A White Community in Transition (Lexington: Lexington Books, 1974), pp. 168-69.
13. See special issue of Time, June 17, 1974.
14. See Bernard Frieden, Blacks in Suburbia: The Myth of Better Opportunities," in Lowdon Wingo (ed.), Minority Perspectives. (Washington: Resources for the Future, 1970), pp. 31-50.
15. See Joseph T. Howell, Hard Living on Clay Street (Garden City: Doubleday-Anchor Books, 1973). Also see Robert Zehner and F. Stuart Chapin, Across the City Line: A White Community in Transition, op. cit.
16. See Ann Horovitz, "The Pattern and Causes of Changes in White-Nonwhite Income Differences: 1947-1972," in G. vonFurstenberg, Ann Horovitz and Bennett Harrison (eds.), Patterns of Racial Discrimination: Vol. II (Lexington: Lexington Books, 1974), pp. 149-166.

## Chapter Five

HOUSING AND NEIGHBORHOOD:  
THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT OF BLACK SUBURBANIZATIONIntroduction

In the previous chapter, the attention was focused on the profile of suburban individuals and families, and aspects of the selectivity that resulted in some blacks being in the suburbs in 1970. As was noted toward the end of that chapter, the process of black suburban migration can be even better understood by noting the settlement of these blacks in different neighborhoods and the characteristics of their housing in these neighborhoods. It is to these issues that this chapter is addressed.

With respect to housing, we will compare the housing that blacks occupy in the suburbs to that occupied by whites, and with that occupied by blacks in the central city. In making the comparison with whites, we are interested in similarity of the housing occupied by whites compared to that occupied by blacks. In comparisons between blacks in the city compared to those in the suburbs, we are interested in the issue of selectivity (in this case, at the neighborhood scale) started in the previous chapter. Most of the issues in this chapter have both comparisons.

Attention will be directed to issues of type, cost, condition and other features of the housing package. With

neighborhoods, the attention will be directed to characteristics of the neighborhood in suburbia depending on the percentage of the black population in it. The percentage of black in the neighborhood and the associated characteristics become the basis for process in this case. Attempts will be made to link characteristics of the neighborhood to the number of blacks in it, to its housing, and to the characteristics of its residents. The total effect of this linkage and the information on housing should help to answer the question of what type neighborhoods blacks who are in the suburbs settle in. This is obviously important because as we established in Chapter Two, there is a wide variety of suburban types and in trying to establish the process of black suburbanization, we need to know the dimensions of the differentiation.

Before getting into a discussion of housing and neighborhoods proper, we might detour to review some information on the residential aspirations of blacks. Insights in this area, by way of noting some goals, will help to set a context within which to review the mobility that occurs, and provide a measure of how well, if at all, blacks satisfied themselves in the shift many of them made to the suburbs.

There are no really good contemporary studies directed towards the aspirations blacks have for specific types of housing or for neighborhoods. The literature, such as it was, was reviewed in Chapter Two. The substantive body of that literature

would support the conclusion that blacks want good housing in decent environments, and they assume generally that such housing is more likely to be in an integrated setting. Beyond this general conclusion, we have little to rely on.

Richard Coleman and Lee Rainwater's Social Standards Survey in Kansas City (Central City), asked two questions which direct our attention to the first question: whether it is the neighborhood or the house that is uppermost in the minds of movers or prospective movers.<sup>1</sup> To the direct question of choice, 4 of the 5 core respondents indicated that they felt that the neighborhood was more important in their past decisions. Significantly, when the question was put in terms of a future decision (or if the old decisions could be made again), the preference for space and other features of the dwelling came through as significant for 4 out of 5 interviewed. In analyzing the metropolitan area more generally, Coleman came to the conclusion that families were first interested in the neighborhood, and then the housing.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the ambivalence noted above is due to the perception on the part of the blacks that the choice of neighborhoods is rather constrained and that housing is clearly more important as a viable concern since the housing in the ghetto does vary in quality and amenity.

Otherwise, the survey revealed that blacks want the rather simple things. They wanted yards, larger rooms, more rooms, garage, etc. They want a clean, quiet neighborhood.



These goals are not at variance with the 1949 Housing Act which committed the nation to "a decent home...in a suitable living environment for every American family." The rather disinterested tone in the answers of the black respondents may be attributed to the feeling on their part that their views about choice really did not make any difference in the segregated Kansas City housing market. Thus, it might be concluded that the only difference between black and white residents is the greater feeling of powerlessness on the part of blacks. Clearly they want the best environment possible, but they are realistically restrained with respect to this issue.

### Data

The primary data sources for this chapter is the Neighborhood Characteristics File of the Public Use Sample Tape of the 1970 Census. (See Appendix C). In addition to the variables used in the last chapter, the tape contains two other files. One file has general information on the housing occupied by the respondents. It contains characteristics of the unit (size, location, type, features), financial information (cost, rent, tenure, utilities, rent/value to income ratio, etc.), and social information (crowding, year moved into unit, household structure, etc.). Variables relating to mobility (other than year moved into unit) are quite unsatisfactory since they do not allow us to distinguish between movers between the central city and suburbs, and other intrametropolitan movers. The variable on the condition of housing

allows us to distinguish only units which lack complete plumbing. In metropolitan areas outside the South, this includes only about 3% of the units. The 1970 Census, unlike earlier enumerations, did not include any variables on the structural soundness of the units.

The third file on the tape is a list of 55 ratio variables of characteristics of the neighborhood. The variables include characteristics of the neighborhood's people, families, housing, and social features. They will be reported here as percentages (i.e., percentage of the neighborhood families with below poverty level income, percentage of owner-occupied homes valued at more than \$25,000 or more, etc.). These variables provide a flexible data base allowing us to generate a profile of the neighborhood in which each of the households is located.

To highlight and to compare our findings, appropriate reference is made to the findings of other researchers whose work relates to similar questions.

#### Part One: Housing Characteristics

In this section, the focus will be on characteristics of the housing occupied by the various groups. Before looking at the 1970 Census data from the tapes, we might look at some published data from the 1960 and 1970 Census data.

Table 5-1 suggest several points. The first one is that some of the status dimensions associated with housing

reversed themselves (just as in the socio-economic data noted in the last chapter) between 1960 and 1970. This is reflected in the higher cost and value of suburban housing occupied by blacks in 1970, compared to the higher value of city housing noted in the 1960 data. Another point is that blacks shared in the increase in space (number of rooms) in suburbia, and advanced more than whites in the category of home ownership. Blacks were not part of the growing trend in suburbia to rent rather than to buy as reflected in the declining total owner-occupancy, and the decrease in the proportion of one-unit structures. With respect to 1970, and to the earlier decade, this table raises more questions than it answers. Do these numbers really reflect some change in the housing status of blacks, or do these statistics reflect the "statistical upgrading" resulting from elimination of the worst housing, especially in the South? Clearly the presence of the South in data on housing affects the aggregate numbers given the fact that slightly more than half of the black population is in the South. The effect of region, however, should become clear in the analysis below.

In the rest of this section, the analysis will proceed with the use of data from the census tape. The analysis, except for the separate section, will be for those heads of households outside the South.

Table 5-1

Selected Characteristics of Housing for SMSA Negro  
and Total Population in 1960 and 1970 for U.S.\*  
(Total population in parentheses)

| Characteristic                                      | 1960              |                   | 1970                 |                         |
|---|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|
|   | Central City      | Suburbs           | Central City         | Suburbs                 |
| Median Number of Rooms                              | 4.2(4.6)          | 4.4(5.1)          | 4.5(4.7)             | 4.8(5.3)                |
| Percent Owner-occupied units                        | 31.4(47.4)        | 51.7(72.2)        | 34.8(48.1)           | 54.0(70.3)              |
| Percent units lacking some or all plumbing          | --                | --                | 4.8(3.5)             | 17.2 <sup>a</sup> (3.5) |
| Percent of units with greater than 1.01 person/room | 23.5(10.7)        | 29.8(9.9)         | 17.1(8.5)            | 20.8(7.1)               |
| Percent of units in one unit structure              | 48.3(53.1)        | 81.3(84.7)        | 45.5(50.8)           | 72.1(75.1)              |
| Median value of owner-occupied units                | 9,000<br>(12,300) | 7,800<br>(14,400) | \$12,100<br>(16,400) | \$13,000<br>(20,700)    |
| Median rent   | 65(72)            | 58(81)            | \$76(\$90)           | \$78(\$113)             |
| Percent of units in structures built 1950-1960      | 13(19.8)          | 27(41.5)          |                      |                         |

<sup>a</sup>reflects the fact that 31 percent of such units are in the South.

\*1960 is non-white population which is usually estimated to be 93% Negro, however, in the particular issue here, the percentage may be slightly less, due to the regional concentration of blacks.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Housing: 1960, Volume 1: States and Small Areas. Part 1: U.S. Summary (Washington: USGPO, 1963), Tables 2 and 23; and U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Housing: 1970, Volume 1: Housing Characteristics for States, Cities and Counties, Part 1, U.S. Summary, (Washington: USGPO, 1972) Tables 2 and 7.

Unit Characteristics

In Table 5-2, we can begin to see some of the variation in the housing of the groups by race and place. The plumbing variable, as noted before, is not very helpful. Virtually all housing units have complete plumbing. The same is true with respect to direct access to the unit.

With respect to space, we can see the first significant variation. In the difference between space available to central or city and suburban blacks, it is expected that there would be a difference due to the age of housing in the two areas. The difference between blacks and whites in suburban neighborhoods, however, is more significant. It appears that blacks are occupying the smaller units in suburbia -- units which are more likely to have been built before 1960, or even before 1950 when the 4 to 5 room bungalow or house was more typical. This point is supported by the item in the table on the year the unit was built. Blacks in the city and suburbs are much less likely than whites to be in the newer units, and much more likely to be in the older units (constructed before 1940). More than half of the black suburban population is in units constructed before 1950 (54% versus 39% of the whites in this category).

As far as type of structure is concerned, black and white suburbanites are about equally likely to be in one or two family structures, as opposed to larger structures. Again,

Table 5-2

Selected Characteristics of Housing by Race and Place,  
in Urbanized Areas, 1970 (in percent)

|   | By Race--Suburban |       | By Place--Blacks |      |
|---|-------------------|-------|------------------|------|
|   | White             | Negro | Central City     | Ring |
| 1. Unit has complete plumbing                   | 97.9              | 97.3  | 97.9             | 97.3 |
| 2. Direct access to unit                        | 99.7              | 99.7  | 100.0            | 99.7 |
| 3. Unit has six rooms or more                   | 51.1*             | 35.8  | 28.0*            | 35.8 |
| 4. Structure has one or two family units        | 77.0              | 71.8  | 53.7*            | 71.8 |
| 5. Year structure was built                     |                   |       |                  |      |
| a) since 1960                                   | 27.9*             | 20.9  | 11.8*            | 20.9 |
| b) pre-1940                                     | 30.7*             | 39.3  | 51.9*            | 39.3 |
| 6. Person per room is less than or equal to 1.0 | 93.7*             | 81.8  | 83.5             | 81.8 |

\* indicates  $\chi^2$  significant at .05 or greater

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample Tape Extract

this reflects the nature of suburbia, where this type of structure predominates. It further indicates that blacks are not clustered in the apartment areas. Central city blacks, however, are much more likely to be in multi-family structures, reflecting the nature of the mix of house types in the central city.

Finally, in Table 5-2, we note that blacks are more likely to be "crowded" in suburbia than whites. There is no significant difference in the "crowding" of black population by center city and suburb. These numbers are no doubt, partly a function of two already established facts -- that blacks have slightly larger households, and have smaller units.

Thus far, it has been established that blacks, compared to whites, in the suburbs are in smaller, and older units. We can move on to other characteristics.

### Tenure

As one would expect, ownership is much higher among whites than among blacks, and further, ownership is higher among black suburbanites than among blacks in the central city. (See Table 5-3). Looking at the tenure situation by income, we note a general moderate strength in the gamma statistic. Looking at the gamma statistic for this data, the overall gamma is only .37. For the poor (less than \$4,000 annual income), the gamma rises substantially, as twice as many whites own homes in the suburbs as blacks. The gamma declines for other income groups. For the families of both

Table 5-3

Tenure by Race and Place: 1970\* (percent)

| Race-Place Groups  | Tenure |       |
|--------------------|--------|-------|
|                    | Own    | Rent  |
| Black Central City | 30.00  | 70.00 |
| Black Suburban     | 49.7   | 50.3  |
| White Suburban     | 68.3   | 31.7  |

\* All  $\chi^2$  (by Race and by central city and suburban residence are significant at .001 or greater)

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample Tape Extract



rates who earn \$10,000 to \$15,000 per year, the gamma is only .16. For the securely middle class (more than \$15,000 annual income), the gamma is .30. The group most equal in ownership patterns are blacks and whites who have family incomes of \$4,000 to \$7,000 per year. Both these groups have about 41% ownership in the suburbs. Assuming for the moment that families typically have homes valued at about twice their annual income, it appears that many families of both races have found homes in suburbia which are relatively cheap. For blacks, homes at such low prices are likely to be in the older areas since they are valued at \$8,000 to \$14,000, clearly below typical suburban house value.

In terms of other controlling variables, (sex, age and family type) the tenure relationship holds. The only significant finding is that women heads are more nearly equal in tenure status, though white women have a slight advantage. The gamma for tenure and race, controlling for sex is .27 for women, and .40 for men.

Thus with tenure, nothing new is added to the issue of process. The only black-white convergence with whites in ownership status occurs with the lower working class whites and blacks who take advantage of cheap houses in poorer parts of the ring. It is perhaps significant that the increase in the rental opportunities in suburbia represents a significant point for blacks. The slight decline in the share of owner-occupied units in suburbia (due to apartment building) spelled

opportunity for those blacks who were willing to make the move, but who were unwilling or unable to purchase a home. Greater attention will be given later to the change in the tenure mixture.

### Housing Costs

In this section, attention will be turned to housing costs, and to the ratio of housing costs to income. With respect to gross rents, the question is who is getting the "good deal," that is, who is getting adequate housing for the minimal rent within the limits of 25% of their income? Do suburban blacks suffer a "burden" (expenditure of more than 25% of income for housing) more than their white neighbors or blacks in the central city? Having this burden can, of course, be voluntary for those who are willing to invest heavily, or it can be forced in the case of the young couple or the household who must pay heavily for suitable housing in an acceptable area. Since we have no information here on preference, we cannot address this critical question.

The analysis of house value information will also be presented, and will focus on those who occupy the lowest valued housing, and those who occupy the highest valued housing, since in the suburban context, this is a good indicator of where in the status continuum one's house (and indirectly, one's neighborhood) is.

Rent

From Table 5-4 it appears that blacks are paying higher rents in the suburbs than whites. However, when family income is controlled, it turns out that it is only families with incomes of \$10,000 to \$15,000 in annual income where there is a significant difference ( $X^2$ ,  $p = .05$ ). 16% of the black tenants versus 11% of the white tenants pay more than \$125 a month for rent. Carried a little further, blacks pay more for larger units (with 6 rooms or more), and for a single or duplex structures. There is no significant difference for small suburban apartments, for older ones or for those in large structures.

Probably because rents are adjusted from time to time, the year the family moved into the unit does not make any difference. While it would be desirable to determine if blacks pay more for housing as a result of suburbanization, such a question cannot be tested since there is no qualitative data to control that aspect of the housing package.

Turning to the rent-to-income ratios between black and white suburbanites, there is no significant difference, generally speaking ( $X^2$ ,  $p = .07$ ). More than 42% of the blacks versus 33% of the white households pay more than 25% of their income for rent. Younger families though are more near equal in the ratio. 38% of the blacks, versus 34% of the whites pay more than 25% of their income for rent. Another group that

Table 5-4

Gross Rent of Households by Race in Ring of Urbanized Area: 1970

| Rent        | LT \$75 | \$75-125 | GT \$125 |
|-------------|---------|----------|----------|
| <u>Race</u> |         |          |          |
| White       | 71.6    | 9.2      | 19.3     |
| Black       | 55.8    | 23.6     | 20.6     |

 $\chi^2 = 29.46$       2df      P = LT .007

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample  
Tape Extract

Table 5-5

Gross Rents of Black Households in Urbanized Areas by Place: 1970

|             | LT \$75 | \$75-125 | GT \$125 |
|-------------|---------|----------|----------|
| <u>Race</u> |         |          |          |
| White       | 45.4    | 35.4     | 19.2     |
| Black       | 55.8    | 23.6     | 20.6     |

 $\chi^2 = 12.38$       2 df      P = .002

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample  
Tape Extract

that stood out was the black professionals. Significantly, 44% of the blacks who had higher paying professional jobs paid more than 35% of their income for rent. This compares with 15% of white professionals who paid this much. What this appears to show is that professional blacks (who are also younger and recent migrants) are paying dearly for the more expensive and newer apartments in suburbia. This high rent-income ratio is another aspect of the marginality of the black middle class. While the high ratio is somewhat related to the fact that they are young and have not yet reached the income threshold associated with their professions, they seem determined to settle themselves in housing they deem appropriate to their family stage, if not their present income.

Turning to a comparison of rent and income for black central city versus black suburban residents, the generally significant statistic for the whole group ( $\chi^2$ ,  $p = .002$ ) obscures the fact that it is only blacks in the \$4,000 to \$7,000 income range for whom differences are significant. These are blacks whose occupational status ranges from laborer to lower-level clerical workers. For this group, 50% of the suburban group versus 36% of the central group pay less than \$75 per month in rent. Assuming that suburban housing is no worse than central city housing, this looks as though the black suburbanites are getting a bargain. No doubt most of this relatively cheap suburban housing is in what have been black

enclaves. The quality of the housing is quite plain, at best, and lacking amenities commonly associated with suburbia.

In giving attention to the rent income ratio for the two groups, it appears at first glance that the "housing burden" is borne more heavily by blacks in the suburbs. At closer analysis, it is the middle class professional blacks who we have noted above who are paying excessive rents relative to their income. For other groups, the rent income ratio differences are not significant.

In closing this section, it should be noted as extremely critical that middle class blacks are paying the excessive rents. It is true for the young generally that they have to, or are willing to pay more than 25% of their income for rent. This is necessary if they are to live like older people of their occupational status who have had more time to let their income status rise faster than the cost of housing. What is significant in this section is that younger professional blacks are moving to the suburbs and they are doing so, in spite of the necessary sacrifice implied in having the higher rent income ratio.

#### Cost of Owner-Occupied Homes

In looking at the value of white suburban owner occupied homes, it is expected that the value of these occupied whites would be greater. (See Table 5-6). When income is controlled, however, it turns out that it is only for households with more than \$15,000 annual income for whom this

Table 5-6

Value of Suburban Owner-Occupied Units by Race: 1970

|       | LT 15K | 15-24K | 25K+ |
|-------|--------|--------|------|
| White | 26.8   | 37.3   | 35.9 |
| Black | 36.9   | 43.1   | 20.0 |

$$\chi^2 = 11.84 \quad 2df \quad P = .0027$$

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample  
Tape Extract

Table 5-7

Value of Black Owner Occupied Units by Central City  
and Suburban Location: 1970

|              | LT 15K | 15-24K | 25K  |
|--------------|--------|--------|------|
| Central City | 44.7   | 48.7   | 6.6  |
| Ring         | 36.9   | 43.1   | 20.0 |

$$\chi^2 = 7.082 \quad 2df \quad P = .03$$

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample  
Tape Extract

is really significant. 65% of white households with this much income live in homes valued at more than \$25,000, compared to 40% of blacks. Additional significance as far as income is concerned is obtained for families in the \$4,000 to \$7,000 range. This is due principally to the fact that some whites in this group (versus no blacks) have houses which are rather expensive.

Further significance in house values are derived if we look at house size. For small houses (5 rooms or less), there is no difference in value of houses occupied by blacks and whites ( $X^2$ ,  $p = .58$ ). For larger homes (6 rooms or more), there is great significance ( $X^2$ ,  $p = .008$ ). This is consistent by the significant fact that it is only in smaller older homes (built before 1950), that prices between the races differ.

A further finding is that there are no significant differences in the prices of suburban units occupied by the races between 1967 and 1970 ( $X^2$ ,  $p = .99$ ). All periods before then, significant price differences appear.

This adds up to the conclusion that there seems to have been a shift in the latter part of the 1960's with the black purchasers buying the larger, more expensive homes, comparable to white suburbanites. These were blacks who in income and occupational terms were comparable to younger whites who were moving to the suburbs at the same time. We have already noted in the previous chapter that the mid-1960's



was the "take-off" period for blacks with respect to the black suburbanization which took place.

The analysis of value-to-income ratios does not indicate a systematic difference between the ratio of blacks and whites. Younger heads of both races have somewhat higher ratios than older heads. In comparing central city blacks to suburban blacks in terms of the value of owner-occupied housing (Table 5-7), the expected overall difference is revealed to be significant. Controlling for income, however, shows only that it is significant for blacks who earn more than \$10,000 per year. Middle and high income blacks in the suburbs are three times more likely to have housing valued at \$25,000 or more and with more than 6 rooms ( $X^2$  for both high income and size are .05 or greater). Neither the sex of the head, the family type nor the age of structure seem to matter.

It is clear that some higher income blacks are realizing more in value and space terms in suburbs in the recent years, and there seems to be evidence that they are using the leverage of higher income ("effective demand") to get housing that is more highly valued, less obsolescent and more in keeping with the class and family characteristics of the individual. What is moreover demonstrable in the preceding analysis, is the absence of support for the significance in recent years of the selection by most blacks of the old, cheap housing which characterizes the suburban enclave in which suburban blacks are popularly thought to live. This is not to say they do not exist.

It is to say that the significant differences have appeared for the middle and upper income blacks who have moved into apartments and housing recently which are, as far as we can tell for the present data, comparable to that occupied by whites. This is supportive of the general hypothesis of the thesis of this chapter. Blacks who can afford to, increasingly settle in available and "typical" suburban areas, and other blacks move to suburban housing which is older and less attractive to other potential buyers/tenants.

#### Special Issues

There are several issues which do not fit nearly into the categories above which relate to housing. While these are added disjointedly, they relate to the overall focus of the chapter.

The first issue is the "modern suburban home." Has black suburbanization meant that in recent years, versus other years, blacks moved to the new modern home in suburbia? Tables 5-8 and 5-9 show the year the household moved in the unit against the year the unit was built. Despite our findings above that the middle class blacks were moving into newer units, when the whole black suburban population is looked at, we get a different picture. For the most recent period, 1967 to 1970, 42% of the whites versus 27% of the blacks moved in housing constructed in the 1960's. The same trend appears for heads who moved into units in the early part of the decade. It is

Table 5-8

Year Moved in and Year Structure Built of White Suburban Population: 1970  
(column percentages)

| Year<br>Built \ Year<br>Moved in | 1967-1970 | 1960-1966 | Pre-1960 |
|----------------------------------|-----------|-----------|----------|
| 1960-1970                        | 42.1      | 34.2      | 0.0      |
| 1950-1959                        | 23.6      | 26.1      | 49.5     |
| 1940-1949                        | 9.3       | 8.1       | 12.4     |
| Pre-1940                         | 25.0      | 31.5      | 38.1     |
| TOTAL                            | 40.2      | 31.9      | 27.9     |

$$\chi^2 = 56.87 \quad 6 \text{ df} \quad p = \text{greater than } .001$$

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample Tape Extract

Table 5-9

Year Moved in and Year Structure Built of Black Suburban Population  
(Column percentages)

| Year<br>Built \ Year<br>Moved in | 1967-1970 | 1960-1966 | Pre-1960 |
|----------------------------------|-----------|-----------|----------|
| 1960-1970                        | 27.0      | 24.6      | 0.0      |
| 1950-1959                        | 24.7      | 21.2      | 30.1     |
| 1940-1949                        | 14.0      | 15.3      | 17.8     |
| Pre-1940                         | 34.3      | 39.0      | 52.1     |
| TOTAL                            | 48.2      | 32.9      | 19.8     |

$$\chi^2 = 25.30 \quad 6 \text{ df} \quad p = .003$$

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample Tape Extract

also significant from Table 5-8 that blacks moved quite disproportionately into housing build before 1940. Thus, while some blacks have taken advantage of the new homes, this has been limited to these with the higher incomes.

As noted in Table 5-1, the proportion of black renters in suburbia declined between 1960 and 1970. For the total population, the reverse has been true in suburbia, owing to the increase in the number of suburban apartments, in the period 1967 to 1970. As we have previously noted, blacks took advantage of both the opportunities to own and to rent in the suburbs. The renter in both cases is typically younger, less attached, and without children. The observation to be made here is that two recent pieces of research have noted that renter occupancy increases in areas of substantial black penetration.<sup>3</sup> While whites may continue to move into the areas, they are more typically and disproportionately (to other whites in the community) renters. Blacks may be owners or renters in this situation. It is easy and perhaps correct to speculate that change in tenure (usually without drastic short-term change in the price and rents since demand is still strong) portends a more drastic change, generally for the worse. To the extent that this is true generally, it suggests substantial black in-migration in a given area is associated with some disinterest on the part of in-coming whites to own in the area. This, of course, has to remain tentative, since there are other

conclusions one could draw, including the one that the market is more attractive as a rental market given the fact that in both of the studies cited, the whites have not been particularly well off. They have also been rather young. For this group, there were a couple of times during the 1960's (recessions of the early and late '60's) when mortgage money would have been difficult to obtain.

A third issue is raised here, but cannot be addressed adequately with the present data. That question relates to the process of filtering. To test for the extent of filtering requires that we have data on the income of successive occupants, price/rent changes of the unit over time, and patterns of settlement by socio-economic groups. Clearly the information ought to be addressed, and will be addressed in the next chapter when we look at specific cases. The reader will note, however, that it has been established in this chapter that blacks, much more than whites, move into older homes, smaller homes, and homes whose value is less than what is expected in the ring.

#### The Special Case of the Southern Suburb

In looking at the data for the South, the first and most striking point is the high number of blacks who are in housing which is without complete plumbing. In the present sample it is 12.9%, compared to .5% for southern white suburbanites. While this difference is great and clearly significant, it represents great progress since the last decade. In 1960 in the South, only 29.6% of the suburban housing

occupied by blacks was sound and complete in its plumbing facilities,<sup>4</sup> while 78% of the southern white suburbanites was similiary situated.<sup>5</sup> This situation prompted many writers on the issue of blacks in the suburbs from a national perspective to paint such dark pictures of the black suburbanite. The upgrading in the South is probably due to a combination of factors, including substantial new construction in the South, including some construction of housing for blacks, and some annexation and demolition.

Looking more specifically at the Census data, and in comparing black and white suburbanites, an overwhelming proportion of the housing is on small structures (one and two family), and relatively new (built since 1950). For both races, 83% live in one or two family structures. The percentage in housing built since 1950 for whites and blacks is 78% and 70% respectively, ( $X^2$ ,  $p = .11$ ). Southerners in the suburbs, like their northern counterparts have more space (44% have 6 rooms or more) than blacks (28% have 6 rooms or more.) This is highly significant ( $X^2$ ,  $p = .002$ ), as is the level of crowding. More than 90% of whites have less than one person per room, compared to 74% of blacks ( $X^2$ ,  $p = .001$ ).

In terms of tenure, slightly better than half of the black heads own their own homes, compared to 65% of the white heads ( $X^2$ ,  $p = .01$ ). No significant variation exists in terms

of when households move to units. Almost 71% moved in during the decade of the 1960's, indicating high mobility for both groups of suburban residents. Only 5% were in the same units before 1950. The bulk of this mobility is attributable to the heads of both races, and this is without significant variation by income. Further, renters were much more likely than owners to be mobile ( $X^2$ ,  $p = .03$  for renters,  $p = .61$  for owners).

For units built in the 1950's, blacks moved into them in larger numbers than whites, suggesting some filtering type activity. 30% of the blacks who moved between 1960 and 1970 moved into units built during the '50's. Only 19% of whites in the same period moved into similarly aged housing ( $X^2$ ,  $p = .006$ ).

In terms of a comparison of blacks in southern suburbs and southern cities, the differences observed outside the South are not generally in evidence in the South. In terms of plumbing, there is no difference ( $X^2$ ,  $p = .40$ ). In terms of type of structure, the cities clearly have more multi-family housing ( $X^2$ ,  $p = .03$ ). The city has more renters, 64% versus 48% ( $X^2$ ,  $p = .002$ ), fewer units built since 1950, 49% versus 70% in the suburbs ( $X^2$ ,  $p = .001$ ). In terms of space, crowding mobility, value, and rent, however, no significant differences are in evidence.

Two conclusions can be offered about black housing in southern suburbs. The first already established, is that there is no real growth of the black population in the South and that

in the decade of the 1960's many blacks moved to the central city, including a growing number to the central cities of the South. The city, not the suburbs, was the frontier. The southern suburbs, more often thought of as rural or having rural characteristics were drained of some of the worst housing and poorest people, making the central city more comparable to the suburban population. The second conclusion is the great variety in the southern suburbs. They include many new developments for blacks, and many fringe settlements, and apartment complexes. More evidence on this is presented in the neighborhood analysis in the next section of this chapter.

The analysis now turns to neighborhood characteristics.

#### Part Two: Neighborhood Characteristics

In this part, we continue the discussion of process by looking at the neighborhood characteristics of the various subgroups in the core and in the ring. This is made possible by the convenient arrangement of data on the neighborhood file of the Public Use Sample Tape.<sup>6</sup> When "neighborhood" is referred to in this section, it has a specific meaning. They do not refer necessarily to named places. The neighborhoods referred to here are formed from geographic codes to include contiguous and relatively compact aggregations of 4,000 to 5,000 people. Social and demographic data were not used to group the areas, and socially significant boundaries may intersect these places. Thus, in suburban areas of low density, especially, it may include several socially significant places.



The analysis would be weakened thereby. This would apply, however, to small urbanized areas which are not prominent in our sample because most black suburbanites are in large urbanized areas. County lines are not crossed, however, and the distinction between the center city and the ring is maintained. Given the relatively small size of these neighborhoods, it is more likely that the characteristics which are identified are significant in representing the nature of this relationship. It is the variation in the characteristics of these communities which become significant (when associated with housing and population data) in identifying process. In this part of the chapter, more than in other parts, we will concentrate on the comparison of suburbanites, and their neighborhood, using the percentage black in the neighborhood as the principal dependent variable. Finally, it is important to remember that the tape that was used for this analysis includes 100% of the black suburban cases (the tape is a 1 in a 1,000 sample), but for whites, it is a random sample of regions in proportion to the concentration of black suburbanites in the region, thus, is not a sample of the total white suburban population (see Appendix C for discussion). While it is permissible to compare, as I will, black and white suburbanites, it must be remembered that it is limited in certain respects. This is emphasized at this point to caution against mis-reading the degree of desegregation that may be assumed. We can say confidently how many black suburbanites

are in desegregated communities, but we cannot say that for whites, since they are not included on the tape for many parts of the country or all sectors of the urbanized area.

#### Concentration of Blacks in Suburban Neighborhoods

We might begin by looking at the total black suburban population (outside the South) and note the percentage of black in the neighborhood. Looking first at the national distribution (see Table 5-10), we can observe what might well be expected. Black suburbanites are concentrated in the largest urbanized area of the northeast, mid-west and far west. Other sized urbanized areas and regions account for less than 10% of the total black suburban population. These are the areas outside the South into which blacks have migrated and concentrated themselves. These are also the non-southern areas in which the black population was concentrated before 1960.

In Table 5-11, we can get some idea of the concentration of suburban blacks in suburban neighborhoods by percentage of black in the neighborhood. What is immediately obvious is that a majority of blacks are not in majority black neighborhoods. At the small scale at which we are making observations, this is particularly significant in that the popular notion of blacks tucked away in majority black suburban enclaves is not supported. More than 20% of the black suburban population is in neighborhoods with no more than 10% black. More than a third are in neighborhoods where no more than 20% of the population is black, compared to 39% in majority black neighborhoods.

Table 5-10

Distribution of Black Suburbanites in Neighborhoods  
With Blacks by Size of Urbanized Area and Region: 1970  
(Excluding South)\*

| Region                | New<br>England | Middle<br>Atlantic | East N.<br>Central | West N.<br>Central | Mountain | Pacific |
|-----------------------|----------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------|---------|
| Size of UA            |                |                    |                    |                    |          |         |
| Less than<br>500,000  | 1.6            | 1.4                | 3.2                | 0.0                | .5       | .9      |
| 500,000 to<br>999,999 | .5             | 0.0                | 1.6                | 0.0                | .0       | .9      |
| 1,000,000<br>or more  | 1.4            | 42.8               | 18.2               | 5.2                | .0       | 22.1    |

$\chi^2 = 96.89$       10 df      p = greater than .001

\*percent of total population in each cell

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample Tape  
Extract

Table 5-11

Percentage Blacks in Neighborhoods of Non-South Suburbanites\*

| Percent Black of<br>Neighborhood | Percent of Black<br>Suburban Population |
|----------------------------------|---|
| 1%                               | 3.9                                     |
| 2-5                              | 11.7                                    |
| 6-10                             | 6.1                                     |
| 11-15                            | 6.6                                     |
| 16-20                            | 5.7                                     |
| 21-25                            | 5.2                                     |
| 26-30                            | 4.2                                     |
| 31-35                            | 7.2                                     |
| 36-40                            | 2.2                                     |
| 41-45                            | 2.5                                     |
| 46-50                            | 5.3                                     |
| 51-75                            | 18.6                                    |
| 76-100                           | 20.8                                    |

\* In the non-Southern sample, 2.7 percent of the black suburban heads are listed as being in neighborhoods with no black residents. While this may in part be due to errors in the sampling or coding, a more probable explanation is that in a neighborhood with only one black resident, it would be picked in the interval as zero due to rounding. One black in a neighborhood of less than 5000 would, for example, equal less than .5% and therefore would be rounded to zero.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample Tape Extract

While one maybe tempted to suggest this as positive evidence of substantial integration of the black suburban population, it is more plausible as we shall see in the following analysis, that this more adequately supports a conclusion of clustered dispersal. Given that only 5% of the suburban population is black, blacks logically are still in evidence in only selected neighborhoods within the given suburban communities of the urbanized areas.

To continue the analysis, we might proceed to analyze the types of communities associated with the various percentage of blacks in them. A regression is then presented later in an effort to isolate explanatory factors in the percentage of blacks in the sample neighborhoods.

Before getting into an analysis of neighborhoods on the basis of the percentage of black in the population, some attention might be given to broad characterizations of the neighborhood types. The Type 1 community in the analysis below consists of those communities outside the South which have no blacks in their population. Needless to say, a wide variety of communities fit this category -- ranging from poor suburban neighborhoods to the very affluent ones, as well as the vast middle range communities. In part, this will be the comparison group in the analysis below.

Type 2 communities includes those whose black population does not exceed 5% of the neighborhood population. Of the non-southern suburban neighborhoods with some blacks, 29% have

less than 5% black. This type of neighborhood is typically middle class in its status, including many affluent communities with less than 1 percent black to others with larger percentages approaching the 5%. As Birch noted, this is the type of neighborhood which many of the suburban blacks in the New Haven region sought.<sup>7</sup>

The Type 3 community is 6% to 15% black: 13% of the neighborhoods in the sample are in this category. This is the neighborhood which reflects the black share of the metropolitan population. These neighborhoods are primarily in residential suburbs of upper working to lower middle class status. Many of them have stable black populations at this percentage, and many of them have incurred and are incurring substantial increases in the percentage of black. Type 4 and Type 5 neighborhoods have larger percentages (15% to 24% and 25% to 49%, respectively) of their population is black. They include a wider range of communities, including older industrial suburbs which are becoming more black, residential neighborhoods which are rapidly increasing their black population, and neighborhoods on the edge of majority black population concentrations and ungoing change. The Type 5 neighborhood is usually the most unstable since in that only whites are leaving, and blacks are entering -- both rapidly. Type 4 and Type 5 neighborhoods represent 12% and 15% of the sample neighborhoods, respectively.

The Type 6 neighborhood is the majority black suburban neighborhood. This type represents 28% of the neighborhoods in the sample. While it is fairly self-explanatory

what this community is, it should be pointed out that majority black communities are not limited to what might be called black suburbs. At the scale of 4,000 - 5,000 people, some of these neighborhoods might well be the segregated portion of majority white suburban places.

We can proceed now with an analysis of characteristics of these type of neighborhoods in much more detail.<sup>8</sup> An ideal analysis here would include some perspective or control for migration. Unfortunately, none of the variables on the tape are appropriate for this purpose.<sup>9</sup>

#### General Population Characteristics of the Suburban Neighborhoods

Table 5-12 outlines the general population characteristics of the neighborhoods in our sample. The first observation is the concentration of the neighborhoods in the largest urbanized areas. The concentration increases with the increase in the percentage of black in the neighborhood so that neighborhoods with few blacks are spread more evenly than the black enclaves. The related finding in the second panel shows the expected regional concentration.

Turning more specifically to the age structure, we can see that about a third of the neighborhoods have more than 40% of the population between the ages of 0-17 years. This indicates a substantial young family concentration. The percentage declines drastically until the percentage of black population reaches 25%, and then climbs rapidly. What this suggests

Table 5-12

General Characteristics of Selected Suburban Neighborhoods by Percentage Black  
Population: 1970\*

| Characteristic \ Percent Black   | Type 1 | Type 2 | Type 3 | Type 4 | Type 5 | Type 6 |
|--|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
|  | None   | LE 5%  | 6-14%  | 15-24% | 25-49% | 50+%   |
| 1. Percent in Urbanized Areas of 1,000,000 or More Population  | 81.6   | 75.7   | 85.4   | 88.4   | 92.0   | 98.0   |
| 2. Percent in Northeast, East, North Central and Pacific States                                      | 86.6   | 87.1   | 96.6   | 84.9   | 90.4   | 95.0   |
| 3. Percent of Neighborhoods whose population, aged 0-17 years is greater than 40%                    | 35.3   | 21.3   | 14.6   | 14.0   | 23.2   | 48.2   |
| 4. Percent of Neighborhoods whose population aged 65 years or older is greater than 10%              | 25.9   | 35.1   | 38.2   | 51.2   | 41.6   | 22.6   |
| 5. Percent of neighborhoods whose female-headed households exceed 15%                                | 6.0    | 4.0    | 20.2   | 23.3   | 47.2   | 81.9   |
| 6. Percent of neighborhoods whose population aged 0-17 in husband-wife families, is greater than 70% | 96.0   | 97.5   | 96.6   | 88.4   | 68.0   | 29.1   |
| 7. Percent of Neighborhoods whose population of foreign stock exceeds 15%                            | 74.6   | 83.2   | 88.8   | 82.6   | 65.6   | 23.1   |

\*All Chi Squares significant at .001 or greater

Source: \_\_\_\_\_



is that blacks move into neighborhoods where there are relatively few children, and many "empty nest" families. The child ratio is thus low until blacks are in sufficient numbers to dominate the age structure. This is further supported by the next panel which shows the percentage of neighborhoods where the number of elderly persons exceeds 10%. The percentage climbs as more blacks move in, until the younger black in-migrant begin to dominate the age structure. This evidence of blacks moving into neighborhoods with older whites suggests a couple of points. First, this indicates a weak market or the low attractiveness of the area. As the whites grow older, many of them are forced to leave (by death, by desire for different accommodations, etc.), and are not replaced by whites in the area. Second, it suggests, as other evidence already cited suggests, that many blacks are moving to the physically older parts of the ring.

The next panel in Table 5-12 shows the percentage of neighborhoods with more than 15% of the households headed by women. As expected, great differences appear. The lowest number is in the neighborhoods with relatively few blacks, while most of the neighborhoods with black majorities have more than 15% of the households headed by females. Likewise, as the percentage of blacks rise in the neighborhood, the percentage of children living with both parents declines.

Because many of the inner suburban areas of the cities in the regions with black suburbanites have substantial foreign-born population, we note in the last panel that this foreign

stock is displaced in the inner areas by blacks. While it is likely to be the case that these people are poorer and older than other whites, and their areas less attractive, there is no way in the present data to determine the full extent of this.

Thus, we can conclude here that black suburbanites are concentrated in the largest urbanized areas, and that they displace or begin to dominate in the neighborhood population which has many older whites, including those of foreign stock. Neighborhood with the largest concentration of blacks have the characteristics least associated with well-being. Neighborhoods where blacks are represented in small or modest proportion are in neighborhoods which reflect the variety of status and income of suburbs.

#### Economic Characteristics of Neighborhoods

In Table 5-13, we have several measures of incomes in the neighborhoods. In the first panel of the table, we note the percentage of neighborhoods with more than 18% of the households having less than \$5,000 annual income. Only 11% of the neighborhoods with no blacks are in this situation. As the number of blacks increase, however, the percentages rise significantly. While it is strange that in 19% of the neighborhoods with less than 5% black, so many are in this low-income position, the only immediate explanation is the presence in those neighborhoods of service personnel whose

Table 5-13

## Selected Economic Characteristics of Selected Northern Suburban Neighborhoods: 1970\*

| Characteristic \ Percent Black  | Type 1 | Type 2 | Type 3 | Type 4 | Type 5 | Type 6 |
|---|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
|   | None   | LE 5%  | 6-14%  | 15-24% | 25-49% | 50+%   |
| 1. Percent neighborhood where families who earn less than \$5,000 per year exceed 18%           | 11.4   | 18.8   | 32.6   | 27.9   | 52.0   | 74.9   |
| 2. Percent of neighborhoods with median income in excess of \$10,000                            | 91.1   | 85.2   | 66.3   | 73.3   | 57.6   | 36.1   |
| 3. Percent of neighborhoods with 20% or more of the families earning \$15,000 at least per year | 82.1   | 74.3   | 60.3   | 65.1   | 52.0   | 37.2   |
| 4. Percent of neighborhoods where median education is greater than 12 years                     | 14.4   | 20.3   | 15.7   | 7.0    | 1.6    | 1.0    |

\*Chi Squares are significant at .001 or greater

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample Tape Extract

wages are typically quite low or where boundaries are not meaningful in social and demographic terms. The vast majority of the Type 6 neighborhoods have many families with such low income.

