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MIGRATION FROM THE SOUTH  
TO A SMALL AREA IN BOSTON

by

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B.A., Smith College  
(1963)

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT  
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE  
DEGREE OF MASTER OF  
CITY PLANNING

at the

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

June 26, 1967

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ABSTRACTMIGRATION FROM THE SOUTH  
TO A SMALL AREA IN BOSTON

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SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING ON  
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This thesis investigates the migrations by ten Negro families from the south to Boston; it investigates urbanization and migration within the south; then, taking a specific area in Boston, it tries to see how the area operates as a reception center for the migrating families. The thesis also looks at factors which are independent of this particular area: institutional accommodation of migrants, and the economic structure which affects their employment. The thesis is divided into four parts:

1. Urbanization within the South. Volumes of migration within, and out of, the south are derived from 1960 U.S. Census figures. These figures indicate that a greater percentage of the Negro than of the total population is urban; that the urban population is the more mobile than the rural; that there is a pattern of migration to progressively larger urban centers within the state; that the large urban centers send emigrants to out-of-state points more frequently than do the smaller urban centers or rural areas. Other information indicates that, for the Negro population of the south, urbanization means the continuation of a subordinate, and often dependent, status. Although the volumes of migration suggest that there are more urban than rural emigrants, the character of the south means that urban Negroes have not been equipped with industrial skills and higher education.
2. Types of Migration. There are three types considered here: recruited, in which a sector of the economy expands rapidly enough to recruit unskilled labor and offer on-the-job training; chain, in which persons who have migrated bring other members of their family to live in the new city; lone, in which migrants come by means of job transfer, or in search of a job, or for entirely personal reasons. All of the families in the sample came by means of chain migration, to parents or siblings who have been here 10-15 years.

3. Life in Boston. This is considered by looking at three factors:  
1) the physical elements and the activities of the specific area;  
2) the search for, and the nature of, employment and housing for the migrating families; 3) the use of informal exchange points, such as churches and small stores, as a word-of-mouth source of information about jobs and housing.
  
4. Migration and Planning. Three areas of planning are relevant to the needs of the families in the sample. Social accomodation of lone migrants should approximate the support families offer relatives whom they have encouraged to come. Economic planning should create jobs and offer education to migrant and nonmigrant workers who are increasingly marginal to the present job structure. Physical planning should build into a new environment the advantages of the existing reception area: heterogeneity and high density, which support small service and commercial activities (which in turn can support the important word-of-mouth information network).

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Acknowledgements

Lisa Peattie is responsible for encouraging, salvaging, and expanding the ideas in this thesis; I appreciate more than I can express here that she has always been available, sympathetic and optimistic.

Conversations with Professor James Beshers, and with William Porter gave order and direction to information which at times seemed too diffuse.

Conversations with the following people have also been very helpful: Mrs. Hazel McCarthy at the Women's Service League; Mrs. Erma Woods, at Roxbury Multi-Service Center; Mrs. Caroline Ash and John Hatch at the Tufts Medical School Columbia Point Project; Dr. Mona Hull at Boston University; Robert Coard at ABCD; Arthur Papastathis at Wentworth Institute.

I am most grateful to the families with whom I have spoken. Without their assistance and candor it would have been impossible to write this paper.

## Introduction

In this thesis I have investigated three questions: what kind of urbanization is taking place in the movement of Negro families and individuals from the south to Boston? How do urban institutions look at the migrants who come to them? What type of planning is relevant to the problems faced by the families in the sample, and others like them?

Since the greatest part of the Negro population was rural at the time of the Emancipation (when sizeable migration north began), and since the south has only industrialized recently, it is often assumed that migrants to northern cities are rural, and that the northern city to which they come is their first urban experience. The assumption is usually carried to the point that the migrants become denigrated stereotypes: they are unable to manage property in a city (they destroy apartments, throw garbage into the street, etc.). They are accused of transferring their dependence to a northern welfare system which is more generous than those in the south, and of bringing social problems and disease into otherwise healthy areas. It is not hard to find these descriptions in conversations, in publications, and in the policies applied to clients of urban institutions.

There are two main areas of the thesis: the first, using figures drawn from the 1960 United States Census of Population, gives some idea of the volume of migration within the south, leaving the south, and coming to Boston. This information gives an idea of the general pattern of movement, and it can be refined further to give an idea of an average migrant (as opposed to someone of equivalent age or status who has not migrated during 1955-60). The Census material, in combination with other information on life in the south, and factors related to migration -- job structure and education, for example -- indicate what characteristics to expect. For example, one would expect to find that migrants to Boston have prior urban

experience -- this is reflected in the sample, in which all but one of the ten families came from an urban area.

The second area of the investigation draws information from interviews with the ten families in the sample, and with institutions with which they are in contact. I have moved out from the interviews with the families to investigate the origin of their migration (through 1960 Census figures), and to investigate the reception given them here (through the formal and informal policies of institutions toward migrants). The names of the families come from the police list for Ward 9 (South End-Lower Roxbury). The police list gives the names of residents and their addresses during the previous year; I knocked on doors at which the residents were listed as having lived in the south the year before. This method restricted the generality of the sample somewhat: nearly a year had passed between the original census, its publication and my use of it, and many people had moved. The people who were still at the addresses listed gave some evidence of stability, and seemed to have a source of support (either their family, or a steady job, etc.). Since the police list is old, and the mobility of single men and women without steady work is high, there are no people in the sample group who are transient, or who have been here less than a year. However, the consistency of the sample is useful: we have an idea of conditions of migration among ten people who came with support from their families, and who are not very willing or able to move because they have their own families, or because they are old.

I have located the families, then described social characteristics of their "area" by using information on Census Tracts. The sample receiving area is where Ward 9 and the Census Tracts coincide.

The stereotype of the migrants has served to set them apart, in a society that tends to equate social with geographic stability. Therefore, part of the task of the investigation has been to find points of similarity between the migrants and the new community, which afford them anonymity -- and points of difference, which make them

subject to special consideration on the part of urban institutions. For people with severely low incomes, economic conditions are most pressing.

The inadequacies of the welfare system and of the jobs available to the people in the sample will be described in Chapter III. Basically, it is impossible to save money (none of the families had savings; some had life insurance policies, all had made time payments). A savings make risking a new venture possible -- going back to school, taking more time to look for work -- or might alleviate their terrible physical conditions -- inadequate diet, rotten dwellings, no clothes for the children.

A continuous marginal existence does not indicate that migrants in particular are the source of great social cost to their new city, but that they reflect more general conditions of a larger, under-educated, under-employed population in the city.

We are describing coolly what is in fact a fetid situation: in a country with such wealth and resources, it is intolerable that this punitive marginality exists. "Fervor is the weapon of choice of the impotent"<sup>1</sup> Fanon said. If the paper lacks fervor, then we will still hope that it will be potent.

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<sup>1</sup>Frantz Fanon. Black Skin, White Masks, p. 9.



made time payments), for some accumulation of capital which would allow the risk of a new venture (going back to school, taking more time to look for work) or for the alleviation of terrible physical conditions of their life (inadequate diet, rotten dwellings, no clothes for the children). This continued marginal existence, whose benefit may not be to the parents, but to the children who stay in school longer here, does not indicate that migrants in particular are the source of great social cost to their new city, but that they reflect more general conditions of a larger, under-educated, under-employed population in the city.

I have described coolly what is in fact a fetid situation: in a country with such wealth and resources, it is intolerable that this punitive marginality exists. "Fervor is the weapon of choice of the impotent" Fanon said. In the absence of fervor, then, we shall hope that the descriptions and the solutions will be potent.

1. Frantz Fanon, Black Skin, White Masks. p. 9.

Chapter I:

Urbanization Within the South  
and the Move to Boston

Modern migrations ... are generally a matter of private concern, the individuals being led by the most varied motives. They are almost invariably without organization. The process repeating itself daily a thousand times is united only in the one characteristic, that it is everywhere a question of change of locality by persons seeking more favorable conditions of life.<sup>1</sup>

This statement is a concise summary of the way these ten Negro families have moved out of the South and come to Boston. Two things -- the migrants' moving north in several stages, and Boston's giving them an indifferent reception -- show that the migration has, as Robert Park said, "assumed the character of a peaceful penetration." We will explore these two points, remembering however that the penetration is often abrasive, though peaceful.

#### Origin; Urbanization within the South

The first question to ask in looking at the data for movement within the South (and subsequently movement out of the south to the north) is: to what extent can physical movement north be equated with an urbanization process? That is, we know that the greatest part of the Negro population became southern and rural at the time of its arrival in this country, at the time of the Emancipation, and up until the middle of this century, and we want to know how southern urbanization is affecting the southern Negro population.

My hypothesis is that the Negro population in the south has been held in a peculiar subordinate position by the white majority, resulting in a rather clearly differentiated style of life, but that this style is not now necessarily related to an agricultural way of life.

It is not logical to equate physical residence in an urban place

with full participation in the processes which make that place "urban"- such as savings and investment, industrial employment, formal education, and formal administrative decisions about the network of activities in the place. This is particularly true for the Negro population in the south; until recently de jure segregation succeeded in excluding Negroes from nearly all formal urban processes. A peculiar form of personal intimacy between whites and Negroes, and the common problem of low incomes, took the place of adequate secular, institutional social welfare. But a dependent population participates too; people who must beg for welfare, and hope for clothes and food from employers know a lot about the people and institutions that keep them poor.

I shall try to develop data to test this hypothesis from material in the Census of 1960, which made a detailed study of mobility for the period 1955-1960. What follows here is a detailed description of the categories of the census, and the implications of these categories for understanding the urbanization in the south which leads to migration-

1. The South. For the purposes of this paper, the states in the East South Central and South Atlantic divisions are used: Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Kentucky, Tennessee, and

West Virginia. Calculations for the whole South Atlantic region (used in the PC2/2D series) include the District of Columbia, Maryland, and Delaware; whenever calculations are used by region, it will be indicated that adjustments have been made for this discrepancy. States in the West South Central Division were not included since the character of their settlement has been substantially different from that of the other two divisions. Louisiana might possibly be included, but Arkansas, Texas and Oklahoma do not send a significant number of migrants to Boston, and have been oriented much more toward the west and central states than toward the southern states in the other two divisions.

2. State Economic Areas "are relatively homogenous subdivisions of states. They consist of single counties or groups of counties which have similar economic and social characteristics. The boundaries of these areas have been drawn in such a way that...(each part has) certain significant characteristics which distinguish it from adjoining areas."<sup>2</sup> For the purposes of this paper, the State Economic Areas establish the distribution of rural areas and their relationship to the urban places within the state. The consideration of all the economic areas within a state yields some idea of the type of dominance exercised by the state's major urban areas, and

in particular, the type of migration taking place from one economic area to another. I have derived figures for the destinations of persons from these economic areas to other states and will compare the numbers and proportions of the migration to state and to out-of-state points. One fault of the material derived in this way is that it conceives of migration and economic activity in terms of the geographical boundaries of states when it is probably true that much economic activity and migration in areas along borders operate without consideration of the political boundaries being crossed. Only in aggregated data for a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, which combines urban areas which grow together across state borders, does this problem disappear.