In 1970, the median family income was just below \$10,000. More than 90% of the all-white neighborhoods have medians in excess of \$10,000. As the number of black increased, the percentage went down steadily. A similar pattern exists for neighborhoods where more than 20% of the households earn in excess of \$15,000 per year. While I have no conclusive explanation for the peculiar position of Type 4 neighborhoods, it is clear from Table 5-14 that these communities have slightly more in terms of male and female labor market participation, and in terms of the number of professional workers.

The final panel refers to the percentage of the neighborhoods where the median years of schooling is greater than 12 years. The highest percentage is in those neighborhoods with only a few blacks, supportive of other findings that these are the higher status neighborhoods. As the concentration of blacks increases, the percentage of neighborhoods with such a high median drops to 1%, reflecting the absence of affluent black suburban neighborhoods.

#### Labor Force and Employment Characteristics of Suburban Neighbrohoods

Table 5-14 shows some of the neighborhood labor force and employment characteristics, For Type 1 neighborhoods, the percentage of neighborhoods with more than 80% of the men in the

Table 5-14

Selected Labor Force and Employment Characteristics of Selected Northern  
Suburban Neighborhoods by Percentage Black Population: 1970\*

| Characteristic \ Percent Black   | Type 1 | Type 2 | Type 3 | Type 4 | Type 5 | Type 6 |
|--|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
|  | None   | LE 5%  | 6-14%  | 15-24% | 25-49% | 50+%   |
| 1. Percent of neighborhoods with <u>more</u> than 80% of adult males in urban labor force  | 69.2   | 53.0   | 34.8   | 36.0   | 47.2   | 16.1   |
| 2. Percent of neighborhoods with greater than 45% of adult females in labor force  | 24.4   | 30.7   | 32.6   | 38.4   | 48.8   | 60.3   |
| 3. Percent of neighborhoods with unemployment greater than 4% in 1970  | 32.3   | 33.7   | 36.0   | 44.2   | 60.8   | 78.4   |
| 4. Percent of neighborhoods where percentage of employed professionals, technical, managers, administrative workers exceeds 15% of total workers | 81.1   | 83.7   | 67.4   | 69.8   | 65.6   | 30.7   |
| 5. Percent of neighborhoods where the percentage of craftsmen, operatives and laborers (except farm) exceeds 40% of total workers                | 39.8   | 31.7   | 49.4   | 33.7   | 47.2   | 62.8   |

\* All Chi Squares significant at .001 level or greater

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample Tape Extract

labor force, is almost 70%. As the percentage of blacks increases in the neighborhoods, the rate drops significantly. Conversely, the labor force participation of the females in the labor force increases rather rapidly. We have already noted the income and age correlates to black female labor market participation (Chapter Four), and the influence of this is obvious in this present table, especially in the Type 4 communities.

In 1970 nearly a third of the neighborhoods had an unemployment rate of more than 4%. As the black concentration increases, the impact of systematically higher black unemployment rates is revealed.

In terms of the occupational structure of the neighborhoods, as the percentage of blacks increases in the neighborhoods, the concentration of professionals drops, and the concentration of blue collar workers increases in a fairly even pattern. The only break is with the Type 4 community which has more professionals, and fewer blue collar workers than the neighborhoods with higher concentration of blacks.

#### Housing Characteristics of Suburban Neighborhoods

Table 5-15 summarizes much of what has already been noted with respect to housing in Part I of this chapter. It is significant here that the neighborhood setting is found to be linked with the other characteristics. We can conclude, on the basis of Table 5-15, that the condition and social standards of the housing declines with increasing black concentrations, that values are lower, and the proportion of single family and

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Table 5-15

Selected Housing Characteristics of Selected Northern  
Suburban Neighborhoods\*

| Characteristic \ Percent Black   | Type 1<br>None | Type 2<br>LE5 | Type 3<br>6-14% | Type 4<br>15-24% | Type 5<br>25-49% | Type 6<br>50+% |
|--|----------------|---------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Percent neighborhood with more than 20% of households in standard but crowded units                  | 2.5            | 2.0           | 0.0             | 1.2              | 1.6              | 14.1           |
| Percent of neighborhoods with more than 60% owner occupied units                                     | 80.1           | 60.4          | 50.6            | 51.2             | 41.6             | 31.7           |
| Percent of neighborhoods with more than 50% of owner occupied units valued at \$25,000 or more       | 34.4           | 34.2          | 37.1            | 23.3             | 12.0             | 8.5            |
| Percent of neighborhoods with more than 50% of rental units renting for more than \$150 per mo.      | 40.8           | 37.6          | 20.2            | 12.8             | 12.8             | 8.5            |
| Percent of neighborhoods where more than 25% of renter families paying more than 25% income for rent | 79.6           | 85.1          | 91.0            | 96.5             | 98.4             | 99.5           |
| Percent of neighborhoods where vacancies in units (for rent and for sale) exceeds 5%                 | 5.5            | 5.4           | 4.5             | 3.5              | 12.8             | 21.1           |
| Percent of neighborhoods where single family units exceed 80% of total units                         | 47.3           | 37.6          | 36.0            | 29.1             | 27.2             | 23.6           |
| Percent of neighborhoods with less than 19% multiple family housing units (10 units or more)         | 68.1           | 54.9          | 59.5            | 47.7             | 36.0             | 48.2           |
| Percent of neighborhoods with more than 20% new housing (built since 1960)                           | 54.2           | 49.5          | 41.6            | 39.5             | 25.6             | 22.1           |
| Percent of neighborhoods with more than 30% of the housing units constructed before 1939             | 28.4           | 52.5          | 62.9            | 7-.9             | 69.6             | 60.8           |

\* Chi Squares are significant at .001 or greater

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample Tape Extract

new housing is significantly less. Thus, the pattern of black neighborhood settlement is substantially in the older portions of suburbia, and less attractive accommodations. No doubt this is a function of the cheaper housing available to the black population.

To summarize this section on the analysis of neighborhood variables, the question might be asked: what variables explain the variation in the characteristics reflected in percentage of the population in the neighborhood which is black? To answer this, a regression equation was specified. In the equation, percent of black in the neighborhood was the dependent variable and values ranged from 0 to 99%. The dependent variable and the appropriate statistics are listed on Table 5-16. Somewhat surprisingly, it was the percent of female headed households which explained most of the variation in the percent of black in the neighborhoods. These female-headed families are concentrated in the neighborhoods which are majority black. The remaining variables in the equation contributed about as expected. Median years of education and income reflect the income and class variables in the equation and together explain almost 25% of the variation in the dependent variable, while the closest variable that relates to family status (percent of the population aged 0-17), explains just under 10% of the variation.

The age of the neighborhood (percent of unit constructed before 1939) contributes little independently to the equation



Table 5-16

Regression of Percent Black in Neighborhood Population  
On Selected Neighborhood Characteristics, For Northern  
Suburban Neighborhoods: 1970 (N=902)

| Variable  | $\bar{X}$ | S.D   | Simple R | R <sup>2</sup> Change |
|---|-----------|-------|----------|-----------------------|
| Mean years<br>in school (years)                         | 11.90     | 1.03  | -.3390   | .11497                |
| Median Family<br>Income (\$000)                         | 11.05     | 3.25  | -.4949   | .13000                |
| Percent units<br>built before<br>1939                   | 39.00     | 27.41 | +.2134   | .00154                |
| Percent popula-<br>tion aged 0-17 yrs.                  | 35.08     | 7.51  | +.27364  | .09372                |
| Percent popula-<br>tion aged 65+ yrs.                   | 8.92      | 4.48  | -.0625   | .00148                |
| Percent female in<br>labor force                        | 43.58     | 7.25  | +.7289   | .05584                |
| Percent popula-<br>tion with less<br>than \$5000 income | 16.36     | 10.94 | +.2799   | .00001                |
| Percent female-<br>headed household                     | 13.83     | 8.57  | +.4569   | .27123                |
| Unemployment rate<br>in neighborhood                    | 5.05      | 2.91  | +.5959   | .00204                |

Variation Explained R<sup>2</sup> = .67

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample Tape Extract

given the strong influence of the income variable. All the variables together explain 67% of the variation in the dependent variable. The results suggest two points. First, the high concentration is associated with female-headed households which, as we have established, relates to poverty in suburbia; and second, that class (income and education) and family stage are powerful variables in the general determination of whether there are any blacks and the variation in their concentration. This fits well with the hypothesis of this thesis and the thrust of the literature search. The communities selected by blacks are the ones white buyers and white in-migrants might not be attracted to, and ones which blacks moved into, depending on their status. The more stable and middle class, the smaller the concentration. The more like core blacks the black suburban population is in special and economic characteristics, the greater their percentage concentration in suburban neighborhoods.

The Special Case of the Southern Neighborhood

Turning attention to the neighborhoods in the South, we can get a better picture of the change which might be in evidence. The reader will note that blacks as a percent of the South's suburbia declined from 11.8% in 1960 to 10.9% in 1970.<sup>10</sup> In Table 5-17 we can observe the percentage of the black population in neighborhood of various percent black. It is immediately clear that much less "integration" is in evidence here than in the areas outside the South. Just over 17% of the blacks are in neighborhoods with less than 15% black. More than

Table 5-17

Percent Black in Southern Suburban Neighborhoods  
For Suburban Blacks: 1970\*

| Percent<br>Black | Percentage of<br>Black Population |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|
| LE 5%            | 6.7                               |
| 6-14%            | 10.9                              |
| 15-24%           | 9.2                               |
| 25-49%           | 27.6                              |
| 50+%             | 42.7                              |

---


$$\chi^2 = 20.29 \quad 10df \quad p = .03$$

\* In the Southern Sample, 2.9 percent of the black suburban heads are listed as being in neighborhoods with no black residents. While this may in part be due to errors in the sampling or coding, a more probable explanation is that in a neighborhood with only one black resident, it would be picked in the interval as 0 due to rounding. One black in a neighborhood of less than 5000 would equal less than .5% and would be rounded to 0.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample Tape Extract

42% are in majority black neighborhoods. Given the fact that blacks have had less strict residential separation on an area basis than in the North (this is especially significant at the scale of 4,000 to 5,000 people in this definition of neighborhood), the concept of neighborhood in this research is probably less useful in the southern context than in the areas outside the South when we want to make micro-distinctions between racial settlement areas. Nevertheless, the information is helpful in the broad sense of getting the social and physical dimensions of the various residential settings. With this caveat in mind, we can turn to Table 5-18.

While less than 30% of the suburban neighborhoods without blacks were in the largest urbanized areas in the South, most of the neighborhoods with blacks in them (especially in smaller concentrations) were in the largest urbanized areas. Thus, black suburbanites are concentrated in places like Atlanta, Miami, Houston and other urbanized areas with more than a million people. This type of concentration is no different from the areas outside the South, except that blacks are more evenly distributed in the South than in other regions, and southern cities have had larger concentration of blacks for many years, though one of the major trends in the last decade was for the concentration to shift to the large and moderate-sized central cities, and away from rural and fringe areas.

Unlike the areas outside the South, the process of black suburbanization is not associated with the demographic

Table 5-18

## Selected Characteristics of Southern Suburban Neighborhoods by Percentage Black

| Percent Black<br>Characteristic  | Type 1<br>None | Type 2<br>LE 5% | Type 3<br>6-14% | Type 4<br>15-24% | Type 5<br>25-49% | Type 6<br>50+% | $\chi^2$ Probability<br>of Random<br>Distribution |
|--|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|----------------|---|
| Size of Urbanized Area percent<br>in UA of 1,000,000+  | 28.6           | 68.8            | 53.8            | 40.9             | 45.5             | 32.4           | .03   |
| Percent of neighborhoods with<br>less than 40% population aged<br>0-17 years   | 85.7           | 12.5            | 38.5            | 9.1              | 28.1             | 77.5           | GT.001  |
| Percent of neighborhoods with<br>20% or more families earning<br>in excess of \$15,000   | 14.3           | 75.0            | 50.0            | 27.3             | 43.9             | 6.9            | GT.001  |
| Percent of neighborhoods with<br>more than 18% of families with<br>incomes less than \$5000  | 85.7           | 18.8            | 38.5            | 72.7             | 63.6             | 94.1           | GT.001  |
| Percent of neighborhoods with<br>more than 40% employed workers<br>in blue collar jobs   | 85.7           | 12.5            | 34.6            | 54.5             | 34.8             | 77.5           | GT.001  |
| Percent of neighborhoods where<br>top white collar workers are<br>greater than 15% of total<br>employed workers                        | 28.6           | 100.00          | 84.6            | 72.7             | 74.2             | 27.5           | GT.001  |
| Percent of neighborhoods with<br>more than 20% families in housing<br>with complete plumbing, but<br>greater than 1.0 persons per room | 42.9           | 0.0             | 3.8             | 4.5              | 1.5              | 37.3           | GT.001  |
| Percent of neighborhoods where<br>new housing (built during the<br>1960s) exceeds 20% of total units                                   | 71.4           | 87.5            | 84.6            | 72.7             | 68.2             | 67.6           | .38   |

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Sample Tape Extract

dominance of the young. It is only in majority black neighborhoods that the proportion of the population under age 17 is nearly equal to that of the all white neighborhood or the northern black suburban areas. On the one hand, this indicates the improbable situation of older black suburban migration, or the more probable situation of an aging black suburban population due to lack of growth of the black suburban population in the South. This would produce the situation illustrated in the table. Looking at specific cases, we find that in Nashville the black suburban population is older than the central city population, while marginal differences appear in New Orleans, Dallas, Houston and Richmond. Only in Atlanta is the black suburban population significantly younger.<sup>11</sup>

The figures on income in the table indicate paradoxes. The neighborhoods have significant numbers of families with incomes in excess of \$15,000 and of families with less than \$5,000. The Type 2 and Type 3 communities are exceptions. This reflects both the lower densities common in the South's urbanized areas and the lower level of class segregation that this implies. What this may also reflect is the effect of the substantial residential development which has taken place in the South. "Neighborhoods" with both high and low income residents may be new homes in developments near old black enclaves on the fringes. There need not be, and usually isn't, any integration here, just development on open land.

This conclusion underlines one of the limitations of these computer (rather than socially) defined neighborhoods.

The occupational structure indicates a concentration of black suburbanites in high status (occupation) communities, especially the Types 2, 3, 4 and 5, neighborhoods. These neighborhoods are the ones with the better, less crowded housing.

What seems to be indicated here (after taking into account the methodological problems in analyzing the South) is that the neighborhoods in suburbs which are not majority black are not as drastically different from the all white suburbs as is the case with the non-southern suburbs. The Type 2 suburbs are particularly high in status compared to the other suburbs. Blacks do not seem to be moving into suburbs and then gradually dominating the age structure as in the case of the non-southern suburbs. The population mix suggests that the young black families who are moving are moving to the substantially black neighborhoods. The space for housing development in the city's core and opportunities which are opening for blacks in the cities do not compel the same redistribution by class and family stage to the suburbs that was observed for other regions.

### Conclusion

In the foregoing analysis of housing and neighborhoods aspects of black suburbanization, we began by outlining the aspirations which blacks who do not live in the suburbs have for housing and neighborhood. The ambivalence they

expressed as between neighborhood and housing was suggested to be associated with the feeling that not much real choice existed anyway. In this conclusion, we might briefly note the extent to which those who moved (either for housing or neighborhood reasons) had their aspirations satisfied. The single study of recent black satisfaction with new suburban settlement was done outside Washington by Zehner and Chapin.<sup>12</sup> They noted that blacks gave high marks to their new suburban neighborhood (which was working class in character), though in terms of reasons for the high satisfaction, no clear reason emerged. This led the researchers to doubt whether it was real satisfaction, or the absences articulated dissatisfaction, given the fact that the area was clearly superior in services and amenities to the communities from which they came. The objective upgrading and the general constraints black people have had to face has obscured the problems of the community which white working class people saw.

In view of the above study and in looking at the points made about the preceding analysis, it is difficult to reach any conclusion about the extent to which black suburban residents achieved positive goals in the process of their suburbanization. For the middle and upper class, it is plausible to think that they did achieve some goals. Significantly more of this upper status group moved in the better suburban settings and got much more value for their housing dollar as best we can pressure.



For some of the other socio-economic groups, such as conclusion would not be warranted on the basis of evidence discussed above. True, they are probably in slightly better housing than they could afford in the central city, but the other costs of migration on which we speculated in Chapter Four, and the age and value of the physical community, may wipe away much of objective gains. The aspirations and goals of blacks in housing is a critical area for further investigation, and the present effort can speak only to the observed and objective change and not its social significance.

In summary, though, there are some points to be reinforced about blacks in terms of suburbanizations.

1. Many young black professional families in our sample have, in the process of suburbanization, distributed themselves in a manner consistent with family stage and class expectations. Many have done so in somewhat older housing, and at some financial burden. The process for these blacks cannot be said to be simply settling in enclaves, or to be "spilling over." They are genuine suburbanites.
2. For other blacks, who are not middle income but more moderate, they are also prominent in the suburban migration stream. They cannot afford the new areas. They settle in older housing and typically displace older whites who move

voluntarily or who are forced to move. This group, while including some blacks in enclaves, is found in a variety of neighborhoods in terms of the concentration of blacks, and many can be presumed to have upgraded their residential status, for the present, at least.

3. The majority black suburbs have absorbed and provided a place for the relatively poor black suburbanite. These communities are sometimes only marginally better than old center city areas, though the housing in them does tend to provide somewhat more space. Their services, if available, are, at best, only marginally better.
4. In most areas, it seems that the process of black suburbanization is associated with population displacement rather than growth. Blacks raise their percentages in neighborhoods to the highest levels when the older people decline sharply. Whites who move into these communities of black concentration are more transient and less likely to be owners. This displacement is closely associated with the neighborhood patterns noted in Chapter Two as they relate to change in the inner city communities, and suggest problems or potential problems in suburban neighborhoods.

5. The South presents a fundamentally different situation. There, the black suburban population is not making significant gains in terms of numbers, and in some areas, there is real decline. New white developments spring up in the shadow of old black fringe settlements. The black suburban population is not nearly so young as the black population in the areas outside the South, and the frontier for black southerner is the larger cities where blacks are experiencing economic and political gains.

Having discussed the black suburban family, the neighborhood and the housing, we can now turn to the cases which clinch the analysis of the process of black suburbanization by answering two questions: how does this process derived from the national census data translate to change in suburbanization patterns in a given metropolitan area which has experienced significant black suburbanization; and what are the larger metropolitan characteristics which interact with this process? The analysis to answer these questions is presented in the next chapter, and the following chapter attempts to synthesize the findings into a coherent statement of the process of black suburbanization.

## NOTES

1. A total of 10 respondents' interviews were analyzed. In interview CC, the analysis included question (#11): "In the past when you've chosen a house or apartment to live in, which has been more important to you -- the neighborhood setting or the features of the house itself? In short, how have you weighted these two things: houses versus neighborhoods?"

In interview BB, the question was: "Let's sum this up now: If you were to move -- or, looking back, if you could have made a different choice this time -- what would be your number one objective? That is, what would you weigh strongest in choosing a place to live -- and why? What would be the next two or three things you'd look for -- tell me about these."

The blacks in the sample were upper working class to lower middle class in status. There was no variation in their response on the basis of class. The responses were open-ended.

2. See Birch et. al. Toward Housing Goals for the United States: Concepts, Methods, and Measures. MIT-Harvard Joint Center for Urban Studies, August 1973, especially Chapter 5.
3. See Robert Zehner and F. Stuart Chapin, Across the City Line: A White Community in Transition (Lexington: Lexington Books, 1974), pp. 19-20; also see Solomon Sutker, et. al., "The Patterns and Concomitants of Neighborhood Change in Two Inner Suburban Areas," in Solomon and Sara Sutker, (eds.), Racial Transition in the Inner Suburbs: Studies of the St. Louis Area (New York: Praeger, 1974), pp. 48-49. Both of these studies note the significant decline in ownerhips among new white residents in areas of black suburban penetration.
4. The 1960-1970 comparisons are based on different definitions. The 1960 data includes a measure of structural soundness, while the 1970 data includes no such measure.
5. See Table 1 in this chapter for citation.
6. See U.S. Bureau of the Census, Public Use Samples of Basic Records from the 1970 Census: Descriptive and Technical Documentation, (Washington: USGPO, 1973), pp. 2-9.

7. See David Birch, et. al., Patterns of Urban Change (Lexington: Lexington Books, 1974), p. 44.
8. The sample includes 902 neighborhoods selected for the file of 2760 heads of households (and 2760 neighborhoods) on the tape used in the analysis. Neighborhoods were chosen if they were suburban and outside the South. They included neighborhoods in which no blacks live.
9. Efforts were made, without success, to use year moved into unit or place of residence in 1965 to get a time perspective. The first variable included many other people than migrants and picked up the higher rate of mobility among blacks. The variable did not produce reliable results which could be used as a proxy for migration. In the latter variable, the problem was that in many of the urbanized areas in which black suburbanites live, the central city is not coterminous with the central county, so the variable based on counties and states does not pick up suburban migrants who did not change counties, or who changed counties, but did not move from a central city to a suburb. Computer runs with the variables did not prove them reliable (that is, known differences from the published data cited in Chapter 4 did not appear).
10. See Table in Chapter 4.
11. See U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, "Mobility for Metropolitan Area," PC(2)-2C, Table 15.
12. See Zehner and Chapin, pp. 119-20.

## Chapter Six

THE PATTERN OF BLACK SETTLEMENT IN  
METROPOLITAN SUBURBS: TWO CASE STUDIES

In the previous two chapters, attention was focused at the national level on the elements of process having to do with population, housing, and neighborhood characteristics. On the one hand, the chapters confirmed that in the final years of the '60's, blacks who moved to the suburbs were mainly younger and of higher status. This was shown to be a reversal of earlier national trends reflected in Census of 1960. It was also confirmed that blacks were in a wide range of physical settings and racial concentrations. In general, the findings were neither unexpected nor startling.

The process, to the extent it was unfolded in these chapters, however is limited. The case study approach used in this chapter allows us to bring a great deal of information to bear on a series of questions and issues which together make up the process of black suburbanization. By reviewing all of the issues -- historical, economic, physical and spatial which combine to produce a pattern, we will have a greater capacity to specify the process in the next chapter.

Consistent with this goal, the cases were developed partly to examine black suburbanization per se, and also such corollary issues as the characteristics of various streams in the black suburban population, the role of political and

employment trends on the pattern of suburbanization, the impact of "push" versus "pull" factors in the outward movement of blacks, and the comparability (in class and family stage dimensions) of black and white suburbanites in various parts of the suburban ring. These four points will require us to look at a substantial amount of material to understand the complex way a variety of factors come together to deal with these issues. These points should serve as a map for the reader through this rather long, and often detailed chapter.

#### Case Selection

The selection of cases was both easy and difficult. It was easy in the sense that the significant black suburbanization (numbers of blacks who moved and proportion of metro blacks in the suburbs) was limited to a few cities (see Table 4-3). This group of SMSA's was the universe from which the cases were selected. While there were clearly interesting and significant suburban situations regarding blacks in at least a dozen other SMSA's, it is the metropolitan situation and not individual suburbs, that is the focus of this case analysis.<sup>1</sup>

In the analysis of census data, a review was made of the black suburbanization in all of these major metropolitan areas. The selection was made on the following criteria:

1. Since this black suburbanization study is focused on the phenomenon of the 1960's growth, each case must reflect substantial growth during that period. Based on an increase in both the black and white suburban population of approximately 30%, each case should have a level of black suburban growth at least that high.
2. The cases should reflect the SMSA size and regional concentrations noted in Chapter Five (see Table 5-10). The cases should be from SMSA's in the size category of a million plus in population, and be in the northeast corridor areas, the mid-west and California.
3. Along with substantial increase in the size of the black suburban population, there should also be an increase in the proportion of the black metropolitan population in the suburbs.
4. Black suburbanization in the cases should not be accounted for by growth in a single suburb. Such growth does not reflect metropolitan changes generally. Since in nearly all of the cases, significant black growth is limited to a few areas or sectors, the cases should at least reflect this dispersed cluster pattern of black suburban migration.



Of the cases in the universe, only Cleveland and Detroit did not satisfy of these minimum criteria. The basis of selection from among the remaining possible cases were based on more practical considerations, including personal data contacts, and costs associated with the fieldwork. Washington is the perfect case. It meets all of the criteria at a high level. The scale was good given the limited resources and the fact that research in the Washington area has already commenced. Thus, Washington was selected.

Newark was selected as typical of the old eastern metropolis where the suburbs were competing rather successfully with an old declining core having an increasingly black majority. It is also substantially blue-collar and has a highly differentiated ring in a vast urban region. It meets the criteria set forth above.

One of the basis for the usefulness of case studies is that they offer something from which to generalize to the universe which the researcher defines and from which the cases are selected. Washington has a growing black middle class and white collar black population which is beginning to have some choice in metropolis. The choice which blacks have, given the income and increasing suburban differentiation,<sup>2</sup> is broader than before, even though it is still much less than that which whites at the same income levels have. Conclusions will be applicable to blacks in other

cities which have or will come to have similar options outside the core city.

Newark is similar to Washington in some ways and different in others. It is similar in the sense of suburban differentiation and growth, and the number of options which blacks have. It is different in the sense that Newark is more blue-collar and ethnic. This will be reflected in the patterns of its suburban settlement. Blacks who move to the suburbs are less likely to be white collar than in the Washington, D.C. suburbs. Further, many of the older suburban communities (in a purely urban sense) discussed in the previous chapter are more prominent in the Newark areas than in Washington, so that some intra-suburban comparisons are possible. Because of the accelerated pace of the core decline in Newark, "push" and "pull" factors in migration are in more bold relief. Generalizations from the Newark case will be especially applicable in the metropolitan areas with a strong age-differentiated ring.

Together, these cases should provide ample data for the attempt at process definition in the next chapter, especially as it pertains to issues of spatial patterning, the role of demographic factors, institutions and historical, political and economic trends.

In the discussion of cases below, the following format will be used for each case:

1. Historical review of the growth of metro and black population. The data will go back as far as the metropolitan area has been a unit, or as far back as blacks have been a significant part of what is now the metropolitan unit. The question we will ask of the data is: what has been the demographic trends for the components parts of the black population in the given metropolitan area, and what has been the recent pattern in the context of the mobility stream analysis we have used in previous chapters?
2. Analysis of the political, social and economic factors which have had some direct bearing on the metropolitan racial ecology. Particular attention will focus on the political and economic data to see if they are determinative of any pattern of black settlement, or if any interesting variation is the result of some independent, and unrelated activity.
3. Analysis of the housing market in the city and the suburbs with a focus on both racial and income groups in the city and the suburbs. The aim to get some notion of the alternative opportunities available to each group during the '60's, and the type of choices which were made.

From this we will not only get some indication about the working of the housing market in this context, but we will also see how "push-pull" works, and the comparability of black and white residents in various parts of the suburban ring.

The conclusions here are then picked up in the next chapter directed at the specification of the process of black suburbanization.

#### Case 1: Newark, New Jersey

The Newark SMSA is composed of Essex, Union and Morris Counties. Newark itself is located in Essex County. Being only a short distance from New York City, Newark is connected to the New York region by a complex network of rail service and highways.

There were 1,856,556 people in the SMSA as of 1970. This is up from 1,689,420 in 1960. The city of Newark itself had 382,417 in 1970, down from the 405,220 people in 1960. The black population in Newark increased from 34% of the population in 1960 to 52% of the population in 1970. Blacks are 18% of the metropolitan area population, and 9.6% of the suburban portion of the SMSA. This is up from 6.7% in 1960.<sup>3</sup> Newark has many types of suburban areas. The suburbs have captured all of the recent net growth in the metropolitan population, while the core city population has declined by

almost 8%. Blacks have participated in the suburban growth. Almost 55,000 blacks moved to the suburb in the 1960's, a 63.7% increase over the number there in 1960.

### Historical

Newark was settled in 1666 as a theocracy under the leadership of Robert Treat. The city was settled and grew eastward from the Passiac River. Whatever theocratic significance Newark may have had soon gave way to the advantages it had for the development of a strong industrial and distribution function. The economic role began to grow early in the 19th century and matured with the development of complementary port and rail facilities, and later a network of highways. During the present century, Newark developed into a major finance and insurance center -- in shadow of New York and Wall Street.<sup>4</sup>

This development of a strong industrial and shipping role can be viewed against the growth of population groups in Newark. With the 19th century industrialization, and the new and sudden labor demands created by the world wars in this century meant that Newark, like most other east coast cities, got its share of immigrants. Thousands of immigrants came to Newark from both northern and southern Europe. These groups included mainly the French, Irish, German, Polish, and from southern Europe, the Italians and the Greeks. They settled in the various neighborhoods in Newark (wards),

and gave the city politics the ethnic flavor familiar to cities such as New Haven, Boston and New York.

While blacks have been in the Newark areas for many years, the major in-migrations did not appear until World War I when immigration was slowing and substantial demands were created by the war industries. The more important period of substantial black in-migration to Newark was from the early '40's until the mid-'60's. It was during this period that Newark's population turned increasingly black.

To reflect the economic status and ethnic cohesiveness, the ethnic and racial groups soon began to disperse. The Protestant and northern Europeans were the first to move in the suburbs. They peopled the close in residential suburbs of modest income such as Belleville and Irvington, while their more prosperous kin moved to the fashionable Oranges and Montclair, or to the rustic estates in Morris County. The poorer ethnic groups, late ethnic groups and blacks were increasingly concentrated in the city. Prior to the recent black rise to power, Newark politics had been dominated by the Italians.

The black population in Newark has always been rather centralized in the city's core (Wards 3, 7, and 14). While as early as 1930, more than half of the black population lived there, the rest of the black population lived in other wards, mainly in the areas west of the core. While most blacks were generally concentrated in the central wards,

many of the black leaders were in the other sections of the city or in East Orange, Montclair and other nearby areas. Little of the black metropolitan civic leadership lived with poorer blacks in the central wards.<sup>5</sup>

The balance of Essex County (outside of Newark) is highly suburbanized and has been so for many decades. The urban estates and fashionable apartments were firmly established in the Gatsby era. Montclair has long been a "high society" and well-to-do suburb. Suburbs such as Belleville, Nutley, Irvington, and Maplewood, have absorbed out-migrating ethnics of moderate status.

The old suburbs have also matured demographically such that in some cases we have witnessed a "second wave" of migration of whites to outer suburbs where significant building took place. The outer suburbs in Essex County have absorbed most of the net growth in the country in the last decade. Many of them are quite wealthy and were started initially as summer areas, or to serve as dormitory suburbs for rail commuter to Manhattan offices. It is in these areas that the developable land in the county still can be found.<sup>6</sup>

The second county in the Newark SMSA is Union County. It is located south of Essex, and is one of America's 50 most wealthy counties. Prior to the 1950's, the county was very low density except for the old manufacturing towns of Plainfield and Elizabeth. These towns absorbed many migrants

and immigrants and had a highly urban flavor. They have the density and ethnic mixture which has existed in Newark in recent decades.

Union County's development in the last couple of decades developed along two corridors. First, there was development along Routes 1 and 27 and the old Pennsylvania Railroad. The other area for development was along Routes 28 and 22 and the Jersey Central Railroad producing strips (North-South, East-West) for commuters to both New York and to the office jobs in Newark.

The older settled areas of the county was "filled" by 1960 (these areas include the suburbs of Plainfield, Elizabeth) and the new residents (and middle income incumbents) moved further out to the more expensive outer ring of suburbs and to Middlesex and Monmouth counties, leaving space for blacks and Puerto Ricans who moved in. The black population grew steadily in both Plainfield and Elizabeth. Plainfield noted an increase in its black population from 9% in 1900 to 40% in 1970, while Elizabeth recorded an increase from 2% to 15% in the same period.<sup>7</sup> There were significant (though more recent) increase in the Rahway and Linden areas.

Morris County is the largest county in the SMSA (in land area). Like Union County, it is also very wealthy. Because of its size and low density, and because of the good transportation connection with the cities, it has long been



a favorite place for country estates and summer homes. The central place for the county economically has long been Morristown. It was originally a manufacturing town in the 19th century -- a center for the ironworks. The changing technology of iron-making and the role of anthracite coal in the process soon forced Morristown to yield to more inland locations near the Appalachian coal fields. The legacy of a good transportation system and a good blue-collar labor force was the basis for other industry developing in the county, and for the development of suburbia generally.

Only 2.2% of the county's population is black. This is up only slightly from the last decade. The blacks in the county are and had been over recent decades concentrated in Morristown. In 1900, 7% of the Morristown population was black, and that had doubled to more than 14% by 1970.<sup>8</sup> Census tracts in the rest of the county typically have less than .5% black.

Looking at the three county's together, what is clear is that in the suburban part of the county (including the inner suburbs), there is the remnants of the industrial role that Newark has long played, the overlaying of new industry and commerce, and the development of suburban areas designed not to serve the modest residents of an old eastern

manufacturing cities, but the housing needs of a region -- many of whose residents can well afford the rich and distant suburban life style.

#### Demographic Trends

In this section, attention will be focused on the demographic changes in more detail, with a special focus on the growth of the metropolitan black population and on the population flows in the most recent decade. We will attempt to disaggregate to growth into its component parts.

Table 6-1 presents the population figures for 1960 and 1970. It is clear from the table that Essex County has the majority of the blacks in the metropolitan area. Morris County has the fewest, and the proportion in Morris County did not grow in the recent decade. Blacks increased their share of Union County by almost 4%, though this first cut does not suggest that there was any change in the distribution of blacks in the county. Within Essex County, blacks are concentrated in the perimeter suburbs, including East Orange, Orange and Montclair. Irvington was the major new area in the county to which blacks went. Gains were also made in the close in suburbs of Union County. The smaller, less dense part of the ring showed very little, if any, growth in the black population.

It might be suggested at this point that the growth of the black population in areas where black had been before by natural increase, rather than growth by migration, might

Table 6-1

Percent Black in Newark SMSA Counties and Selected  
Suburban Places, 1960 and 1970

|                   | 1960* | 1970 |
|-------------------|-------|------|
| Essex County      | 19.8  | 30.0 |
| Belleville        | 2.2   | 2.5  |
| Bloomfield        | 1.5   | 1.8  |
| East Orange       | 25.1  | 53.1 |
| Irvington         | .2    | 3.9  |
| Montclair         | 24.1  | 27.1 |
| Newark            | 38.0  | 54.0 |
| Nutley            | 1.6   | 1.6  |
| Orange            | 23.3  | 35.7 |
| West Orange       | .8    | 1.1  |
| Balance of County | 1.8   | 1.7  |
| Morris County     | 2.2   | 2.2  |
| Union County      | 7.7   | 11.2 |
| Elizabeth         | 11.0  | 15.5 |
| Linden            | 6.6   | 12.8 |
| Plainfield        | 21.9  | 40.0 |
| Rahway            | 9.6   | 13.4 |
| Westfield         | 4.6   | 4.8  |
| Balance of County | 3.4   | 4.9  |

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\* Includes nonwhites

Source: 1960 Census PHC(1)-105 and 1970 Census PHC(1)-146

make an investigation of suburbanization in the Newark SMSA seem like a study of growth. We can continue this review of the demographic trends by a much closer look at the specific components of Newark SMSA black population -- especially those age 5 years and older who might have migrated in the last 5 years of the last decade.<sup>9</sup> Of the movers for whom the mobility data exists, Table 6-2 shows some of the significant points. The overwhelming proportion of the blacks who moved to the suburbs, moved to the communities of Orange and East Orange. Irvington received its population from Newark. Montclair and outer Essex counties received migrants from mixed origins. The outer county areas, received most of their in-migrant blacks from other Newark suburbs. So, while the gross numbers show massive shifts just over the Newark border, the closer look shows a significant number of blacks who moved within and between the suburbs, and a smaller number (12% in the most exclusive county) who moved from other metropolitan areas. So, therefore, migration is nevertheless important in Newark.

There is no way to estimate the intra-suburban shifts except the anecdotal comments which suggest that the shifts represent blacks moving out of East Orange and parts of Montclair, and from the established black communities in Union County to other suburbs.<sup>10</sup> This second level "cream-ing," to the extent it is substantial, may explain the

Table 6-2

Source of Suburban Migrants to Selected  
Newark Suburbs, 1965-1970

| Place                 | From<br>Newark | From other<br>Suburbs* | From outside<br>SMSA |
|-----------------------|----------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| East Orange           | 6260           | 9051                   | 2855                 |
| Irvington             | 1023           | 248                    | 121                  |
| Montclair             | 591            | 2366                   | 683                  |
| Orange                | 1243           | 2868                   | 716                  |
| Outer Essex County**  | 732            | 608                    | 301                  |
| Morris County         | 113            | 1984                   | 909                  |
| Outer Union County*** | 1132           | 2772                   | 717                  |

---

\*This category is overstated because it includes movers from one suburban housing unit to another. It cannot be determined if they moved within the same suburban area or from one suburban community to another. Local informants suggest that the East Orange number represents moves within that community, while in the other communities, these represent the range of mobility possibilities.

\*\* Includes all of the Essex communities except those which border the city of Newark.

\*\*\* Includes all of the county except Plainfield, Rahway, Linden, and Elizabeth.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, PHC(1)-146, 1970.

status homogeneity in the inner suburbs, and the higher status in some of the others. This issue will be dealt with more systematically in a later section of the case.

Unlike our observations in other metropolitan areas, the blacks in the Newark suburbs are older than the blacks in the central city. This is a function of the fact that incumbent suburban residents are older, and because the black suburban migrants are older. The relative youth of the Newark population is the result of substantial in-migration of young blacks from the South up through the mid-1960's.

In terms of education level, the migrants have a higher level of education than the Newark blacks or the incumbent suburban blacks. The status of migrants from other metropolitan areas show up clearly in the education variable. It also shows up in the income variable and the occupation variable. Migrants from the central city, while higher status than blacks who remain in Newark are not very different from the blacks who are already in the suburbs.

From all of the data in Table 6-3 it is not clear that blacks who moved to Newark suburbs from the city in the last half of the decade were very different from the blacks who were there, but they do represent the continued creaming evident for many years.

In looking at the census tract data for the Newark SMSA, several points appear as important. First, the census tracts with the largest increases in the black population

Table 6-3

Selected Characteristics of Newark SMSA Suburban Black Population,  
5 Years and Older by Mobility Status, 1965-1970

| Characteristic                                     | Total | Non-Movers | Move Within Suburbs | Move From Ctr.City | Move From Other SMSA | Move From Non-Metro Area |
|--|-------|------------|---------------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| Percent of Total*                                  | 100   | 44.9       | 25.3                | 14.0               | 4.8                  | 2.7                      |
| Median Age of Males                                | 28.8  | 35.9       | 25.0                | 26.3               | 26.6                 | 23.0                     |
| Median Age of Females                              | 30.4  | 38.0       | 27.9                | 26.7               | 25.9                 | 23.3                     |
| Median School Years Completed                      | 11.3  | 19.8       | 11.6                | 11.8               | 12.6                 | 12.0                     |
| Percent of Employed Males in White Collar Jobs     | 26.0  | 25.1       | 26.3                | 22.6               | 42.5                 | 24.8                     |
| Percent of Families with incomes less than \$6000  | 24.2  | 22.3       | 26.5                | 23.5               | 17.2                 | 25.3                     |
| Percent of Families with income greater than \$10K | 48.0  | 51.0       | 42.0                | 52.8               | 57.0                 | 43.0                     |
| Females in the labor force (percent)               | 58.7  | 57.2       | 59.6                | 55.8               | 62.3                 | 56.5                     |

\* Does not equal 100 because persons abroad or with no reported address reported are not included.

\*\* Includes professional, technical, managers, administrative, sales and clerical workers

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, PC(2)-2C, Table 15, 1970

were in the inner suburbs where blacks had been all the time. This increase included both migration and natural increase. The median family income of these tracts ranges (in 1970) from a low of \$8,100 to a high of \$19,000. The highest median in Newark is \$8,900. The major new area to receive blacks was Irvington, a moderate income suburb adjacent to Newark. The increase of blacks in Irvington was in the tracts which border the city. In the tracts to which blacks moved, the income of the blacks was by no means uniformly high. The higher income was more typical in Montclair, Bloomfield and the smaller townships, but in the Irvington tracts (2), where blacks moved, their medians were \$7,029 and \$10,550. In Orange, the median income was \$7,800, and in East Orange, it was just over \$9,000.

For areas in the balance of Essex County, and for the balance the other counties (excluding places like Plainfield, Elizabeth, etc.), the median incomes of the blacks is almost uniformly above \$10,000 indicating that settlement has been somewhat patterned by class (the middle and upper class) and that the proportion of blacks in the tract is inversely related to the median income.

There are a couple of summary points which might be made about the demographic changes which have occurred in the Newark area. Many of the suburban towns which border Newark have an ethnic flavor reflecting the group out-migration of the Newark ethnics. Some examples of this include South



Orange (Jewish), Nutley, Belleville (Italian) and Harrison (Irish). While there has been a black small population in South Orange and the number grew during the 1960's, blacks did not move in significant numbers to these other places. In all of these areas, the basic characteristics of the physical stock is the same as it is in the adjacent towns to which blacks moved, and likewise share some of the characteristics of an aging inner suburban white population. The major difference, demographically, (others will be developed later) is that the places to which blacks went had had blacks previously and as the whites died or moved away, they were not replaced by other whites. The same phenomenon is true of places like Plainfield and Elizabeth, though more whites moved into particular parts of those communities due to the large and still growing blue-collar job market in those areas..

Only 18,600 of the 55,000 blacks who moved to Newark suburbs in the 1960's moved in the period 1965 to 1970. This is different from the pattern noted nationally (where most of the movement was in the latter half of the decade), and, as we shall see, different from the Washington case. What appears to be the case is that migration started much earlier in the decade, indeed, carried over from its 1950's beginning. This is especially true of migration to East Orange which had been in the path of black movement all along.<sup>11</sup> In 1960 when the general case was that blacks in

the city had higher status than blacks in the suburbs (income and education), the reverse was true in Newark. In 1960, Newark's black median income of \$4,491 was exceeded by all black suburban medians with the exception of Orange (\$4,481). The conclusion might be that the differences were insignificant rather than suburban blacks had higher status. The differences were small.