3. Urban Place (or Urbanized Area) "consists of a central city and all the urban, densely settled area contiguous to that central city or radiating from the city, whether or not such areas are incorporated or have legal or political status."<sup>3</sup> The designation of a place within a State Economic Area as urban, and of the remaining area as Rural and Rural Nonfarm gives some further refinement of the information derived from the first classification of a geographical area as an Economic Area. I have derived figures which establish the relationships between the percentages of the population considered

urban, rural and rural nonfarm, and its patterns of migration during the five-year period.

4. Rural Farm "In the 1960 Census the farm population consists of persons living in rural territory on places of 10 or more acres from which sales of farm products amounted to \$50 or more in 1959 or on places of less than 10 acres from which sales of farm products amounted to \$250 or more in 1959."<sup>4</sup> This definition of rural population is important for the purposes of this paper since it fixes the source of income as well as the place of residence; one may suppose a family in which the son, age 18, decides to move to an urban area and would not, strictly, be an agricultural worker moving off the farm, since it is possible that he acquired industrial job training in school -- this type of migration probably occurs frequently, and its description must be derived by considering the age of the emigrants. For our purposes, however, it is important to know that the migrant from a rural area did come from an agricultural way of life, without direct support from an urban complex.

5. Rural Nonfarm "comprises the remaining rural population" in a State Economic Area.<sup>5</sup> This portion of the population is quite important here, for the classification describes an urban situation which is an intermediate point between the matrix of urban activities taking place in the area called urban, and the activities related to agriculture. It is possible for persons to be classified

as rural nonfarm if they were formerly classified as rural, as soon as they cease farming activity although they may remain in the same residence. Since the size of the population required for a place to qualify as urban is small, 2500, the nonfarm population must be considered to be in some diffuse settlement pattern, or else in extremely small settlements. The high mobility which characterizes these rural nonfarm areas gives some sense of the transition which they imply; also, the large percentage of the southern population which lives in these areas supports the proposition that southern urbanization has taken place through a very fine-grained net, which includes the rural-nonfarm places as a means of extending urban, if not heavily industrial, ways to a population which was formerly nearly entirely rural.

Tables are included in Appendix 1, showing the SEA's in each state, the numbers of total and nonwhite populations, and the percentages of each population residing in rural, rural nonfarm and urban areas. Detailed description by state is also included. In summary it may be seen that the predominant pattern in the aggregate SEA's of these states is to have a greater proportion of the Negro than of the total population in urban areas. Only in a few instances, mostly in Mississippi and South Carolina, was there evidence of disparity between the total and Negro populations in agriculture which would indicate a predominantly rural farm Negro population. There are roughly equivalent proportions of the



populations found in rural nonfarm areas, and significantly smaller proportions of Negro than total populations classified as rural farm.

It will be helpful to give some description of the situation affecting the Negro population living in rural areas; the difficulties of declining purchasing power per unit of production, and of increasing economies to scale, affect both the Negro and white populations, but there are conditions which make the problems of rural Negro poverty particularly acute. Oscar Ornati, calculating the convergence of poverty-linked characteristics in the population (old-age, female as head of family, nonwhite, etc.) and the risk of being poor which that convergence brings to a population, noted that 78.3% of the nonwhite rural farm population fell below the level of abject poverty, \$2500/year income; 90.8% received less than \$5500. "For nonwhite families with the added characteristic of rural farm residence, the probability of abject poverty is three out of four."<sup>6</sup>

Removing the characteristic of being nonwhite, 34.5% of the rural farm population falls below the level of abject poverty. The reasons for this concentration of poverty in the rural nonwhite population are explained by Myrdahl<sup>7</sup> who noted in 1940 that "Only a part of the present farm population has any future on the land. This is particularly true of the Negro farm population...."<sup>8</sup>

Here it is sufficient to summarize these factors which reduce part of the rural population which remains on the land to severe poverty, and force the remaining population to move to more urban areas. These factors created within the south are:

1. The system of land tenure, sharecropping and wage payments which was introduced after the Civil War and which did not effectively redistribute land among the newly freed slaves; instead it established a system of financial and social dependency upon a white majority which in time changed from plantation owners to industrial farmers, or the small brokers of southern urbanization. This system served to prevent the accumulation of capital within the rural Negro population, and the resulting inability of that population to alter its material condition without moving off the land.
2. The limited possibilities for accumulating capital prevented not only the alleviation of severe poverty but the use of government programs which depended on the establishment of credit.<sup>9</sup>
3. The general refusal of white landowners to sell to Negro farmers who possessed the necessary capital prevented them from accumulating sufficient holdings to make their farming more than subsistence activity.<sup>10</sup>
4. The combination of inadequate or absent public school systems and general relief programs resulted in a severely handicapped population, compared to the population living in urban centers, and by circular reasoning reinforced the white majority's belief that if the rural Negro population was indeed "the rural dimension of the common life"<sup>11</sup> it

was also a group whose low status indicated innate inferiority and would perpetuate that condition by itself.

This locked-in condition has been made worse by factors which operate on the situation from changes in the national, not regional, economy. Hamilton described the

mechanization of southern agriculture, shift of cotton production to the Southwest and West, governmental programs limiting agricultural production, and the rapid economic development in nonsouthern states.<sup>12</sup>

which combined to cause migration out of the southern states.

Harrington said:

In 1954 a farmer had to double his 1944 production in order to maintain the same purchasing power. This was easy enough, or more than easy, for the huge operators with factory-like farms. It was an insuperable task for the small independent owners.<sup>13</sup>

Such capitalist feudalism, which maintains a subclass of financially dependent farm operators who are doubly hurt by shifts in the national economy affects urban, as well as rural, life in the south. The net migration from these areas in 1955-1960 indicated clearly that emigration is still considered a feasible solution to the problem; Ornati said, "Historically Americans escape poverty by pulling up stakes."<sup>14</sup>

The net loss in areas which have a sizeable rural Negro population is to be expected and it is part of "a continuous, not a sporadic phenomenon."<sup>15</sup> This large net migration is mostly to state, rather than out-of-state centers, described more fully later.

Again, Ornati notes that "This does not mean that a former rural resident is automatically not poor when he reaches the city. All it says is that the moment he reaches the city he joins a population group whose risk of being poor is lower."<sup>16</sup>

The southern state centers to **which the** rural population moves were established to expedite agricultural activities, not to industrialize rapidly, as were northern centers. "This resulted in a very few large cities and many towns of even size rather than the sharply competitive grading of population found in an industrialized area."<sup>17</sup> This pattern was established during the period of agricultural dependency on the cotton economy, which needed collection, buying and storing points, with a few financial exchange centers like New Orleans.<sup>18</sup> It was reinforced when the major rail lines were constructed on an axis from New York to Chicago, and cut off the South; secondary lines leading to this axis turned Atlanta, Dallas and Richmond into rail depots. Thus, geographically and ideologically, the south developed a circulation and exchange system which allowed fine internal movement and some points of exit and entry, along the border. This was appropriate for a region which industrialized reluctantly, and has continued to prize agrarian ideals despite a nearly bankrupt economy. Vance and Smith argue that this pattern of urbanization leapfrogged what was in other economies, the next stage of growth. Urban centers in the northeastern U. S. attracted large pools of unskilled, cheap labor to employment in a variety of industries. The pattern common<sup>in</sup> the south of rather evenly distributed centers all subdominant to national

centers (Chicago, New York) is an appropriate "twentieth century configuration"; scattered places can function as industrial centers because transportation and communication technology reduce the problems of geographical distance.

This urban pattern helps explain the kind of migration and the values of families interviewed in Boston. That is, the families are urban because they have lived in other urban centers, but they are peculiarly subordinated, and in some cases dependent, because of the nature of these southern urban centers. We conclude then, that this pattern of scattered centers, has allowed a great part of the labor force to industrialize, but that it has not allowed values and relationships within the labor force to change as they did during other industrializations. This is a function of racism in both southern and American life, and of the gradual transition to urban from rural life in the south which allowed the old values and class structure to remain in effect despite shifts in the economy.

In other words, a competitive class system did not develop in the south as it did in the north. W. Lloyd Warner and Allison Davis described the class system in the south:

Within each of the two castes (superordinate white and subordinate Negro) social classes existed, status being based upon possession of money, education and family background as reflected in distinctive styles of behavior. . . . an entire socio-cultural system not just the economic order functioned to distribute power and prestige unevenly between whites and Negroes and to punish any individuals who questioned the system by word or behavior.<sup>20</sup>

Industrialization of the south, belated and gradual, did not bring

with it a system in which

differant ethnic groups (were) involved in competition and conflict resulting in a hierarchy persisting through time, with how one, and again another, ethnic group at the bottom as previous newcomers moved "up."<sup>21</sup>

Drake noted, and later evidence will qualify, that the Negro has remained subordinate both to a caste system in the south and an ethnic-class system in the north.<sup>22</sup>

Under these conditions, a person in the south from a rural area can move to a city, and thereby increase his chances of avoiding poverty, but he may not alter his relationship to the social system. This is particularly true of the Negro population, which has been kept subordinate by restrictions on education, job-training, and marriage. But it is also true of a rural white population whose status within the system remains low as long as the society values ancestries in the old aristocracy; whites, however, are afforded relatively greater anonymity in the city than are Negroes. The intimacy of relations in southern centers has served as a police power for the whites, to maintain their dominance over the Negro population. This power means that the move to a southern city is a horizontal one, rather than a vertical one, since there is no improvement in social status for Negroes who move.

The effects of the migration from rural areas within the south to urban areas is reflected in shifts in the labor force in the south, 1940-1960:<sup>23</sup>

OCCUPATION	WHITE	NONWHITE
Farmers	-60.5%	-75.1%
Private household workers	-43.4%	-73.3%
Farm laboreres	-65.0%	-56.9%
Clerical	+52.7%	+192.0%
Craftsmen	101.5%	110.2%
Operatives	52.0%	83.1%
Professionals	152.0%	72.8%

Clearly, nonwhite rural farm families have moved in large numbers; note the decrease in the percentages of the population that remain farmers and farm laborers. Also note the familiar smaller percentage of nonwhites who shift to professions.