What this summary further suggests is that while East Orange has gotten more blacks than any other place, the movement has been to several suburbs, including some small movement to the suburbs in the inner ring, and to older suburban towns in the outer ring. The status variables suggest that there has been out-migration from Newark by a wide range of income levels, and that significantly there has been a reshuffling of the blacks within the ring so the wealthier areas are getting blacks who move there from other suburbs or other metropolitan areas rather than directly from the core city.

Before continuing with this analysis of settlement patterns at a more detailed level, some attention is given in the sections below to the economic, social, political, institutional and other factors will be brought to bear in the case study.

#### Political Factors

The political factors can help to explain the pattern of black suburbanization in the Newark area. The

focus in this section is on the effect of policies, actions and inactions on particular issues where the evidence supports some effect on the metropolitan patterns of black suburban settlement. Some of the factors relate to the political structure. Some specifically relate to exclusion, and others reflect the historic patterns which have implications for the present settlement pattern. What we expect to determine from this examination is some indication of why and how political constraints or prejudices affect the settlement of income groups, of blacks particularly, and the structure of pricing (of housing) in the metropolitan area.

From the early suburban history (the 1920's), Newark area municipalities have acted to minimize the fiscal responsibility for development or the social consequences of particular types of development. This is "fiscal zoning" and as a practice is not new or unique to New Jersey. The root of the issue is that in New Jersey, local government bears a disproportionate burden for the support of local services, more than most states.<sup>12</sup> The national average state-local cost sharing is about 50-50. The greater share in New Jersey, no doubt, has been used to justify fiscal zoning. In New Jersey, the local government bears 68% of the costs of services. To limit the areas (and the total expenditures) which local governments have to support, zoning has been used to increase the industrial and residential revenue producing sources, and limit the number of small units

designed for families which because of their value and number of inhabitants would raise the demand for local services, especially education.

These policies had an obvious exclusionary effect, and have been in operation for many decades. The psychological support was reinforced during the Depression era when local governments were unable to meet local service responsibilities. The State of New Jersey moved in to take over many functions, and when the Depression was over, and with the ensuing rapid suburbanization which continues to the present date, the local governments have pursued fiscal zoning with a vengeance. In the recent decades, (and especially in the outer suburbs), this produced a severe shortage of housing in the \$15,000 to \$30,000 range.<sup>13</sup>

The development of housing in the areas where none existed (for whatever reason) for the moderate income family was a problem recognized early. This was reflected in legislation passed in the mid-1960's which allowed counties to set up public housing authorities which could build public housing units, provide lease housing, or participate in other subsidized programs.<sup>14</sup> However, the authority could not work in communities which had a housing authority. Needless to say, the relatively low profile which the county has in New Jersey, and the fact that some communities set up inactive authorities to obstruct county action, resulted in few subsidized

units being build outside existing concentrations of low income housing.<sup>15</sup>

The reader will also note that the development of better transportation connections with the metropolitan areas, the development of improved commuter rail services, as well as the expansion of FHA assistance to middle income families through the government insurance program opened the suburbs to even more rapid development, and provided the opportunity to develop suburbia consistent with the prejudices reflected in fiscal zoning.<sup>16</sup> The political environment created early in the 1920's and remaining to date set the stage for these developments. The possibility of blacks moving to these areas has been a recent concern. During the 1960's the process of general suburbanization was far advanced, and the political system worked in concert with other factors to push new home prices high. What was at first purely fiscal prejudice reinforced the racial prejudices. This situation is a major pillar in the suburban wall built against the intrusion of blacks and the poor. The push factors (of mobile blacks from Newark) which will be discussed later meant that blacks were caught in a residential squeeze between a decaying city and increasingly more expensive suburban development.

Turning to service levels, we can get further evidence of the political factors. As noted above the local communities are substantially responsible for the services provided at the local level. Since the suburban communities

were interested in limiting the services they have to provide for, the service in the suburbs were often much more limited than in the city. Residence in less dense suburbs makes the population dependent on the automobile, and the possibility that the low and moderate income family could have the medical facilities, welfare benefit levels, anti-poverty programs, etc. in the areas outside the inner ring of the suburbs was remote.

Thus, in terms of governmental services, blacks, especially the low and moderate income ones who were concerned with service levels had no incentive to leave the city or the high density inner suburbs which are connected to, or accessible to, the services of Newark or which have their own services.<sup>17</sup> Table 6-4 summarizes the level of per capita expenditures for the three Newark area counties. As can be seen in the data, the services (other than education) are concentrated in Essex County (and there in Newark) and vital services like health, public transportation, housing are invested in much less by the suburban jurisdictions.

#### Economic and Employment Factors

In turning our attention to the economic factors in the process of black suburbanization in the Newark area, three areas will be explored, the change in job mix, and employment shift-share change in Newark as opposed to the suburban areas, the statics and dynamics of black occupational

Table 6-4

Per Cepita Expenditure for Selected Local Services of Newark  
SMSA Counties, 1967 (dollars per capita)

|                      | Essex<br>County | Union<br>County | Morris<br>County |
|----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Education            | 144             | 148             | 162              |
| Highways             | 11              | 16              | 24               |
| Public Welfare       | 50              | 13              | 11               |
| Hospitals            | 26              | 9               | 1                |
| Sanitary Services    | 7               | 4               | 3                |
| Parks and Recreation | 11              | 10              | 6                |
| Housing and Renewal  | 34              | 8               | 2                |

NOTE: These are county figures and Newark is not separated for Essex County. The figures should be read cautiously.

Source: U.S. Census of Governments, 1967, Vol. 7, No. 30.

patterns of various migrant and non-migrant groups, and the shifts in the metropolitan income relationships.

It has already been established that black suburban migration for the purpose of taking suburban jobs is not generally the case. Such evidence as we have about black migration in the Newark areas supports the earlier finding.<sup>18</sup> To take note of the shifts in the local economy is important, however, to illustrate the nature of opportunities for economic improvement which blacks have made, even if change did not determine residential mobility. Table 6-5 shows the employment dimensions and growth in various industries. Major losses occurred in the manufacturing and trade areas. All of the other categories showed some increase in the number of jobs available. The more significant finding is reflected in Table 6-6 which shows the declining share of the metropolitan jobs which are located in the city as opposed to the suburbs. While the previous table shows that some absolute increases were noted, the city share of jobs in all categories declined. This produces a situation where more and more workers in the city commute to jobs in the suburbs. A 1967 study by the Center for Urban Policy Research at Rutgers suggests that more blacks than whites in Newark commute to suburban jobs, and that variation by occupational status in this commuting is not significant.<sup>19</sup> The reader



Table 6-5

Wage and Salary Employment Growth in Newark, 1960-1970

| INDUSTRY  | 1960<br>(000's) | 1970<br>(000's) | Percent<br>Change<br>1960-1970 |
|---|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| Manufacturing                                     | 83.0            | 61.9            | -25.4                          |
| Retail and<br>Wholesale Trade                     | 54.2            | 41.9            | -22.7                          |
| Services  | 35.9            | 39.3            | 9.5                            |
| Finance, Real Estate<br>and Insurance             | 27.7            | 30.1            | 8.7                            |
| Transportation,<br>Communication and<br>Utilities | 26.4            | 27.0            | 1.5                            |
| Contract<br>Construction                          | 7.0             | 7.5             | 7.1                            |

Source: George Sternlieb and Robert Burchell, Residential Abandonment: The Tenement Landlord Revisited (New Brunswick: The Center for Urban Policy Research, 1973), p. 20.

Table 6-6

Wage and Salary Employment in Newark As A Percent of SMSA,  
1960 and 1970 (percent)

| INDUSTRY  | 1960 | 1970 | Change in<br>Share: 1960-1970 |
|---|------|------|-------------------------------|
| Manufacturing                                     | 25.1 | 34.1 | -9.0                          |
| Retail and<br>Wholesale Trade                     | 27.0 | 42.1 | -15.1                         |
| Services  | 28.8 | 38.0 | -9.2                          |
| Finance, Real Estate<br>and Insurance             | 52.0 | 61.8 | -9.8                          |
| Transportation,<br>Communication and<br>Utilities | 43.5 | 56.2 | -12.7                         |
| Contract<br>Construction                          | 23.4 | 24.8 | -1.4                          |

Source: George Sternlieb and Robert Burchell, Residential  
Abandonment, p. 19

will note that because Newark is part of a highly urban region with a complex transportation system geared to the commuter, many workers, of both races, commute to the adjacent New Jersey metropolitan areas and to the city of New York for work. This has been true for some time and not entirely a recent trend.

To continue the analysis, we can turn to the analysis of the occupational status of the black population in Newark SMSA. Table 6-7 presents the occupational distribution of the population in the various mobility streams. Looking at the top two occupational groups, what is clear is that while suburban blacks have a higher proportion of workers in the top occupational groups, most of the difference is accounted for by the relatively high status of the migrants to the Newark suburbs from outside the Newark metropolitan area. Fully a quarter of those from other metropolitan areas are professional or technical workers. Many fewer inner city workers are professional. Many fewer blacks are in the managerial groups, and little variation exists among the streams. No strong trends are evident for the analysis of other streams, though again, some slight status advantage is in favor of those who move from other metropolitan areas. The evidence presented in this section and elsewhere sustains a conclusion that migration to the suburbs was not mainly in pursuit of jobs there. Blacks in the Newark area were commuting to jobs all over the inner suburban area, but more to the north

Table 6-7

Occupational Status of Newark SMSA Employed Black Males Aged  
16 Years and Over By Mobility Status, 1970

|                                     | NEWARK |           |                |                  |                  |                    | BALANCE of SMSA |           |                  |                |                     |                    |
|-------------------------------------|--------|-----------|----------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------|-----------------|-----------|------------------|----------------|---------------------|--------------------|
|                                     | Total  | Non-Mover | Move w/in City | Move From Suburb | Move From Suburb | Move From Non-SMSA | Total           | Non-Mover | Move w/in Suburb | Move From C.C. | Move fr. Other SMSA | Move From Non-SMSA |
| TOTAL                               |        |           |                |                  |                  |                    |                 |           |                  |                |                     |                    |
| Professional, Technical and Kindred | 4.6    | 4.6       | 3.2            | 6.0              | 11.0             | 5.3                | 9.1             | 8.7       | 8.3              | 5.7            | 24.0                | 14.2               |
| Managers, Administrators            | 2.6    | 2.3       | 3.0            | 4.5              | 4.7              | --                 | 3.8             | 3.7       | 4.6              | 3.4            | 3.4                 | 3.0                |
| Sales                               | 2.9    | 3.5       | 2.5            | 2.5              | 3.3              | 1.4                | 3.3             | 3.1       | 3.8              | 3.6            | 4.9                 | --                 |
| Clerical                            | 8.4    | 7.5       | 7.8            | 11.8             | 13.2             | 13.6               | 9.8             | 2.6       | 9.5              | 9.8            | 10.0                | 8.5                |
| Craftsmen                           | 16.4   | 17.5      | 15.7           | 15.5             | 12.1             | 11.3               | 16.1            | 16.2      | 16.7             | 17.8           | 12.1                | 14.6               |
| Operatives                          | 39.2   | 37.5      | 41.2           | 33.4             | 35.2             | 43.6               | 32.5            | 30.1      | 34.0             | 36.6           | 26.8                | 43.6               |
| Laborers                            | 12.5   | 13.3      | 12.1           | 12.4             | 12.5             | 14.2               | 10.7            | 11.0      | 9.4              | 9.1            | 8.6                 | 12.1               |
| Farmers                             | .3     | --        | --             | --               | --               | --                 | .5              | --        | --               | --             | --                  | --                 |
| Service Workers                     | 13.2   | 13.3      | 14.3           | 15.1             | 7.9              | 10.7               | 14.3            | 16.3      | 13.1             | 13.6           | 10.0                | 7.7                |

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, PC(2)-2C, 1970

of the city than in any other single direction. The residential movement was, on the other hand, sectorally to the west and southwest. In any case, because of the density and interconnected nature (with a good transportation network) of that section of the region, commuters, both black and white, need not change their residence when changing their job. This would be even more true of black blue-collar workers of limited skill whose jobs aren't stable enough to make residential decisions around job location.

Turning to an analysis of suburban places (Table 6-8), the concentration of professional blacks is in the outer county areas, and in the inner suburbs of Bloomfield, Montclair and Orange. East Orange which has received a large number of blacks and has been a traditional area for blacks to move also have a high number of white-collar blacks. The concentration of the clerical and office workers is definitely in the inner suburban areas. For the operatives, only Irvington has nearly as large a group as Newark, and the higher income suburbs, and outer suburbs have many fewer operatives. These outer areas have been the location of the greatest job growth. It is interesting to note that Irvington is south of the city, while many of the manufacturing and trade jobs which have grown in the inner Essex area have located to the north of the city around the airport. The service workers are concentrated most heavily

Table 6-8

Occupational Distribution of Total Employed Blacks in Selected  
Newark SMSA Jurisdictions, 1970

|                                 | Total<br>SMSA | Newark | Bloom-<br>field | East<br>Orange | Irving-<br>ton | Mont-<br>clair | Plain-<br>field | Orange | Outer<br>Essex<br>County | Morris<br>County | Union<br>county |
|---------------------------------|---------------|--------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|--------|--------------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| Professional,<br>Technical      | 8.4           | 4.6    | 15.3            | 11.6           | 8.1            | 14.8           | 10.9            | 13.3   | 16.4                     | 10.8             | 10.0            |
| Managers,<br>Administrators     | 2.2           | 2.6    | 3.8             | 3.3            | 1.4            | 2.6            | 1.8             | 3.1    | 2.2                      | 1.6              | 2.9             |
| Sales                           | 2.7           | 2.9    | 4.5             | 3.1            | 3.2            | 3.5            | 2.6             | 3.6    | 1.6                      | 1.5              | 3.1             |
| Clerical                        | 17.0          | 8.4    | 15.6            | 21.0           | 21.5           | 14.2           | 12.5            | 21.5   | 10.8                     | 13.9             | 16.7            |
| Craftsmen                       | 9.5           | 9.9    | 9.9             | 9.0            | 11.7           | 7.8            | 8.1             | 11.3   | 2.7                      | 6.5              | 10.1            |
| Operatives                      | 25.9          | --     | 17.7            | 20.9           | 28.7           | 12.3           | 29.7            | 14.8   | 10.0                     | 23.9             | 23.6            |
| Transport<br>Operatives         | 6.3           | --     | 4.4             | 5.0            | 6.1            | 4.7            | 5.4             | 5.6    | 3.1                      | 5.4              | 5.3             |
| Laborers                        | 6.9           | 12.5   | 6.7             | 2.1            | 5.3            | 6.7            | 4.4             | 3.3    | 4.0                      | 4.0              | 5.3             |
| Farmers                         | .3            | --     |                 |                |                |                |                 |        |                          |                  |                 |
| Service<br>Workers              | 15.0          | --     | 20.8            | 14.3           | 11.8           | 20.6           | 14.5            | 14.9   | 15.8                     | 8.4              | 12.2            |
| Private<br>household<br>workers | 5.6           | --     | --              | 4.8            | 4.4            | 13.9           | 7.3             | 8.3    | 34.3                     | 10.0             | 10.3            |

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, PHC(1)-146, 1970

in those suburbs with higher status. With respect to black suburbanization, this does not support the alledged jobs and housing link.

The relationship between place of work and place of residence is further displayed in Table 6-9. The significance of this table is to take a look at the relationship between place of work/residence, and status as measured by income. This should help further clarify issues about the degree to which residence affects opportunity, or vice versa. Blacks who live in the suburbs and work in the Newark or outside the SMSA (New York City) have the highest income. This reflects the discrimination in access to suburban jobs as well as the higher educational and occupational status of the communities.

When age is controlled, the relationship in income is reversed. In the city, older workers have slightly higher incomes, while in the suburbs the pattern is erratic. What appears in the rest of the table is the strong tendency for black workers, regardless of occupations to work outside the city of Newark, and even outside the metropolitan area. This is true for both city and suburban residents. We can, therefore, see a highly mobile population not constrained by a small central city, but moving to jobs which are out from the city. In the process, regardless of the transportation mode, these black reverse commuters are required to pay a heavy "commuter tax" (the cost of transportation) which cuts into any marginal advantage of working away from the area of residence.

Table 6-9

Selected Characteristics of Newark SMSA Black Male Workers  
By Place of Work and Place of Residence, 1970

| Work:  | Live Inside Newark |                      |                   |                     | Live Outside Newark    |                      |                   |                     |
|--|--------------------|----------------------|-------------------|---------------------|------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
|  | in Newark Core     | else-where in Newark | in Newark Suburbs | outside Newark SMSA | in Newark Central Core | else-where in Newark | in Newark Suburbs | outside Newark SMSA |
| Mean Earnings All Workers                            | 5863               | 6138                 | 6208              | 6689                | 7529                   | 7446                 | 6761              | 8086                |
| Mean Earnings Workers Aged 16-44                     | 5721               | 6172                 | 6192              | 6598                | 7541                   | 7230                 | 6786              | 8180                |
| Mean Earnings aged 45-61                             | 6338               | 6108                 | 6383              | 6967                | 7446                   | 7967                 | 7068              | 7822                |
| Mean School Years Completed (males aged 25 and over) | 12.1               | 10.9                 | 11.0              | 11.1                | 12.6                   | 12.2                 | 11.7              | 12.1                |
| Percent Professional and Kindred Workers             | 7.8                | 4.5                  | 3.8               | 4.6                 | 13.8                   | 10.6                 | 8.7               | 12.2                |
| Percent Craftsmen                                    | 9.5                | 16.8                 | 16.6              | 16.7                | 7.5                    | 20.7                 | 15.2              | 16.8                |
| Percent Laborers                                     | 12.4               | 11.3                 | 13.7              | 11.7                | 3.3                    | 8.1                  | 10.0              | 7.8                 |

NOTE: Does not equal 100 because some work places are not reported.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, PC(1)-D32, Table 190, 1970



Another way of looking at the economic issues in black suburbanization is to look at income relationships. These relationships will be important in later discussions of "effective demand," and the comparability of the various suburban groups. In terms of income relationships, we can begin to get some idea from Tables 6-10 and 6-11 which show some trends which should be kept in mind for later attention. Table 6-10 shows the increase in black real income as compared to total increase (in constant dollars) during the last decade. For the total population of the city of Newark, income increased by a little more than 10% during the decade, while the income for blacks increased by 17.3% during the same period. This increase happened despite the fact that significant in-migration of blacks from the South came in the early years, and the fact that many of the higher income groups departed the city. Only a very small increase was noted in East Orange (the other source of migration to the suburbs). Thus, blacks had more relative income with which to demand housing, among other things. This issue of effective demand will be explored later in the section on housing. The significance of this income, however, can be seen on the relationship between income of blacks in Newark and its suburbs in 1960 and 1970. In Table 6-11, a number greater than 1.00 indicates a higher income in the suburbs than the central city. The places listed are places where the black population grew, and it is evident that in

Table 6-10

Change in Family Income of Total and Black Population  
in Newark and East Orange, 1960-1970  
(1969 dollars in parentheses)

| <u>SMSA</u>                  | <u>Total Population</u> | <u>Black Population</u> |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1960                         | 7149 (9150)             | 4807 (6152)             |
| 1970                         | 11,847                  | 7643                    |
| Percent change,<br>1960-1970 | 23.4%                   | 24.2%                   |
| <br><u>Newark</u>            |                         |                         |
| 1960                         | 5484 (7019)             | 4491 (5748)             |
| 1970                         | 7735                    | 6742                    |
| Percent change,<br>1960-1970 | 10.2%                   | 17.3%                   |
| <br><u>East Orange</u>       |                         |                         |
| 1960                         | 6726 (8609)             | 5907 (7561)             |
| 1970                         | 10,125                  | 9036                    |
| Percent change,<br>1960-1970 | 17.6%                   | 19.5%                   |

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, PHC(1)-146, 1970

Table 6-11

Median Income of Black Families in the Newark Suburbs  
Compared to Median Income of Black Families in Newark,  
1960-1970

|                         | <u>1960</u> | <u>1970</u> |
|-------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Total SMSA              | 1.07        | 1.13        |
| Bloomfield              | 1.07        | 1.59        |
| East Orange             | 1.31        | 1.34        |
| Irvington               | --          | 1.26        |
| Montclair               | 1.25        | 1.32        |
| Orange                  | .99         | 1.16        |
| Outer Essex County      | 1.15        | 1.79        |
| Morris County           | 1.25        | 1.43        |
| Plainfield              | 1.13        | 1.37        |
| Rahway                  | 1.11        | 1.52        |
| Balance of Union County | 1.23        | 1.49        |

Source: 1960 Census, PHC(1)-105; and 1970 Census,  
PHC(1)-146

those places where blacks have not been customarily concentrated, these suburbs registered higher incomes relative to Newark in 1970 than in 1960. The gains were highest in those places most distant from Newark and with the fewest blacks. Inner areas, like East Orange, did not show significant gains.

What this suggests is that: 1) blacks who migrated to the suburbs or who were in the suburbs had higher income than blacks in the central city; 2) that higher income blacks settled in the areas which were more sparsely settled by blacks and more distant from Newark; and 3) that blacks settlement outside the city is spatially segment by income, much more in 1970 with an increased number of blacks than in 1960. While the evidence here could be stronger and there is a lot of "noise" which cannot be controlled, the direction, if not the strength of the relationship, is clear.

While it cannot be suggested from this data that blacks moved to job advantage in the suburbs or that they moved in connection with changes in the employment, the evidence is somewhat clearer with respect to mobility associated with class and family stage characteristics (see Tables 4-8 and 4-9). Class as a function of income (and from data, education as well) does show the out movement of the higher status blacks, though clearly the income range is fairly large given the blue-collar nature of the labor force, and the modest status of the inner suburbs. With respect to age (and indirectly family stage), Newark is one of

the few SMSA's where the suburban black population is older than the inner city population. The difference is not tremendous and may be accounted for by the rapid in-migration in the 1960's of young blacks from the South. The blacks who move out are still younger than their white incumbent counterparts and are still in the "full nest" family stages.

In concluding this section on economics and employment, several points emerge. It is confirmed that blacks in the suburbs have some economic status and occupational status advantage over their central city brothers, though the greatest difference is noted among those who migrate from other metropolitan areas. It is also confirmed that job movement and residential movement are not directly related, even though there is substantial suburban employment among metropolitan blacks. This seems, on the basis of the present evidence, to be an independent phenomenon. The occupational differences which were so clear in the national analysis of population streams are much more blurred in Newark. However, when we look at income, the higher income of black suburbanites, compared to black central city residents, comes through.

#### Social Attitudes and Black Suburbanization

The process of black suburban migration cannot be told completely by referring to statistics from income or employment data or by the political factors. Attitudes and expectations inform the migrants and potential migrants in

important ways. Some discussion of these is presented in Chapter Four. The reader will note from that discussion the various costs associated with black suburban migration and how it was suggested that these costs might be balanced by various blacks. It was suggested that these costs are taken into account, but a well-constructed attitude survey is needed to fully understand how. Therefore, we have to piece together bits of information to understand how some of the attitudes have developed.

There are three ways that attitudes help inform the process we are seeking to understand. First, the attitudes reflect the popular disposition to be regarding of the city, to be concerned about its neighborhoods, and to feel efficacious about controlling its future. Second, attitudes give some idea of the possible "exit" potential of the population in question. Though attitudes do not perfectly correlate with behavior, some overlap does exist, and the overlap is a function of the potential migrant's ability to exercise effective choice (demand). Third, the type of dissatisfaction reflect the type of suburbanization which might occur. Dissatisfaction with the physical environment would suggest a different type of choice (given some choice) than dissatisfaction with economic opportunity, or social opportunity. In this vein, we might also be able to partly determine the relative strengths of the "pull" versus the "push" factors.

There is no general survey of the attitudes of blacks in Newark, or of blacks in Newark suburbs as to their feelings on any of the points mentioned above. George Sternlieb, in a follow-up study to the classic Tenement Landlord, observed that in Newark blacks who exercised some residential mobility selected to both move to the suburbs, and to buy real estate in Newark.<sup>20</sup> Whereas 63% of the whites who were surveyed as to their reason for buying property in Newark indicated an investment reason, 70% of the black indicated that they did so primarily for a residence. Thus, some blacks did see a future in the city. Interviews conducted in Newark, however, suggest some attitudes, which if representative, show the powerful forces pushing blacks out, especially the young, upwardly mobile and less attached black families. The interviews yielded the following attitudinal impressions:<sup>21</sup>

1. For blacks with the income to afford decent housing and a decent neighborhood, the number of choices in the city during the 1960's was limited. This was true for renters and owners. The presence of crime in the city, and the general deterioration of neighborhoods made this true even in some areas where the decline was not complete.
2. The rise to power of black political leaders in Newark did not produce substantive change in the lives of families who might have lost

faith in the city as a place to live. Mayor Gibson's election was largely symbolic and came at a time when the urban star was falling in Washington.

3. As Puerto Ricans and blacks from the South moved into the city, and as the choice of housing became even more strained, the feeling was that matters were going to become worse, and that the possibility of development was not good. Since most of Newark's black population is migrant from the South, the yearn to move and the willingness to move was not dead.
4. The role of housing, neighborhood, and social goals over employment and economic goals (dominant for whites) was illustrated in a survey of recent migrants to Plainfield in Sternlieb's and Beaton's study of Plainfield.<sup>22</sup> For whites, 20% moved to Plainfield for jobs, compared to only 5% of the black recent movers.

For the above impressions, it seems clear that blacks did feel pushed from Newark. The "push" factors come through more clearly in the above discussion -- blacks feeling pushed out by the negative conditions in the city, the pressure of crime and crowding, and the prospects that the future of the city would be no better. Thus, if Newark is viewed by blacks



as an environment in which they cannot obtain their goals, and that failure is at hand, then "exit," rather than "voice" becomes the response. It seems clear that the recognition of that failure was evident in many blacks.

### Housing

The process of black suburbanization revolves around choices in the housing market. It is in the housing market that the transactions which determine residential status is worked out. Whatever the family's final determination is with respect to the costs and benefits of moving, or the desires for residential mobility, they take place in the context of the housing market. The various explanations of black suburbanization are all couched in housing terms.

In this section, attention will be focused on the housing situation in the Newark area as it relates to the process of black suburbanization. Specifically, we are interested in the change in the stock of housing, and the needs and resources related to housing of the black population in the Newark area. Additionally, we are interested in the financial characteristics and pressures exerted on the housing which may have resulted in the extent and direction of black suburbanization.

Newark is a metropolitan area of very stark contrasts in terms of housing. Its inner city housing stock is characterized by a predominance of small frame structures with 3 to 10 units, with most of them over 30 years old.

Their age, structure and the uncertain viability (caused by years of rather substantial neglect in connection with urban renewal and other public development) have taken a heavy toll on the quality of the housing.

The inner suburban areas also have had substantial variety. On one hand, there are the large, sturdy and once fashionable apartments. On the other hand, the inner suburbs have the small housing units so typical of the "zone of emergence" suburbs.

The outer ring of suburbs includes some of the most expensive housing and the most well-to-do suburbs in the country. Older ones built as summer estates for the near-Rockefellers, and newer ones for wealthy Manhattan commuters gives northern New Jersey its reputation as the most suburban state in the nation.

For our study, however, we have to begin with the inventory in the city. Table 6-12 summarizes the change in inventory from 1960 to 1969. In 1960, 32% of the more than 134,000 units were substandard, and 55% of the units was built before 1940. During the previous decade, Newark had already begun to experience some rapid out-migration of the white population, and rapid increase of the black population, especially from the South. Several urban renewal projects were under way. The city added more than 9,000 units to its stock, including public housing, moderate income housing, and small number of middle income housing units. A total of 9,262

270  
Table 6-12

Summary of Housing Inventory Change in Newark, 1960-1969

1960

|   |   |         |
|---|---|---------|
| Total Units                                   |   | 134,872 |
| Standard Units                                | - | 90,853  |
| Substandard Units                             |   | 43,975  |
| Percent Substandard                           |   | 32.6%   |
| Built - Pre-1940                              |   | 75,366  |
| Units Added, 1960-1969)<br>(based on permits) |   | 9,262   |
| Units Demolished                              |   | 7,557   |
| Standard                                      |   | 756     |
| Substandard                                   |   | 6,801   |
| Estimated Annual<br>Deterioration             |   | 3.5%    |

1969

|   |  |         |
|---|--|---------|
| Total Units                                   |  | 136,533 |
| Standard (including<br>abandoned units)       |  | 75,619  |
| Substandard                                   |  | 60,914  |
| Percent Substandard                           |  | 45.0%   |
| Net Change, 1960-1969                         |  | 1,661   |
| Percent Net Change                            |  | 1.2%    |
| Percent Change in the<br>number of households |  | -5.2%   |

---

Source: Robert Burchell, James Hughes, and George Sternlieb, Housing Costs and Housing Restraints: Newark, New Jersey, (New Brunswick: CUPR, 1970), pp. 55-56.

units were added against 7,557 units which were demolished.<sup>23</sup> The city ended up the decade with a small increase in the number of housing units against a 5% decline in the number of households. Abandonment was up, the number which were substandard was up, and the vacancy rate increased from 4.18% at the beginning of the decade to 4.9% at the time of the 1970 census.

The statistics do not begin to reflect the popular dismay that exists about Newark's housing. Indeed, given the dispersion of the blight in the city, and the proportion of the housing so included, the number of neighborhood environments affected by the blight is rather extensive, even though the present data, largely from the census, cannot document it.<sup>24</sup>

Before moving on to the financial and income issues involved in the analysis, we might ask, what is the match between the needs of the population with respect to units, and the available resources in the city's occupied housing? Part of the test in this thesis is the notion that blacks, in moving to the suburbs, are distributing themselves according to family stage and class characteristics which include some requirement for size of unit. Table 6-13 shows the mis-match between the size of units offered in Newark, East Orange, and the rest of the metropolitan area. The table shows that on the basis of the family size distribution, the black population in Newark needed more space than

Table 6-13

Match Between Size of Units Needed By Black Households  
in Newark in 1960 and Housing Stock in Newark  
and Selected Suburbs (percent)

| Blacks Needing**   | Newark<br>Households<br>in 1960 | Newark<br>Stock<br>in 1960 | E. Orange<br>Stock<br>1960 | Other<br>Inner<br>Suburbs* |
|--------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 3 Rooms            | 40.0                            | 30.0                       | 15.0                       | 14.7                       |
| 4 Rooms            | 18.1                            | 28.0                       | 16.0                       | 14.3                       |
| 5 Rooms            | 14.8                            | 25.0                       | 28.0                       | 18.3                       |
| 6 Rooms<br>or more | 27.0                            | 16.0                       | 41.5                       | 52.6                       |

\* Essex County minus Newark and East Orange

\*\* Does not distinguish owner and rental units and assumes the following reasonable match between household size and unit size: 1 or 2 persons in 3 rooms or less, 3 persons in 4 rooms, 4 persons in 5 rooms and 5 or more persons in 6 or more rooms. This table does not account for sex, age or quality variables, nor are other issues taken into account.

Source: 1960 Census, PHC(1)-105

the housing in the city could provide. This is especially true of the larger units (for the larger families of blacks). The housing stock of East Orange and of all the inner suburbs was much closer to the suburbs in the later half of the 1960, 52% were minors suggesting strong family space needs. Of the total incumbent population, 32% were minors (because many blacks suburbanites were already there by 1965, the actual percentage for white incumbents should be substantially less than 32%).

Further, these were the areas from which whites were moving to newer suburban areas, either as a part of the filtering process, or to escape the movement of blacks which had begun in the first part of the decade. Thus, in light of the modestly expanding real income of blacks noted earlier in this case, and the opening created in the inner suburban areas, as far as the satisfaction of space needs associated with the family cycle is concerned, many blacks find the inner suburbs more appropriate than the city.

The movement of blacks to the suburbs helped to relieve the overcrowding which is evident in the 1960 census, but which had declined by 1970. (See Table 6-14). The blighted condition and limited choice in the city limited the actual decline in overcrowding in the city, but the decline elsewhere, including those suburban areas which got the heaviest migrations showed some significant decline in overcrowding. The table is significant in that it suggests that

Table 6-14

Overcrowding by Black Households in Selected Newark  
SMSA Areas, 1970 (percent overcrowded)\*

|                    | <u>1960</u> | <u>1970</u> |
|--------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Newark             | 22.5        | 18.4        |
| Bloomfield         | 18.5        | 4.8         |
| East Orange        | 9.8         | 8.3         |
| Irvington          | --          | 12.0        |
| Montclair          | 10.4        | 7.6         |
| Orange             | 19.1        | 11.5        |
| Outer Essex County | 11.5        | 6.5         |
| Morris County      | 18.9        | 13.7        |
| Plainfield         | 20.3        | 15.3        |
| Rahway             | 19.5        | 15.1        |
| Elizabeth          | 28.5        | 22.1        |
| Outer Union County | 17.7        | 10.9        |

\* Overcrowding is defined as more than 1.00 person  
per room in the unit

Source: 1960 Census, PHC(1)-105, and 1970 Census  
PHC(1)-146

Table 6-14

Overcrowding by Black Households in Selected Newark  
SMSA Areas, 1970 (percent overcrowded)\*

|                    | <u>1960</u> | <u>1970</u> |
|--------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Newark             | 22.5        | 18.4        |
| Bloomfield         | 18.5        | 4.8         |
| East Orange        | 9.8         | 8.3         |
| Irvington          | --          | 12.0        |
| Montclair          | 10.4        | 7.6         |
| Orange             | 19.1        | 11.5        |
| Outer Essex County | 11.5        | 6.5         |
| Morris County      | 18.9        | 13.7        |
| Plainfield         | 20.3        | 15.3        |
| Rahway             | 19.5        | 15.1        |
| Elizabeth          | 28.5        | 22.1        |
| Outer Union County | 17.7        | 10.9        |

---

\* Overcrowding is defined as more than 1.00 person  
per room in the unit

Source: 1960 Census, PHC(1)-105, and 1970 Census  
PHC(1)-146



Table 6-15

Selected Financial Characteristics of Newark Area Housing, 1960 and 1970  
and Change 1960-1970 (in constant dollars)

|                       | 1   | 2   | 3  | 4      | 5      | 6    | 7   | 8      | 9    | 10   |
|-----------------------|-----|-----|----|--------|--------|------|-----|--------|------|------|
| SMSA Total            | 93  | 118 | 27 | 23,400 | 28,300 | 21   | 108 | 19,500 | .92  | .69  |
| Newark                | 82  | 104 | 27 | 17,300 | 17,300 | -    | 106 | 17,100 | 1.02 | .99  |
| Bloomfield            | 105 | 123 | 17 | 22,300 | 23,800 | 6.7  | 118 | 21,200 | .96  | .89  |
| East Orange           | 114 | 118 | 4  | 18,900 | 19,500 | 3.0  | 126 | 19,200 | 1.07 | .99  |
| Irvington             | 102 | 117 | 15 | 18,400 | 19,300 | 5.0  | 129 | 19,500 | 1.10 | 1.01 |
| Montclair             | 105 | 125 | 19 | 28,500 | 32,700 | 14.7 | 102 | 21,900 | .82  | .67  |
| Orange                | 92  | 118 | 28 | 18,900 | 19,800 | 50.0 | 111 | 19,800 | .94  | 1.00 |
| Outer Essex<br>County | 114 | 157 | 27 | 28,200 | 33,600 | 19.0 | 107 | 27,900 | .68  | .83  |
| Morris County         | 100 | 138 | 38 | 22,900 | 29,200 | 27.5 | 118 | 20,000 | .86  | .69  |
| Plainfield            | 105 | 123 | 17 | 22,000 | 22,600 | 2.7  | 117 | 19,500 | .95  | .86  |
| Rahway                | 90  | 116 | 29 | 19,800 | 22,800 | 15.0 | 102 | 19,200 | .88  | .84  |
| Elizabeth             | 84  | 110 | 29 | 18,900 | 20,800 | 10.0 | 94  | 15,600 | .86  | .75  |
| Other Union<br>County | 114 | 125 | 18 | 24,400 | 29,900 | 22.5 | 107 | 22,000 | .73  | .74  |

NOTE: Values and rents are rounded

Column Code:

Source: 1960 Census PHC(1)-105 and  
1970 Census PHC(1)-146

1. 1960 median rent for all units (1970 dollars)
2. 1970 median rent for all units
3. Percent change in median rents, 1960-1970
4. 1960 median housing values for all units (1970 dollars)
5. 1970 median house values
6. Percent change in median house values, 1960-1970
7. 1970 median rent of Black occupied units
8. 1970 median value of Black owner-occupied units
9. 1970 median rents of Black units as a percent of the median rents of all units
10. 1970 median values of Black owner-occupied units as a percent of median values of all owner-occupied units

a similar, though less pronounced, lack of growth in the value and rent levels. In general, the largest gains came in outer suburban areas, and not in areas with black in-migration. Blacks were able to bid little more than Newark levels, and the absence of white demand and residence held the prices to a reasonable level. Values increased in owner-occupied housing in all areas, except the city of Newark where the sales market wasn't just weak, but virtually non-existent by the end of the decade.

If we turn to columns (7) and (9), we can focus on the question: What are the relative rents that blacks who move to the suburbs pay, relative to rents in Newark and to the rents paid by the total population of the suburb? The answer is, in general, black suburbanites pay lower rents than the total population. Blacks do, however, pay a slight premium in Newark.<sup>25</sup> A larger premium is paid in East Orange and Irvington. Thus, in these suburbs, while the real rent increase over the decade was not tremendous, the blacks got no relative rent bargain by moving to these places. While rents in these suburbs was not much higher than in Newark, the physical quality and the neighborhood environment can be assumed, even in the worst areas, to be free from the serious blight and crime which pervades much of the city of Newark.

Looking further at rents, it is clear that within the rent range what blacks were paying in Newark, there are

many alternatives which offer better housing for not much more money, and from an observation in column (3), the lack of white pressure on this housing opens up even more opportunities. Blacks in the outer county areas were in the most favorable rent situation, though cost of the commuting to the city or suburban jobs and the lack of certain services might eat up the savings.

From columns (8) and (10), we can make a similar analysis of house prices. With the exception of Irvington and Orange, the values of the black housing is less than of the total housing in the community. These two communities are significant, in that in Irvington, the last decade was the first time that blacks entered in significant numbers, and were forced to pay a premium. Further, Irvington had been a very stable blue-collar community so that recent sales are much more likely to be at a higher level than the values of units with no recent history of a real estate transaction. Values in the outer areas are 14% to 30% less for blacks, with the greatest difference being in the outer county area, as opposed to the inner places like Plainfield and Elizabeth.

It is consistent with the expectations of the hypothesis that the blacks would bid much higher (even pay a premium) for the inner areas given that they were forced out of Newark by both a shortage of appropriate units for the family and nature of the city's neighborhoods. In so doing, they got housing which was generally better.

In the outer suburban areas, where the median house value would require an income of more than \$12,000, there were clearly fewer blacks in evidence. However, in looking at their origin and status characteristics, it is clear that these blacks are more likely to be professional, slightly more likely to be from outside the Newark area, and definitely more likely to have a higher income than other suburban blacks and blacks from the city.<sup>26</sup> Thus, we see that in the outer suburbs (especially the most expensive ones), a different pattern existed. These blacks made the decision to move to the suburbs consistent with their class and family status in the first place, without the intervening stop in the central city of the Newark SMSA. (The significance of the issue of intervening opportunities for the process of black suburbanization will be explored in the next chapter).

The overall conclusion for this section then is that blacks were pushed out of Newark by a combination of a need for space to be consistent with the family needs, the blight of the core's housing, and alternative opportunities created by equal or higher bids than whites. While some blacks moved to other than inner suburban areas, these did not appear to result from pressure for movement, or softness in markets, but rather it reflected the high quality housing they could afford in areas which they preferred.

While it seems reasonable to suggest that the "push" factor predominates here more than the "pull" factor, it should be pointed out that the suburbs, especially the inner and older ones, have some independent attractiveness ("pull"). Compared to Newark neighborhoods, the housing quality is attractive, as is the neighborhood. The price and rent structure is also attractive. This seems to be important over and above the important "push" function defined by the absence of sufficient family-sized units in the city proper.

It also seems clear, from the evidence thus far, that there is little comparison in terms of family stage between blacks (young families) and whites (older families) in the older inner suburbs. In terms of class, however, they are both working-class to lower middle class in status. The outer suburban communities which are richer and newer finds blacks and whites who are more similar in both family stage and class characteristics. They both tend to be mature families who are middle class in status.





#### The Pattern of Black Suburban Settlement: 1960 and 1970

After having explored a number of issues which contribute to the discussion of the process of black suburbanization in the Newark SMSA, this section might be seen as a summary and synthesis of the case. Specifically, we are interested in the pattern of blacks settlement in the Newark area -- both in its static and dynamic elements.

We have shown in the earlier chapters that the late 1960's was the "take-off" period for the growth of the black suburban population. This expansion was, in part, associated with the expansion in the economy (1964-69), and the rising expectations associated with the civil rights movement. It was noted earlier that in Newark, blacks have real income gains of 17% in median income, compared with a little better than 10% for the total population during this generally expansionary period.