#### THE DIMENSIONS OF THE MIGRATION

The tables in Appendix II will indicate the size of the exodus from rural areas in the south, by total and nonwhite populations. The asterisks indicate the economic areas which receive the top three volumes of migrants from each economic area within the state. That is, reading horizontally, the three largest groups of emigrants from a SEA went to the SEA's marked with an asterisk. Remembering the preceding discussion of southern urbanization, and Appendix I, note that:

1. The migration within each state is to a few large centers, in which the population is the most urban of the state.
2. The three centers receiving the greatest part of migrants from other SEA's are usually the major urban areas of the state, or interstices between them.

Below is a list of the cities or regions (defined by SEA boundaries) which receive the greatest number of migrants.

Virginia: Richmond (C)  
 Petersburg (6)  
 Fredricksburg to Charlottesville (5)

North Carolina: Greensboro (C)  
 High Point (4)  
 Raleigh (8)

South Carolina: Columbia (A)  
 East of Columbia (6 -- economic subregion 36)  
 West of Columbia (4)

Georgia: Atlanta (B)  
 Warm Springs to Augusta (4)

Florida: Northern region, along Georgia border (3)  
 Central region (5)  
 Miami (C)

Alabama: Birmingham (A)  
 Tuscaloosa to Montgomery (5)  
 Mobile (D)

Mississippi: Vicksburg north, along Arkansas border (1)  
 Central Region (6)  
 Biloxi (8)

Tennessee: Nashville (B)  
 Chattanooga (C)  
 North and south of Nashville (4,5)

Kentucky: Louisville (A)  
 (6,3) Areas 6 and 3 are not SMSA's but make up the areas along the Ohio-Indiana border having, at the edges of the two SEA's combined, Evansville, Cincinnati, Louisville, Lexington.

West Virginia: Charleston (C)  
 South of Charleston (4)

3. The urban centers also have large outmigrations. That part of it which is intrasate functions primarily as an exchange between urban centers.



4. Areas which are more urban draw many emigrants from contiguous areas which are less urban, as one would expect. This must be considered part of the migration taking place by moves to progressively more urban areas.

The data described so far can be summarized as follows:

1. The rural nonfarm,<sup>not</sup> the rural farm population is the important factor in the mobility of the southern population.
2. A greater percentage of the Negro than of the total population is urban; the Negro population is less rural than the total, and has an equivalent distribution in rural nonfarm areas.
3. The overall net ~~loss~~ of population in the south is reflected in nearly every State Economic Area, with the exception of those in Florida, and those which have the highest urban population. Where there is evidence of net gain it comes from immigration of whites offsetting the emigration of Negroes and other whites; again, Florida is an exception.
4. The tendency to move from a rural area to an urban area within the state is reflected in the higher percentage of intrastate migrants from areas characterized by rural or rural nonfarm settlement; conversely that there is little return migration or immigration to rural areas is also reflected in these figures, since few of the very rural areas which send migrants to state centers have large numbers of migrants from other parts of the state. Also, these areas

have a higher net loss of population.

5. The differences between the total and Negro populations occur as described earlier: The Negro population is consistently more urban; second, the Negro population shows a greater tendency to move out of the State than does the total, although the pattern is basically the same -- the greatest part of the emigrants from rural farm areas go to state centers, while the emigrants from rural nonfarm and urban areas are more likely to go to out-of-state points. This pattern varies again between the states in the East South Central Region (Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama) and those in the South Atlantic (for our purposes, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, West Virginia); the rural farm areas in the East South Central send many more emigrants to out-of-state and noncontiguous-state points than do the rural farm areas in the South Atlantic. But the East South Central states send very few migrants to Boston, so the consequences of wider distribution from those rural areas will not be considered here.

6. In combination with the figures for migration to contiguous states (Appendix III), these figures for intra-state migration indicate that the move to a noncontiguous state -- which is the type of move most likely to bring a farm family to a northern metropolis -- occurs more frequently within the Negro population than within the total.

In both cases, however, the majority of moves are made to in-state or contiguous-state points.

This data seems to describe rather clearly a situation in which urbanization is carried out in stages, the last stage being a transfer from a southern to a northern metropolitan center. There are still rural migrants, of course. But it is important to see that southern cities send more people than the farms do. And so when we talk about migrants we are talking about people who move from one city to another, and who are already conditioned by urban life. Karl and Alma Taueber said:

... if northern Negroes remain inadequately educated for urban living and fail to participate fully in the urban economy, the "primitive folk culture" of the South can less and less be assigned responsibility, and Northern cities will be suffering from the neglect of their own human resources.<sup>24</sup>

There is a second part of the migration which should be considered here; that is, the function of the eastern seaboard as a path for migrants. Simple arithmetic demonstrates that the 6 cities along the Middle Atlantic and New England path which have the largest migrations of southern nonwhites absorbed 82% of the total migration to the 2 regions.

17,485	nonwhite migration to New England from South
<u>121,167</u>	nonwhite migration to Middle Atlantic from South
138,652	TOTAL

- 4,769	to Boston
-57,118	to New York City
-13,726	to Newark
-29,351	to Philadelphia
- 2,858	to Pittsburgh
- 5,895	to Passaic
<u>24,935</u>	not absorbed by cities above

Destination: Boston and Intermediate Stops

From this point on we will narrow the discussion of migration to see what is relevant to Boston. We see that the southern states that send the greatest number of nonwhite migrants to Boston are those along the east coast -- and of the southern states those are the ones with the most highly developed net of urban centers. Those centers lie along the Piedmont and they are the ones receiving the most intrastate migrants. (See Appendix II).

This confirms the ideas of Vance and Smith<sup>26</sup> that laying the rail lines along the Piedmont, running north and south, cut off the coastal cities, and increased the importance of the inland (but not mountain) centers; the function as rail centers has been declining for a long time, but the centers still offer industrial employment, and have networks of communication beyond the region. As the map of SMSA's<sup>27</sup> shows, the urban agglomeration along the east coast going north from Newport News is nearly solid. For these reasons, we should look for some evidence of step migration, in which migrants who were born in the south spend some time in an intermediate city (or several, probably unrecorded during the five-year interval) before arriving in the present one.

It is possible that the migrants have come to the Middle Atlantic from a southern urban center. We have used the phrase, step migration, to refer to the process by which migrants live in progressively larger urban areas, which make increasingly more complex demands on inhabitants.

Using this idea, the epitome of urban experience would be New York, but after a certain point, experiences and demands become so similar that movement is horizontal; and it is possible to approach that equilibrium in southern centers, in terms of industrial labor, and use of urban complexes of services, But the south is still different, and northern cities present new problems, many of which become familiar before the migrants reach Boston.

Now, we want to look at the intermediate stage -- that is, the time that people born in the south spend in the Middle Atlantic states before coming to New England, and Boston. The clearest illustration of the intermediate stage is, again, in the Census. Table I indicates that there is a considerable migration of families to New England who were living in the Middle Atlantic in 1955 but were born in the south -- in either the South Atlantic or East South Central divisions. In total, 17,485 nonwhites came to New England in 1960 who were born in the two southern divisions. The South Atlantic sent nearly four times the numbers sent by the East South Central. Of those, 17,485, 24% (4217) came to Boston. 576 (3%) had moved from one division to another, implying a transfer to a larger urban center. More had moved to the South Atlantic from the East South Central than had moved in the other direction. In addition to the 17,485, 2389 nonwhites (who make up 29% of the total group of 8142) came to New England who were in the Middle Atlantic in 1955 but were born in the South. They do not enter directly into the investigation of this thesis, since we are more concerned with people who move directly from the south to Boston; but they, and the type of movement

they are making are important in considering that 19,874 nonwhite people arrived in New England in the five-year period who can be said to have lived some part of their lives in the south.

The data can be broken down again -- to see the size and age of the people migrating to Massachusetts, according to the region of their birth, and residence in 1955. As Appendix IV indicates, the Middle Atlantic functions as an intermediate stage primarily for those born in the South Atlantic division; the numbers of people coming from the East South Central to Massachusetts are so small that the introduction of a transitional stage practically eliminates the sample. The introduction of the intermediate state increases the age of the migrant about five years, for the nonwhites both male and female. For example, the median age of the nonwhite male migrant who was born in the South Atlantic Division, living there in 1955 and in Massachusetts in 1960 is 24.5; the median age for the nonwhite male migrant who was born in the South Atlantic but living in the Middle Atlantic in 1955, and in Massachusetts in 1960 is 29.8. The median age for the nonwhite migrant from the East South Central is 22.2 for males, and 22.9 for females. The pattern for whites is much different, and reflects the difference in employment opportunities for whites and nonwhites.

So far, we have discussed aspects of intrastate migration within the south, interstate migration within the south, northward migration to and through the major cities of the Middle Atlantic and New England regions, and intermediate stages of the migrations northward. We are now ready to consider the migration related directly to Boston. As

from the East South Central to Massachusetts are sufficiently small to make the introduction of a transitional stage reduce the calculable numbers drastically. The introduction of the intermediate stage increases the age of the migrant about five years, for the nonwhites both male and female. For example, the median age of the nonwhite male migrant who was born in the South Atlantic Division, living there in 1955 and in Massachusetts in 1960 is 24.5; the median age for the nonwhite male migrant who was born in the South Atlantic but living in the Middle Atlantic in 1955, and in Massachusetts in 1960 is 29.8. The median age for the nonwhite migrant from the East South Central Division is 22.2 for males, and 22.9 for females. The pattern for whites is much different, reflecting, most obviously, the difference in employment patterns and type of mobility.

At this point we have discussed aspects of intrastate migration within the south, interstate migration within the south, northward movement to and through the major cities of the Middle Atlantic and New England regions, and intermediate stages of the migrations northward. We are now ready to consider the migration related directly to Boston. As noted earlier, 44% of the nonwhite migration to Boston came directly from the south in 1955-1960. Ranking the states sending the greatest numbers of nonwhites to the Boston SMSA (SEA C) indicates the following relationships among them as sending centers:<sup>28</sup>

we noted earlier, 44% of the nonwhite migration to Boston came directly from the south in 1955-1960. Ranking the states sending the greatest numbers of nonwhites to the Boston SMSA (SEA C) indicates the following relationships among them as sending centers:<sup>28</sup>

STATE	NONWHITE MIGRANTS TO BOSTON SMSA (STATE ECONOMIC AREA C)	TOTAL MIGRANTS TO BOSTON SMSA
New York	1170	28,860
North Carolina	916	2900
Virginia	699	5536
South Carolina	629	2524
Alabama	568	1396
(Massachusetts)	536	1302
Pennsylvania	437	9716
Florida	395	4866
New Jersey	317	10,085
Ohio	311	6123
District of Columbia	265	1816
Illinois	243	5399
Connecticut	240	10,894
Maryland	236	4154
Tennessee	211	1099
California	204	7686
Michigan	204	3514
Louisiana	145	987
Mississippi	135	513
Kentucky	131	1290
Texas	130	3620
Arkansas	126	407
Hawaii	110	769
West Virginia	105	744