The maps (Figures 6-1, 6-2, and 6-3) graphically portray the distribution of the black suburban population in the three counties of the Newark SMSA. In Essex County, the familiar pattern of the concentration of blacks in the adjacent suburbs next to the city is evident. Lower income blacks and higher income blacks live in some of the same suburbs. In East Orange, for example, the median black income in Tract #0099 is \$8,636, while in the adjacent Tract (#0100), the median income is \$12,474. Both tracts have between a 20% and 30% black population. Part of the difference, however, is accounted for by higher labor market participation of wives in the higher income tract. It cannot be determined from the data whether the blacks moved there at different times. Similar patterns, however, show up in the two tracts in Irvington in which there are a significant and comparable number of blacks, almost all of whom

Percent Black in Suburban Communities in  
the Newark Metropolitan Area: 1970

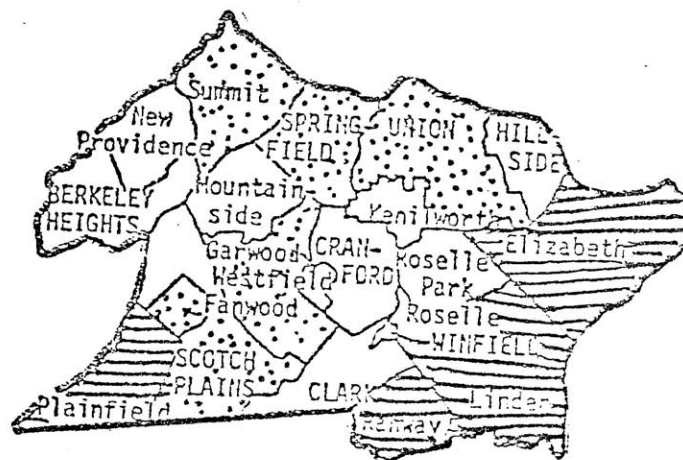
|                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| Less than 1%     |  |
| 1-5%             |  |
| 6-50%            |  |
| Greater than 50% |  |

Source: Computed from U.S. Census, 1970



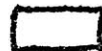
Figure 6-2

## UNION COUNTY



## PERCENT BLACK

Less than 1%



1-5%



6-50%

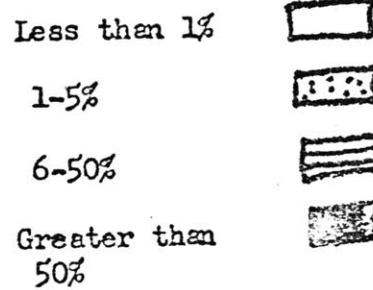


Greater than 50%



Source: Computed from U.S. Census, 1970.

Figure 6-3

**ESSEX COUNTY****PERCENT BLACK**

Source: Computed from U.S. Census, 1970

moved in recently. More than \$3,000 separates the median incomes of the blacks in the two tracts. Orange offers a comparable pattern (Tracts #0188 and #0189). In the higher income tract, 39% of the employed black males were professional, while only 12% of their peers in the lower income tract was professional. Thus, we see, a pattern where class segregation is based on tracts, rather than suburbs, though there is some separation by suburbs as well. This is also evident if we compare inner versus outer suburbs. Inability to manipulate individual cases prevent extracting the direct association between class settlement and all of the other factors.

In Union County, blacks are concentrated in the southern and eastern portions (closer to New York and manufacturing and distribution facilities). Rahway, Elizabeth, Plainfield and Linden have the largest concentrations of blacks. A few other small concentrations round out the blacks in this county. These smaller concentrations are in Union (tract #0332 only) Springfield, Summit, and Roselle. What is most interesting is that there seems to be established black suburban communities in the midst of general growth areas in the county. In Roselle, for example, blacks made up 11.8% of the population in 1930, while in the present census, the tracts show 5% to 10% black. In Summit, 8% of the population was black in 1930, compared to 3% in the 1970. This can be at least partly accounted for by the rapid suburbanization of whites and the static number of blacks who increasingly

were priced out of these areas. Their income now (median tract incomes for blacks) range from just under \$8,000 to \$13,000, figures which are lower than the area averages, but higher than blacks in Newark, and consistent with moderate and middle income status. The actual number of new blacks who are even near the area average in median income is very small. The only other comment about the pattern in Union County is that outside the areas mentioned in the communities have no blacks or more typically less than 1% black.

If blacks have not dispersed in Union or Essex counties, they have not even desegregated in Morris County. The map shows that only a small number of blacks are in this county area. Many suburbs are completely without blacks, and only a few have even 1% or 2%. Blacks are concentrated heavily only in the Morris area, outside of Morristown which has been and still is a very rich suburb. In 1900, 2% of the population in Morristown was black; that has been lowered over the years, and blacks have concentrated in the neighboring communities.

Morris County blacks have a median income of \$9,600, but the variation among the tracts (directly related to concentration of blacks in the tracts), ranges from \$7,000 to \$11,136. (Too few cases prevent a separate analysis of the income or occupations of blacks in these tracts). Few of the blacks in the county as a whole were migrants from the central

city (113 of 7,445), or from outside the metropolitan area (909 of 7,445). Most migrants came from other suburbs in the Newark area.

One other aspect of the pattern is the degree of concentration of blacks in the suburbs. Table 6-16 presents the number of suburban tracts with various concentrations of blacks. In the decade, the number of tracts with no blacks increased as did the number of majority black tracts. This suggests that more and more of the rich suburbs excluded blacks, and blacks became more concentrated in the fewer tracts. There was, however, separation by class among blacks, partly to different tracts, and partly to different communities.

Another way we can get at the dynamics of the pattern of black suburbanization in the Newark area is to look at the change in the share of the black suburban population from 1960 to 1970 contained in particular suburban areas. This is presented in Table 6-17. East Orange and Irvington increased their share, as did outer Union County, while the rest of the areas lost. Morris County showed no change. Suburban Newark increased its share of the metropolitan black population slightly. Apparently blacks who moved to the suburbs of Newark, regardless of their class, moved to the old inner suburbs to the exclusions of other areas where the financial attractiveness, accessibility and other factors might have been comparable. This sectoral

Table 6-16

Concentration of Blacks in Census Tracts in Suburban  
Newark, New Jersey, 1960 and 1970

| Percent Black<br>in Tract | Percent Total<br>1960 | Percent Total<br>1970 |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| No blacks                 | 9.1                   | 11.2                  |
| Less than 1%              | 43.2                  | 36.3                  |
| 1-5%                      | 22.3                  | 21.5                  |
| 6-10%                     | 6.3                   | 6.6                   |
| 11-49%                    | 15.7                  | 17.2                  |
| Greater than 50%          | 3.5                   | 7.3                   |

NOTE: There were 287 tracts in 1960 and 303 and tracts  
in 1970.

Source: 1960 Census, PHC(1)-105, and 1970 Census PHC  
(1)-146

Table 6-17

Share of Suburban Black Population for Selected  
Places in Newark SMSA, 1960-1970

|  | 1960 | 1970 | Change<br>1960-1970 |
|--|------|------|---------------------|
| Total SMSA   | 100  | 100  | --                  |
| Bloomfield   | .8   | .6   | -.2                 |
| East Orange  | 22.3 | 28.4 | 5.9                 |
| Irvington  | .1   | 1.6  | 1.5                 |
| Montclair  | 12.0 | 8.5  | -3.5                |
| Orange   | 9.6  | 8.3  | -1.3                |
| Other Inner Essex<br>(bordering suburbs<br>except those above) | 1.6  | 1.2  | -.4                 |
| Outer Essex County   | 3.1  | 2.1  | -1.0                |
| Inner Union County<br>(Plainfield,<br>Elizabeth, Linden, etc.) | 37.3 | 33.4 | -3.9                |
| Balance of Union County  | 6.9  | 10.0 | 3.1                 |

NOTE: In 1960, suburbs had 38.4% of the black population. In 1970, that increased to 40.4%.

Source: 1960 Census, PHC(1)-105, and 1970 Census PHC(1)-146

eastern movement (with some class separation within it) appears to have been the pattern followed. It will be discussed later whether or not this is "spillover," especially given the fact that blacks might as naturally have moved to Harrison. The sectoral movement is, nevertheless, established.

In the preceding pages, and in the case generally, a lot of information has been presented which relates in one way or another to the process of black suburbanization as it has happened in the Newark SMSA. Putting it all together, what does it say? The following point should serve to summarize and conclude this case:

1. The blight of the city and the shortage of family sized housing helped to push blacks out of Newark. The family status and higher income of the migrants (higher than the center city residents) was manifested in the data, as was the lack of a supportive and secure urban environment. It is the blacks from the central city, rather than inter-metropolitan migrants who account for most of the growth of the black suburban population. Further, it was a decade's growth, and not a late '60's spurt that characterizes the Newark area.
2. Modestly priced housing (including many large units) were in suburbs in the direction of black sectoral expansion. These suburbs, in



contrast to others, did not have the strong ethnic character, but did have aging white populations. These areas then were "soft" compared to others and many vacancies occurred over the decade.

3. Blacks, given their income inequality with whites, were really limited during the 1960's. There were opportunities in the inner suburbs, in the older parts of the rest of the ring, but generally as northern New Jersey suburbanized rapidly (and because of other factors familiar to housing students) forced the median price of new housing and competitive older housing up quite high (in the latter part of the 1960's, few new units sold for less than \$30,000). This limited the outer areas to high income blacks, white-collar blacks (in a metropolitan area of mostly working class blacks). The results was more segregation (that is more tracts without blacks and more tracts with majority blacks).
4. The inner and older suburbs were better served by public and social services than the other suburban areas, and were more accessible (via public transit) than other suburban locations -- a significant factor given the income mix of the suburbanizing black population.

5. The distribution of blacks by class is complex.

The blacks in the suburbs of Newark have a higher income than blacks in the city -- and the difference is enough to be significant. Rather than higher income blacks being consistently in different suburbs, there is class differentiation among tracts, often with wide differences between tracts in the median black income only partly accounted for by such obvious variables as female labor market participation. Given their small numbers, the suspicion that higher income blacks are more dispersed in the outer suburbs cannot be adequately tested, though the little evidence there is, does suggest greater dispersal of the higher income suburban blacks.<sup>27</sup> Thus, a two-tiered pattern emerges with respect to class -- low moderate income blacks concentrated in the inner and older suburbs, and the few richer blacks dispersed in the outer ones.

6. There is no evidence that separately identifiable institutional forces shaped the pattern of black suburbanization. It is true that financial institutions withdrew from the

inner city Newark residential market, and suburbs excluded low and moderate income housing by a series of fiscal and exclusionary tools, but the sectoral growth of the black population overshadowed both of those in importance. Racial discrimination practiced both by sellers and realtors did serve to discourage or prevent blacks from making gains in dispersal in the places they did move. None of the field investigation revealed any particular success of fair housing movement which, like the movement in many other cities, identified many more opportunities than there were blacks (willing and able) to take them.

It remains an interesting question, not determinable from available data, whether the urgency of the need to move, and the natural sectoral growth (along with ballooning costs in northern New Jersey) prevented a more dispersed pattern since the distribution which occurred is more concentrated than what would be predicted on income and family characteristics alone. Racial discrimination is powerful, but its power in Newark suburbs seems surprisingly overwhelming especially when contrasted to the Washington area discussed below.

Case 2: Washington, D.C.

Having looked at the black suburbanization in Newark, the Washington SMSA case offers some useful contrasts and similarities. These will come out in the discussion on the next several pages, but three unique features about Washington should be pointed out at the outset. First, it is the nation's capital, and while that assures no special situation, expectations do have a special prominence in the nation's capital. A second point is that the growth of the city's position is tied to the federal government, and, therefore, outside many of the market forces which shape the conditions in other metropolitan areas. The need for government and related services is less variant with economic cycles than other industries, and in recent years government has expanded its payroll and its labor force substantially. Finally, Washington has many more blacks, and many more blacks in the suburbs than does Newark. What is moreover significant about Washington is that it is a relatively fast growing area and the suburban portion of the metropolitan area has been in a state of flux, such that it is particularly significant to watch the process of black suburbanization in a metropolitan area which has so many blacks, which is rapidly growing, and where status dimensions (comparing suburban communities with each other) are under change.

Washington (hereafter the District) was formally settled at the beginning of the 19th century as the nation's capital. It was carved from land given by Virginia and Maryland

(the Virginia part was given back). The Potomac River forms the southwest boundary of the city. While the federal government institutions have dominated the "center" of the city, the neighborhoods around the city have been racially mixed from the beginning -- that is, before the Civil War, blacks lived in many parts of the city, though segregated within these parts from whites.<sup>28</sup> Blacks were moved around, however, to several neighborhoods in the city in the period between the Civil War and the 1920's, and by the 1930's most had been pushed from a more central location to eastern locations in the city. While some blacks remained in the Georgetown, the beginnings of the strongly segregated pattern had its beginnings at this point in time. The available evidence also suggests that it was during this period that the basic class distinctions and associated sectoral patterns were established. Higher income people gravitated to the areas west of the Rock Creek Park, while the poor and the blacks were pushed towards separate areas east of the park. Strong difference in the type of development and in the public improvements were reflected in this shift.<sup>29</sup>

The spatial separation evident in the city was also manifested in the suburbs. Alexandria opened up as a suburb in the 1920's after the construction of the Memorial Bridge. It became an area of modest homes. Many blacks had been in the area from Civil War times, and they remained, and remain to this

day. Homes for wealthy prospective suburbs were built in the areas to the northwest of the District. With the highly skilled manpower needs created by the creation of the institutes of Health in Montgomery County, this pattern was well established.<sup>30</sup> For the more modest income people in the eastern part of the District, Prince Georges County became the overflow area. Many small frame houses were built there. This was housing for the clerks and salesmen of the area, as well as craftsmen and shopkeepers. Blacks were in all of these counties at the time when whites were moving in. However, with the exception of blacks in Alexandria, they were primarily in the outer rural parts of the county, having remained there after the Civil War.

A couple of other additional points are in order about historical aspects of the development of the Washington area. First, the complete segregation of the races in the city was not the unchallenged norm (among whites) even into the '30's.<sup>31</sup> There was a tension between northern and southern whites over whether the District was to reflect their respective norms. The southerners won out because of the powerful role the South exerted in the District Committees of Congress, and because increasingly, new whites who came to the city saw the developing racial segregation and assumed that it was the norm.

Another point about the development of the black District population is the schism within the black community.<sup>32</sup> This was manifested early. First, the schism was between the "free black" and the fugitive slaves, and later between the native District blacks, and in-migrants, and even later still, between various classes all having roots in the earlier schisms. This schism is significant in three ways. First, the strong middle class assertiveness of its own needs as separate from those of all blacks prevented some clearly liberation efforts from being fully successful. Second, it documents, historically, the strong class emotions which exist to this day. Third, it suggests that even within the same class (the middle class), the interest of those blacks in perserving the traditional black elite's status, and the interest of other blacks (including in-migrating middle class blacks) may not be in harmony when it come to specific issues. On this particular issue, Washington is different from Newark which does not have this old established black "bourgeoisie." In Washington, until recently, this group had substantial influence. Now this group is rivaled by new middle class blacks who are not from Washington, or who have achieved first-generation middle class status.

#### Blacks in the Suburbs: 1900 to 1970

Blacks are not new to Washington suburbs. At the turn of the century, 32.2% (42,780 black residents) of the

Washington suburban population was black. These were blacks in the outer reaches of the county, and in areas around Alexandria. There was a slight numerical and proportional decline in the next two census periods so that in 1920, there were only 39,104 blacks or 23.2% of the metropolitan population.<sup>33</sup> Table 6-18 presents a more detailed look at the black population from 1930 to 1970. What is evident from the table is the rapid decline in the black percentage in the population in each of the suburban counties which make up the metropolitan area. This rapid decline coincides with both the rise of suburbia and urbanization of blacks. While Arlington and Prince Georges had less dramatic declines than the other counties, the direction in all of them was the same. The change is roughly associated with the change in the status of these counties. Montgomery County became a high income suburb in its inner and middle parts and blacks were essentially pushed to areas along the railroad.<sup>34</sup> The major change in Fairfax County was the increase in the federal presence in the Northern Virginia area.<sup>35</sup> The Pentagon sits on an area which use to be a black suburban community. Blacks were pushed out of many of the "classy" close-in areas to make way for whites who offered lots of money for the access and charm of the District.<sup>36</sup>

Prince Georges County has been a favorite place for blacks. Many slaves were there and blacks stayed on, though



Table 6-18

Percent Nonwhite Population in Suburban Jurisdictions  
of Metropolitan Washington, 1930-1970 (percent)

|                       | 1930 | -1940 | 1950 | 1960 | 1970 |
|-----------------------|------|-------|------|------|------|
| District of Columbia  | 27   | 28    | 34   | 54   | 71   |
| Montgomery County     | 17   | 11    | 6    | 4    | 4    |
| Prince Georges County | 23   | 19    | 12   | 9    | 14   |
| Arlington County      | 13   | 9     | 5    | 6    | 6    |
| Fairfax County        | 19   | 16    | 10   | 5    | 4    |
| Alexandria, Virginia  | 20   | 16    | 12   | 12   | 14   |

Source: Green, The Secret City, p. 236, and 1970 Census

in the early period we are clearly talking about the outer, more rural parts of the county, and not along the Washington border where as noted earlier, modest suburban developments and "greenbelts" were developed for whites, both early in the suburban era, and more rapidly in the period after the second world war. There is no strong documentation of what happened to blacks in the outer suburbs (many of these places are now white or mostly white subdivisions). The best guesses are that they urbanized -- that is moved to Washington or Baltimore, or to other cities when the rural areas no longer provided a livelihood. As noted in the case of the Pentagon, many were pushed out by public improvements.

The historical review above sets the context in which we can understand some of the later observations. It also reflects change over time, and emphasizes that the suburban population of the early decade is largely different from the population about which the rest of this chapter is about. These blacks had their origin in rural Virginia and rural Maryland. They were physically distant from the District. They had not been related to the District, and were not directly or consciously related to the metropolitan markets (housing, labor, etc.). The size of this group declined as their offspring moved to the cities. The process which is examined by this research begins with the new trend evident in the 1960's -- of blacks moving into the closer areas, and the settlement in the metropolitan housing market.

1960 to 1970

The black suburban population around Washington increased substantially during the decade of the 1960's. It was only exceeded by Los Angeles in the percentage increase in the black suburban population. More than 80,000 blacks joined the 166,000 blacks who were already there. The ring had a much larger black proportion in the ring than other metropolitan areas (8% versus 5% national average). In 1970, 23% of the metropolitan black population was suburban compared to 16% in 1960, and compared to 16% nationally in 1970. Tables 6-18 and 6-19 show some aspects of the distribution of blacks in the suburbs around the District. Table 6-19 hides as much as it shows, however. Montgomery County's black population double during the decade of the 1960's -- about the same proportion increase as for whites, so that percentages change was not significant. There was also an increase in Virginia counties which is obscured by the equally rapid growth of whites. In Prince Georges County, the black population grew much faster than the white population so the proportional changes reflected in Table 6-18 show through clearly.

Overall, we can observe a rapid increase in the black population in the suburbs during the decade of the 1960's which reverses a downward trend that had been under way for several decades. There is evidence of this change in nearly all of the counties, including those which we shall come to see as the wealthiest and the poorest.

Table 6-19

Black Population of Selected Jurisdictions and Percent  
of Population, 1970

|                       | Number of<br>Blacks | Percent<br>of Total<br>Population | Percent of<br>Black Metro-<br>politan pop. |
|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| Montgomery County     | 21,551              | 4.1                               | 13.0                                       |
| Prince Georges County | 91,808              | 13.9                              | 55.3                                       |
| Alexandria City       | 15,644              | 14.1                              | 9.4  |
| Arlington County      | 10,076              | 5.8                               | 6.1  |
| Fairfax County        | 15,859              | 3.5                               | 9.6  |
| Falls Church City     | 152                 | 1.4                               | .1   |
| Londoun County        | 4,648               | 12.5                              | 2.8  |
| Prince William County | 5,925               | 5.3                               | 3.6  |
| Total                 | 166,033             | 7.9                               | 100.0                                      |

Source: MB-12, Table 1, Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies,  
Metropolitan Bulletin No. 12 (1973), Table 1.

In order to round out the picture, some attention should be given to recent changes within the District which will be shown to be critical for the process of black suburbanization. The District is divided into service areas which reflect meaningful distinctions among parts of the city. Table 6-20 summarizes the various districts and the changes in racial composition over the decade. What is evident is that all sections of the city, especially east of the park have a large black majority, and that sectoral pattern of the poor in the eastern section is evident in the recent racial changes. The heavy black in-migration in the Anacostia area is associated with the white exit of this section of the District separated by the Anacostia River. This move was particularly important in that it broke down the last barrier to black expansion eastward in the city. The upper income areas in which blacks moved were mainly into the upper northeast, along Georgia Avenue. While some blacks moved into the areas west of the park, the white population remained there in substantial numbers and were successful in preventing the success of "blockbusting." For those blacks who were able to move in, they found this housing (the best in the District) to be expensive, when available. In this, we can see the first manifestations of a phenomenon we observed in Newark, namely, the role of the "push" factor. The shortage of suitable family

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Table 6-20

Selected Characteristics and 1960-1970 Changes in District  
of Columbia Communities

| Areas   | Change   | General<br>Characteristics   |
|---|--|--|
| Central City Areas<br>(Model Cities, The<br>Cardoza, Adams-Morgan,<br>Edgewood, Howard Un.) | Population loss<br>of 6-20%. The<br>few whites who were<br>left, declined by<br>35%.   | Highest concentration of<br>low income. 70% had in-<br>comes under \$10,000. This<br>area increasingly became<br>the shell from which<br>population emptied.   |
| Anacostia Area<br>(lower Northeast<br>and Southeast)  | There were 88,000<br>whites in this low<br>and moderate income<br>area in 1960. They<br>were down to 20,000<br>by 1970. They were<br>replaced by blacks<br>whose density exceeded<br>the density at which<br>whites had lived. | This area is in the path<br>to Prince Georges County.<br>This is the concentration<br>of large poor families<br>who were forced from other<br>sections of the city.<br>Their income situation is<br>similar to that of the<br>city's core. |
| Upper Income Areas<br>(Upper Northeast<br>and Northwest)                                    | The black population<br>increased from 70,000<br>in 1960 to 115,000 in<br>1970. The number of<br>whites declined from<br>153,000 to 117,000.<br>Blacks, however, are<br>more concentrated in<br>the area east of the<br>park.  | Nearly 60% of the families<br>in this area have incomes<br>which exceed \$10,000. A<br>third have incomes which<br>are \$15,000 or more.   |

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Source: The Office of Planning and Management, The People of the District  
of Columbia (1973), pp. 2, 13.

housing for those who need it and can afford it is a significant finding which will be explored in later sections of the case. This rounds out the gross and static dimensions of the Washington metropolitan population, and associated racial change.

#### Net Changes

In this section, attention will be turned from the gross to the net changes in the black population for the District and its suburbs. This should serve to disentangle the black suburban population into its component parts. Table 6-21 gives mobility status and several other characteristics of the black suburban population in each of the streams. We can note that the movers from the central city outnumbered the movers from outside the metropolitan or from nonmetropolitan areas by a substantial margin. The black suburban migrants are younger than the black central city population and younger than incumbent black suburbanites. This is true for both sexes.

In terms of educational attainment, the black suburban migrants are very well educated. Their mean educational attainment equals or exceeds the 12.6 years which is the metropolitan average. The migrants from outside the metropolitan area have a median of 13.1 years compared with a median of 13.0 for all residents in Montgomery County. The youth combined with the high educational status suggests that the upward mobility potential of the black suburban population has

Table 6-21

Selected Characteristics of Washington SMSA Suburban Black Population Five Years and Over,  
by Mobility Status, 1965 to 1970

|  | District<br>Total | Suburban<br>Total* | Non-<br>movers | Move Within<br>Suburbs | Move From<br>City | Move From<br>Other SMSA | Move From<br>non-SMSA |
|--|-------------------|--------------------|----------------|------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| Percent of Total                       | 100               | 100                | 34.5           | 16.2                   | 21.2              | 9.5                     | 4.5                   |
| Median Age (male)                      | 27.4              | 25.4               | 28.9           | 23.0                   | 25.8              | 23.7                    | 24.9                  |
| Median Age (female)                    | 28.4              | 25.6               | 32.5           | 23.1                   | 25.8              | 24.7                    | 23.4                  |
| Median School Years<br>Completed       | 11.4              | 11.8               | 9.9            | 10.6                   | 12.5              | 12.1                    | 12.6                  |
| Percent white collar<br>in labor force | 34.4              | 35.6               | 28.5           | 24.1                   | 46.2              | 66.5                    | 42.6                  |
| Percent females in<br>labor force      | 58.1              | 60.1               | 54.5           | 57.1                   | 69.2              | 59.3                    | 62.6                  |
| Percent of families<br>with income     |                   |                    |                |                        |                   |                         |                       |
| Less than \$6,000                      | 28.6              | 22.5               | 24.1           | 31.9                   | 11.6              | 15.5                    | 29.8                  |
| Greater than<br>\$10,000               | 43.7              | 50.0               | 50.0           | 36.0                   | 63.0              | 57.0                    | 45.0                  |

\*Total does not equal 100 because persons who were abroad and persons with no reported address are included.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, PC(2)-2C, 1970



not yet been reached, and that what they are looking for, in a real sense, is "starter" housing, though given their status, the type and value of such housing might vary widely.

The figures in Table 6-21 for occupation reinforce the high status of the migrants compared to other referent groups. The proportions are extremely high for the migrants from outside the SMSA. The examination of the upper and lower tails of the income distribution adds further evidence. Few really low and moderate income blacks moved to the suburbs, while the vast majority of those blacks who did earned \$10,000 or more. Among the streams, this income was differently affected by the participation of the women in the labor force. While the overall difference between the District blacks and the suburban population is small, the difference in the streams are more significant. It appears possible that the income and mobility of many of the black families (especially the young ones) is the result of more than one earner in the family.<sup>37</sup>

So while there is high correlation among the various status measures, they seem to come together here and in combination offer a clear picture of the interaction that produces different populations for the streams. This analysis is most significant for its support of the conclusion reached in Chapter Four, that it is the younger better off blacks who move to the suburbs. They also have the high occupational status. This finding is of particular significant and is more compelling than conclusions that black suburbanites generally have these characteristics.

Having outlined the historical and demographic changes which have taken place in the District and its suburbs, the following sections review the political, economic and social-attitudinal setting in which the process has taken place, and in which the process has worked through. As we noted in the Newark case, the changes in black suburbanization which occur do not happen in isolation from the political culture, the economic forces or the social attitudes of both whites and blacks.

#### Political

Outside of the District, the county is the significant unit for general purpose of government.<sup>38</sup> The major exceptions to where the county is of the primary locus of responsibility is in Fairfax City, Alexandria, and Falls Church, Virginia. All three of these are clustered in northern Virginia. The greater part of the urbanized population in the Washington suburbs, however, is outside the jurisdiction of traditional municipal government. While there has been some state intervention (relating to limitations on zoning) and some federal intervention (mandating comprehensive planning and metropolitan cooperation), the primary initiative for policy and the total responsibility rests with the suburban counties. In traditional terms the suburbs are quite independent of the city.

More practically, however, the dependence of the suburbs is emphasized by the fact that government (the federal

government) is the "basic industry" of the metropolitan area.<sup>39</sup> In 1968, all government accounted for 44% of personal earnings. State and local government was only 8% of this. Services (including services for government) account for another 21%. Washington, D.C. is the center of an employment and communications network of government, information, publishing and related professional, research and business services which in recent decades has taken increasingly more of the non-residential land outside the city. So that while the suburbs are independent, they are dependent on the District "decisions" for all significant economic resources, and for decisions which would produce growth, differential growth within the suburbs and the generation of wealth.

The expansion of the federal government and its decision to locate or relocate many of its facilities in the suburbs has been the major impetus for growth and development in the suburbs. Clawson observed that in fast developing suburban areas like Fairfax County (and Montgomery County), the rapidity with which the change occurs is related to the number of actors who can be involved, and the pay-offs to be gained.<sup>40</sup> This led to a dispersal in decision-making. In Fairfax, for example, the comprehensive development plan called for certain limitations on sewer expansion. The public works agency would nevertheless approve any proposal from developers which seems to be financially feasible.

Thus, a combination of political (and economic) factors have contributed to the inflation in the price rise in the fast growing suburban counties. The factors included multiple actors seeking personal gains, highly desirable and accessible location created by the accessibility to major federal facilities, heavy middle class demand and restrictions on the types of development which can occur.

Not all of the suburban areas had all of these factors or had them in the same combination. It wasn't until 1967, for example, that Prince Georges County had a comprehensive building code to control the features of new construction. The significant implications of this for our case is that many of the housing units constructed during the 1960's and occupied by blacks (some sources would not admit they were built for blacks) showed not only poor construction and poor planning (absence of parking space in multi-family units, extremely high density, etc.), but also were not built in a way to be in line with school location, transportation networks, or any general scheme for development in the county. While this did produce some modestly priced new housing for blacks, the appearance, amenities and location of this housing was not optimal.

Another area of political concern is the public service level afforded by the various counties in the metropolitan area. The most commonly influential measure is the amount spent for education. The difference comes through

clearly in Table 6-22. Fairfax County and Montgomery County spend far more than any of the counties or the District. For other suburbs, compared to the District, the differences are less clear. Interpreting the other items is complex because of the role of state funding in two different states, and the level of direct federal support reflected in the District figures. Comparing counties within the same state, however, the data does suggest that Prince Georges in Maryland and Alexandria in Virginia spent more per capita than their counterparts in the same states. The significance of the mix of services and their implication for black suburbanization has been explored in Chapters Two and Four. The pattern noted in other studies seem to hold true for Washington. This fact suggests that the total costs of living in any of the suburbs is somewhat higher than the cost of living in Washington (given comparable contract rent or mortgage amounts) given that the individuals have to purchase more goods and services (especially transportation, health and sanitation services) than they would have to in the District.

A final area to touch on is the institutional intervention with respect to black suburbanization. Of course, this intervention need not be public and can be for or against black suburbanization. The major way the public could become involved positively is through fair housing laws. By the end of the decade of the 1960's, all of the jurisdictions had fair

Table 6-22

Per Capita Expenditure for Selected Government Functions  
for Metropolitan Washington, 1967

|                   | U.S.<br>Average | District | Prince<br>Georges<br>County | Mont-<br>gomery | Arlington<br>County | Fairfax<br>County |
|-------------------|-----------------|----------|-----------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| Education         | 139             | 147      | 189                         | 215             | 123                 | 220               |
| Highways          | 70              | 64       | 16                          | 14              | 23                  | 2                 |
| Welfare           | 41              | 49       | 7                           | 5               | 4                   | 6                 |
| Health            | } 34            | 19       | 11                          | --              | 5                   | 1                 |
| Hospitals         |                 | 63       | 15                          | --              | --                  | 2                 |
| Housing & Renewal | NA              | 37       | --                          | 4               | 1                   | --                |
| Sanitation        | NA              | 12       | 5                           | 8               | 7                   | 2                 |
| Police            | NA              | 42       | 9                           | 15              | 13                  | 8                 |

NA - Not available

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Governments, 1967, State Reports, Numbers 7, 21, 46, 50, Tables 32 in each volume.

housing laws (a national law was enacted in 1968). The local laws were enacted between 1964 and 1967. In general, these laws were quite explicit, though the details were insignificant when the Supreme Court ruled in Jones vs. Mayer which outlawed all discrimination in real estate transactions. The major comment on role of fair housing laws is that the energy in fair housing legislation went into the lobbying for enactment and never in the enforcement.<sup>41</sup> Further, fair housing activists armed with the new laws came in after the momentum had started and after the pattern had been developed. Additional points about the impact of fair housing are summarized below:

- (a) It raised the consciousness of whites and blacks about the feasibility of mixed housing areas;
- (b) it provided a service to blacks looking for housing outside areas where realtors showed them, and it contributed to some dispersal especially in Montgomery County, since some of these groups were adamant in not re-segregating blacks in the suburbs;
- (c) forced racism to be more sophisticated; and
- (d) allowed some realtors to be openly cooperative.

In no sense can it be said that fair housing laws or activities caused black suburbanization or set the initial parameters. Most blacks went to Prince Georges County, and that is the county which (in 1967) had the least effective fair housing groups.<sup>42</sup>

Another type of intervention, this time negative, is the role played by real estate brokers. The general pattern is one of "steering," though there were, in addition, complaints registered of outright discrimination. The evidence of "steering" is second-hand. Every person interviewed who was familiar with the real estate market was convinced that there was "steering" going on, but the documented evidence is sketchy.<sup>43</sup> Even if strong evidence were presented that some actually occurred, the original accountability would be hard to place. It may be that banks indicated where they would be willing to write mortgages and that the realtors simply were part of this larger "conspiracy" (with banks, sellers, developers, etc.). In any case, these barriers or steering techniques seems to have existed and in the absence of better documentation, it is not possible to estimate the full impact (that is, the result both in numbers and pattern, that would have been obtained had this intervention not been in effect).

The overall effect of this set of factors is that there were some forces which could have had the effect of limiting or shaping black suburbanization, but the weight of these forces, when added together, seems to be toward concentration



in particular sectors. This is especially true of blacks who are not able to negotiate the suburban turf, or who are economically marginal. Fair housing efforts were late, mismatched with where most blacks were going, and in the places where blacks were moving, the evidence that exists is that "steering" may have shaped the pattern considerably.

#### Economic Factors

In turning our attention to the economic factors in the process of black suburbanization in the Washington area, several areas will be explored. These include the trends in employment in the area, the shifts in central city and suburban share of job growth, the dynamics and statics of incumbents versus migrants, and the shifts in income relationships among blacks by place of residence, and blacks compared to the total population. It has already been established in the literature search and in the Newark case that blacks did not migrate to the suburbs in search of jobs. The data which follows will show again that residential spatial patterns are not congruent with economic opportunities which blacks have used, or which have had the most rapid recent growth.

The major economic growth trend in the Washington area during the 1960's was expansion in the federal civilian payroll. During the 1960's the feds brought their pay scales in line with the pay for comparable private sector jobs.<sup>44</sup> This occurred at the same time as an increase occurred in the number of high-paid and specialized jobs increased. Without

correcting for the effects of inflation, the 26% increase in the federal civilian labor force was overshadowed by a 179% increase in the payroll. This served as a powerful factor in the attraction of people to the Washington area which shows up in the earlier discussion of population growth, especially in the suburbs. From the growth of black population in the District and suburbs, it is evident that Washington was particularly attractive to blacks.

The job growth in the suburbs was the result of both new settlement there and relocation of facilities from the District to the suburbs. From 1963-68, 18 agencies employing 17,000 people moved out of the District to suburban locations in Virginia and Maryland. Additional jobs left the District with the Navy's move to Virginia.<sup>45</sup> During the same period, 90,000 jobs were created in Montgomery County.<sup>46</sup> This included inter-area transfers, job creations as well as relocations (such as the 5,000 jobs moved to the county by the Public Health Service). Of the major agencies contemplating a move, only the Labor Department changed its plans and decided (1966) to stay in a downtown location.<sup>47</sup>

The major federal facility to relocate in Prince Georges County was a large postal facility which provided blue-collar and clerical jobs. The popular (and accurate) characterization of the change in jobs has it that the jobs requiring high trained manpower (research, development, etc.) went to

Montgomery and Fairfax counties, while the manual, lower white-collar or service jobs went to the other counties in the area. Having given the broad outlines of some of the changes which have occurred, we can now turn to the more detailed examination.

In Table 6-23, we can see the change in the industry of employed workers in the Washington area. The general picture in the District is one of decline (in most areas) and growth in the service and trade areas. While the total number of jobs increased, there was some shift in the nature of available jobs in the District. The rapid growth of the suburbs and the nature of the jobs there show up in the table as well. The suburbs gained in all areas, including government, services and trade. In all areas, the District had a smaller share of the jobs in 1970, than 1960, even though the number of jobs in these areas increased.

The increase in the number of government workers is of particular importance. (See Table 6-24). The number of government workers in the SMSA increased 57% during the decade. Broken down by central city and suburban jobs, however, the number of jobs in the suburbs increased by 91.7% while the jobs in the District increased by only 11.8%.

We can continue this analysis by looking at occupation and mobility status. Significant variation also occurs among black suburban residents by mobility status. (See Table 6-25). The differences between the status of blacks in

Table 6-23

Industry of Employed Workers, 1960 and 1970, Washington Metropolitan Area  
(Percent of total employed)

|  | Percent<br>1960 | Percent<br>1970 | Change<br>1960-1970 | District<br>Share 1960 | District<br>Share 1970 | Change in<br>District Share |
|--|-----------------|-----------------|---------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Construction                                     | 6.2             | 5.7             | -.5                 | 34.7                   | 23.8                   | -10.9                       |
| Manufacturing                                    | 7.5             | 6.4             | -1.1                | 35.4                   | 21.7                   | -13.7                       |
| Transportation                                   | 3.5             | 2.8             | -.7                 | 40.0                   | 28.0                   | -12.0                       |
| Communications, Utilities<br>& Sanitary Services | 2.7             | 3.6             | .0                  | 34.4                   | 27.7                   | -6.7                        |
| Wholesale Trade                                  | 2.2             | 2.8             | .6                  | 33.3                   | 20.4                   | -12.9                       |
| Finance, Real Estate & Insurance                 | --              | 5.8             | --                  | --                     | 25.3                   | --                          |
| Business & Repair Services                       | 3.1             | 4.6             | 1.5                 | 30.9                   | 23.3                   | -7.6                        |
| Personal Services                                | 6.9             | 5.0             | -1.9                | 64.0                   | 50.4                   | -13.6                       |
| Educational Services                             | 5.7             | 8.7             | 3.0                 | 39.1                   | 27.4                   | -11.7                       |
| Other Professional &<br>Related Service          | 6.9             | 7.9             | 1.0                 | 39.3                   | 32.1                   | -7.2                        |
| Public Administration                            | 26.9            | 25.6            | -1.3                | 43.2                   | 30.1                   | -13.1                       |
| Other Industries                                 | 12.8            | 1.7             | -11.7               | 50.2                   | 22.8                   | -17.4                       |
| Retail Trade                                     | 13.1            | 14.0            | .9                  | 40.8                   | 24.9                   | -15.9                       |
| Health Services                                  | 2.6             | 5.3             | 2.7                 | 56.9                   | 33.2                   | -23.7                       |

NOTE: Does not equal 100 due to rounding

Source: 1960 Census PHC(1)-166, and 1970 Census PHC(1)-226

Table 6-24

Class of Worker in the District and SMSA,  
Total and Change, 1960-1970

|  | 1960    | 1970    | Change<br>1960-1970 |
|--|---------|---------|---------------------|
| Total Government Workers                   | 292,963 | 460,779 | 57.0%               |
| Government Workers in<br>the District      | 126,212 | 141,163 | 11.8%               |
| Government Workers<br>Outside the District | 166,751 | 319,616 | 91.7%               |

Source: 1960 Census, PHC(1)-166, and 1970 Census, PHC(1)-226

Table 6-25

Occupational Status of Blacks in Washington SMSA by Central City and Suburban  
Residence and Mobility Status, 1970

|                                      | Total District<br>Employed | Non-Migrant<br>Suburban Employed | Migrants From<br>Central City | Migrants From<br>Other Metro. |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Professional, Technical, and Kindred | 10.0                       | 8.9                              | 19.1                          | 36.2                          |
| Managers and Administrators          | 4.7                        | 4.5                              | 7.7                           | 10.3                          |
| Sales                                | 2.5                        | 2.5                              | 3.1                           | 3.3                           |
| Clerical and Kindred                 | 17.2                       | 12.6                             | 16.4                          | 16.6                          |
| Craftsmen and Kindred                | 15.9                       | 14.8                             | 15.9                          | 7.9                           |
| Operatives                           | 17.7                       | 17.3                             | 15.8                          | 8.3                           |
| Laborers                             | 11.5                       | 15.3                             | 7.8                           | 5.5                           |
| Farmers and Farm Workers             | --                         | 2.9                              | --                            | --                            |
| Service Workers                      | 20.4                       | 20.9                             | 13.9                          | 10.8                          |

Source: 1970 Census, PC(2), Table 15

the District and blacks non-migrants in the suburbs isn't significant. In fact, blacks in the city seem to take greater advantage of the clerical jobs created by a bureaucratic city. Laborers are also more common in the city. Comparing these two groups confirms the nature of the conventional wisdom about the difference between blacks in the city and blacks in the suburbs -- that advantage is on the side of the centrally located blacks. Their jobs are increasing (or stable for laborers) in the city, and they don't have to pay a "commuter tax."

Turning to recent migrant blacks, however, presents quite a different picture. Low-status occupations are far less prominent, and the high status jobs are far more frequent. It can be said on the basis of this data that professional blacks are disproportionately (to all blacks) part of the migratory stream to the suburbs, and that among blacks who migrate from outside the metropolitan area, the differences are even greater. Almost twice the proportion of these migrants are professional as migrants from the central city, and many times more prevalent than the District blacks or incumbent suburban blacks.

The confirmation of the high status of blacks who move to the suburbs is stronger here than in any of the other evidence (from the national sample or from Newark SMSA) presented thus far. Part of the strength is associated with the relatively white-collar and public employment nature of the

Washington SMSA. Another point should be highlighted. First, blacks seem to move to the suburbs on the basis of status already acquired (occupational status), and do not substantially change their occupational status by moving to the suburbs. Blue-collar workers do not gain in this process, and white-collar workers are more likely to be working in the central city. Blacks who live and work in the suburbs have no demonstrable economic advantage, though it is possible that blacks who go back to the city to work spend their extra money in commuting. It is not at all clear from the data presented here that the dispersal of the black population would yield any economic advantage. While this is contrary to the conventional wisdom presented by Kain and others, the present data do not support the notion that black residence in the suburbs would put them in jobs which pay better. To reach the conclusions that I have reached here is not to say that suburban jobs which pay well do not exist. Clearly, they do and have attracted whites for more than a generation. But black access to those jobs is still blocked by discrimination, and the advantage (marginal for most jobs) may not seem, to the particular black individual, to be worth the effort, especially in light of the fact that the best jobs are in newer areas, and black residential opportunities thus far, have been more concentrated in older and inner parts of the metropolitan area where the center city jobs are more accessible, and where affirmative action efforts have been more successful.