These figures show that the South Atlantic states, and Alabama, and the states along the northeast path send the most nonwhite migrants; but the ranking of states by total numbers of migrants sent would be quite different. These figures combine the figures shown earlier, since those coming from Pennsylvania, for example, may have been counted in the numbers



born in the South Atlantic in 1955. They do indicate that the greatest numbers of migrants to Boston come from the chain of states along the Atlantic coast, and that it is unlikely, in the absence of large numbers of people coming from Mississippi, Louisiana or Texas that Boston is a magnet for emigrants, as California was in the '30's, so that the distance to the place is outweighed by its reputation for making great opportunities available, and people decide to come "cold", without friends or family to support them. <sup>Instead,</sup> /We will see later that the migration of families alters the statistical pattern we have drawn, of moving to larger and larger urban centers. That is, southern rural migrants to Boston have often come because another member of the family has migrated here earlier and is inviting relatives. That member of the family who is here may have come cold, some time ago -- with the army, or a contracted job. The data cannot explain types of migration as clearly as it explains timing and volume. It has established a pattern within which the various types of migration operate.

## Notes - Chapter I

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21. St. Clair Drake, ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. C. H. Hamilton, Educational Selectivity of Migrants, p. 288.
24. Taueber, Karl E. and Alma F. Taueber, "The Negro as an Immigrant Group: Recent Trends in Racial and Ethnic Segregation in Chicago." The American Journal of Sociology, January 1964. LXIX No. 4, p. 379.
25. Figures derived from p. 8, U.S. Census PC2/2D and Table 34, U.S. Census PC2/2B. Maryland, Delaware and Washington, D.C. are included here in the sending centers since they are included in the South Atlantic Division of the Census regions; this alters the concept of staging somewhat, since they are probably more characteristic of northern than of southern urban centers.
26. Vance and Smith, op. cit.
27. See page .
28. U.S. Census, PC2/2B, Table 34.

**Chapter II:****General Patterns****Auspices: Recruited, Chain and Lone Migrations**

## AUSPICES

We want to know the types of migration which take place -- not just the volumes. We know from the sample that all of the families came because they had family already here, and that all but one had lived in an urban place before coming here. The following chapter will describe the kinds of migration, and how the families in the sample have moved.

We also want to know how people have adjusted to the new city. Charles Tilly said, "A society that finds mobility normal and necessary also finds means to cushion its consequences". We have noted in the first chapter that migration is a typical response to poverty -- it has to be better somewhere else. This migration bears out what has already been established: that opportunities in the south are limited, especially for Negroes. So it is natural to move; and since nearly all the people interviewed have said they came for "work" or "education", we can know that there are specific improvements that they hope to make. And, according to these ideas of improvements, there is a logical network of associations which develops in the new city -- sometimes cushioning, sometimes jolting.

We can divide the means of moving, or auspices, into three categories: recruited, chain and lone migration.

### 1. Recruited Migration

Expansion of a single sector of the economy attracts or recruits workers who are given on-the-job training. This demand for labor occurs in

an industry which is expanding so rapidly that it counts the cost of training a large number of its workers (and at times the cost of their transportation) as a necessary part of the cost of production. Most recently, the expansion of weapons production attracted large numbers of southern Negroes to defense plants in the north, during World War II. The expansion of defense plants followed nine years of the Depression, which had crippled the south. Boston's Negro population tripled from 1940-1960, when it reached 63,676.<sup>2</sup>

Other recruiting<sup>t</sup> sponsored by this sector of the economy is for military service. Three of the men in local sponsoring families (2,5,6)\* came through the Army, 10-15 years ago, having been stationed here and in other cities, and having decided that they preferred to live in Boston. We spoke with two other men, not in this sample, who also came because of the defense industry: one came to work in a defense plant during World War II, another came in the Army. Both were from the south, and have stayed here about 20 years.

This kind of migration gives the worker little freedom of choice when he first moves. It gives him some educational and occupational training, and an opportunity to look around and form associations in several different places. Two men said that they had never been in an integrated group before getting into their army unit. That experience, plus the experience of the northern cities where they were stationed, made it even more difficult to return to the south. The armed services also give the men a status generally appreciated by this society -- military rank, and experience are considered marks of good character.



When Negro workers were recruited for the manufacturing industry, about 1910-1925, the Urban League became active in meeting southern families moving north, offering advice about jobs, housing and "comportment"<sup>3</sup>. Now, of course, the demand for unskilled and low-skilled male labor is shrinking quickly, and recruiting cannot be responsible for bringing new workers to cities which already have high unemployment rates among these workers. Since there are no longer employers who are willing to train large numbers of unskilled workers on the job, and recruit workers from far places, there are also no longer institutions offering services which are organized around the problems of migration.

Recruiting is now bringing women north for domestic labor in suburban homes. Here again, no previous training is needed, and the only requirements are physical and mental competence, willingness to contract with the hiring agency and to sever ties with home for a while. The agency may offer the price of busfare north in return for repayment of the fare, plus a commission on the wages from the new job. The size of the commission is often crippling and it makes the time the woman has to depend on the first employer or the agency so long that she may be snared by exploiters of this dependency, and become involved in spiraling problems. Recent Massachusetts legislation has required minimum wages of \$50 per week for this work but there are no maximum hours, and no way to police social security payments from the employer. In spite of these drawbacks, this work offers a means of moving, and entering a northern urban labor force without being required to accumulate savings or skills beforehand.