If occupational status differences occur among blacks from different origins, what are the differences in the various jurisdictions of their destination, and how have changes manifested themselves over the decade in terms of the distribution of black occupational status? The data in this regard are presented in Table 6-26. The overall improvement in the occupational status of blacks in the SMSA are reflected in each of the jurisdictions, including the District. None of the 1960 relationships were changed by the changes in decade, but each county area did experience some significant changes. The District experienced growth in the higher status occupations and decline in the lower status ones, reflecting a more general pattern. In Prince Georges County, it moved ahead of the District in terms of the occupational status of its black residents. It moved far ahead in terms of professional employment, and caught up with the District in terms of the clerical employment. Like the District, its decline in laborers was not drastic. This is especially significant since most blacks who moved to the suburbs, especially those who moved from the District, moved to this county.

Montgomery County built upon its previous status of having the highest occupation status of blacks. Most of the blacks who were in the outer county regions left and virtually decimated the county's laborer population, though some of them show up in the more than 50% increase in black service workers in the county.

Table 6-26

Occupational Status of Employed Black Males for Selected Washington SMSA Jurisdictions  
in 1960 and 1970 (percent)

|   | District  | Prince<br>Georges | Montgomery<br>County | Arlington<br>County | Fairfax<br>County | Alexandria,<br>Virginia |
|---|-----------|-------------------|----------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| Professional, Technical,<br>and Kindred | 6.5/11.7  | 6.8/16.9          | 13.1/33.6            | 6.9/10.6            | 4.0/10.8          | 1.5/6.1                 |
| Managers and<br>Administrators          | 2.3/3.4   | 6.3/4.5           | 3.2/5.7              | 3.7/3.1             | 1.6/3.8           | -/1.0                   |
| Sales                                   | 1.7/2.5   | 1.0/2.7           | 1.0/2.8              | 1.0/3.4             | 0/3.8             | 2.0/2.8                 |
| Clerical and Kindred                    | 15.2/28.5 | 9.7/28.8          | 3.0/17.7             | 8.1/22.6            | 7.2/18.5          | 7.9/17.2                |
| Craftsmen                               | 9.9/8.6   | 11.0/7.9          | 10.1/7.1             | 12.5/9.1            | 11.9/8.9          | 9.3/9.1                 |
| Operatives                              | 16.9/12.2 | 16.6/11.8         | 12.7/8.6             | 15.9/11.3           | 19.4/13.1         | 16.5/16.1               |
| Laborers                                | 15.6/6.5  | 15.7/6.7          | 32.4/6.7             | 23.7/5.9            | 28.0/8.5          | 20.4/9.6                |
| Service Workers                         | 19.7/26.7 | 24.8/19.3         | 16.7/27.7            | 20.5/33.9           | 21.5/32/3         | 31.2/36.9               |

Source: 1970 Census, PC(1)-D10

While there was definite improvement in the Virginia counties, the improvement was far less and on a smaller base. These counties received very few blacks compared to the Maryland counties.

Some selected characteristics of black workers in various parts of the area, by place of residence gives some further insight on the black labor force. (See Table 6-27). Whatever the mix of occupations, and the location of job growth, the higher wages are gotten by blacks who work in the District core and live in the suburbs. The higher educated workers in District versus the suburbs, and the District provides them with more professional job opportunities. The fact that blacks are not in high paying and professional jobs in the suburbs is a function of several possible factors. The most certain of these factors is racial discrimination. Blacks are excluded directly, or indirectly (through prior discrimination in education, etc.) from the jobs in the suburbs.

Other possible factors include the fact that many blacks in high positions were employed with social programs which tend to be centrally located, or in the District's own government. Further, more blacks are in the administrative bureaucratic jobs in government as opposed to the research, development and technical jobs which locate increasingly in the suburbs. (The reader will note that in suburban relocation, it is not always the case that a whole agency or department will move, but only certain jobs and functions. The more

Table 6-27

Selected Characteristics of Washington SMSA Black Male Workers by Place of Work  
and Place of Residence, 1970

|  | LIVE IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA |                                     |                       |                         | LIVE OUTSIDE THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA |                                     |                       |                         |
|--|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
|  | Work<br>in<br>District<br>Core   | Work<br>Outside<br>District<br>Core | Work<br>in<br>Suburbs | Work<br>Outside<br>SMSA | Work<br>in<br>District<br>Core        | Work<br>Outside<br>District<br>Core | Work<br>in<br>Suburbs | Work<br>Outside<br>SMSA |
| Total (percent)                                  | 11                               | 50                                  | 19                    | 1                       | 5                                     | 25                                  | 54                    | 3                       |
| Mean Earnings<br>of Workers,<br>Aged 16-44       | 6232                             | 6085                                | 6645                  | 7275                    | 8349                                  | 7991                                | 5557                  | 7497                    |
| Mean Earnings<br>of Workers<br>Aged 45-64        | 7982                             | 7013                                | 6871                  | 9180                    | 8799                                  | 8860                                | 6709                  | 9253 <sup>327</sup>     |
| Mean Earnings<br>of All Workers                  | 6694                             | 6319                                | 6674                  | 7674                    | 8452                                  | 8148                                | 5739                  | 7627                    |
| Median School<br>Years (males)                   | 12.2                             | 12.0                                | 11.7                  | 12.4                    | 12.7                                  | 12.6                                | 11.8                  | 12.6                    |
| Percent Pro-<br>fessional and<br>Kindred Workers | 11.1                             | 10.9                                | 10.6                  | 21.9                    | 18.7                                  | 21.9                                | 8.8                   | 19.1                    |

NOTE: Percent do not total 100 because of rounding and because some workplaces were not reported.

Source: 1970 Census, PC(1)-D10

administrative jobs and communicative jobs remain in the city if there is a choice). While the remaining jobs may be professional and relatively well-paid, they are not as "cognitive" and well-paid as some of the jobs which leave the city.

Turning to the changes in family income (Table 6-28), we can see the substantial increase in the real incomes of black families. The increase in real income of blacks in the metropolitan area was 43%, versus the 34% increase in the city, suggesting a much greater increase of suburban blacks and black migrants than the inner city black. This doesn't mean that racial inequality was lessened, since suburban black increased from a smaller base. Table 6-29 presents the income distribution of blacks in Washington suburbs. The distribution shows that nearly half of the families have incomes at or above the median national income and Washington area median in 1970. This is a much greater percentage than black suburbanites generally and more than we observed in the Newark case. More detailed comparisons are presented in a section below.

The working wife has a substantial effect on the family income of blacks for all groups. We have explored the relationships elsewhere in the thesis. In Washington, there was no overall significant increase during the decade of the 1960's for black wives. Thus, we can conclude that the improvement in black family incomes reflect actual income increments and not changes in the labor participation rate. The exception to this general pattern is Prince Georges County.

Table 6-28

Change in Income Distribution of Blacks and Other Racial  
Minorities, Washington, D.C., 1959-1969 (in 1969 dollars)

| Income            | Number of<br>Families, 1969 | Change<br>1959-1969<br>(numbers) | Percent<br>Change<br>1959-1969 |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Less than \$4,000 | 23,000                      | -1,637                           | -7.1                           |
| \$4,000-\$7,999   | 37,000                      | -1,240                           | -3.4                           |
| \$8,000-\$11,999  | 18,500                      | 10,895                           | 58.9                           |
| \$12,000-\$14,999 | 5,500                       | 9,930                            | 180.5                          |
| \$15,000 Or More  | 7,000                       | 13,696                           | 195.7                          |
| TOTAL             | 91,000                      | 31,644                           | 34.0                           |
| \$8,000 and over  | 31,000                      | 34,521                           | 111.4                          |
| Under \$8,000     | 60,000                      | -2,877                           | -4.8                           |

NOTE: Family income distribution for 1959 estimated by interpolation from cumulative income curve with interval adjusted to 1969 levels using Consumer Price Index. Figures rounded to nearest 500.

Source: Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, Metropolitan Bulletin, Number 9 (August 1972), p. 1.

Table 6-29

Family Income Distribution of Blacks in Washington Suburbs,  
1970

| <u>Income</u>     | <u>Percent</u> |
|-------------------|----------------|
| Less than \$4,000 | 12.0           |
| \$4,000-\$7,999   | 25.4           |
| \$8,000-\$11,999  | 26.6           |
| \$12,000-\$14,999 | 14.2           |
| \$15,000-\$24,999 | 18.0           |
| \$25,000 or More  | 2.5            |

Source: Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies,  
Metropolitan Bulletin, Number 9 (August, 1972)  
p. 1.

(See Table 6-30). Unlike the modest gains elsewhere in the metropolitan area, Prince Georges had an increase in the participation rate of 17.6% These were the moderate income black families, where the wife contributes substantially to the families mobility and lifts the family from a marginal status. This effect shows up in Table 6-31 where we see that during the decade, the income of blacks in the county keep up with Montgomery County where the black workers are of substantially higher occupational stature, where many very high income blacks moved, and where there was no significant increase in the propensity of black wives to supplement family income.

In the Virginia counties, despite some modest increases in the participation of wives, and as we noted earlier, in occupational status, did not make substantial gains in family income compared to the District, or to other suburbs.

One final observation relates to the income of blacks in government employment (compared to total government workers). It is clear from Table 6-32 that blacks do not make as much in government employment as whites.<sup>48</sup> This is a function of the concentration of blacks in the lower occupational levels. What is significant from the examination of this data is that for blacks, this industry represent the place where blacks have the highest median income. However, much blacks fail to gain in opportunities in government, the gains elsewhere are less. Their median income by industry is lower for all other industries. For the total population, this is not the case.



Table 6-30

Civilian Labor Market Participation of Black Suburban  
Women by Washington SMSA Components, 1960 and 1970

|                       | Labor Market<br>Participation<br>1960 | Labor Market<br>Participation<br>1970 |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Total SMSA            | 52.2                                  | 58.7                                  |
| District of Columbia  | 52.7                                  | 58.2                                  |
| Montgomery County     | 58.5                                  | 60.8                                  |
| Prince Georges County | 45.1                                  | 62.8                                  |
| Arlington County      | 50.2                                  | 59.9                                  |
| Fairfax County        | 46.0                                  | 55.1                                  |
| Alexandria, Va.       | 51.4                                  | 57.8                                  |

Source: 1960 Census, PHC(1)-166, and 1970 Census, PHC(1)-266

Table 6-31

Median Earnings of Black Male Workers in Public  
Sector Jobs, 1970

|                               | Total Labor<br>Force | Black<br>Work Force |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| Total Government              | 12,089               | 7,510               |
| Postal Service                | 8,040                | 7,625               |
| Federal Public Administration | 13,497               | 7,646               |
| State and Local Government    | 9,269                | 7,599               |

---

Source: 1970 Census, PC(1)-D10, Table 188

Table 6-32

Median Income of Black Families in Washington Suburbs Compared to  
Black Families in the District, 1960 and 1970

|                       | 1960<br>Ratio | 1970<br>Ratio |
|-----------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Total SMSA            | .99           | 1.03          |
| Montgomery County     | .93           | 1.24          |
| Prince Georges County | 1.02          | 1.25          |
| Fairfax County        | .84           | .94           |
| Alexandria, Va.       | .82           | .85           |
| Arlington County      | .98           | 1.02          |

Source: Computed from data in 1960 Census, PHC(1)-166, and  
1970 Census, PHC(1)-266

Higher medians exist in other major industries in Washington, including commercial research, management and programming. Similar percentages of the total work force by race in the area are in government employment (24% for blacks and 26%) of the total population, however, blacks are more concentrated in the postal service (17% compared to only 7% of the jobs in the postal service).

We have noted the increased role of government in Washington and the higher rates which has produced increases for both blacks and whites. While the major growth has been in the suburbs, growth in the central city has been substantial and blacks have participated in that gain. The change in income relationships of blacks by county is presented in Table 6-33. Montgomery County blacks improved on the sheer weight of a greater proportion of higher status blacks, while Prince Georges County improved by a combination of higher status recent migrants and much higher participation by black wives in the labor force. The Virginia counties improved their occupational status, but the gains seems small in comparison with improvement both in the District and in the suburban Maryland counties. If there is any conclusion here, it is that in terms of class, the increased black suburbanization in Washington increased the intra-racial income inequalities which was evident in 1960. The Virginia blacks include many low-income blacks, fewer are in Montgomery, and the pattern in Prince Georges, while including a very broad

Table 6-33

## Inventory Changes in District of Columbia Housing Stock, 1960-1970

|  |         |         |
|--|---------|---------|
| 1960 Total Units                                     |         | 262,641 |
| Standard Units                                       | 235,628 |         |
| Substandard Units<br>(deteriorating and delapidated) | 27,628  |         |
| Percent Substandard                                  | 10.3%   |         |
| Percent Vacant                                       | 2.9%    |         |
| 1970 Total Units                                     |         | 278,444 |
| Standard Units                                       | 272,013 |         |
| Substandard Units<br>(lacking complete plumbing)     | 6,431   |         |
| Percent lacking complete<br>Plumbing                 | 2.4     |         |
| <u>Net Changes</u>                                   |         |         |
| Number Units   | 42,816  |         |
| Percent Net Change<br>(number of units)              | 6.3%    |         |
| Percent change in<br>number of households            | 5.0%    |         |
| Percent Vacant                                       | 5.6%    |         |

---

Source: 1960 Census, PHC(1)-166, and 1970 Census, PHC(1)-226

spectrums, turned in the recent migration to higher income blacks. These issues will be elaborated considerably in a later section of this case.

#### Social and Attitudinal Factors

In addition to the economic and political factors which have been reviewed above, there are attitudinal factors which affect the way black suburbanization actually happens. There has not been, in Washington or in any other area, a systematic survey of the attitudes of black suburbanites, or of blacks about possible suburban residence that would allow us to be very specific in this area. What we are interested in getting is some insight on the type of attitudes which blacks might have held during the 1960's which would suggest why various aspects of the migration and settlement of blacks happened as it did. The only source of insight on this question is the impressions gathered from interviews in Washington with various observers, actors and participants in the migration.<sup>49</sup> Many of those interviewed were blacks and faced or are facing the question of alternative places to live. The observations then are based on these interviews.

The first observation made was that District neighborhoods were rapidly decaying -- not always physical (though decay, abandonment and urban renewal did cause or contribute to some negative changes), but social as well. Crime became an increasing threat. The schools deteriorated and the housing when available and satisfactory for family buyers would be

expensive, or possibly in the path of even further decline. Assuming that the candidates for the move to the suburbs were really upwardly mobile moderate or middle income blacks, this was an important characteristic, and a definite "push" factor.

Another observation was that the District was not seemingly attempting to keep or attract prospering young black families. Sam Parker noted the decline of neighborhoods, the loss of family housing, and the replacement of it with either low-income housing (apartments) or luxury housing for singles, couples or very small families. He observed that hardly any family housing was built. He also observed, as the data (presented later) will support, that blacks who moved out were primarily seeking ownership, while such new housing as put up in the District was rental. While it is not possible to ascertain motive on the part of the city fathers (and developers), the clear impression to some was that black families seeking a home were not expected to be accommodated in the city.

There was, during the latter years of the decade, some rhetoric to discourage blacks from leaving the city on the notion (really emotion) that in so doing they would be selling out their poor brothers left in the city. Observers suggest that this was never a strong sentiment in the Washington area. Three reasons were cited for why this was not true. First, there has always been a large number of blacks living in the suburbs. The recent migration while different in many ways,

and to different places, was not really a new phenomenon. A second reason was that many blacks moved to areas without any real connection to the District. They did not have to contend with these comments. Finally, the outward movement cut across enough of the population to include people of widely different circumstances so that it could not be said that only middle class blacks moved to the suburbs. To further emphasize this point, observers noted that the blacks social and cultural life still emanates from the District. We have already noted that professional life does so as well. This means that regardless of where blacks live, the social life of the District goes on much as it would if blacks were more centrally located. Blacks were free to consider advantages or attractions of suburban living.

Another set of observations related to why blacks seem to prefer Maryland over Virginia suburbs. What seems to be at the bottom of the preference for Maryland is the feeling that "the South starts at the Potomac," and that moving to Virginia would be like moving to the South. (The reader will note that while most Washington blacks have roots in the South, most migrants to suburbs from outside the SMSA are from areas outside the South). Another observer noted that while the black feeling might be this way, Prince Georges County is more southern in appearance and ambience than is northern Virginia.<sup>50</sup> Nevertheless, the feeling seems to exist and seems to have been buttressed during the 1960's by the



association of Virginia with the "massive resistance" (to school integration) common in the South. Montgomery County has been associated with northern liberalism, and no doubt accounts for its attractiveness to blacks who move from other regions. The more substantive reasons for the preference for Maryland was suggested to be its accessibility via public transportation. The bridges across the Potomac and the limited transportation services to Virginia would make it less accessible to the black family without a car.

A second substantive observation is that the Maryland suburbs are on the eastern side of the District in the path of the sectoral growth which black communities typically follow. It is not possible to establish causation here, but all of these factors seem to have something to do with the preference of blacks for Maryland over Virginia suburbs.

In summary then, while there seems to have been some mainly push factors at work in the District, the reasons for black suburban migration might have been far more substantive than anything noted in this section. Blacks who moved were looking for homes to buy, in communities less stricken with crime, and more appropriate for their families. The District was not offering that to the growing numbers of black families during the 1960's, and there was no sentiment generally that was strong enough to prevent them from exercising the choice which was granted by their increasing incomes,

and selective openings in suburban housing market. Thus, a disposition to move existed which overshadowed any sentiments for making the District a model black city.

### Housing and the Process of Black Suburbanization

Housing is the central issue in the study of the process of black suburbanization. Housing decisions are part of the calculation of costs and benefits to the suburban move. Housing affects the community status, and is associated with family status mobility. Additionally, all of the explanations for black suburbanization revolve around housing decisions. Housing, more than decisions in other areas, is associated with the move directly, where employment, political structure, etc., have an indirect effect at best.

In this section of the case, the examination will focus on the following areas: the nature of the housing stock in the District and the suburbs, the needs and demands of the black population on the stock and its adequacy in meeting various groups, and the financial characteristics of the housing in the Washington area and changes during the decade of the 1960's.

The housing stock of the District itself, like that of many inner cities, is old. More than 60% of the housing was built before 1940 (see Table 6-33). The stock is characterized by apartments and attached single family housing. Most of the detached single family housing is limited to better off areas in the western part of the District. The District has

and has had for sometime, a large amount of housing which is substandard or housing which is located in blighted neighborhoods. Because of different ways of measuring housing quality, this information does not show up in Table 6-34. However, a decade of renewal, and the recent evidence of abandonment provide ample testimony.<sup>51</sup> Demolition in the major urban renewal areas was so great that the overall program had to be halted when it was found that relocation housing had been exhausted.<sup>52</sup> As blacks were forced from the various renewal areas to other parts of the District, the blight spread intensified since the relocation housing was inappropriate for the new users, mainly large and poor families.

The most important feature of the inner city housing market, however, was the absolute decline in number of units available for owner occupancy. In 1960, there were 75,575 units which were owner-occupied. In 1970, the number of such units had shrunk to 73,980 units. In 1970, there were less than 900 units available for sale, and at a median price higher than the value of District owner-occupied housing. Given the need for family housing and the desire for ownership, the significance of this is obvious. While the number of blacks who lived in owner-occupied housing increased by 8,000 during the decade (due to white exodus of those units), the pressure on the housing market in terms of owner-occupied housing was so great that there was still demand. There was

Table 6-34

## Selected Characteristics of Housing Units in Metropolitan Washington, 1970

|  | District | Mont-<br>gomery | Prince<br>Georges | Arlington | Fairfax<br>County | Alexandria |
|--|----------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------|-------------------|------------|
| Lack Complete Plumbing                   | 2.3      | 1.2             | 1.6               | 1.0       | 1.5               | 1.0        |
| Median Number of Rooms                   | 3.9      | 6.0             | 5.2               | 4.5       | 6.3               | 4.4        |
| Median Value<br>(owner-occupied housing) | 21,300   | 32,700          | 23,700            | 29,500    | 35,400            | 26,900     |
| Median Rent (contract)                   | 110      | 165             | 143               | 140       | 164               | 141        |
| Percent Single Family<br>Units           | 36.8     | 68.5            | 56.2              | 41.9      | 74.6              | 38.7       |
| Units built 1950-1959                    | 16.3     | 31.0            | 25.5              | 26.6      | 31.4              | 20.9       |
| Units built pre-1940                     | 46.9     | 11.5            | 8.7               | 18.5      | 4.8               | 18.2       |

Source: 1960 Census, PHC(1)-166, and 1970 Census, PHC(1)-226

also a limit to the number of whites who would leave especially east of the park (since many of them had left in the '50's). The high prices and stable neighborhoods west of the park limited black encroachment in that area. Thus, the black family interested in a modest-priced or starter home had declining alternatives in the District with low vacancies and high prices on one hand, and blight and decay on the other.

The situation in the suburbs was more mixed, however. (See Table 6-34). While the housing was more expensive, on the average, there were many areas in the suburbs with housing for sale which was comparable to the house prices in the District, and certainly within the means of even moderate income blacks. The availability of such housing was the result both of rapid building in the larger counties and the turnover in housing in older areas near the District as whites moved to new housing in more distant locations outside the beltway. All of the suburbs had a substantial number of units in the 5 to 6 room frame style common in the 1950's. Housing of this type in Prince Georges and Arlington counties was especially prevalent. This housing was superior in amenities to any comparably priced housing in the District, and with few exceptions, the neighborhood appearance and ambience was thought to be better.<sup>53</sup> Blacks moved to housing in the near Prince Georges area in a corridor eastward from the District. Home-owners exceeded renters in this population though the proportions were close.

The financial characteristics are summarized in Table 6-35. Over the 10 year period, rents and values increase in the Washington area by almost 28%. This is somewhat more than the increase: the District experienced and slightly less than the increase in the component suburban counties. Montgomery and Fairfax counties were the counties with the greatest increase. These are only median numbers for all housing, and buyers often had to pay higher prices than those reflected in the table.

The small appreciation in the Washington market may be another reason why black home buyers might have been apprehensive about the market, as whites certainly had shown themselves to be. Table 6-35 shows that blacks in Prince Georges County were in housing in near comparable value (but greater appreciation) as District black owners. This reinforces the notion that there was a lot of housing in the suburbs which is good quality and modest, and within the financial means of a wide range of blacks. This was more true in Prince Georges County than in any other county. During the 1960's, 30,800 new units were added to the stock of suburban housing.<sup>54</sup> Of these, almost 14,000 were owner-occupied homes, and the remaining units rental units. Of the new homes, 700 were occupied by blacks, and 900 black families moved into the new apartments. These new homes averaged 7 rooms, and the apartment averaged 4.2 rooms. Most of the new homes were built and occupied by 1968 (10,200 of them). Almost 12,000 of the

Table 6-35

Financial Characteristics of Washington Area Housing, And Black Housing,  
1960 and 1970, and Change, 1960 to 1970 (1970 dollars)

|                          | RENT (Median Contract) |      |                                | VALUE (Median Values) |        |                                | Median<br>Black<br>Rent<br>1970 | Median<br>Black<br>Value<br>1970 |
|--------------------------|------------------------|------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|--------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
|                          | 1960                   | 1970 | Percent<br>Change<br>1960-1970 | 1960                  | 1970   | Percent<br>Change<br>1960-1970 |                                 |                                  |
| SMSA                     | 105                    | 135  | 28.5                           | 21,900                | 28,200 | 27.8                           | 101                             | 19,100                           |
| District                 | 96                     | 110  | 16.7                           | 19,800                | 21,300 | 7.5                            | 98                              | 18,700                           |
| Montgomery<br>County     | 125                    | 165  | 32.0                           | 25,300                | 32,700 | 29.2                           | 139                             | 27,400                           |
| Prince Georges<br>County | 110                    | 143  | 30.0                           | 19,300                | 32,700 | 22.8                           | 131                             | 19,800                           |
| Arlington<br>County      | 123                    | 140  | 13.8                           | 24,100                | 29,500 | 22.4                           | 117                             | 18,800                           |
| Fairfax County           | 125                    | 164  | 31.2                           | 24,000                | 35,400 | 47.5                           | 163                             | 23,300                           |
| Alexandria               | 108                    | 141  | 30.5                           | 21,100                | 26,900 | 27.5                           | 103                             | 17,600                           |

Source: 1960 Census, PHC(1)-166, and 1970 Census PHC(1)-226

buyers of the new homes had incomes in excess of \$10,000 and the median education level was 15 years.

The reader will also note that there was expansion of housing in nearby Charles and Howard counties (which are not part of the Washington SMSA). Whites were also able to get new housing in these areas. Additional building was going on in the outer parts of the suburban Washington counties. Home construction picked up in these other places when it slowed in the inner part of Prince Georges and Montgomery counties, especially Prince Georges (where a sewer hook-up moratorium prevented some building, and where cost increases made it difficult to build modest priced housing).

Washington experienced a major civil disturbance in 1968 following the death of Dr. Martin Luther King. All of these events and data laid the groundwork for the massive shift outward reflected in the 1970 census. Some of the shifts have only been recently uncovered, however. There is a lag between events and reactions to them. During the period, 1970-72, the number of whites in Prince Georges County began to decline.<sup>55</sup> The loss of 6,900 whites reflects a decline of 1.2% in the white population. During the same period, the black population in the county increased by 40,700, an increase of 41%. Montgomery County did not experience a decline in its white population, but the 5% increase was dwarfed by the 36% increase in the black population (10,300 blacks) during this 2-year post-census period.



On the basis of the evidence, several things seems to have happened in the Washington area:

1. The modest-priced housing inside the beltway in Prince Georges was attractive (particularly given limited options in the District) to blacks from the District who were looking for starter homes to buy.
2. Whites in Prince Georges had many more options -- in outer Prince Georges, Montgomery, the Virginia counties, Howard, Ann Arundel counties, etc. Many of the whites left because they could afford to or wanted to; others who are now older and who moved in the beginning may have moved to housing more appropriate to their mature family stage. Some whites realized that social changes associated with the immigration of blacks made their move consistent with previous moves they might have made to avoid contact with blacks.
3. The drastic slowdown on building in the mid-'60's made things even more unstable, because the decline in number of new homes reflected popular expectations that Prince Georges was not going to keep pace with the other counties in terms of relative social status.

When all of this is played out, the result was a very slow decline in the number of whites, and the rapid growth in the number of blacks.

It was observed earlier that blacks had not moved into the Virginia suburbs in significant numbers. In looking at the data for the period between the census and 1972, that pattern had not changed at all, and the proportion of blacks was holding steady in all areas.

The near doubling of the black population in the 1960's was a significant change for the area. The pattern of that change, now that we have the background information, will be taken up in the next section.

#### The Pattern of Black Suburban Settlement

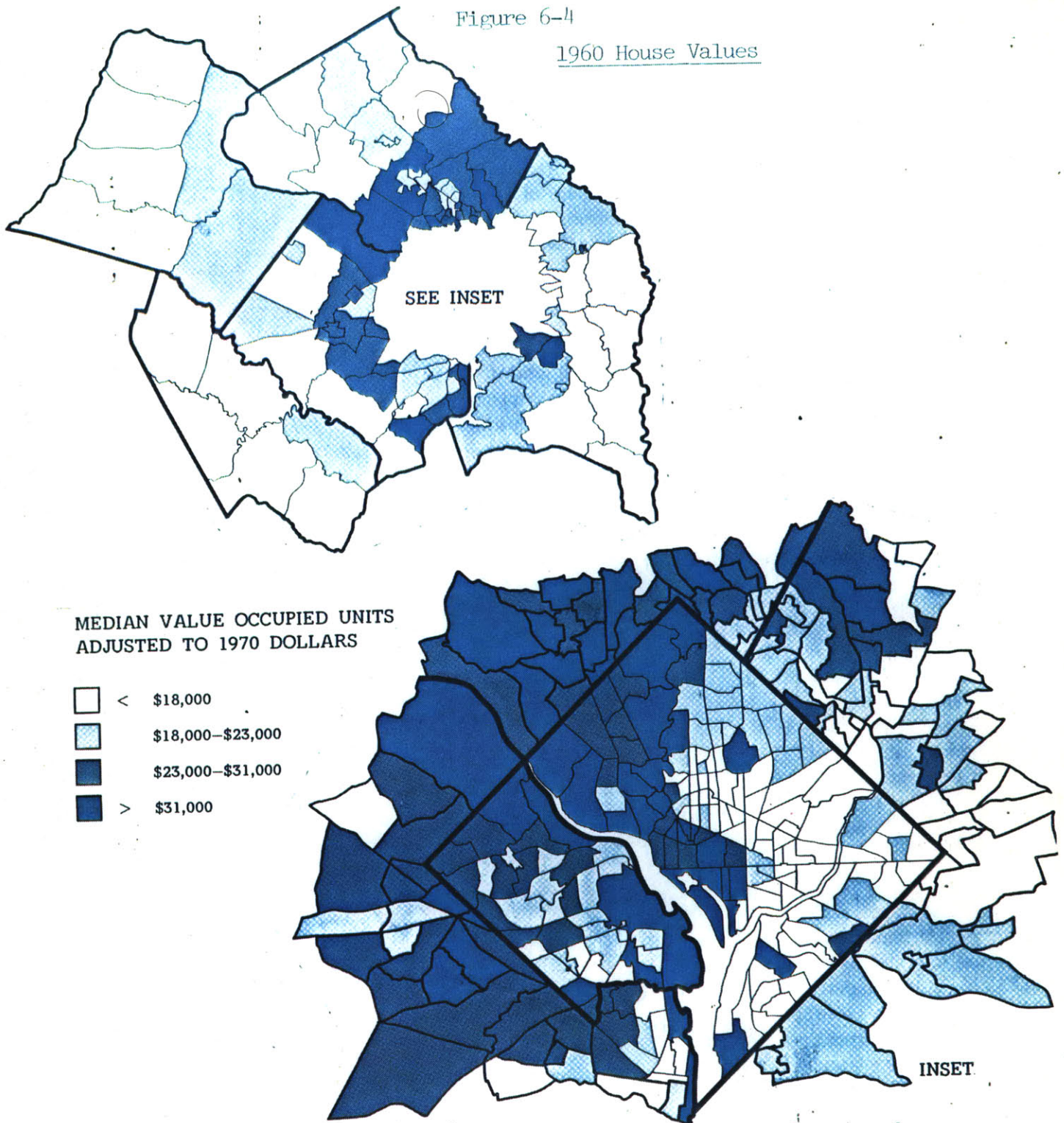
In an early part of this case, the historical experience of blacks in the suburbs was described. It was noted that at the turn of the century, blacks made up more than 32% of the suburban Washington population, and that the number declined in every decade until 1960 when during the '60's the proportion of blacks in the suburbs began to climb again, from 6.4% in 1960 to 7.9% in 1970. It was further pointed out that the surge in black suburbanization was proportionately greater than the large increase in the total suburban population in the last years of the decade.

In this section of the case, the aim is to use all of the data provided above and make some sense of the pattern which black suburbanization has produced. An attempt will be made to understand both the movement from the city and the dispersal (or lack of it) in the suburbs.

It should be clear to the reader by now that the changes which have occurred in the Washington area are far more substantial and widespread than in the Newark case. Where the black increase in Newark was limited to a few inner suburban areas and only slight growth in the outer and wealthier counties, we see growth in both the Maryland counties are very marginal, but still noticeable growth in the Virginia counties. Figure 6-6,7 illustrates graphically, the change which has occurred in the Washington area. It shows that blacks have moved primarily eastward into Prince Georges County in what is traditionally viewed as a sectoral movement. The northeastward movement has put some blacks in Montgomery County.

A clearer picture of the recent change, however, comes from Figure 6-8 which shows the change in black school enrollment between the Fall of 1967 and the Fall of 1970. From this map the most notable increase, though not all of them, appear within the beltway. The areas outside the beltway show either stability or decline in the black school enrollment. This data emphasizes that at least in Prince Georges County, the number of school districts which have no blacks is on the decline and that blacks have increased enrollment in these areas. Fairfax and Montgomery counties also had increases. Only Arlington County had a systematic decrease in the black enrollment.

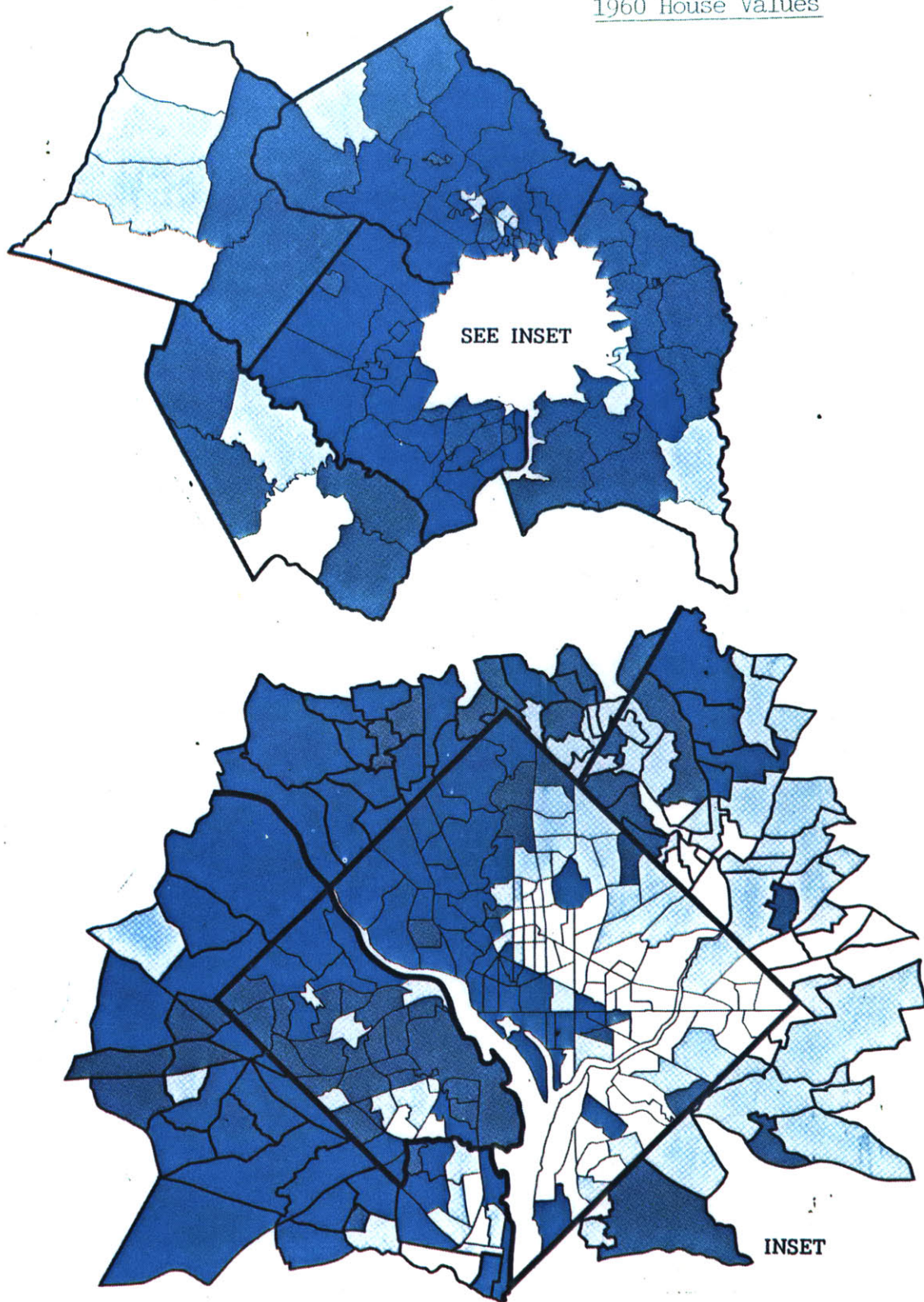
Figure 6-4

1960 House Values

Source: Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments



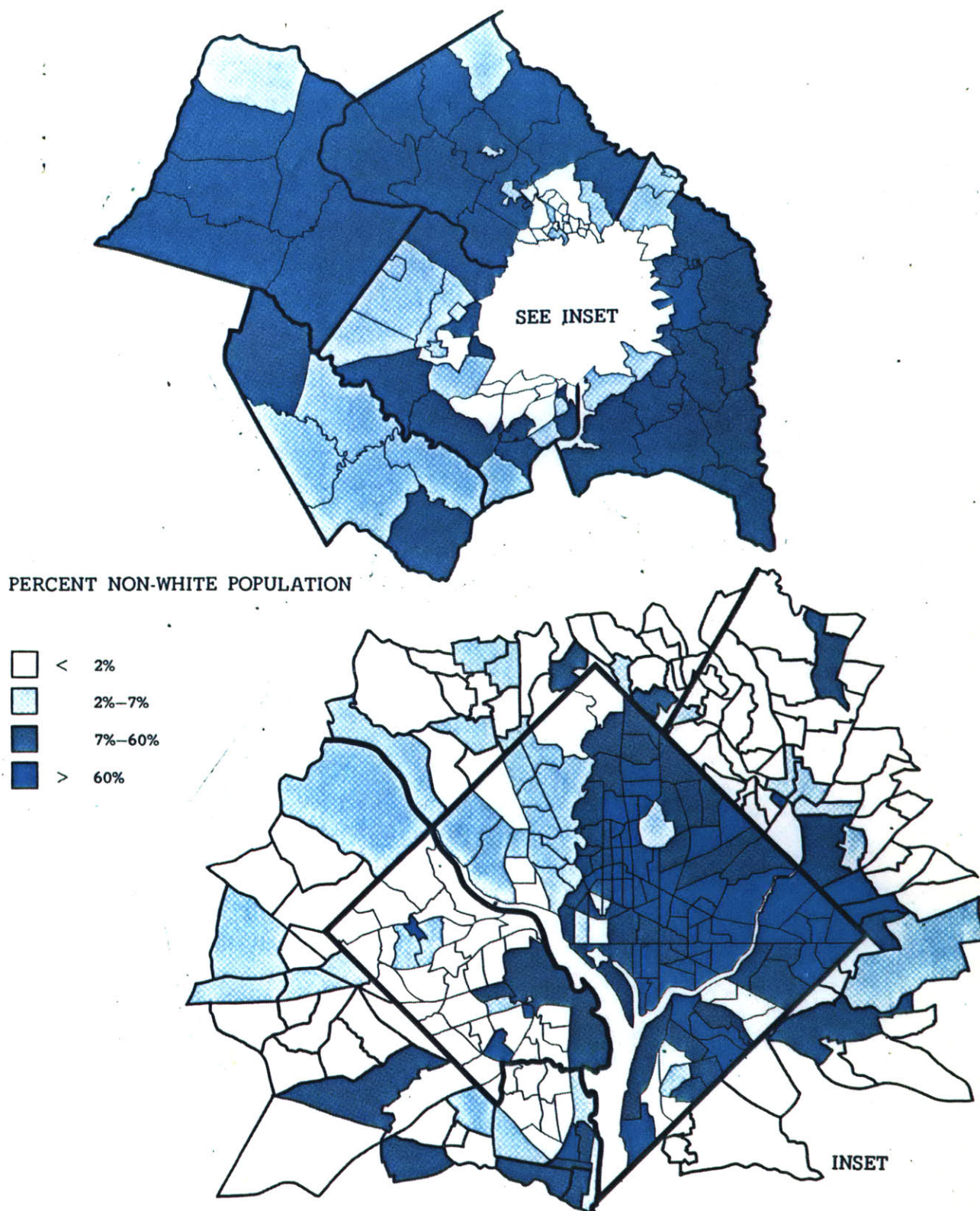
Figure 6-5

1960 House Values

Source: Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments



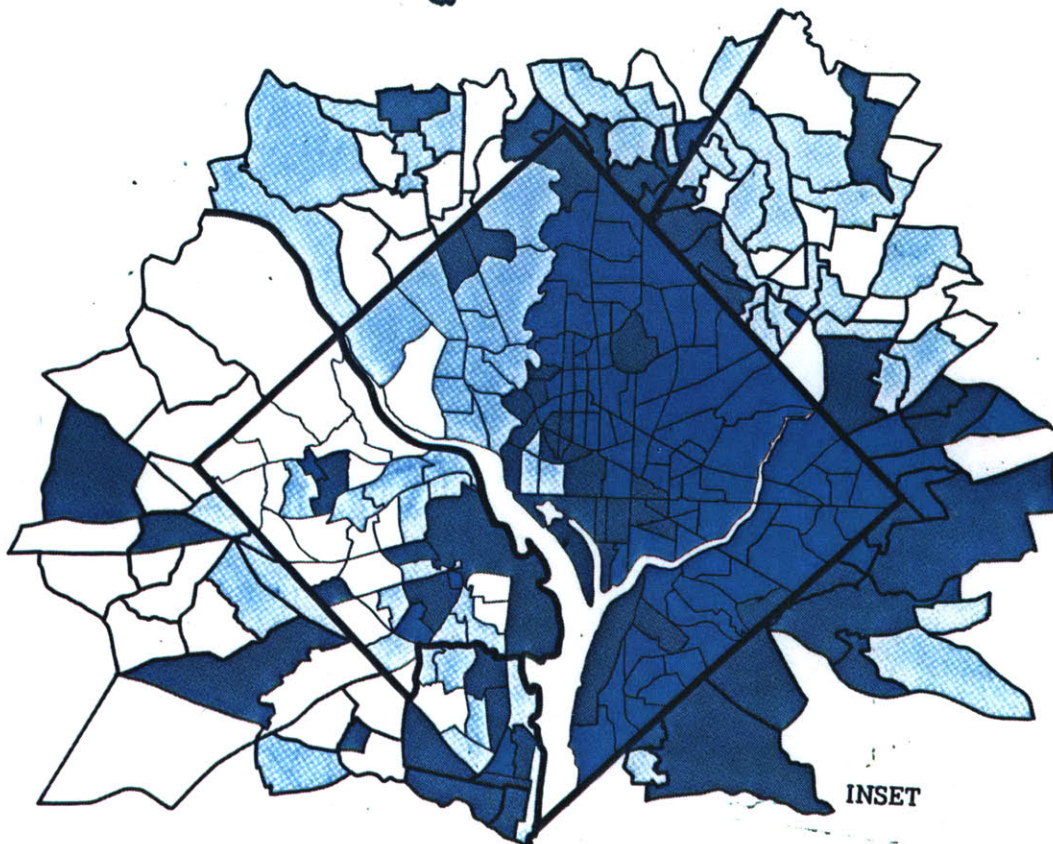
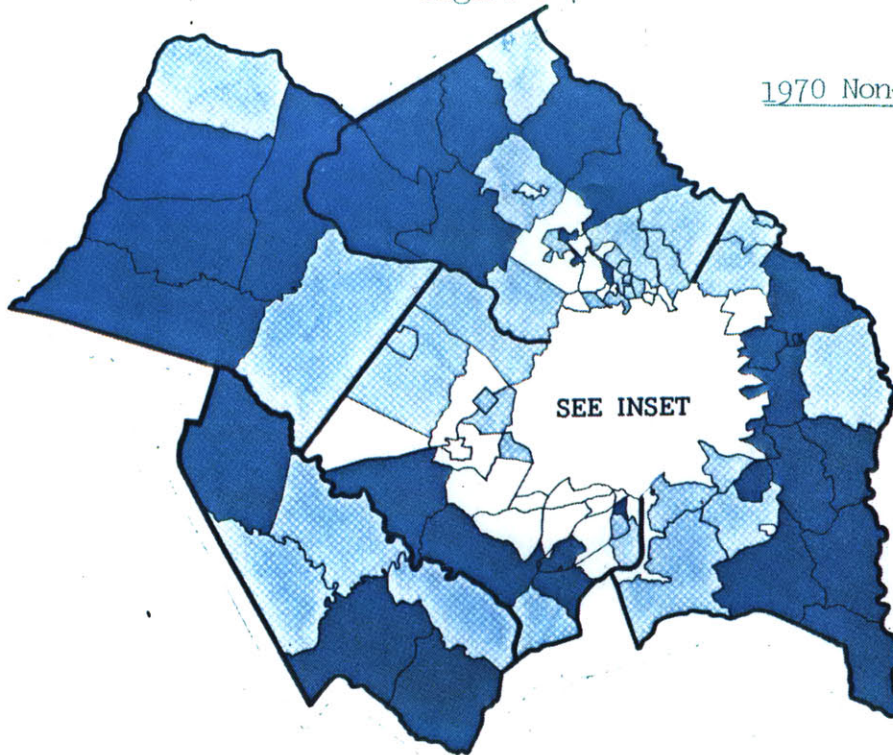
Figure 6-6

1960 Non-White Population

Source: Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments



Figure 6-7

1970 Non-White Population

Source: Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments

Figure 6-8



Source: Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies



Table 6-36 looks more closely at the destination of movers by tenure status during the decade. The static situation of the Virginia counties is highlighted. The changes in the Maryland counties come through clearly. In successive periods during the decade, decreasing numbers of both owners and renters moved to District destinations, and more moved to Maryland destinations -- largely to Prince Georges County. Montgomery County only got an increased share in the late part of the decade, though its share of renters did not make any significant change.

Consistent with the notion that black suburbanization is related to family stage and class (income), Table 6-37 shows that younger and higher income black movers chose suburban destinations much more frequently than did older or poorer blacks. This table and our information about the type of housing available in the suburbs emphasizes the role played by the availability of "starter" housing in the inner areas of Prince Georges County and the role of family and class in black suburbanization. This is the type of housing which could be afforded by the young black families who despite their educational income and occupational status did not have substantial equity to put in even better housing.

Table 6-38 presents the change in share of the black metropolitan population resulting from the decade changes. Again, the Virginia counties remained pretty much the same, while Prince Georges took up most of the loss experienced by

Table 6-36

## Black Families by Tenure and Destination of Move, Washington Metropolitan Area, 1970

|                                 | Destination of Move        |                             |                      |                                |  | Total |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|--|-------|
|                                 | District<br>of<br>Columbia | Prince<br>Georges<br>County | Montgomery<br>County | Arlington<br>and<br>Alexandria | Fairfax<br>Loudoun &<br>Prince Wm.<br>Counties |       |
| <u>Total Black Owners 1970</u>  | 68%                        | 20%                         | 4%                   | 4%                             | 4%   | 100%  |
| Moved 1968-1970                 | 45%                        | 39%                         | 10%                  | 3%                             | 3%   | 100%  |
| Moved 1965-1967                 | 59%                        | 32%                         | 1%                   | 6%                             | 2%   | 100%  |
| Moved prior to 1965             | 77%                        | 11%                         | 4%                   | 3%                             | 5%   | 100%  |
| <u>Total Black Renters 1970</u> | 82%                        | 9%                          | 2%                   | 4%                             | 3%   | 100%  |
| Moved 1968-1970                 | 75%                        | 13%                         | 4%                   | 4%                             | 4%   | 100%  |
| Moved 1965-1967                 | 87%                        | 7%                          | 2%                   | 3%                             | 1%   | 100%  |
| Moved Prior to 1965             | 89%                        | 4%                          | 2%                   | 4%                             | 1%   | 100%  |

Source: Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, "Development of Model Procedures for Analyzing The Minority Housing Market: Report of Phase I," Washington, D.C. (June 1974), p. 119.

Table 6-37

Age and Income of Black Families by Destination of Move, Washington Metropolitan Area,  
1968-1970

|  | Destination of Move        |                             |                      |                                |  | Total |
|--|----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|--|-------|
|  | District<br>of<br>Columbia | Prince<br>Georges<br>County | Montgomery<br>County | Arlington<br>and<br>Alexandria | Fairfax<br>Loudoun &<br>Prince Wm.<br>Counties |       |
| Black Recent-Mover<br>Owners 1968-1970 |                            |                             |                      |                                |  |       |
| All Families with Head                 |                            |                             |                      |                                |  |       |
| Under 35                               | 69%                        | 19%                         | 3%                   | 4%                             | 5%   | 100%  |
| Over 35                                | 73%                        | 15%                         | 7%                   | 2%                             | 3%   | 100%  |
| All Families<br>With Incomes           |                            |                             |                      |                                |  |       |
| Under \$10,000                         | 74%                        | 13%                         | 3%                   | 8%                             | 5%   | 100%  |
| \$10,000 and over                      | 54%                        | 31%                         | 8%                   | 3%                             | 4%   | 100%  |

Source: Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, "Development of Model Procedures for Analyzing the Minority Housing Market: Report of Phase I," Washington, D.C. (June 1974), p. 120.

Table 6-38

Percent Share of Metropolitan Black Population of District  
and Other Jurisdictions, 1960 and 1970

|                       | <u>1960</u> | <u>1970</u> |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Total                 | 100         | 100         |
| District              | 83.8        | 75.5        |
| Prince Georges County | 6.5         | 13.5        |
| Montgomery County     | 2.6         | 3.1         |
| Fairfax County        | 2.9         | 2.6         |
| Arlington County      | 1.8         | 1.5         |
| Alexandria            | 2.1         | 2.2         |
| Other                 | .3          | 1.6*        |

\* Includes the addition of Loudoun and Prince William counties  
to the SMSA

Source: 1960 Census, PHC(1)-166, and 1970 Census, PHC(1)-266

the District. On the basis of this evidence, it cannot be generally concluded that there was substantial dispersal to all suburban sectors. The growth in Prince Georges County occurred but most of the other counties did not have substantial changes. The real test of whether dispersal occurred can be made by looking at the census tract data for 1960 and 1970 for the metropolitan area. Table 6-39 presents this data. The data in this table does suggest that there has been some dispersal especially in Prince Georges, and to a lesser extent, Montgomery. Most of the all white tracts have been desegregated in Prince Georges, and blacks are in higher concentration in a larger number of tracts. The number of majority black tracks remained fairly constant over the decade.

Montgomery County increased its number of all white tracts, but it also increased substantially the number of tracts in which blacks are in small concentrations. The number of tracts with high concentrations of blacks remained nearly the same. Given the relatively small number of tracts in Alexandria, it is not possible to make strong conclusions about the pattern there, though it does not appear that anything substantial happened.

Both Arlington and Fairfax seem to have some increase in the number of all white tracts without any compensating dispersal. This is especially true in the rapidly growing and expensive Fairfax County. Overall, the 1970 picture looks more encouraging. Two-thirds of the tracts have 1% to 5% blacks,

Table 6-39

## Concentration of Blacks by Census Tracts for Suburban Washington, 1960 and 1970

|                       | No Blacks | Less than<br>1% | 1-5%      | 6-10%     | 11-49%    | 50% or more |
|-----------------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|
| Montgomery County     | 1.5/3.8   | 53.0/24.2       | 22.7/50.7 | 9.1/8.3   | 13.6/12.1 | 0/1.0       |
| Prince Georges County | 13.5/4.3  | 40.5/23.6       | 9.5/27.9  | 14.7/12.4 | 13.5/22.4 | 8.1/9.3     |
| Arlington County      | 0/10.0    | 73.7/45.0       | 10.5/22.5 | 7.9/12.5  | 0/2.5     | 7.9/7.5     |
| Fairfax County        | 0/8.4     | 33.3/46.2       | 37.7/32.1 | 15.5/2.8  | 13.3/9.4  | 0/1.0       |
| Alexandria            | 5.3/3.3   | 42.1/30.0       | 26.3/33.3 | 0/6.7     | 26.3/20.0 | 5.3/6.7     |
| Other*                | 0/4.1     | 54.4/28.4       | 36.4/36.5 | 9.1/6.7   | 0/24.3    | 0/0         |

\* Includes Falls Church and split tracts in 1960, and Prince William, Loudoun, Falls Church and split tracts in 1970.

Source: 1960 Census PHC(1)-166, and 1970 Census PHC(1)-226

and only 4% of the tracts are majority black, suggesting that overall the migration did not result in the creation or the perpetuation of black enclaves in the suburbs. It also suggests that there was an increase in dispersal, albeit a clustered pattern. A more detailed look at some of this clustered pattern continues below.

In Montgomery County in 1960, blacks were concentrated in the outer part of the county (tracts #0025 and #0018 east and west of upper Georgia Ave.). These were areas of established black communities. The concentrations ranged from 10% to 49%. The blacks were mainly poor, compared both to other suburban residents and to the blacks in the District. The men were mostly operatives, and laborers, and the women were domestics. Even in some of the more developed areas like Wheaton, there were few high income blacks and the median income for blacks in these tracts did not exceed \$4,200, which was lower than the District median black income of \$4,800. The census does not give information for the black families in tracts with very few blacks, but it is suspected that these were the blacks who were the early pioneers in suburbanization, and that their status might have been similar (in income and occupation) to that of whites in those tracts. With the exception of these tracts just across the border, there was not much clue from the 1960 census of what was to happen in the decade of the 1960's.

In 1970, blacks had become much more diffuse (see Table 6-39). Blacks were in small concentration all over the suburban area. Only one tract (in Rockville's established black community) became majority blacks during the decade. Only 5 of the 132 tracts in the county had no blacks. Wheaton, Rockville and Silver Spring had the largest concentration, but by no means could these blacks be labeled as isolated as some of the 1960 Prince Georges or Virginia tracts were.

In the areas of black concentration, the difference in the median income of the black families is often substantial. In two Rockville tracts (#7009.01 and #7009.02), the difference is more than \$3,000 apart, accounted for by the higher income and new black migrants to the area. There are similar differences in status between tracts in which blacks have been for some time and those which have experienced recent migration of blacks. The overall pattern is that blacks in Montgomery County, when broken down by recency of migration appear to have the higher status blacks than those who moved to the other Maryland counties.

The general dispersal of the black population in the county is partly attributed, in part, to a strong fair housing operation in the county which had dispersal as a goal.<sup>56</sup> The activists deliberately guided blacks to a variety of areas and used "testing" as a means to combat the "steering" which was experienced in other counties. While it is difficult to lay responsibility for the dispersal, it



did happen so that blacks are in concentrations of 1% to 10% in 78 of the 132 tracts in the county.

Professor John Claude-Thomas of the Catholic University has done a detailed mapping of the suburbanization of the black population in Washington, including a hard number estimate of the origin of new blacks to the county in the period 1965-70.<sup>57</sup> He estimates that 3,315 blacks came from the District, mostly up Georgia Avenue, and 3,535 came from outside the SMSA. 383 came from other suburban counties.

Integrationists would be pleased at the observations in Montgomery County. The process of black suburbanization is one of dispersal to areas (along Route 70) where highest paid jobs are moving, and attracting blacks who "fit" into the community without causing any apparent instability. Needless to say, the benefits from this process are rather limited, given the overall suburbanization in the Washington area, but nevertheless real.

The changes which occurred in Prince Georges was more substantial. In 1960's, some blacks were concentrated in majority black areas (tracts #0043, #0045, #0030 and #0031). These were the more traditional black areas such as Glenarden and Seat Pleasant. The more general pattern was of blacks being on the outer perimeter of the county (tracts #0004 through #00010). These were the rural or semi-rural areas (there was, however, some warehousing activity near the major transportation areas). The median income ranged from \$3,500 to \$5,100,

though for the most part the medians were less than the District's black median of \$4,800. The median education ranged from 6.3 years to 8.6 years of schooling. Few of the blacks had lived in the District in the previous decade. Blacks were not majorities in these areas but were in concentrations ranging from 11% to 49%. So in 1960, the blacks ranged at or below the status of blacks in the District and had much lower status than the whites in Prince Georges County.

In 1970, by which time many more blacks had moved into the county, blacks were in all but 7 of the 161 tracts in the county. The pattern was no longer simple. Some of the outer black areas became majority black (tracts #0004 and #0005). These were the relatively poor communities and rural communities which experienced out-migration of whites. The second trend, however, is the most important for it related to the migration of blacks from the District. The tract analysis supports the sectoral movement of blacks (measured by an increase in the percentage of blacks in the tracks) due east from the District. These were the tracks with the largest increase in blacks, though blacks moved into other areas as well. This "corridor" corresponds with a number of variables mapped by Professor Thomas. This is the area of the oldest housing and the lowest incomes in the inner part of the county. It is also the location of the oldest white population.

Within the whole county, the range of median income of the blacks in the tracts varied from a low in 1970 of \$5,142

in a Bowie tract to \$12,000 in a College Park tract, to \$17,000 in another tract in a newer area. Significant differences often occur between adjacent tracts, suggesting, as some interviews suggested that realtors and developers steered blacks to interstitial areas between established black areas and yet to be invaded by white areas. Since some of this was new or recently constructed housing for middle income families, this might explain some of the variation. The rest of it can be explained by the intermixing of higher income migrant blacks with blacks who were suburban incumbents. The new blacks clearly had higher incomes, and were in the better housing recently vacated by whites. This results in a certain amount of class segregation among blacks, though the sharpest differences are between counties, and between old and new areas.

The pattern of change in the Virginia counties is constrained by the relatively small increase in the black population in those counties. There are several observations which may be made, however:

1. While there are several established black communities in northern Virginia, the number of black tracts increased only marginally (tracts #2007 and #4028 turned black in the 1960's). The small increase in the black suburban population dispersed rather broadly.

2. There was an increase in the number of all white tracts during the 1960's, from 3 in 1960 to 17 in 1970. The change is primarily a reflection of what happened in affluent Fairfax County. But even in Fairfax County, the few new blacks dispersed into many more tracts. The total number of tracts in the county increased substantially, and this accounts for the increase in the number of all white tracts since blacks did not move to all of these new areas.
3. The blacks who did participate in the growth of the northern Virginia suburbs were mainly outsiders. Professor Thomas estimates that only 475 blacks moved to Fairfax from the District, while almost 6,000 moved to the county in the last half of the 1960's.<sup>59</sup>
4. As the maps show, the concentration of blacks in northern Virginia is in the area near the District and the Potomac. They are both in established areas and in new apartment developments as well. Nearly all of the concentrations are within the Capital Beltway, and the socio-economic distribution is segmented, with the older established black areas having the lower income

black, and the more middle class areas having the more recent prosperous black migrants.

5. The suburban communities vary in the extent to which blacks and whites are comparable in basic socio-economic characteristics. In the upper middle class communities, blacks and whites are similar. While the black median income may be a little lower, this is usually due to the fact that the blacks are younger and have yet to reach their career peak. In the more moderate income areas, the incomes are often comparable (due mainly to higher black female labor market participation than white wives). The significant point, however, is that there are major differences in family stage, with the black family typically having school age kids, while the white family is much more advanced in the family life cycle (with older or grown children). In the few lower class areas, the blacks generally have higher status in terms of income and education than their white neighbors.

#### Summary

In the Washington case, the shortage of family housing, and the rise in the number of blacks in the moderate and middle income categories is associated with the move to suburbia. The availability of a large supply of modest and moderately priced

housing in the eastern suburban corridor was attractive to blacks seeking homes during the 1960's. Black opportunities also opened up in Montgomery County, but movement to Virginia was much more limited.

The black suburbanization in Washington does not appear to have been a single process, but several. The process proceeded differently depending on the income class of the blacks, their origin, the period during the decade in which the move was made, whether the destination was an inner area or an outer area, and alternatives available to whites. These points will be further explored in the context of the popular explanations for black suburbanization and our hypotheses. The next chapter will be synthetic in that it will look at the findings from Chapters Four and Five, and the conclusions reached in these two cases to develop a more rigorous statement of the process of black suburbanization.

## NOTES

1. These two case studies form the third major element of the thesis. The first two dealt with a national sample around issues of who moved, and the kind of physical setting they were in. This element is an examination of the detailed pattern suburbanization in the SMSA and factors associated with the change in the pattern.
2. Suburbs were once thought of as a more or less homogeneous group of urban communities. Differentiation, as used here refers to the differences in suburban community characteristics on such variables as class, race, age, physical stock features, level of public investment, etc. Implicitly, black suburbanization is associated with this trend.
3. Unless otherwise cited, demographic references in this chapter are based on various series of the U.S. Census.
4. For evidence of historical aspects of the Newark, the author relied heavily on the New Jersey Conference of Social Work, The Interracial Committee, The Negro in New Jersey, 1932; John Bebout and Ronald Grele, Where Cities Meet: The Urbanization of New Jersey, (Princeton: D. Von Norstrand Company, 1964; and Robert Burchell, James Hughes and George Sternlieb, Housing Costs, and Housing Restraints: Newark, New Jersey, (New Brunswick; Center for Urban Social Science Research, May 1970), especially Chapter 2.
5. See Harold Kaplan, Urban Renewal Politics: Clearance in Newark (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), pp. 153-56.
6. For a discussion of available land and zoning restrictions by county, see Franklin James and James Hughes, Modeling State Growth: New Jersey 1980 (New Brunswick: Center for Urban Policy Research, 1973), pp. 157-65, 228-39, 290-97.
7. See New Jersey Conference of Social Work, p. 80; and 1970 Census of Population.
8. Ibid.
9. More than observed in the national sample, Newark's black suburbanization seems to have been a decade long process. Only 13,000 of the 55,000 blacks who moved to the suburbs during the decade moved there in the second half of the decade.

10. Interview with Susan Stevens, Deputy Planning Officer, City of Newark Planning Department, September 26, 1974.
11. Kaplan, pp. 153-56.
12. For a discussion of the fiscal dimensions of this historical development, see Bebout and Grele, pp. 61-62.
13. See Morris County Planning Board, Preliminary Housing Study: Morris County New Jersey (no date), p. 6. Also see Regional Plan Association, The Future of Morris County, July 1970, pp. 22-23.
14. Provision for this authority is contained in New Jersey Laws, Title 55:14A. For a discussion of the impact on housing development restrictions, see Hammer, Greene Siler Associates, The Economy of Union County, New Jersey: An Economic Base Study, Washington, D.C., May 1970, especially p. 133. For a discussion of legal challenges in New Jersey and the impact of judicial interventions in this area, see Robert C. Weaver, "Housing and Associated Problems of Minorities," in Marion Clawson (ed.) Modernizing Urban Land Policy (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1973), pp. 59-60.
15. For a profile of multiple family suburban development in New Jersey Counties in 1970, see New Jersey Department of Community Affairs, New Multi-Family Dwelling in New Jersey 1970 (pamphlet, no date). The average rent for Newark are counties ranged from \$58 to \$67 per room per month.
16. For a discussion of the influences on suburban development, see Marion Clawson, Suburban Land Conversion: An Economic and Governmental Process. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971), p. 244.
17. See Bernard Frieden, "Blacks in Suburbia: The Myth of Better Opportunities," in Lowdon Wingo (ed.) Minority Perspectives (Washington: Resources for the Future, 1972), pp. 39-42. For a case in the New York-New Jersey Region, see generally OSTI, "Poverty in Spread City," 1969.
18. See George Sternlieb, Patrick Beaton, The Zone of Emergence: A Case Study of Plainfield, New Jersey (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1972), p. 8. The authors found that only 5% of the new black residents moved there for jobs (compared to 21% of whites). While this conclusion is based on a small sample (hastily drawn), the direction and strength are clear.
19. See George Sternlieb and Robert Bunchell, Residential Abandonment: The Tenement Landlord Revisited. (New Brunswick: Center for Urban Policy Research, 1973), p. 20.



20. Ibid., p. 108.
21. These impressions were based on interviews with Jeanett Brummel, Planner, City of Newark, September 26, 1974; Susan Stevens, Deputy Planning Officer, City of Newark, September 26, 1974; and George Sternlieb, Director, Center for Urban Policy Research, Rutgers University, September 28, 1974.
22. Sternlieb and Beaton, Zone of Emergence, p. 8.
23. For a summary of urban renewal activities, see City of Newark, Urban Renewal Progress, Department of Planning, Engineering and Research, 1972-73.
24. Compared to other cities which the author has visited, the blight is so pervasive that with the exception of a few residential areas (parts of Clinton Hill, Weequahoc, Valsburg, Roseville), blight is advanced and abandonment is generously interspersed. Even in some of these areas (the author refers here mainly to Clinton Hill), blight is on its way because of the nature of the stock. Large old houses which are no longer practical as single family residences are being turned into apartments and density is increasing.
25. In this analysis, no differences in size, quality, location, etc., are taken into account.
26. This is based on the limited number of census tracts with few blacks for which detailed information on black residents is given. Thus, conclusions have to be read with two limitations -- one based on a small sample, and the other on a limited number of tracts of the total number in which outer suburban blacks reside.
27. There is no evidence to suggest the contrary. The number of blacks is very small, the tracts are high income (typically greater than \$12,000 median income), and there has been a general decline in personnel.
28. The debt for historical data in this chapter is due to Constance Greene, The Secret City: A History of Race Relations in the Nation's Capital (Princeton University Press, 1967); and Constance Greene, Washington: Capital City, 1879-1950, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963).

29. This is based on interview with Prof. Jean Claude-Thomas of Catholic University, October 23, 1974. The data is based on his analysis of materials from the Federal Writers Projects -- a depression era federally sponsored research effort.
30. Green, Washington: Capital City, pp. 398-99.
31. Green, The Secret City, p. 201.
32. Ibid., pp. 65-66, 155-59, 250.
33. Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, Metropolitan Bulletin, No. 12 (January 1974).
34. Interview with James Harvey, Director Housing Opportunities, Inc., October 23, 1974. Mr. Harvey has a long record in fair housing activity in the Montgomery County area.
35. See statement of The Washington Suburban Institute before the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, June 14, 1971 in U.S. Civil Rights Commission Hearings, Washington, D.C., (June 14-17, 1970), Exhibit #11.
36. Green, The Secret City, pp. 322-23.
37. See Eunice Grier, Characteristics of Black Suburbanites: Report #1 (Washington: The Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, 1973), pp. 22-24.
38. See generally, Clawson, Suburban Land Conversion, Chapter 12.
39. Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments, A Report on the Special Committee on Population and Employment Growth in the Washington Metropolitan Area, February 1971, pp. 15-18.
40. See Clawson, Suburban Land Conversion, Chapter 12, especially, pp. 243-44, 259-60.
41. Major source of insight on the role of fair housing was from interviews with Tyrone Brown, Director of the Washington Urban League on October 23, 1974; Mr. John Murchison, a black broker in Washington, October 26, 1974; Mr. Sam Parker, Metropolitan Washington Housing and Planning Association, October 23, 1974; Mr. Thelma Wright, Exec. Secretary, Northern Virginia Fair Housing

(phone interview) October 26, 1974; Mrs. Zina Green and Mr. George Walker, HUD, October 24, 1974; and Mr. Ernest Erber, Research Director, NCADH, August 30, 1974.

42. For one evaluation of Washington area fair housing groups, see American Friends Service Committee, "Evaluative Report: Metropolitan Washington Housing Program," March 1967.
43. For a general discussion of real estate practices, see Rose Helper, Racial Policies and Practices of Real Estate Brokers (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1969). For a more recent discussion of "steering" as it pertains to black suburban access, see U.S. Civil Rights Commission, Equal Opportunity in Suburbia (Washington: USGPO, July 1974), especially pp. 18-19.

For reports on three aspects of suburban access through real estate related institutions, see Eileen Sweeney, "Nondiscrimination in Mortgage Lending Practices: A Survey of Selected Washington Area Member Banks of the FHLBB," The Housing Opportunities Council of Metropolitan Washington, October 1974; Maureen Rafferty, "Bias in Newspaper Real Estate Advertising: A Re-survey," Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, November 1970; and Marianne Clarke, "Black Employment in Real Estate Sales: A Re-examination of Suburban Washington Firms," Housing Opportunities Council of Metropolitan Washington, Inc., August 1974. In these respective areas, these reports highlight how the institutions, the media, and blacks have been used to limit access or choice of blacks to suburbia.

44. See Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments, "Significant Trends in Growth and Change in Greater Washington in the 1970's," Washington, D.C., (November 1973), pp. 6-7.
45. See District of Columbia Committee of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, "The Movement of Federal Facilities to the Suburbs," Washington, D.C. (July 1971), p. iv.
46. See Montgomery County Department of Community and Economic Development, "Housing Needs of Montgomery County's Projected 90,000 New Workers," Montgomery County Project (August 1972), p. 1.
47. District of Columbia Committee, p. 14.

48. For a discussion of issues of blacks in public employment, see Bennett Harrison and Paul Osterman, "Public Employment and Urban Poverty: Some New Facts and a Policy Analysis," Urban Affairs Quarterly, 9:3 (March 1974), pp. 303-36.
49. See complete list of Washington interviews in bibliography.
50. Interview with Eunice Grier, October 25, 1974.
51. See generally Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments, Housing Policies and Programs for Metropolitan Washington, 1972, Washington, D.C., 1972, pp. 7-14.
52. For a discussion of the limitations on relocation housing, see Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, Metropolitan Bulletin. No. 6, (August-September 1971).
53. See Robert Zehner and Stuart Chapin, Across the City Line: A White Community in Transition (Lexington: Lexington Books, 1974), pp. 118-19. This measured satisfaction of blacks in these suburban areas was based on interviews with 41 black respondents.
54. The data on inventory change is based on analysis of 1970 Census of Housing Components of Inventory Change HC (4)-16. Tables 2 and 3.
55. See Lawrence Feinberg, "Population of Whites Falls in Prince Georges," Washington Post, November 2, 1974, pp. 1-14. The author data is from state estimates of population changes by race and county between 1970 and 1972.
56. Interview with Zina Greene, October 23, 1974.
57. Interview with Prof. Jean Claude-Thomas, October 23, 1974.
58. Ibid. Maps (unavailable now) will be published in January 1975.
59. This number is at variance with generally published census data because Lorton (a state correctional institution) has been excluded.

## Chapter Seven

## TOWARDS A PROCESS OF BLACK SUBURBANIZATION

Introduction

The previous three chapters, following upon the review of earlier research, presents a wealth of information which have never been pulled together with the goal of specifying the process of black suburbanization. Previous efforts have had less ambitious goals for more limited, less definitive uses. This chapter, using these earlier works as well as my analysis, proceeds toward a specification of process in 4 steps:

1. Examination of the thesis variables which define black suburbanization, and test the hypothesis of "effective demand;"
2. examination of the factors in the metropolitan area which shape the dimensions of black suburbanization;
3. examination of the local and population factors which explain variation in the pattern of black suburbanization; and
4. presentation of propositions of black suburbanization.

The analysis involved in these steps begins after a brief review of the various popular explanations for black suburbanization which were presented in Chapter Three. It was

noted there that traditional explanations for why blacks are in the suburbs do not help us understand the role of the political and economic determinants, the workings of the housing market, and the role of status change (both of the suburb and of families) in the suburbs which have black residents and those who do not have black residents. All of these factors appeared to be important in the case studies, and to be highly explanatory with respect to the pattern, speed and direction of black suburbanization. The discussion which is developed in this chapter will address these issues.

In addition, the explanation or theory of "process" must additionally have the following features:<sup>1</sup>

1. The theory must explain dynamic phenomenon, including changes and growth of the black population and its component parts. It is clear that the process of black suburbanization varies by the characteristics, origin and destination of the prospective migrants. This is a key element in process since we have witnessed a change in the pattern, and the growth is still in progress.
2. The explanation must be empirically based in the sense that we can generalize from a set of data about the dimensions of the process.

3. The explanation should be logical and consistent.
4. The explanation should not be too abstract, and must be plausible and useful as a tool for policy and action, particularly in identifying leverage points, target groups, and particular differences in metropolitan sectors.

The conclusions reached in this chapter represent an attempt to synthesize findings from Chapters Four through Six.

The reader will note that in Chapter Three, attention was focused on the analysis of various explanations which have been offered for the process of black suburbanization. Some of these explanations were suggested to have no application in explaining the process, others were suggested to once have been valid, while still others were suggested to have limited validity in present cases, but not generally applicable or satisfactory in meeting the criteria set forth above. The explanation which suggests that blacks are in places of historical concentrations in the suburbs was shown to have been valid before the present increase in black migration to suburbia but it is no longer very helpful in explaining the process. Even if blacks did move to the same places, we know from the data that the same type blacks are not moving there, and the patterns of black settlement in the ring are different.

With respect to the political acceptability argument, it was judged not to be applicable because there was no evidence

that the suburban areas to which blacks moved were particularly affirmative in getting blacks to move there. Blacks moved to places which were not particularly willing to have substantial numbers of blacks, where early resistance or steering took place, and where there was no positive program to make that suburban place more attractive than any other suburban place. Acquiescence, as it turns out, is a more appropriate word because it conveys the reality of passivity or resignation in the suburban role.

With respect to the role of fair housing and real estate activity, the evidence presented in the other chapters do not support a conclusion that they were responsible for getting blacks to the suburbs. In the case of fair housing, the law followed the general increase in black migration to the suburbs, and implementation did not immediately follow the enactment of the law. A very marginal influence is exerted when fair housing or other group activities are directed to dispersal of the black population, though it is possible that the norms of blacks or other factors are responsible for the dispersal which might occur. In any case, the effect cannot be more than marginal on the basis of my evidence available to this researcher.

With respect to the activities of real estate brokers, the influence is especially substantial and significant when realtors are involved in "steering" blacks into



particular parts of the suburbs in a more concentrated way than would be predicted based on income, tenure, and family status.

Some of the other traditional explanations are much harder to deal with, however. They possess some face validity, even in light of the census analysis and case studies. The first of these we have to deal with is the "spillover" explanation. This notion suggests that black suburbanization is just an expansion of the central city ghetto population to the adjacent suburb. This is the most common description of the process in population terms. The presence of situations where this seems to have happened cannot be ignored. East Orange, New Jersey might be viewed in this light. The same situation exists in East Cleveland, outside the city of Cleveland, and in Highland Park in the Detroit metropolitan area. Francine Rabinovitz has observed that in Los Angeles, there is some spillover from the East Los Angeles black communities.<sup>2</sup> We observed in both of the cases presented in this thesis that there appeared to be black suburban growth in adjacent suburbs.

But in none of the metropolitan areas studied in does the spillover of the black population explain most, much less all, of the black suburban growth, nor is the black population in the so-called spillover suburbs entirely composed of those who made recent moves from the central city to the suburb -- a necessary pre-condition. Many of the blacks in this adjacent area were there prior to the recent surge, and,

therefore, account for even less of the recent suburbanization. In the Washington area, for example, it is true that many blacks moved from the eastern part of the District to Prince Georges locations in the inner area. What is even stronger support for the sectoral, rather than simple spillover is that the movement of low and moderate income groups forced from District core was dictated long ago, before blacks were significant in the demographic trends. This determined that the eastern sector of the metropolis would be the low and moderate income area and that when blacks moved into the suburban area, they would move in this general direction. What spillover really amounts to, is a concentrated form of sectoral growth. East Orange is very concentrated and Prince Georges is much less so, but they are both sectoral. To say spillover is the process of black suburbanization captures only a fraction of the observed phenomenon. Spillover is one form of sectoral growth.

In the Newark case, a strong spillover model in a city so overwhelmingly black would have had blacks in many more suburbs on the fringes of the city, while, in fact the movement was westward, and involved some leapfrogging over Bloomfield to some heavy concentrations in Montclair. This sectoral pattern will be explored more in a later section, but it should be clear thus far, that spillover does not sufficiently explain the pattern to allow us to say, as some observers have said, that the process of black suburbanization

involves spillover to the older adjacent suburban areas. The erratic pattern of black settlement in the suburban sectors suggests that there is something more going on. There is nothing in the spillover model which would explain it. The sectoral notion, plus the discussion of the demand hypothesis in the next section will be much more illuminating.

The other popular explanation which has to be dealt with is the "beachhead" theory which suggests that blacks move in a serial way to the same areas as other blacks. It cannot be refuted that this has happened. What the theory suggests analytically, however, is that blacks do not move to new places, and that greater, not less, concentration results. The evidence presented here would not generally support this. We noted in both cases (using the census tract as the level of aggregation) that while racial segregation is still high, blacks are in an increasing numbers of suburban tracts (comparing 1960 to 1970 concentrations), and that more blacks are in lesser concentrations, especially in the Washington area. This argues against both the suggestion that blacks only moved where other blacks have been and that there is uniformly greater concentration. Thus, with respect to this theory we have to say that it is true that blacks moved to places where other blacks were, but this is not the only pattern and that it does not deal with the issues raised in connection with the requirements of the theory.

Thus, we cannot dismiss the latter two theories as having no significance. What they speak to is part of a pattern. They do not speak, in any substantial way, to the criteria for the rigorous specification of process set forth earlier. We begin a more rigorous discussion of the process of black suburbanization below.

### The Effective Demand Hypothesis

In Chapter Two, there was some discussion of what constitutes the critical variables in suburbanization. It was noted that the two variables which distinguishes suburban settlement from other urban settlements (in the central city or in rural parts of the metropolitan ring) are family stage and class. In family stage, it is suggested that suburbanites are more typically in the nuclear family stage (a married couple, or remaining parent with children present). This is to be distinguished from singles, retired and older couples, or unrelated persons who might make up households. It was suggested that those who move to the suburbs and those who are there are in the family stage where children are present and that suburbia is more oriented to family life. Despite some differences in age and stage in the family cycle, blacks and whites in the suburbs are similarly family-oriented.

The second part of the definition has to do with class (which in this analysis has been based on income, though other status dimensions such as, education and occupations have also been noted). It is expected that suburbia

would have more people with higher class status than would the city, where the median income is lower, and the extremes in income can be found in greater numbers. Again, the more middle income blacks are expected to move to the suburbs.

Given this definition of suburbanization, it is hypothesized that black families will move to the suburbs and that their settlement will be dictated by class interpreted through their level of "effective demand."<sup>3</sup> The "effective demand" hypothesis reflects that blacks are able to successfully bid for housing in suburbia to meet their needs for family housing. In this general context, "effective demand" can have several meanings which will be noted shortly. If black suburbanization is consistent with this hypothesis, the blacks who move to the suburbs will be young families, with higher income than blacks in the central city. They would settle in the suburbs on the basis of their income. Other than racial discrimination, the factors which limit the degree to which this is true include: the preferences and prejudices which blacks have for location, the availability of units for them to move to, and other barriers which might be in effect.

Before examining the evidence for the hypothesis, we might present the alternative formulations of the hypothesis which seem logical. Each of these formulations is consistent with the general idea of "effective demand," and each of them requires a separate examination of validity. The formulations

reflect the several ways that blacks might successfully bid for suburban housing with whites. Different formulations might apply at different times, or in different places. The alternatives are:

1. Soft Area - in this formulation the blacks are able to successfully bid because, for whatever reason, whites are leaving the area faster than other whites are replacing them, thus, the vacancies increase creating the opportunity for blacks to move into the area. Given the choice of permanent or very long-term vacancies and having blacks move in, most areas will accept the blacks.
2. Obsolescence - in this formulation, blacks are able or willing to bid for housing (especially owner-occupied housing) which is obsolescent to currently bidding white buyers.
3. Black Pressure - the shortage of housing for blacks in adjacent black areas puts pressure on whites to sell their housing to blacks. Blacks may be forced to pay the price which this pressure (real or artificial) might generate if they want to (or are forced to) stay in the area.
4. Black Income Growth - this is the more traditional demand notion which suggests that as

more blacks have higher incomes, more of them will be able to take advantage of opportunities and bid competitively with whites for a wider range of suburban housing. Only black preference and racial discrimination intrude in this situation.

What is the evidence that the hypothesis, in any of its variations, describe how blacks suburbanized? The evidence tends to support the hypothesis in each of its formulations. With respect to the black movement resulting from the development of soft markets, this characterizes the situation which East Orange has experienced. Over the years, the number of whites in the community steadily declined. Many of the whites who left were older whites who no longer had children. Some of them were elderly, and some were whites who had the opportunity to find better housing. This movement was not associated with normal mobility. There were no whites to take the place of those who left and the number of units which became available was rather substantial. When whites were not interested in moving into the area, the market softened its opposition to blacks and the in-migration proceeded. Blacks (mainly young families) found this area to be an alternative to living in the city, and are willing to bid more for the housing than whites would.

While areas which undergo this change may be ethnic suburbs, if there are several suburbs with similar physical

characteristics, it is the non-ethnic ones which undergo this experience. If there is no ethnic identity with which whites can associate, and especially if there are a significant number of blacks in the area, the attractiveness to whites is even less. Strongly ethnic suburbs are often able to maintain themselves against blacks in-migration despite the potential higher bids by blacks. They are willing to tolerate vacancies, lower rent/prices, or convince their young to stay. In the Newark area, for example, East Orange (a basically non-ethnic suburb) has a tradition (many years ago) of rather fashionable housing, especially large apartments. It yielded to blacks, while similar neighboring inner suburbs like Harrison (Irish), and Belleville and Nutley (Italian) have kept their ethnic identity and their barriers against black entry. It is less difficult to get blacks into these non-ethnic area, because the resistance to them is minimal and unorganized. Realtors can direct blacks to these areas without fear of evoking wrath or economic reprisal. It is the means and the pace at which blacks enter this area that the charges of "steering" develop since realtors attempt to take advantages of black needs and white fears.

The formulation of the "effective demand" hypothesis which emphasizes black pressure on suburban communities is not unrelated, though some important differences exist. A formulation based on black pressure emphasizes the expansion of the black community to adjacent white suburban communities, and the



working out of the "invasion-succession" model at the community (rather than neighborhood) scale. We noted above that the "soft market" notion does not require that a black community be nearby. No major discontinuities in incomes need exist. The black pressure becomes even more important if there are no natural barriers (rivers, large open areas, etc.) which serve as a buffer. East Cleveland is a good example of this formulation of the hypothesis.<sup>4</sup> The growth of the black community in Cleveland has, for a long time, been up Euclid Avenue. When the suburban community of East Cleveland was reached in the mid-1960's, the shortage of housing in the city meant that blacks were willing to bid more than whites for the vacancies created by both turnover and aging in population, and by their aversion to blacks.<sup>5</sup> The closer the neighborhood was to the city, the faster the turnover to black population dominance. By the end of the decade, the community had gone from less than 3% black in 1960, to more than 40% black in 1970.

This model also seems to explain black penetration in some of the most inner Prince Georges communities. Once blacks expanded across the Anacostia River (still within the District), the natural barrier to their putting pressure on the suburban tracts was eliminated.<sup>6</sup>

The blacks who move in this pressure situation are much more likely to be only moderate income families since

the movement to suburbia in this case is more often technical than conscious. The whites are also moderate income, but tend to be much older, often with no school age children. The qualitative differences in the housing may only be marginal. The settlement of blacks is almost by definition, concentrated.

Both the "soft market" and the "black pressure" formulations relate to population changes and demographic determinates working through the housing market. The formulation based on "obsolescence" is based on the nature (or the perceived nature) of the housing and physical environment. This formulation says that at any given point in time, the movers (home-owners) who are looking for housing are looking for housing which reflects their tastes and preferences for housing, and that housing in some sectors may be viewed as lacking these qualities, even though the house might be perfectly sound and have all of the basic requirements for shelter.<sup>7</sup> By this formulation, white buyers would see some housing sub-markets as obsolescent, while blacks would not be so critical. The blacks would see the housing as more valuable and desirable either because it is better than any alternative, or because on the basis of their family stage, it is quite adequate; or because they have different tastes or priorities in housing. The characteristics which define this obsolescence might include number of rooms (newer suburban homes have more than older suburban ones), and the styling (some early suburban housing was frame and quite plain compared to the greater style

and amenity in newer housing). The parking, space, and other features may also reflect critical differences. Additionally, the economic changes in the metropolitan areas may have altered the locational features of alternative housing for mobile whites.

This situation applies in Prince Georges County, especially in an eastern corridor (due east from the District border to the beltway). This is the concentration of the oldest housing. These are the smallest units and the ones which have the worst features of the early tract suburban housing. What seems to have happened is that the substantial home-building in the early and middle '60's expanded the market to take care of the growth in the white suburban population, and to provide mobility opportunities to those households in the areas who were benefiting from the increased economic opportunities in the Washington area. When blacks came along, especially those whose economic situation was marginal with respect to ability to purchase a home, they wound up in this corridor of the county. Whites wanted to leave, realtors directed blacks to this area, and blacks often could get housing cheaper here than in areas of the District where housing was available. Blacks were able to move in substantial numbers, and at generally favorable prices since white demand was fast declining and the high demand by blacks kept the real prices above their 1960 level. In one sense, this housing was good for young upwardly mobile families, many of whom would be able to do better in a few

years. Further, in the generally favorable capital markets of the middle and late '60's, they were able to begin equity accumulation without substantial down payment requirements. The concentration of the black population which results in this situation is the result of the concentration of obsolete housing.

The final way we can interpret "effective demand" is in the context of an increasing number of blacks who have incomes which allow them to compete for a wider range of suburban housing. As far as we have been able to tell, the income position of these blacks preceded their move to the suburbs. No case could be developed that suburban migration was a consequence of economic opportunity in the new place of residence. Indeed, the better off suburban blacks work in the central city. For the non-professional families, the favorable income positions is disproportionately (compared to whites) the result of the presence of working wives.

The demand is reflected both in the number of blacks and the price range in which they compete. We noted that in both our cases that the black median income has increased faster than the income of the rest of the metropolitan area.<sup>8</sup> It has also been noted that more blacks (in absolute numbers) are in the higher income groups. With the selective decline in barriers to black entry and the need of these blacks for a housing type which is located primarily in the suburbs, more blacks have used their leverage to gain suburban access.

This is reflected in the Washington case in the substantial increase in the number of blacks in most areas of the suburbs. Blacks are able and willing to bid as high as their income will allow. Further support is based on the data which show that within the suburbs there are some clear differences in the settlement patterns of blacks with different incomes, either in different tracts of the same community, or in a separate part of the suburban ring. There are some areas which blacks have moved to more than others (within the same socio-economic range). We have pointed out, for example, the difference between the rate of black movement to Montgomery and Fairfax County in the Washington case. In the Newark case, we note blacks moving very selectively, though based on income alone, a more dispersed pattern should have resulted. We have also noted the effect of discrimination and steering, as well as the overlap between when blacks are moving and when (and where) opportunities are available.

On the basis of these formulations, it is not possible to fully test them individually because we lack the necessary data on quality and price changes over time.<sup>9</sup> They are not mutually exclusive and can, in some metropolitan areas, and in different areas at different times, explain most of the process of black suburbanization.<sup>10</sup> To summarize our conclusions on these formulations of the "effective demand" hypothesis, the following points could be made:

1. The first three formulations tend to result in concentration of the black suburban population in rather small areas, or corridors. The fourth formulation, based on income, tends more toward dispersal, though the actual amount that results may be limited by the size and span of black middle income range, and the number of communities they move to in suburbia.
2. In accepting the "effective demand" hypothesis, it does not suggest that comparability of blacks and whites in particular suburban communities. It is only in the formulation based on black income that blacks and whites are generally similar in their family and class characteristics. In the other formulations, as we have noted, the blacks are different, sometimes in demographic and family characteristics, and sometimes income and class characteristics. Additionally, poorer blacks are more often concentrated closer to the central city than similar whites.

3. The first three formulations account for most of the black suburbanization which has occurred. This is especially true for pre-1968 suburbanization. The income formulation, in accounting for substantial growth, is a very recent phenomenon. In a later section of this chapter when the black suburbanization process is disaggregated even more, some additional observations will be made on this matter.
4. The suburban differentiation discussed in Chapter One creates the basis for demand change. Changes in the age composition of the population, and in the stage of development of its neighborhoods create the vacancies, the soft spots, and the fact or illusion of obsolescence. The segmentation of the black population by class also is important in this regard. Effective demand then is passive, not active in the sense that some individual or some institution created it for their own benefit. The conclusion about black suburbanization is not unlike the conclusion reached by the Kerner Commission (1968) that:

...white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto [read process of black suburbanization process]. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it. (Kerner Commission, 1968).

While some may complain that more direct evidence of the white institutional complicity in metropolitan racial ecology is required (The U.S. Supreme Court seemed to say that in reversing the Roth Decision which mandated a metropolitan remedy for Detroit's school segregation), there are some factors which clearly have been at work.

#### Shaping Factors in Metropolitan Black Suburbanization

Black suburbanization is not determined solely by the family stage and class characteristics of the black families, or of their level of effective demand.<sup>11</sup> Were that the case, the degree of black suburbanization would be far less erratic and uneven than it is among the metropolitan areas or within a single area; and it would have taken place more gradually over a longer period of time, getting its start in the period after the Second World War. Nor does racial discrimination shape the pattern, since in areas outside the South, one city is not so much more racist than the other to account for the differences in the patterns we have observed.



There are other factors which have differential affects on: (1) blacks in different metropolitan areas (2) one metropolitan area more than another, and (3) blacks and metropolitan areas at different points in time. In the course of presenting the cases, some of the factors involved here were explored. In the space below, a more general discussion of the factors is presented.

In both the Washington and Newark cases, it was noted that a major part of the impetus to black suburbanization was the shortage of appropriate housing in the inner city. This suggests that the "push" factors were more important than the "pull" factors. While there is no attitudinal data to back up this conclusion, the evidence presented on the features of the central city for the prospective migrants versus the alternative in the suburbs would support this conclusion, especially in light of the evidence presented in Chapter Five which suggested that many of the neighborhoods to which blacks moved in the suburbs were not especially attractive. Even though the inner city in most metropolitan areas have problems with blight, there are differences among cities which should be taken into account. Where there is more adequate housing, where there is land to build housing in the city, and where there is the opportunity to annex areas to the central city, the real or statistical suburbanization of blacks will be diminished. It would also be diminished in metropolitan areas where whites leave inner city family housing to move to the suburbs,

thus creating family housing opportunities in the central city. It was suggested in Chapter Four that this accounts for the statistical decline in the number of blacks in the southern suburban population. In the non-southern cities with relatively few blacks, they might similarly show a smaller degree of black suburbanization. In Boston, for example, where only a few blacks (N = 1752) moved from the city to the suburbs in the late 1960's, the expanded needs of the central city black population, including the need for family sized housing was met by expansion of the black population in neighborhoods in the city which whites left, and in which there were opportunities for ownership.<sup>12</sup> Had these communities not turned to black occupancy or if there had been many more blacks, there would have been great pressure for blacks to move to suburbia, and more blacks would have moved into the available moderate priced housing in some of the neighboring suburbs.<sup>13</sup>

A second general factor is the state of the national economy. It was previously noted that the position of blacks relative to whites improved during periods of economic expansion, and contracted during periods of stagnation or recession. The improved absolute position in the late 1960's resulted from both increased labor force participation, real increases in the earnings of workers, and improved occupational status and security. This was also a period when building was high and capital was more available to individuals. During this expansion then, the number of blacks who moved to the suburbs

increased, and the opportunities created directly (through new building) and indirectly (through filtering and turnover) increased.

Where the local economic base is such that disproportionate effects of these swings are evident, the impact is greater. Washington gained from the expanded emphasis on the federal government during the 1960's and the increase in the federal labor force. Blacks obtained some gains from this through jobs created in administration and in the various social programs in the 1960's. In Detroit, the power of the labor unions boosted blue-collar wages. Blacks made gains there (though less than whites) in the high wages and plentiful overtime in the expanded national economy.

Another source of economic impact is the federal government. The federal government influences, directly and indirectly the major metropolitan markets (housing, capital and labor). The effects result from fiscal and monetary policy, federal programs and direct activity. These policies have a differential effect on different areas of the country and on the opportunities which blacks may have to suburbanize. The guidelines of a housing subsidy program, for example, may mean some areas can use a program with market impact, while other areas can't.<sup>14</sup> Some areas have more "uses" competing for capital (or have more capital) than others, thus, in the usual case, depriving the housing market of capital and thereby influencing the type, cost and beneficiaries of residential construction. While it

may not be intended to have these local consequences, they do appear and have some influence on these patterns of suburbanization, and, hence, over black access. Sometimes, it is only the anticipation of local impacts which is sufficient to influence vital parameters. The announcement by a major bank on interest rate change is an example in this regard. The economy then impacts on the level of black effective demand, the strength of the "push" factors, the range of opportunities, and expectations about possible opportunities.

A third factor to be taken into consideration is the alternatives available to movers at the time of their move. In the first part of this section, we noted some of these issues with respect to blacks. For whites, the alternatives are also important. Their movement from an area of moderate priced housing creates the filtering opportunity or soft market which blacks can use. Their migration from areas to avoid blacks creates room to relieve black pressure, and their tastes may lower the general demand for housing in a particular area, thus raising the possibilities that blacks can move into the "obsolescent" housing. The degree to which whites leave a given area, more than others, obviously affects (all of other things being equal) the number of blacks who move to the suburban housing they leave.

Rapid building, job development in exurbia and other similar developments in outer suburbia clearly increase the opportunities. If whites do not move in one of these ways

which opens up opportunities the resulting black suburbanization, to the extent that it occurs, will be limited to small areas, to areas where "blockbusting" activity takes place, and to general suburban areas, where a few blacks because of their income are able and willing to buy without effective resistance. In both of the cases presented here, and especially in the Washington case, the role of alternatives for whites played a critical role. The era of massive development of Washington suburbs produced so many new developments that by 1972, whites had actually begun leaving Prince Georges County, in general, rather than particular parts of it as was the case when blacks first started to migrate there in large numbers. New growth areas in Charles County, Howard County, Ann Arundel and other counties gave whites the opportunities to satisfy the desires in mobility, and gave blacks more options (since more areas have opened to black occupancy).

A fourth general area is the degree that the metropolitan market is subject to intervention which influences the process of black suburbanization. We have already noted some implications of fair housing laws and activities, but the major effect from the present perspective is that they can have some effect on the degree of dispersal. The statement, however, refers only to the potential effect. The evidence of any real effect is minimal and anecdotal.

The other major intervention in the market of racial transactions is the various land-use controls. These controls,

as noted in Chapter Two have not always been directed explicitly at blacks, but has affected blacks through the pricing mechanism so that blacks all along the income continuum are affected. The following effects might be noted:

1. Control which have the effect of raising prices affect directly the number of blacks who are able to afford housing in an area.
2. Controls which force prices up impede filtering so it works less well for blacks (and some whites, too) interested in the suburbs (the price of existing housing is forced up because the moderate income families can't afford the new housing, and therefore, do not move to create lower priced vacancies which blacks could buy).
3. Prevents the construction of new housing for low and moderate income families which may provide limited additional opportunity for blacks.

While the intervention in the market may seem indirect, even marginal, the cumulative effects are significant. The housing in outer suburban counties of Newark is high-priced in part because of the fiscal zoning mechanisms. The price pressure exerted by these controls must share some of the blame for the

absence of substantial numbers of blacks in those areas, and for the relatively concentrated patterns of those who are there.

A final point to raise in terms of factors which shape the metropolis is the role of "intervening opportunities." In this context, particular suburbs are seen as intermediate stops in the residential mobility of the household, representing a move which is the most they can afford at the time. There is the expectation that they will move again in the future to the ultimate place which reflects all the status and amenities they desire and expect from residential locations, and be more congruent to their class status. The concept refers to stops made between the origin and final destination of the migrant.<sup>15</sup> In both case studies, we presented data based on field interviews, and partly based on mobility data, that there is substantial mobility within the suburban ring of the metropolitan area. In Newark, it was noted that blacks who had moved sometime ago to East Orange were now moving to other suburbs in the area. In the Washington area, it was noted that some blacks were moving from the older suburbs of Prince Georges County and Alexandria to newer areas. The mobility data confirmed substantial movement of blacks within the suburbs, but the way the data is presented do not allow us to distinguish purely inter-suburban moves, from moves within suburban jurisdictions. The interviews suggest, however, that the blacks who are moving are those who have become disenchanted with the growing black concentrations (and

in some cases, incipient blight) in the areas they moved from, and want to move to other areas they perceive to be better. They also suggest that some blacks move because they can use the built-up equity to buy a larger or better home. Viewed this way, these older inner suburbs provide an opportunity for those blacks who want to, or feel they have to, move to the suburbs to get a place without having to assume that this is the final residential destination. We have already noted that the Prince Georges housing is excellent "starter" housing in the sense that it is relatively inexpensive, sound and meets minimal family needs. Eunice Grier has observed that many of the blacks who moved to the suburbs have made impressive personal gains considering their youthfulness, that it is expected that further gains are likely, and that they will be in a position in the future to move to different suburbs where they would be even more status congruent.<sup>16</sup> Thus, there is an unknown, but clearly extant black suburbanization which is hidden from our examination. Blacks who were in the suburbs in the 1950's or the early 1960's who have moved to other suburban locations to improve the satisfaction. There is enough to suggest, however, that for many of these blacks, their first stop was only temporary and those who could move again did more.

The other way that the notion of intervening opportunities is raised is in the significant number of blacks who migrate to the metropolitan area and settle in the suburbia,



often in the richer parts, rather than in the city or the "starter" areas. We have no way of determining whether these blacks lived in the central city before migrating or whether they made a lateral move in terms of residential status.

What can be asserted is that a growing number of blacks are able to make the move and settle in a manner consistent with their family and class status the first time, rather than having to use the intervening opportunities of rental tenure, or central city or "starter" residence. Metropolitan areas are different in the extent to which their black population is in either of these two streams. The reasons why are not clear from the analysis presented here, though some of the dimensions of the streams in the Washington and Newark cases have been explored. The development of case data on other metropolitan areas by other researchers will be helpful in this regard as would better census tabulations on issues of mobility.

The points raised above present some of the factors which shape metropolitan suburbanization and the differentiation which appears within suburbs; and between the process of suburbanization in different metropolitan areas. They critically shape the extent of black demand and metropolitan opportunities.

#### The Process of Black Suburbanization

In this section, we will attempt to pull together the various conclusions, findings, and impressions from the

other sections to put them in the form of propositions which state the process of black suburbanization. In the foregoing sections, and in the preceding chapters, we attempted to present the evidence on the various substantive issues.

The process, as outlined below, meets all of the requirements set forth for explanatory theory applicable to an applied area such as urban studies. The process defines dynamic phenomena, and explains the change and growth over time. The process is based on the best data available, though not always the most ideal. Insofar as the process goes, it is logical and consistent, and the parameters represent a useful way of thinking about the issue, both in terms of the process itself and in terms of policy which might be derived from it. It is specific enough to be helpful, and general enough to be applied to a number of metropolitan areas. The statement of process is presented in the form of 6 propositions discussed below:

1. The socio-economic characteristics of black suburban mover varies by the origin of the mover. In Chapter Four, we discussed characteristics of the black suburban residents and presented some comparative data on their characteristics by origin. In looking at the case data, and trying to match the characteristics of the population with the characteristic of the setting to which they moved, some reasonably clear patterns emerged. The group of blacks from the central city include the broadest range of blacks, from very moderate

income blacks (even a few low income ones) to blacks at the highest income levels. They are typically younger, and higher status than blacks in the city or incumbent black suburbanites. This group tends to move sectorally from the perimeter of the black ghetto and settled in a more concentrated pattern.

The largest group numerically is those blacks who move within the suburbs. The analytical problems associated with this group are complex because we cannot separate out purely local moves within the suburbs from those which represent a move from one suburb to another, or from one type of suburban community to another type. We have noted some field evidence that blacks are moving from some lower status suburbs of heavy black concentration to suburbs with fewer blacks and higher status, or more generally from inner suburbs to outer suburbs. This seems consistent with the general definition of suburbanization and with the points made above about metropolitan factors which generate intra-metropolitan patterns.

A final group of black suburbanites have their origin outside the metropolitan area. This stream is a distinctly higher status group. They move to the metropolitan area and settle in higher income suburbs than blacks who have been in the metropolitan area before. Few poor blacks are among this group, and many fewer blue-collar workers are in evidence than in other streams. This group is more likely to be dispersed in the metropolitan area than any other.

2. The pattern of black suburban movement (concentration versus dispersal) varies by inner and outer suburbia. If we exclude the outer rural and quasi-rural part of the suburban ring, the clear tendency is for the areas of black suburban concentration to be close to the core, while the areas of dispersal to be more distant from the core. The only exceptions to this seems to be long established black communities or sub-communities which do not owe their origin or growth to the central city population.

The higher inner suburban concentrations are associated with concentrations of poor blacks. These areas often served as the "zone of emergence" for other ethnics and are playing a similar role for blacks.<sup>17</sup> The high number of rental units in these areas is helpful in that they provide an even broader range of blacks the opportunity to live outside the city.

The outer suburbs, while not uniformly higher status and higher income do tend to be that way. They contain more new housing and tend to be the areas of population growth, rather than turnover (or replacement) which is the case in the inner suburbs. (Some inner suburbs have had or are having an actual decline in population). The outer areas are much less likely to have rental opportunities, thus, appealing only to prospective black homeowners.<sup>18</sup> Blacks in these areas are dispersed, though the dispersal tends to be in clusters. The black population might reach as much as 10%

in some tracts, but a concentration at the level of 2% or less is more common and between these areas are suburban communities with no blacks or less than 1% black. The percentage of black, as a general rule, varies inversely with median income of the neighborhood.

3. The type of blacks (by class) in the suburban area and the pattern of their settlement varies by the socio-economic status of the suburb. We can identify separate patterns on the basis of the economic status of the suburb generally. The patterns relate specifically to comparability of suburban racial groups. For low income suburbs (less than \$8,000 median family income), the following characteristics emerge from the data:

- Blacks have equal or higher income status than the whites in the suburb;
- these suburbs are typically majority black or become so over time;
- blacks are typically younger than whites and have more children (reflecting a different family stage than the incumbent white population);
- a high number of blacks are renters, and the housing is generally old with rents and values comparable to center city housing; and

- fewer of the blacks (compared to higher income suburb) are recently migrated from the central city. Often these are established areas of black residents going back a decade or more.

For moderate income suburbs (median income \$8-10K), it is much more difficult to generalize. Suburbs in this category can be rather stable areas where blacks and whites are mixed, with the migration associated with normal turnover. Also included are communities in the path of black growth where the characteristics of the lower status black population come to overwhelm the more moderate status white population which is leaving the area. There are several possibilities within these two extremes. With these cautionary remarks, the few generalizations which can be made are:

- Blacks are younger than the whites and often the family stages difference between the black and white populations are rather substantial, though the more near blacks and whites are equal in age, income and occupational status, the closer they are in family stage;
- the class status (measured by income alone) of the black and white population is nearly equal, largely as a

result of the higher labor market participation rate of the black wives, and not necessarily to any comparable occupational status; and

- racial turnover or racial replacement is the typical result of change in this type of community, unless blacks are clustered in a small area or in an area adjacent to another black concentration in which case some stability may result.

It is in these moderate income suburban communities that frequent suggestions of re-ghettoization are made.<sup>19</sup> This result typically when black re-use the housing at a much higher density than it had been used before, or when blacks are of lower status than the previous whites. It would be in this setting where policy intervention aimed at conservation would be most helpful.

In the high income suburbs (median income greater than \$11,000), the issues and changes are far more clear. One could summarize it by saying that the middle class values reflected in the community dominate and prevail. This is not to preclude, however, black cultural institutions or activities, but it is to say that the institutional traumas often associated with lower status suburbs are not present. Blacks

are absorbed. We can summarize our observations with the following points:

- Black families have incomes near the median of white families;
- black families are slightly younger than the white families, but the differences in age and family stage are not great;
- blacks are much more dispersed in this type of suburb than in others, though small concentrations do often appear;
- both blacks and whites still find the area attractive and move in so that blacks are absorbed by growth or normal turnover, rather than replacement of whites;
- homeowners predominate over renters by substantial margins; and
- in metropolitan areas with a substantial number of blacks coming from outside the SMSA, they are much more likely to end up in these neighborhoods than any other type neighborhoods.

It is only in these relatively high status suburbs that anything approaching stable desegregation can be generally assumed.



Blacks are not in heavy concentrations and neighborhood racial change generally does not occur.

The differentiation of the suburbs and the barriers that the best areas able to erect; and the weakness shown by the marginal areas, point out the inadequacy of leaving black access to a latent policy.<sup>20</sup>

The suburbs of different status also reflect varying capability to deal with change. Where the realtors or other institutional forces can take advantage of a weak and changing neighborhood situation to their advantage, the interests of the concerned parties will be lost. Whites will be pushed out at some financial loss, blacks may be forced to pay an unreasonable premium for the needed housing, conservation measures cannot be afforded and institutional sources of assistance and finance may dry up. In this context, black suburbanization can be the beginning of re-ghettoization.

4. The direction of the concentrated black suburban movement is sectoral, reaching out from the direction of ghetto expansion. The literature reviewed in Chapter Two and the analysis of the cases confirms that part of the black suburbanization which is concentrated moves sectorally from the central ghetto. The direction of ghetto expansion is of more historic than present origin. In Washington, it was noted that the whole history of sectoral growth in the District, started in the 1920's before blacks were a significant

part of the situation. The lower public and private investment and the residential patterns are reflected in the lower status of the eastern part of the District. When blacks became an important element and were forced to go through a series of moves, the "push" was all eastward, with some deviations to the northeast and the southeast. Kaplan documented a similar movement of blacks out of central Newark to the west into East Orange.<sup>21</sup> Because this only refers to the concentrated movement, it does not include the established black suburban areas which have their own history and which are usually separate from the development of the central city ghetto. Alexandria's black community has remained relatively stable, and little movement of District blacks to it has occurred in recent years. Blacks in the richer outer suburban areas do not move in this pattern, but in a more dispersed pattern which reflects the opportunities which were available to them. Many of these blacks are from outside the metropolitan area, and have no relationship to central city movements or forces.

5. The response of white residents to black suburban expansion depends on class, the proportion of the population which is black, and the direction of the black movement. We noted earlier that the response that blacks have in a suburban community is obscured in the data on intersuburban moves which is not disaggregated by destination or moves, or characteristics of movers by destination. Therefore, it is hard to

say, with any confidence, what the response has been in a systematic way.

For whites, the response is a little more complex. The class status of the suburb and whether the suburb is in the path of black movement seem to be critical variables. In suburban situations where there are few blacks and the suburb is not in the path of black expansion, there is no special white response. Blacks are absorbed and any change that occurs in the suburb is a change in relation to other issues and not specifically related to the presence of blacks.

In a situation where there are few blacks, but the suburb is in the path of black movement, the response is more specific and will be based on the perception by whites of whether (and how soon) other blacks in larger numbers will come and also whether the white racial and middle class dominance can be maintained. The perception of the worse result is greatest in the area closest to the existing black concentration. If whites can be secure in the fact that not many blacks can actually move to their neighborhoods, then the neighborhood stability will be maintained. This situation partly reflects the situation in the communities in Montgomery County adjacent to the District. There have always been a few blacks in the communities, but in recent years, the number of blacks who have moved up Georgia Avenue has increased, though the concentration of blacks in the neighborhoods has not reached anything near the levels in Prince Georges County. The number of blacks who will actually

move into the neighborhoods of Montgomery is relatively small since the housing is expensive and only small number of rental units are available. It is in this type of community, more than other general types, that the possibility for stable desegregation is possible, though it will be for those blacks who can afford the rather expensive housing.

In a situation where there are many blacks, (whether in the path or not in the path of black expansion), the white response will be to leave. If the area is in a growth zone where there is a lot of interstitial land, the exit of white might not be so rapid since there will be plenty of opportunity for blacks to be "steered" and for whites to dominate their neighborhoods. However, when it appears that the number of blacks makes white dominance seem threatened, the white response in the suburbs, as in the central city will be white exit. This appears to have been the case in Prince Georges County. It is the first recent rapid growth suburban county in the country to experience white exit and rather rapid black population increases. While court ordered busing, more than black residential dispersal may have been the immediate impetus, the fact that blacks increased their number by 40% in the early '70's has a powerful force all its own.

### Summary

What we have summarized in this chapter and in the preceding presentations have demonstrated generally that the process of black suburbanization does not fit any simple model.

It is neither the random movement of recent migrants to random suburbs, nor can it be said, that black suburbanization is the expansion and growth of the established black enclaves. While there has been some of both, this movement would constitute a small minority of the movement which has occurred.

What we have observed instead, has been a movement which is a combination of several different streams, from several different origins, and in patterns which are determined by an interrelated set of factors. All of these factors operate in the context of national and local forces operating on blacks and on whites.

The blacks who move to the suburbs are the younger family-oriented blacks whose income and changes in the suburban market opens up opportunities in the suburbs. Blacks from different backgrounds and in different socio-economic groups settle differently, but hardly ever in a manner that is totally inconsistent with what they need and can afford.

While there is a need for additional data for better answers to the questions posed in this thesis, the evidence is substantial in its support of the conclusions. No longer will it be necessary to refer to black suburbanization as a unidimensional process, or to rely on earlier notions of what was happening.

This nation has not had an active and manifest policy toward suburbs, much less black suburbanization. The finding in this thesis are impelling in their implications as to how we might pursue a suburban policy at all levels of government. The next chapter takes up that challenge.

## NOTES

1. For a discussion of theory as useful in urban studies, see F.S. Chapin, Urban Land-Use Planning (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), Chapter 2.
2. Professor Francine Rabinovitz reported that 57% of LA's black suburban population live in places not physically an extension of the ghetto. See Francine Rabinovitz, "Minorities in Suburbs: The Los Angeles Experience" (draft), p. 10.
3. For additional discussion on this point, see Chapter 2.
4. For a discussion of racial change and associated change in East Cleveland, see Arthur D. Little, Inc., East Cleveland: Response to Urban Change, 1969.
5. Ibid. When it became clear that blacks were going to move in rather large numbers, the community embarked upon a series of programs to conserve the physical stock, maintain services and promote racial stability.
6. Black pressure explains their presence in the near-in tracts. Historical circumstance explains those in remote parts of the county, etc. This illustrates the segmentation in the process of black suburbanization.
7. For a discussion of "obsolescence," see Ira Lowry, "Filtering and Housing Standards: Land Economics XXXVI" (November, 1960), pp. 362-70.
8. This shift in the black income distribution should be read as increasing polarization (and inequality), rather than decreased inequality among blacks. For a discussion of secular trends in this regard, see Ann Horovitz, "Trends in the Distribution of Family Income Within and Between Racial Groups," in George M. vonFurstenberg, et. al. (eds.), Patterns of Racial Discrimination Volume II, Lexington: Lexington Books, 1974), pp. 197-210.
9. It is clear from the data that the value (even in real dollars) does not decline appreciably. This is the result of the high cost of construction, the nature of the competition and tightness of the market, and the importance of housing as a consumer and capital good. See generally, William Grigsby, Housing Markets and Public Policy, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963), pp. 99-106.

10. The formulations are not mutually exclusive in any given metropolitan area. It must be clear by now that the process of black suburbanization is very segmented. The formulations relate directly to the "filtering" process. See generally Grigsby in Note #9.
11. This section is analogous to the discussion at the end of Chapter 4 where forces which integrate demographic imperatives were discussed.
12. See Hearings of the Subcommittee on Anti-Trust and Monopoly of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, June 14-17, 1971, in Boston on the Boston Banks Urban Renewal Group.
13. For a discussion of BBURG and related issues, including buyer's survey, see Rachel Bratt, "A Homeownership Survey," a report on the Boston Banks Urban Renewal Group prepared for the Boston Model Cities Administration, (January 1972), especially pp. 25-44.
14. See, Donald D. Kummerfeld, "The Housing Subsidy System," in Papers Submitted to Subcommittee on Housing Panels, Committee on Banking and Currency, House of Representatives, 92nd Congress, First Session, (June 1970), pp. 451-471. See especially Table on p. 470.
15. For a discussion of blacks migration streams from the South, see Charles Tilly, "Race and Migration to the American City," in J. Q. Wilson (ed.) The Metropolitan Engima, (Washington: U.S. Chamber of Commerce, 1967), pp. 125-127.
16. See Eunice Grier, Report #1: Characteristics of Black Suburbanites, Washington, D.C., Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies (October 1973), p. 35.
17. For a discussion of the inner suburbs as a zone for upwardly mobile ethnics and working class in the industrial growth of the country, see S. B. Warner, Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston - 1870-1900 (New York: Atheneum Press, 1962). For a recent application see, George Sternlieb and Patrick Beaton, The Zone of Emergence: A Case Study of Plainfield, New Jersey (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1972).
18. This is not sufficient explanation for why there are few blacks. Many new suburbanites (see Chapter 5) are home buyers. Further, lack of apartments has not prevented whites from broadly moving to suburbs.



19. The low income communities are already referred to as "ghettoes."
20. For a discussion of latent policy (or no policy) toward black access to suburbia, see Francine Rabinovitz, "Minorities in the Suburbs: The Los Angeles Experience."
21. See Harold Kaplan, Urban Renewal Politics: Slum Clearance in Newark (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), pp. 153-4.

## Chapter Eight

PUBLIC POLICY AND THE PROCESS  
OF BLACK SUBURBANIZATIONIntroduction and Purpose

This last chapter of the thesis is about policy, policy goals, and policy on the process of black suburbanization. This includes identifying the areas of leverage, and the networks of responsibility and accountability in this area. The chapter also addresses how present policy and prospective policies relate to the process. This analysis, as such, is more focused on goals and responsibility than on policy tools. To give substantial attention to the appropriate tools would be too massive a task since we would have to look at all the tools at the various levels of government, the permutations and combinations of them, the role of private sectors actions, and so on. The more limited tasks accepted here is sufficient to deal with how we respond to the process characterized by a black suburban population which is segmented into several streams, involving several different types of movement to a variety of suburban places.

History of Policy in Suburbia

For all practical purposes, the United States does not have, and has not had, an explicit policy of suburbanization.<sup>1</sup> The suburbanization which has occurred in recent decades, to say nothing of that which happened long ago,

occurred without the formal recognition of the United States that suburbia was an environment and included a set of actors to be shaped and orchestrated. Suburbia grew through the behavior of a variety of actors each of whom acted for their own benefit and, most often, without regard for the implication of their actions on other suburbs or on particular groups in the population.<sup>2</sup> The absence of policy led to such descriptive phrases as "suburban sprawl" (to describe the topsy-like growth of suburbia), or "spread city" (to describe the uncoordinated and irrational pattern of suburban residents and needs versus the concentration of services and resources). The history of suburban policy is, in reality, a non-history.

It should also be noted that the policy referred to in this chapter is policy related to the process of black suburbanization. It does not, per se, address policies towards suburbs, suburban problems, or problems of blacks in suburbia. Nor is it a chapter about how to increase suburban integration, or promote residential dispersal. It is very much about optimizing the goals we have for the process which will occur without our help, but which is susceptible to be directed and influenced.

Turning specifically to city programs, a major characteristic of recent social programs has been the fact that they were aimed at target areas which had specific characteristics (blight, poverty, uncoordinated and poorly delivered services, etc.). The funds for these programs were, for the

most part, directed to the central cities.<sup>3</sup> It was less frequently the case that the money or assistance would be given to those people who needed it at a place different from the target area where it was provided.<sup>4</sup> When the intent of these public programs was to renew and rebuild, the result was that some blacks would be moved out, as in the case of urban renewal, where the old housing was replaced by new luxury housing or non-residential tax-generating use. Occasionally, housing for the elderly or public housing for the very low income would be built. Public policies, as we noted in both the Washington and Newark cases, were responsible for much of the push out to the suburbs, or to other parts of the city. While there were some conservation programs which aided the stable black homeowner in urban renewal areas, the general effect in this regard was not to increase the number of housing options of inner city black families, nor was the general effect to improve the quality of the center city physical environment. Positive improvements were few, concentrated, and often short-lived.

For programs designed to improve services and service delivery (such as Model Cities and OEO), the results were uneven, at best.<sup>5</sup> Even where there was good program design, the overwhelming power of the negative forces dwarfed the benefit represented in the best programs. It is ironic that community participation was harnessed with the effect of improving the ability of a greater number of blacks to get out

of the community (which is what happened as many of the blacks who got an occupational mobility boost from the programs used the leverage to "exit" the ghetto community). None of these programs were designed to address the fundamental issues of income redistribution or economic development in the black community. None of the programs were successful in helping blacks increase the number of residential options to deal with the forces which acted to shape the process of black suburbanization identified in the previous chapter. This meant that blacks who choose or were forced to deal outside the "target area" did so without the substantial help that these programs might have provided. Therefore, the process of black suburbanization proceeded under its own steam.

At the metropolitan level, there were policy events which tended to help blacks, and some which effectively hurt them. The rapid building in the '60's was a big help, as was the general increased differentiation in the suburbs. The major factors which turned out to be disadvantages for black suburbanization were the high cost of buildings which was, in part, generated by public policy, the lack of any affirmative action to include blacks, as well as the other half of the population which was closed out by the way in which suburbs were encouraged to grow. The sum of all of this was that there was no real policy toward black suburbanization except in the negative sense that refusal to act positively is in itself a policy.<sup>6</sup>

Policies which are often suggested as causing suburbanization generally (FHA, defense highway system, tract development, etc.) cannot be fully justified in this sense since the real momentum was demographic and underway before the programs was enacted. For many people, the full suburban trend was delayed by the Depression and the shortages associated with World War II. These policies were only important for their shaping effects. The assumption which follows from our definition of suburbanization seem to hold up in this regard in that the pressure for suburbanization was primarily a consequence of the lack of family housing in the central city, and the increase in the size of the income class which could afford suburban style housing.

The fact there was no policy toward suburbanization (much less black suburbanization) is not to say that there are no consequences of this non-policy. The absence of policy toward an event does not prevent the event from going on over time and to have a non-random character. We can, on the basis of the foregoing, discuss what these consequences have been. The first and most general consequence is that blacks have been left to the whim of the several forces discussed in the previous chapter.<sup>7</sup> Whatever the case, blacks have not exercised the choice which income and family stage, working alone would have predicted. This is particularly true for blacks who settle in low and moderate income areas undergoing both rapid change and physical decline. Some of these forces can be

manipulated by policies, while others must be taken as given. In any case, many blacks never had the choice of how they would deal with the issues.

A second consequence is that many blacks who remained in the city were forced to make choices which they might otherwise not have made. Many of these choices have been formalized into policies or policy proposals which reflect, more than anything, desperate attempts to squeeze blood from a turnip. While such miracle-making attempts are laudatory from the perspective of attempting to save the city, they do not optimize personal choice or benefit. Urban homesteading has represented one of the more desperate attempts as it suggests that blacks who are interested in home ownership reclaim some of the worst real estate in the most blighted neighborhoods.<sup>8</sup> The prospects that all of the needs pursued by home owner could be achieved by this plan are remote. The more general act of desperation in this area is the pressure for racial change in white central city neighborhoods. While blacks get better housing than they might have had before, they often pay an inflated price, the whites are shortchanged, and the real desires of blacks are not satisfied.<sup>9</sup> The resulting instability is generally bad for the entire community.

A third consequence has been the creation of corridors or sectors of disinvestment in the suburbs. The movement of blacks in certain suburban areas has been sometimes associated with both public and private disinvestment in those

areas. In the cases we have discussed and in the formulation and test of the hypotheses, we pointed out that the disinvestment often preceded black entry and is not principally a consequence of it. Therefore, just as positive policy is required to remedy the central city ghetto situation, so positive policy is required to deal with physical decline in suburbs, less it have some of the same results as in the inner city case, especially in the older inner suburbs. We noted in Chapter Five that these neighborhoods have blacks in the lowest socio-economic status of all the neighborhood types.

A final consequence of the absence of policy is that the cities and the suburbs are left to carry out policies (out of fear, racism or ignorance) which have quite negative consequences for the mobility prospects of blacks, regardless of class position. For example:

1. Cities and suburbs were able to use the urban renewal mechanism to push blacks around;<sup>10</sup>
2. restrictive land-use controls affected both the price of housing and the opportunity to build new housing in many suburbs;
3. cities and suburbs have refused to spend or invest in needed services to promote stability and conserve



the basic quality of communities subject to transition forces, thereby further assuring their eventual decline and loss of demand from middle income home seekers and developers; and

4. political vengeance (reflected in electoral gerrymandering) has been used to assure that blacks do not get to exercise political clout that might be associated with their increasing numbers in suburban areas.<sup>11</sup>

In the discussion above, it has been suggested that in the absence of policy, some serious distortions have taken place in the process of black suburbanization and in the associated life cycle of older suburbs. These have been detrimental for blacks, whites, and the community in general. To move positively in this area, requires that we set goals for how policy might move in this area; and that we begin to disaggregate the network of responsibility which the various actors have.

#### The Goals of Policy Related to the Process of Black Suburbanization

The goals which are presented in this chapter are aimed at making the process of black suburbanization work better in terms of the families and communities which are involved. They are:

- To increase the range of residential choices which blacks may exercise in the selection of suburban communities;
- to limit forced racial concentration in the suburbs;
- to maintain and improve the physical stock in suburbia so that suburbanization is not associated with neighborhood or sectoral decline; and
- to create stable communities in the city and the suburbs where black immigration can take place within the socio-economic context of the community and where the level of public services and investment can be maintained.

The goals are intended to be helpful in guiding the development of policy in this area. The goals neither aim at, nor assume massive shifts of blacks to the suburbs if they are achieved, though it is expected that many more blacks would choose to make the move if the goals are realized. Because of the importance of the goals statement, there are several points which should be made before we pursue the discussion of each one.

1. Goals can serve as an impetus to policy much in the same way that elaboration of process can serve to provide analytical grounding in this area. Assuming there is some minimal consensus among the actors and in the populus, the goals can serve as measures of progress in pursuit of their fulfillment.
2. The goals do not assume that institutional changes are needed or that legislative action is required. There is adequate authority (judicial and legislative) to achieve the goals as stated if appropriate administrative initiative is taken. This approach is done both because new laws are unnecessary and because the protracted battles which are sure to result should be avoided, if possible. We might put the energy in implementation, rather than enactment.

3. The analysis proceeds from a racial, not a class, analysis.<sup>12</sup> The fact that many poor whites are in the suburbs, while few blacks are, highlights the role of racial discrimination. Suburban whites, while they react to class (when it challenges their middle class dominance in a neighborhood), they react to race independently and consistently across black class lines.
4. Strategically (in a given metropolitan area), we must deal with suburbia generally (rather than with each suburb individually) as there is a greater and more obvious incentive for suburbs to act cooperatively to insure that their status position vis-a-vis other suburbs is maintained. A disjointed strategy would not only perpetuate the uneven pattern of black suburbanization we now have, but it would also require that we constantly fight the same battles.

5. While the goals are not directed towards suburbanization generally, the specification of goals was done with the notion that what's good for black suburbanization is good for suburbanization generally.

We can begin the detailed discussion of goals, keeping in mind that they are interrelated and not individually sufficient.

Goal #1: To increase the range of residential choices which blacks may exercise in the selection of communities in suburbia

The conclusions about process noted in the last chapter emphasized the scarcity of choice and the forced aspects of suburbanization in which many blacks find themselves. It should be a goal of our policy toward black suburbanization that each suburban area have a full range of new housing, including housing for low and moderate income families. This housing should not be in a limited area, but in a variety of areas in the metropolitan areas. This goal focuses on expanding housing opportunities in areas which are presently one-race and one-class suburbs. This requires an affirmative effort to assure that blacks have access to it, and that the housing which is constructed is not for the elderly or small families alone. Getting blacks in the suburbs requires housing for families in the prime of the child-rearing age.

The expansion of housing opportunities, alone, is not sufficient. We alluded to the significant role that

services and access plays in black suburbanization. This suggests that inputs which are designed to increase the choice are not scattered in the isolated parts of the ring, but that transportation access and access to services be considered in implementing the policy.

The final important part of this goal is that efforts should be made to insure that housing is injected at the appropriate price level to trigger filtering to the suburbanizing blacks (which in itself increases the choice, since the higher the quality relative to cost, of the units, the better the result). When this active building is combined with scatteration of vacancies, the quantity of new housing, and the quality of the filtered housing should vastly improve the choices available to blacks who are moving into the suburbs. Black access to new housing would be via subsidized housing which in itself would be scattered in various locations. This kind of analysis is more than sufficient justification for more rational planning at the metropolitan level, because the present disjointed action will not lead to the attainment of the goals.

Goal #2: To limit forced racial concentration in the suburbs

The absence of real choice for blacks has resulted in a pattern of forced racial concentration. Real estate agents are able to take advantage of both blacks and whites in this type situation so that the resulting fear and pressure makes the concentration even more marked, and the fears

associated with it more intense. The aim operationally is to use the tools of public policy to promote at a minimum, clustered dispersal. Generally this can be done by removing the incentive or the opportunity for realtors to be played upon the fears or weakness of the market, and to enforce civil rights laws and contract compliance in more areas and with greater intensity than ever before. This should force blacks into a wider range of communities and should prevent concentrations from developing unnaturally and in situations of exploitation. For communities which are going through a self-generated change which is manifested by a high net out-migration of whites, the effort might have to be different.<sup>13</sup>

Goal #3: To maintain and improve the physical stock in suburbia so that suburbanization is not associated with neighborhood of sectoral decline

As Chapter Five documents, there is significant physical decline and deprivation (housing and neighborhood deprivation) associated with the process of black suburbanization, especially in that suburbanization which has taken place in the inner part of the suburban ring. It should be our aim to alleviate this deprivation both by assisting families in getting more money directly or in the construction of new units, but also in the maintenance of the existing stock of housing. Much of the deprivation would be alleviated by realizing the first two goals, but the maintenance of the existing stock of housing is important in itself. There are

a number of areas which we might deal with to achieve this goal. These include:

- a. Implementation of programs aimed at housing conservation;
- b. sensitive use of renewal and redevelopment tools;
- c. update and improve (and in some cases install) infrastructure facilities;
- d. promote private investment in the form of rehabilitation and preventive maintenance; and
- e. earmarks some money and resources for improving inner suburban areas, on the condition that the community is willing to use money for economic mix and that they have a program to promote stable racial mix.

This goal would be helpful by treating the inner suburbs or the oldest sector as a development district so that action can be taken in the context of producing more cooperation, less racial concentration, a general lessening of blight (rather than simply relocating it as in the central city experience), and greater incentive for both public and private investment. Since the forces pushing blacks to the suburbs are pretty much in place, the opportunity for real choice in a context of quality and stability would be much better assured. The



opportunity for blacks to settle in greater congruence with family stage and class would be improved and the incipient decline of suburban areas might be halted. Where the shortage of land, the energy crisis, or other factors are especially strong, the prospects of inner suburbia becoming the zone of decay would be reduced. In fact, such areas may take on a new attractiveness to whites. Needless to say, the enforcement of civil rights laws and the full force of incentives should be used to make sure that this zone is not reclaimed solely for whites or for middle class families who are willing to make high bids for the access and other advantages which would be developed and strengthened. These development goals (similar in thrust to the high hopes of such policies in the central city context) have a better chance in these inner suburbs, and these should all be exploited by an affirmative policy to aid black suburbanization.

Goal #4: To create stable communities in the city and the suburbs where black in-migration can take place within the socio-economic context of the community so that the level of public service and investment can be maintained

The goal here is to create stable communities which might be operationally defined as communities in which both blacks and whites can move with some assurance that the public investment and private interests will be maintained over time and that rapid changes in racial mix, socio-economic status or level of services will not wipe out the investment of those who have an equity status in the community.

This goal is not aimed at creating any numerical racial balance.<sup>14</sup> The number of blacks and the percentage will vary due to a number of factors including income distribution (of blacks in the metropolitan area), the location of the suburbs and the speed of turnover in the housing market). There are, however, several key variables involved in thinking about stability.<sup>15</sup> The first is the status equality of blacks and whites, and the second is the rate of white exit. A third issue is the level of public services.

First, the prospects for stability are increased in conditions of status equality between blacks and whites. If whites feel that their class dominance is challenged, they are likely to leave the area and the stage is set for instability leading to racial transition. If class dominance is assured, then race alone is the issue and the result is much less certain.

Second, the rate of exit of whites is also able to operate independently. The forces which operate on the metropolitan area and on the population (increased wealth, new suburban building, growth of job opportunities in new suburban areas, obsolescence, etc.) all work to force whites to move from certain areas, even if there is no present black pressure. This problem can be addressed in the context of the discussion on Goal #3. This is designed to make all parts of the suburbs rather competitive and high quality.

The generally expanded quality and the normal growth, along with affirmative action efforts and civil rights enforcement would assure that blacks take advantage of the better opportunities, including the wider choice in the context of stability.

Third, the level of services and investment is more difficult to approach. The level of services will depend on local revenues and outside aid. In a suburban area in physical decline, the tax base is declining as the demand for services require even greater revenues. The only hope is that outside aid, revenue-sharing or tax reform (in some combination) will rescue these communities from the vicious cycle of decline so reminiscent of the central cities. The level of investment (both public and private) is a matter of confidence which itself can only come about when substantial public investment and interest is put in an area.

The goal, even if realized to its fullest, will not assure that some suburban areas do not become predominately black, or that others will have more than a token representation. But even in the context of black dominance, stability is a critical issue since the investment of blacks have to be maintained at a high level.<sup>16</sup> The tools we have might be too weak to avoid some racial concentration or to reverse that which is already in existence, but the goal of stability is important in its own right.

The focus of these stabilizing goals is on the inner suburbs. That is where the instability is most often manifested. The outer suburbs will be able to take care of themselves in terms of this goal, though our attention to them in the other areas is no less necessary, especially with respect to the construction of housing for low and moderate income families.

Each of the goals is valuable in and of themselves, even without reference to their applicability to the process of black suburbanization. They can get wide support, and if strong leadership (in the public and in the private sector) is forthcoming, can serve as the cornerstone of a general policy for suburbanization.

#### Measures of Progress

When goals are articulated, it is necessary to have measures of our progress toward achieving the goals. Finding those measures is a difficult enough task, but the absence of measures, for policy purposes, is almost like having no goals, since no one can be sure if any relevant progress is being made. Evaluations become self-serving, and corrective measures and monitoring are inevitably inadequate. While the specification of measures would be appropriate here, only a sketch can be presented because the appropriate variables and data sources have not been identified and tested to assure their adequacy or sensitivity. It is also necessary to take local and metropolitan issues into account. To achieve the goal of increasing real choice in the suburbs, we need a measure which is an

index of low and moderate income housing in areas where blacks and the poor presently are not living. This index would be sensitive to construction to increase choice, and the higher the index in a given area, the greater that possibility of a broader range of people moving in.

To get at the issues of racial concentration and access of blacks, we might develop a measure which measures the rate at which blacks are moving into the community versus the rate at which whites are moving into the community. This could be developed for all socially significant places in the suburbs, and not just for the county or the suburban municipalities. This measurement is also important to assure that we don't mistake a few dispersed concentrations for dispersal. This index could be standardized to the number of blacks or other minority groups in the metropolitan area. Separate account could be taken of each income group.

Dealing with measures on issues of quality of the housing and environment is a more difficult matter. We have very poor information about the real quality of housing or about what aspects of the environment of housing are important to people in terms of the mobility.<sup>17</sup> In the continued absence of such information, we may have to measure progress by such inadequate proxies as change in prices, rents, extent of institutional investment in an area and expenditures (public and private) for maintenance and upgrading. These measures (along with information on the characteristics of in-migrants) will

also be useful in measuring the stability of suburban neighborhoods. If we can perfect measures of progress in these areas, we will be able to move one more step in a comprehensive understanding of black suburbanization. We will know the process. We will have some goals for it, and we will have some measures of how well we are proceeding in meeting them. To be even more specific, we need a "Community Development Impact Statement" (similar to the Environmental Impact Statement). The purpose of this statement is to bring to public attention the full impact of proposed major development activity on the areas in which goals have been specified. This instrument would serve to rationalize the process of granting public support to private actions, outline critical areas where the public sector should act, and to use the power of information to achieve social change. This proposal would require the planning agency to gather the basic information and to set metropolitan and community specific goals. Each proposal would have to be consistent with these goals if it is to be permitted; and would have to affirmatively advance the goal if it is to get public subsidy or support.

There are two final links to be made in this policy chapter. First, the network of accountability and responsibility for achieving the goals, and second, the prospects for certain tools presently operable or proposed for promoting black suburbanization. This next section explores the former,

and the final section offers some observations of a number of present or proposed tools.

### The Network of Accountability and Responsibility

The notion of accountability here refers to who has to answer for the achievement of the goal. Responsibility relates to who has the ability to respond in a given area.<sup>18</sup> In the discussion below, we will discuss how each level has to answer on policy issues, and on the particular type tools which define their response ability.

It should be kept in mind that responsibility is not as discrete as the discussion below might suggest. In reality, the responsibility in any policy area is shared by all levels of government. Thus, this exercise is partly artificial, though, it should be helpful in understanding how we approach each level with respect to this issue.

The Federal Government -- Sitting atop all policy-making in this area is the federal government. Its effect or potential effect, whether exercised directly or indirectly, is substantial. The federal government is responsible for direct financial support and program design for many of the program elements alluded to in the discussion below. The policies affect the general level of prosperity of the metropolitan area, the use of its resources, physical stock, the nature of re-use options, and the priorities. The executive branch is accountable to the people and to the rest of the government to make sure that these programs are carried out affirmatively in

the public welfare. While the Community Development Act of 1974 reduces the program role of the feds, there are still many categorical programs over which discretion is exercised in Washington. Grants are made, regulations and guidelines are promulgated, and the responsibility to assure equal opportunity through affirmative marketing and site selection criteria still exists. The role that the federal government plays could be more substantial, however. They could, given present authority, do the following:

1. Explicitly accept the goals outlined above, and condition discretionary grants on responsiveness to the goals;
2. adopt goal performance criteria with respect to the inclusion of housing and facilities in development packages;<sup>19</sup>
3. condition the award of contracts on the commitment of communities to meet the goals outlined above (this would provide additional incentive for the business community to apply pressure); and
4. stricter enforcement of equal opportunity goals and contract compliance.

The federal government, through its administrative regulations, has been useful in the past in promoting various aspects of the



struggle for equal rights. The shift away from categorical programs will reduce the role, but not end it, and the need in the federal policy area is to adopt development goals, and then in the regulations which accompany special revenue-sharing, use its still significant leverage to affect change.<sup>20</sup>

The State Government -- Other than the federal government, the state is the only other constitutionally recognized level of government. This fact is significant because it is from the state that the power of all other units of government are derived. Thus, if local governments have too much power, or abuse their power, or are too fragmented, the appropriate defendant in a cause of action may be the state. Likewise, the state may be the place to start a number of other programs for positive and corrective action.<sup>21</sup> If the state were to adopt the goals set forth above and to pursue them in its policy, we would be a long way towards completing a vital link in our metropolitan policy. There are several critical roles that the state plays. It creates formulas for the distribution of its aid and grants from other sources; it has a number of direct aid and matching aid programs; it licenses and regulates major actors; it deposits money and offers contracts; and it authorizes and creates land-use options. Some states have substantial roles to play in coordination and planning, and in development action in the field of housing. The role that the state plays in meeting these goals could be enhanced by the following action taken in concert with goals articulated above.

1. The state could review enabling legislation with an eye toward restriction of use of land-use controls which lead to exclusion.
2. The state could condition grants, and adjust formulas to give advantage to those jurisdictions whose actions are more responsive to the goals.
3. The state could increase its role in the housing and community development area, using its substantial leverage to act with, or in lieu of local suburban authorities.
4. The state could expand its role in the development of communities with significant interest to the state (such as communities with large state institutions, communities in areas needing development to become or remain viable, communities which do not have the capacity (technical or fiscal), to handle its own development).
5. The state could require those it regulates (banks, realtors, etc.) to act more consistently with the goals.<sup>22</sup>

If the state uses its influence in the ways listed above, and in the context of the goals, then the prospects that black suburbanization can proceed more beneficially and more extensively would be enhanced.

The Metropolitan "Government" -- Metropolitan general purpose government has not been realized in this country. There are no recent exceptions and the prospects for the future (especially for areas outside the South) are not good. The possibility that there will be an upward filtering of power to counties or other units so that the metropolitan area has some larger units of decision-making is very possible, and to some extent already true, especially if we note the cumulative effect in a single metropolitan area of various agreements, county functions, special districts, and authorities, as well as state or federally mandated cooperative planning and review.<sup>23</sup>

This may well be the weakest strand in the network of accountability and responsibility that we are attempting to weave. The pattern of cooperative action is quite uneven and voluntary. Many suburbs are able to resist the pressure (because of their wealth) that may be brought to bear and insulate themselves from all of these policies and from the intrusion of blacks. They interpret their accountability as being to their residents. To force them to make the commitment to be concerned about prospective residents and the metropolitan population, in general, will require more coercion

than persuasion. While there is some judicial precedent, the force of it is not greater than the resistance which some suburban areas have erected.<sup>24</sup> The institutions which have been set up to deal with this problem (such as COG's) are characterized by weakness, voluntarism, and by a lack of involvement in substantive policies and development issues.

The task in policy terms is to force the suburbs to recognize that their individual fate is tied to the smooth development of the suburban region. One way that this might be encouraged even more is for the higher levels of government to require that specific "Community Development Impact Statements" and presented which set goals and monitor progress toward attaining them. The notions behind the "fair share" plan are of this order. The extent to which these mechanisms can be effective is dependent upon the goals and the commitment to those goals. The goals discussed in this chapter could serve as a base for substantially better cooperative planning and development and for a more beneficial process of black suburbanization.

Beyond the allocation of development projects which would improve opportunity and choice, the metropolitan level mechanism could begin to identify suburban areas which may undergo black migration based on the analysis of the process discussed in this thesis, to estimate the potential demand of blacks, the barriers to free movement, and the areas where opportunities need development or protection. The region could

then develop programs, or urge local municipalities to develop programs which would be in line with the goals set forth above. There are incentives available at the metropolitan level which the state and the federal government can give as noted in the preceding discussion. The combination of enforcement procedures, incentives and self-interest (by those suburbs which do not want to undergo destabilizing change) by all government policy actors should serve as a powerful force for action on this level and for the process of black suburbanization.

The Suburban Municipality -- The individual suburban community also has a role to play over and above the role exercised by suburbs acting together. There is the responsibility to protect the investment of its residents, the service levels, and general stability of the community. For the older and inner suburbs, this is very difficult in a period when the tax base is remaining stable or declining in real terms and as the demand for service increases. The newer and richer suburbs have somewhat more latitude in what they can, through a variety of tools, control the direction of their development and thereby affect the present and future demand for service and level of the revenue base ("fiscal zoning"). To date, this has been narrowly constructed to mean that insofar as possible, they would exclude anything or anyone which threatened or was thought to threaten the community class status. This has been challenged on both moral and practical grounds.

What policy should address, especially in the older suburbs, is the perception (and reality) of decline and attempt to reverse the psychology which will insure further decline. In addition to the programs and policies which have been suggested above, these communities might try to emphasize their locational and space advantages to metropolitan residents who want some of the advantages of city life close into the city. This market, particularly that part of it composed of singles, young couples and the elderly, if properly exploited, could put the inner suburbs in tight competition with the central city for these households. What these communities should have in mind is not mere viability (survival), but stability and growth.

The Central City -- In the discussion of process, the role that the city played included forcing blacks out of the city due to the absence of family housing and the existence of pervasive decay in the neighborhoods. City leaders have consistently expressed the hope that they would not lose population, and especially that they not lose their family and middle-class population. The city should urge that the process of black suburbanization be improved in line with the goals because it is the only way that they can begin to systematically improve the central city ghettos without creating ghettos in other parts of the city or in adjacent suburbs.<sup>25</sup> If this is done, the city will be able to redevelop parts of the city without such severe problems as relocation. In

addition, like the suburbs, they should follow the goals so that the redevelopment of residential areas is not limited to segregated developments for the rich and the very poor. They can redevelop large areas for mixed-income groups and include units for families. They can take advantage of development for those who prefer to live in the city anyway, but have moved to the suburbs because they felt they had no real choice. They can take advantage of accessibility, cultural features, and topographic features. If this is all done in the context of the goals, the options in the city would be greater, the opportunities in the suburbs would be more stable, and the ecology of residential location could be more in line with preferences.

The political task at all levels of government is to convince the political actors (including voters) that the general welfare of each community is helped by a process of black suburbanization which works in accordance with these goals. Any other process will, in addition to the personal costs, cost each jurisdiction destabilized by the process. If each of the governmental actors accepts the goals, and fulfills its responsibility, the process will work so much better.

The private sector actors in this process also have a responsibility. The fact that they will act in accordance with governmental leadership and the set of rewards and sanctions which might be imposed makes it unnecessary at this

level to discuss how they might act. What is required as a first step is for the government to act, and to change the reward structure and regulations in such a manner that the private sector's role will be pulled into line. It can also be assumed that they may voluntarily follow the lead for change since, if they are convinced that the change is serious, it is in their self-interest to do so, even if their moral or political feelings are compromised.<sup>26</sup>

Having now figured out what the goals are, and what the network of responsibility and accountability is, the question might be raised: how do some of the present and proposed policy tools affect the process and relate to the goals we have identified? This discussion follows below.

#### Metropolitan Policies and Their Effect on the Process of Black Suburbanization

There are a number of policies which are being implemented or which have been quite seriously proposed, and which have, or are thought to have, serious implications for the process of black suburbanization. In the section below, several of these policies are reviewed.

Housing Allowance -- Under the housing allowance scheme, families would be given cash assistance to obtain housing in any part of the metropolitan area they wished. The amount they would get would be based on the difference between their adjusted income and the reasonable rent for a standard apartment in the area. Implementation of the program



would give many families, including black families, the opportunity to improve their housing situation. The evidence from the Kansas City housing allowance experiment does not offer much support for this as a means to change suburbanization.<sup>27</sup> First, the money tends to go to families who are seriously deprived in housing and have low incomes. Thus, the nature of the kind of housing they wanted and were able to get given the other factors (increased transportation costs, for example), they did not show any great proclivity to move to the suburbs. White families in the program did, however, move to the suburbs much more so than black families. Perhaps the major point about the housing allowance program which will limit its effect on black suburbanization is that proposals tend to be framed in terms of rental housing, while the majority of suburban families, including black suburban families, are interested in ownership options in the suburbs. When we think of the type of families which would get the assistance, their number, the limited increase in their demand which results, and the fact that the program may not be provided in areas where the housing market is tight (since assistance would only lead to inflation), the contribution to the process of black suburbanization can only be very limited, at best.

Housing Subsidy Programs -- There are a variety of ways that production subsidies could be used to put units in the suburbs. These units could either be for sale (as in the Section 235 program), or for rent in a variety of program

designs. Assuming affirmative marketing and site selection enforcement, opportunities for blacks would be provided. The prospect that a modest program of this type would increase the number or dispersion of blacks in the suburbs are small, however. First, in most suburban places, there are enough local low and moderate income white suburban residents to take the new subsidized housing, that unless a rather large number of units are built, the net increase of blacks in these units will be limited. While blacks may be able to move to the units created by the new construction, it should be clear that their units may be in quite poor condition and represent poor investments. In fact, if new construction is done in the context of redevelopment of decayed suburban areas, the net number of low and moderate income units in the area might actually decline since the land-use might change, or fewer units are built in place of the old ones.

A subsidy program might be helpful if the state or the federal government provided financial incentive or gave additional subsidies to reserve a proportion of the units constructed for residents from outside the area. Of course, some subsidy could also be given to rehabilitate housing in areas where new housing is built, but the practicality of that is undeterminable at this time because the quality of units vacated is quite variant. Where rehabilitation opportunities exist (clearly many old frame units should not be rehabilitated)

and where reconcentration would not result, rehabilitation might even be required as a condition for subsidy for new housing.

Income Assistance -- The effect of income assistance is dependent on the supplement level and whether there is enough money for the family to exercise greater consumer discretion (rather than surviving at a higher level of insecurity). Because it is unlikely that families will be supported at a very substantial level, it is therefore unlikely that any substantial black suburbanization would result from an income assistance plan. In fact, more black suburbanization might result from expansion of social services to more areas of the suburbs. A modest increment in money support to a poor family which can be used for anything is less valuable than the extension of services which are now concentrated in city. The extension of services as a welfare strategy, rather than the greater reliance on income would mean that more families could go after the modest suburban housing in the inner suburbs.<sup>28</sup> This would be especially true if a public transportation connection existed. The result, inevitably, would be greater racial concentration, and the creation or relocation of a crisis ghetto situation.

Community Development Revenue-Sharing -- The basic question with respect to Community Development Revenue-Sharing (other than the amount of money) is the priority which housing has; and secondarily, whether inner suburban communities will

use the money to implement the type programs required to meet the goals set forth above. If housing has low priority, then we cannot expect that much benefit attributable to this program will result. If the priority of housing is high and used sensitively, then the prospects are good, especially when the total policy effort (in line with the goals) is brought to bear. If the subsidy money is spread through a variety of devices to include subsidized units as part of a general building program, rather than just building subsidized developments, then the possibilities are greater though the impact on black suburbanization is still minimized because communities will tend to only build units sufficient (or less than sufficient) for their own needy people. This is where the state government should move in to exercise its interest.

There are some indirect spin-offs which ironically may be of benefit. If the money is used to extend infrastructure services (water and sewer lines, for example), and conventional home building is able to proceed more rapidly, then more filtered units may be available to blacks. The number of such units, their costs, quality and location will all be relevant factors in determining just how many blacks might really benefit.

The greatest leverage to be gained in the use of Community Development Revenue-Sharing is in the large suburban general purpose government counties. These are the ones which have such a range of situations and opportunities to be

helpful in the process that if they take advantage of the money in the creative ways it can be used, then the program may be the revolutionary breakthrough that its ardent supporters have suggested. The same would be true for large suburban municipalities. The worst prospects are in the thousands of small jurisdictions which will receive only modest amounts of money under the program. For them, the only salvation for our goals is in the kind of metropolitan network of accountability we discussed above.

Court Ordered School Desegregation -- When court ordered desegregation goes into effect, the effect may very well be to reduce black suburbanization. Assuming that the basic variable is white exit from the city, the extent to which whites leave solidly residential, but not very cohesive, communities is the extent to which these become alternative opportunities to housing-starved blacks. The black families might otherwise have gone to suburbs, or have penetrated the soft white communities. When the flight is from solidly ethnic white communities, the prospect that blacks will take the vacancies are more remote. Voluntary busing programs would not, in and of itself, trigger such a shift.

Metropolitan Busing Program -- In a metropolitan busing plan, the fact that both black and white students might be bused to schools distant from their homes means that there is no incentive for whites to move, except out of the "metropolitan area" defined in the plan.<sup>29</sup> In the rather dense

urban corridor on the east coast, it is not unusual for whites to move out of the metropolitan area (though, of course, they will be moving into another). In the Washington case, we noted that many of the whites who left Prince Georges County moved into adjacent areas which were not in the Washington SMSA, but were still convenient to Washington area jobs and services. If whites leave a particular sector of the suburban ring, or the overall out-movement is substantial, opportunities for blacks would be substantially increased, especially in areas in which blacks presently may not be found. It might also be the case that blacks who move to the suburbs primarily for the schools, may not move since they get better access to the schools in any case. The number of black families with such a restricted reason for moving is likely to be small, however. This will be the case because of the range of quality of schools in the places blacks move, and the variety of reasons blacks have for mobility.

It is obvious for the discussion above that the definition of metropolitan area is critical to the mobility implications of this type program. The smaller the busing scale is compared to the metropolitan housing market ("network of substitutability"), the greater the chance that white exit to the fringes will result in increased vacancies for blacks. The destabilizing influence of the "line" can be quite serious.

Mandated Allocation of Scarce Resources -- It is quite possible that in the near future there will be mandated

allocations (through direct allocation, taxation or fees) of selected resources (oil products, building materials, gasoline), which may serve to impede or drastically raise the price of exurban development.<sup>30</sup> It has been previously noted that further suburban development is the sine qua non of extending black suburbanization by promoting filtering in good quality housing and through the direct injection of housing for low and moderate income families.

What is particularly important is that, as George Sternlieb suggested that "history is dead" in terms of helping us make predictions in this area. Assuming that the shortages or allocations do occur in some significant way, there are factors, which depending on how they work out, may promote or retard black suburbanization.

Factors Suggesting Limitations on Black Suburbanization:

1. High cost of new construction will limit demand, force upgrading, decrease filtering opportunities.
2. Greater competition by whites for inner suburban housing and land, resulting in renewal ("Negro removal") and rebuilding at higher density, and greater racial concentration.

3. Higher transportation costs and other costs (including various kinds of "taxes" on scarce items will keep marginal blacks out of the market). This would even be true for blacks who moved to suburban jobs since transportation costs still would be high.

Factors Suggesting Growth of Black Suburbanization:

1. Greater independence of suburban sectors (including more employment decentralization) will mean that variables like travel time and access are not appreciably changed, so the shortages will have limited impact. The filtering process may proceed, though there will be some differentiation by sectors.
2. In a mobile society, the turnover will be substantial (in any case), therefore, assuming discrimination is combated, some opportunities will still exist.
3. There is the opportunity to increase density in the inner suburbs both by redevelopment, and by building on



land which has been used for other purposes; blacks may get a piece of this action, especially if the goals are pursued as outlined in the preceding section of this chapter.

4. If tastes change, and priorities are reset, we may be able to make some savings in resources without change in residential tastes (though more VW station wagons, instead of Buick wagons may appear in suburbia).

New Communities Development -- There are 3 ways that new community development may effect black suburbanization. First, the development can create direct opportunities for blacks who are able and willing to afford the housing in these communities. The number of such blacks need not be trivial as a percentage, but given the small share of development represented in new community development, the prospect of this producing a general change is minimal. Second, some opportunities may be developed for low and moderate income families in a new town and blacks would have access to those units. The number of such units, their suitability for families, and the percentage of them which will be occupied by blacks is likely to remain small, though policy in this area can be developed. It remains an open question whether this can be done without substantial subsidy given the high cost of new construction

and the tenuous financial nature of new town development. Finally, the construction of the housing can set off a chain of moves which creates vacancies in other areas of suburbia which blacks can take. The fact that new town development draws people from all over the country, as well as newly formed households suggest again, that the amount of benefit to blacks may be small. The key to realizing the small gain that can be realized is to use the federal and state leverage on support of new community development to increase the number of units of low and moderate income housing which are included, and in forcing affirmative marketing as part of the overall sales strategy.

Fair Share Plan -- These plans are designed to allocate new construction of low and moderate income housing in metropolitan areas on the basis of the total number of such units which are needed, the suburban population, the number of such units already in the given suburb, and the amount of vacant land. The effect of such a plan would be to increase the number of units for low and moderate income families, and increase the dispersal of such units. While such a plan is laudable in its own right, it should not be expected that it would result in substantial growth in the black suburban population, though the dispersal of the growth will be greater. The features of the plan which serve to limit its effect on black suburbanization include:

1. Only rental housing is included;
2. suburban incumbents would have the first opportunity for the housing, thus limiting its impact on new migration;
3. a strong tendency to avoid family-sized units in favor of elderly and small apartments to meet the allocation that would prevent family occupancy.

If these features of the program, as well as the definition of "low and moderate" income can be less restrictive, and a sufficient number of units are built, then some benefit to the process of black suburbanization might result.

No-Growth and Controlled Growth Strategies -- The implementation of a variety of policies which are designed to limit or prohibit growth in the suburban sectors will affect blacks both by the restriction on building and population increase, and by the price-raising effect of such policies. Black access to these areas would be limited to those blacks who could take advantage of the turnover which might occur in the housing in these areas. The reverberation of restrictions in one part of the suburban area on the other areas can be substantial. These will be felt in terms of less turnover and higher prices in housing since many whites would not be able to move to the restricted areas. The effect of the restrictiveness would vary with the price range of the housing included

in the restricted areas. Thus, restriction in very high income areas would have the least effect, while restriction in broadly moderate and middle-income suburbs would have the greatest effect. Such policies have to be reviewed in the context of the goals to determine to what extent individual communities will be allowed to be restrictive in this way.

In looking back over the range of policies which have been considered, the reader should keep several facts in mind. First, the implementation of the policies are not mutually exclusive. There are many possible combinations with offsetting effects which will eventually contribute to black suburbanization. Further, some metropolitan areas will be affected by these policies differently. We have already discussed some of the metropolitan factors which affect the shape of process of black suburbanization. Additionally, the fact that some of the policies can be changed to limit the deleterious effects holds hope that the generally limited increase in black suburbanization which these policies, implemented outside the goal structure outlined, would predict could be increased. This fact that many of these policies are proceeding, sometimes, with very false expectations, underlines the need to adopt policies which will improve the process of suburbanization generally, and of black suburbanization specifically.

In concluding this chapter and the thesis, our attention can be turned to the question: where does the process of

black suburbanization lead and what is its larger meaning? There is no way in the present analysis that we can make any forecasts or projections of the amount of black suburbanization which will occur in the future. It seems reasonable to assume on the basis of past experiences that there will be no secular decline in the black outward movement, and that the size of the white shift will continue to dwarf the stream of blacks. In some areas, the share of the suburban population which is black may increase, but the number is not expected to be meaningfully large.<sup>31</sup>

The main point to be made here about the increase in the future black suburbanization is not with respect to the dimension, but to the procedure used to forecast it. If we accepted the straight line projection of the level of suburbanization of the black metropolitan population, it would be fairly meaningless since we have observed that the movement is limited to relatively few cities and to particular patterns within those. Therefore, two procedural or methodological requirements are in order for this area. The first is that projection should be broken down by the various meaningful streams of the black suburban population. For example, we might estimate the amount of inter-regional black migration and the consequence that has for black suburbanization; we might estimate the number of blacks in suburbanizing income ranges and using a "propensity to suburbanize" measure, get

some estimate of that number, and then finally, using demographic and housing data, estimate the market changes and population changes which might occur.

A second and related procedure emphasizes the necessity to make those projections at the metropolitan level where some useful small area distinctions can be made.

Regardless of how the projections are made, it is not reasonable to expect on the basis of any finding here that dramatic changes in the number of blacks in the suburbs will occur. The rate should be higher than in the last decade because some ice has been broken and because there is more potential for black mobility and growth by natural increase.

There are a couple of more general points to make about this thesis. The first is the marginality of blacks. This marginality is primarily economic and derives from 3 sources -- income inequality with whites, the greater effect of even minor macro-economic changes, and the poor relative wealth position of blacks. We have noted several times how blacks are marginal when it comes to mobility issues. Even blacks who are middle-class in income terms often settle in environments which are of lower status than what they might be expected to afford based on income. Stable working-class blacks are even more constrained. The effect of past discrimination in the education and labor markets and the presence of discrimination and racism in the present markets and

institutions means that this marginality is part of the whole process which this research is about.

It is difficult analytically or quantitatively to test or document marginal status versus solid status, though qualitatively, the message does come through well. The marginality of the young middle-class who have not yet reached their professional threshold is less worrisome since they will, in due time, (assuming the goals outlined in this chapter are realized), be able to take care of themselves. The marginality of the poor and working-class black families with respect to suburbanization is more of a problem, however. This is especially true in light of the improbability of a general scheme to increase the income of the poor. Most of the schemes for suburban development, whether designed to help blacks or not, have only a limited prospect for full, sensitive, and vigorous implementation and then limited benefit to needy blacks. For these reasons, the goals which have been outlined are the necessary, but not sufficient factors for getting black suburbanization to work in an optimal way. There is no better way of fighting poverty or deprivation than giving money to those who need it. There is no short-cut to a real improvement in black well-being and self-determination.

A second general point we might observe in this final chapter is that like in many other areas, as blacks begin making in-roads or demands, the rules for entry change. As blacks exerted pressure for public jobs, merit suddenly

became more important than ever. As blacks increased their numbers in the city, metropolitan and regional perspectives suddenly became important; and as blacks began to gain education, suddenly other employability traits took on greater prominence. All of this points to the general racism in the society and how, institutionally, the rules can be used for subordinative purposes. Likewise, the process of black suburbanization in the future will run up against obstacles which were not in evidence until recent years. Inexpensive land is virtually gone, construction or code standard have been increased, interest rates are high and equity requirements have risen substantially. There are also restrictions, not just on land use generally, but on occupancy, size, density and style. While this may or may not have any racial intent, the subordinative effect is quite clear. Even the energy crisis, in addition to its other woes, may be an enemy of black suburbanization.

The research reported here, while designed to be comprehensive, leaves much for future research. The remaining questions have to do with developing better models of suburban experience, estimating the relative costs and benefits of suburbanization of particular types of blacks, and the attitudinal notions which guide the residential decision-making of blacks (and whites too for that matter, especially in different types of suburban settings and correlated to personal and neighborhood features). Further, we need to get a much better handle



on the qualitative aspects of the environment and of the housing stock so that the conclusions we have reached based mostly on age and cost variables can be more useful, especially in areas outside the east coast. Better information would enable us to be more definitive about the demographic streams, about the relative weight of the "push" and "pull" factors, and about other factors in the mobility of blacks and whites in the suburban residential areas. Finally, we need to get much more on the regional issues. Case studies on southern cities, and midwestern cities can supplement the material generated on east and west coast cities reported here and in concurrent research.

Additional research, as well as some better data can considerably expand the foundation created by this research. But if there is anything that hopefully will result is some attention to the application of this knowledge to prevent the abuses and deprivations which have occurred in the past. We will never have perfect information or tools to measure potential impact, so we must press ahead with policies which are as enlightened as possible.

The Kerner Commission warned in 1968 that America was drifting toward two separate societies -- one black and one white. The modest increase in black suburbanization has not altered that prediction. Not only is suburbia still substantially white, but blacks who make it there find that they

are still far from the ideal of a free and open community. Unfortunately, the problem of racism, especially in its institutional and market contexts, is not only still present, but it is becoming more intractable before our faint and calloused hearts.

## NOTES

1. For a discussion of suburban policy, see Wirt, Walter, Rabinovitz and Hensler, On the City's Rim: Politics and Policy in Suburbia (Lexington: C.C. Heath, 1972), especially Chapter 13.
2. For a discussion of decision-making and the role of various actors, see Marion Clawson, The Suburban Land Conversion in the United States: An Economic and Governmental Process (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1971), Chapter 12.
3. For a statistical breakdown of participation in HUD development programs, see Francine Rabinovitz, "The Role of the Department of Housing and Urban Development in Suburban and Metropolitan Development" in Committee on Banking and Currency (U.S. House of Representatives 92nd Congress, 1st session). Papers submitted to Subcommittee on Housing Panels, Washington, D.C., USGPO (June 1971), Appendix B.
4. A discussion of the role of intermediaries in shaping choice (in housing) is discussed in Bernard Frieden, "Improving Federal Housing Subsidies: A Summary Report," Joint Center for Urban Studies, Working Paper #1 (Spring 1971).
5. For general evaluations of "war on poverty," see D. P. Moynihan, Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding, (New York: Free Press, 1969); and Kenneth Clark and Jeanette Hopkins, A Relevant War Against Poverty, (New York: Harper and Row, 1969).
6. When "bias" is not mobilized, and the status quo prevails in the face of grievances, a non-decision (and by extension, non-policy) exists. For a discussion of this issue theoretically, see Peter Backrach and Morton S. Baratz, "Decisions and Nondecisions: An Analytical Framework," The American Political Science Review, Vol. LVII, No. 3, (September 1963), pp. 632-542. For an application of this perspective (in terms of "latent" and "manifest" policy) on the present issue, see Francine Rabinovitz, "Minorities in Suburbs: The Los Angeles Experience," (draft).
7. For a discussion of these forces, see Section 4 of Chapter 7.
8. Dr. Sternlieb points out the origins of this program in both our romantic notions about homesteading and in our

exasperation to do something to save the city. He points out the programmatic dilemmas, including problems in acquisition, financing, takeout, etc. See George Sternlieb, "The Myth and Potential Reality of Urban Homesteading," a paper submitted to the AIP Conference in 1974, Denver, Colorado, October 27-30, 1974.

9. For a discussion of this point in the Boston experience, see Rachel Bratt, "A Homeownership Survey," A Report on the Boston Banks Urban Renewal Group Prepared for the Boston Model Cities Administration, January 1972.
10. In Pasadena (Los Angeles), urban renewal was used to displace blacks. As noted in the Washington case, a similar displacement of blacks occurred when the Pentagon complex was constructed in northern Virginia. For a discussion of the Pasadena case, see Rabinovitz, "Minorities in the Suburbs: The Los Angeles Experience."
11. Interviews in Washington suggested that voting districts (as well as school districts before the court order) were gerrymandered to limit black power. On the other hand, Rabinovitz notes that when blacks moved into Inglewood, the city changed positively (from at-large selection to ward elections) to allow blacks to have some political participation.
12. For a "class" approach to opening up the suburbs, see Anthony Downs, Opening Up the Suburbs (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973).
13. For communities which whites have effectively left, blacks will be the majority. In these communities, it is critical to pursue the goal of stability in any case.
14. There are a number of ways of looking at whether the percentage of blacks is reasonable. This best way is in some index which involves the percentage of blacks in the metropolitan income/family stage group. For example, if X% of the metro's moderate income families (parents under 45 with minor children present) are black, then each suburb should have that percent. This would reflect both concentration of black in the core and suburbs.
15. I am indebted to Francine Rabinovitz for calling my attention to the role of status equality and the issues involved with it in "Minorities in the Suburbs: The Los Angeles Experience."

16. Ibid. Professor Rabinovitz observed the de-stabilizing effect (in Pasadena) of poorer blacks moving into what had been an area of middle class blacks.
17. For one of the best examinations of the issue of housing quality, see John F. Kain and John Quigley, "Measuring the Value of Housing Quality," Journal of the American Statistical Association, Vol. 65 (June 1970), pp. 532-48.
18. The subtle difference can be illustrated by the fact that the feds make the rules and have to answer to the Congress and the voters, yet the ability to implement programs in particular areas is limited to local communities.
19. The feds could require, as the Massachusetts Housing Finance Agency does, that development given support and subsidy must include 25% of its units for low and moderate families.
20. Local governments respond to federal pressure and federal leadership, though the response can vary, depending on the nature of the guidelines. For a discussion of inter-governmental relations, see the entire issue of Annals, Vol. 416, (November 1974).
21. See Samuel Beer and Richard Barringer (eds.), The State and the Poor (Cambridge): Winthrop Publishers, 1970). See especially articles by Myer, Frieden and Mott.
22. For example, savings banks could be required to disclose their mortgages (and applications) to a critical public interested in whether they are systematically avoiding areas or groups. This would be reflected in who gets money and who is refused.

Realtors could be required to submit all listings to a regional or metropolitan "bank" thus, allowing all brokers to sell housing in the suburbs. Presently, sales can be hidden and listings can be privately circulated. This permits "steering" and prevents black realtors or activist realtors from access to suburban housing.

23. For a discussion of this accretion, see Joseph F. Zimmerman, "The Metropolitan Area Problem," Annals, Vol. 416 (November 1974), pp. 133-47.

24. The judicial precedent is represented in In Appeal of Girsh (Sup. Ct. Pa., 1970), Madison Township (Sup. Ct. N.J., 1971), and Sasso vs. Union City (424 F-2D 291, to the Cir., 1970). While these representative cases are clear, they are not definitive, and positive remedy has not been forthcoming.
25. Downs, Opening Up The Suburbs, Chapters 4 and 11.
26. Most realtors can be expected to follow the lead of other community institutions with respect to blacks. Banks like stability and might in concert with the public sector be willing to be helpful. This was the case in BBURG Program (see Note #9). We cannot expect the private sector to act alone on these goals, but we can be more prescriptive if they are forced to act in a complementary way with the public sector.
27. For a discussion of the HUD Kansas City housing allowance (demand) experiment, see generally, Arthur Solomon and Chester Fenton, "The Nation's First Experience With Housing Allowance: The Kansas City Demonstration." MIT-Harvard Joint Center for Urban Studies, Working Paper #23 (October 1973). For a more critical view of housing allowances, see Herbert Gans, "A Poor Man's Home is His Poorhouse," N.Y.T. Magazine, (March 31, 1974).
28. The problem with the extension of services is that in reality, the choice is really constrained because as we have discussed in Chapter 3, the type of services and their sensitivity is a function of local perception of the role of local government. For the series strategy to work optimally, would require this notion to be destroyed.
29. While no such plan has yet been implemented, several have been seriously proposed (Denver, Boston and Richmond). The decision by the Supreme Court on the appeal of the Detroit case (the Roth Decision) did not close the door on the possibility that such a plan could be put into effect if greater suburban culpability can be demonstrated.
30. For some observations on shortages and metropolitan development, see Anthony Downs, "Squeezing Spread City," N.Y.T. Magazine, March 17, 1974.
31. The recent commission on population growth estimated that 6%.

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APPENDIX B  
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## APPENDIX C

## THE PUBLIC USE SAMPLES TAPE

The U.S. Bureau of the Census makes available to the research community a representative sample of the records from the 1970 Census sample questionnaire. (For more extensive detail in documentation, including sample, variables, standard errors, see References.) These are several types of samples which are offered to the researcher. They are summarized in Figure A-1. There are several samples, with increasingly more detailed questions asked for the smaller samples. Since the information is in computer readable form, the possibilities of manipulation depend on the imagination of the researcher.

For this thesis, Neighborhood Characteristics Sample of the tape was used. Of the 3 different tapes available to this research at the M.I.T. Information Processing Center, this was the best one. It allows for the control of region, for center city and suburban, and includes the appropriate measures of the desired variables for the units. Most importantly, however, it is the only one which gives detailed information on the neighborhoods as a real residential unit in which Americans live. This appendix discusses the contents of the tape and the sampling process.

The tape is composed of three files. The first file gives population and demographic data. The second file contains information on the characteristics of the housing occupied by the household. The third file gives information on the neighborhood associated with the household. These three files comprise a record. The tape is a 15% sample of 1 in a 1000 people in the United States. As such, slightly more than 203,000 individuals are represented on the tape. Needless to say, the manipulation of this tape was costly and slow.

To have a tape that was satisfactory for the more limited examination that this research called for, I developed an extract of the tape. I am grateful to Chuck Libby, Wren McMains and Greg Barry of the DUSP who did the technical manipulation of this extraction according to my specifications. To meet requirements of the research design, I specified that 4 samples would be drawn from the tape to make one large sample for analysis. A sub-sample of the black suburban population, the black central city population, the white suburban population and the white central city population was



prepared. All of the variables and values for each of these sub-samples was to be preserved. Because of the financial limitations, in the population file, only the information on the head of household was taken. On the other files, all information was taken.

As it turned out, there were only 690 black suburban households on the tape. Since this was a reasonable sample, all of these cases were extracted and thus a 100% sample was available. It was specified in the extraction program that an equal random sample of the other sub-groups would be extracted, and that they would be extracted from the same regional concentrations as the black suburbanites. Thus, the sample of the other sub-groups is really not a national random sample, but one which reflects a concentration in the largest industrial states and the South.

There was a total of 2760 records available for analysis. The following tree structure describes the logical order of the record:

## Public Use Samples From 1960 and 1970 Censuses

| Data Contents  |   |   |
|--|---|---|
| 1970   | 1970  | 1960  |
| 15% Ques-<br>tionnaires<br>(incl.20%<br>& 100%<br>items) | 5% Ques-<br>tionnaires<br>(incl.20%<br>& 100%<br>items) | 25% Ques-<br>tionnaires<br>(incl.100%<br>items) |

STATE - Public Use Samples

Identify Each State

In Larger States Indicate

Urban/Rural

Metropolitan/Nonmetro

Central City/Non CC

Are Available First

COUNTY GROUP - Public Use SamplesIdentify all SMSA's Over 250,000  
pop.Identify Related Groups of  
Counties Elsewhere

About 400 Areas in all

Do Not Identify Urban or Rural  
AreasNEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS -  
Public Use SamplesIdentify Only Sections of the  
Country: DivisionsIndicate Rural, Urban, & In-  
side Urbanized Areas (UA)

the Size of UA Categories

Households are Associated by  
NeighborhoodNeighborhood Characteris-  
tics Include:

Percent Negro

Average Household Size

Source: Levin, et. al., A Statistical  
Processing System for the  
Public Use Samples, p. 2.2.

## NEIGHBORHOOD #1

Household #1 (housing unit data)

Head of the Household

Household #2

Head of the Household

Household #3

Head of the Household

## NEIGHBORHOOD #2

Household #1

Head of the Household

Household #2

Head of the Household

etc. . . . .

The data was arranged so that it could be manipulated using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). This particular computer program was selected because it was inexpensive, well-respected, well-documented for handling social science data.

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