Two institutions pay special attention to domestic workers. The



Women's Service Club in Boston, a private agency, has a program which is supposed to provide some counselling and other intermediate accommodations for women who have come north, with no family to help them. The second institution is the welfare department, and as we shall see later, both regulations and caseworkers are hard on these women; there is a popular suspicion that women who come as maids are inevitably public dependents.

One man's sister (4), who had been here three years when her brother came to join her, came originally to work at a "live-in" job in Hartford, secured for her in advance by an agency in Florida where she had cousins. She is 21, her brother 20; they are from Selma, Alabama. She chose Hartford because "all the kids were talking about it" in her high school, knowing of it through her cousins there, and through other people who had left Selma. She thought New York was a "fast place" and did not want to go there, but Hartford was apparently a good blend of security and excitement. She stayed four months but then left, "once I got there and saw what it was like". She had had hospital training and gone to business school and had no trouble in getting a job at Massachusetts General Hospital when she came to join her cousins here. The cousins in Hartford had offered her a trip to visit them after high school graduation, but she decided to take the live-in job instead, because she "didn't want to be tied down" to her cousins. In summary: she had already had urban experience, education and training, and used this job, as a domestic, to put herself in a position to find other jobs, with a minimum dependency on her family in the north.

This kind of migration is a response to an expanding personal services sector of the economy -- represented geographically by affluent

suburban homes. The jobs require only the simplest training; unlike the recruiting for manufacturing and defense industries, this does not provide industrial skill training. The mobility offered to Negro women reinforces an old pattern, in which Negro men do not find work as easily as do Negro women. Pettigrew said:

Both poverty and migration also act to maintain the old slave pattern of a mother-centered family. ...Employment discrimination has traditionally made it more difficult for the poorly-educated Negro male to secure steady employment than the poorly-educated Negro female.<sup>4</sup>

There is no equivalent number of domestic service jobs for men, since suburban homes usually only support servants for cooking and cleaning, leaving the care of grounds and repairs to husbands or to "lawn specialists", who send out teams of workmen to different homes for a contracted job. In the industry-poor south, too, there are more jobs for maids than for "yard-boys".

## 2. Chain Migration

The second kind of migration occurs around the first. One member of the family comes, finds work, and sends for other members of his family; they, in turn, bring others. This is chain migration, which is responsible for bringing all of the families in this sample to Boston. It is impossible to know the dimensions of the migration, since the process occurs independently of any public counting. We can, however, see how the migrants are accommodated in their new urban place.

Most obviously, chain migration has a very different relation to

employment patterns. J.S. MacDonald said:

Migration chains ... perform an equilibrating function which an official apparatus could not hope to achieve; these networks of aid and information provide the prospective migrant with a comparative evaluation of the opportunities in his present residence and in various potential destinations expressed in his own terms. This feedback effect is much more efficient than official recruitment and settlement schemes in responding to relative changes in the conditions of the sending and receiving districts.<sup>5</sup>

The 1960 Census shows that the most mobile population groups are 15-29 years old, the groups which are the most employable. In 1960, 12.2% of the nonwhites who were 20-24 years old moved to a noncontiguous state. (13.6% of the whites, of the same age, did so.) Mobility decreases sharply in succeeding age groups; only 2.9% of the nonwhites aged 40-44 (and 4.8% of the whites) moved to a noncontiguous state.<sup>6</sup>

Knowing this, we must try to relate the ages of the workers in the sample to the overall pattern of mobility. The two working fathers are 49 (7) and 38 (9); the man who came alone is 20 (4), and is single. This indicates that chain migration, which occurs around migration of young, single people, brings older, less easily employed people as migrants.

Lloyd Warner distinguishes between "families of orientation" (your parents and siblings) and "families of procreation" (your spouse and children). Families of orientation most frequently sponsor new migrants. The local/families are in every case members of the primary family of the migrant: a brother, sister, son or daughter, of the person who has just come. There are no cases in which the parents are acting now as a sponsoring family for their children.

So, chain migration, in which members of the family of orientation who are older or nearly equivalent in age are brought by other members who came through more impersonal devices, operates not only to equilibrate the volume, as MacDonald said, but also to re-form families of orientation.

The families which are re-formed here are not necessarily those in which the husband has come, and his wife has joined him after a while, They are also those in which brothers and sisters, and elderly parents are brought to join the young member of the family who came first. Husbands and wives and children have also been added to the local family "unit" -- that is, the brother or sister, and sometimes the child, who migrated first and can now receive others.

We are looking at a diffuse process, growing out of factors which are not clearly defined, making its impact on the city in ways which cannot be immediately recognized. We can now use Tilly's description of the assimilation process, which emphasizes its variousness:

... the usual implicit model of assimilation is one of the diffusion of two fluids in contact: going from a maximum of separation to a maximum of interpenetration, proceeding uniformly and irreversibly through time so long as mutual exposure continues, depending heavily on the relative volume of the two fluids (I owe this apt analogy to James Beshers). Such a model leaves little room for multiple channels of assimilation, for variable effects of status, personal characteristics, or prior experience on the pace or direction of assimilation, for social structures intervening between the migrant and the major institutions of the community.<sup>7</sup>

In this sample, then we see the ways in which recruited and chain migrations, rural and urban origins, family and institutional recognition of migrants, lace over one another so that either as planners or researchers we must account for a migration which is many-faceted at a single point in time. The response to it should understand the "multiple channels of assimilation" rather than look for a single means of treating migrants.

### 3. Lone Migration

The third type of migration occurs independently of both recruiters and families; in this migration, individuals and, less likely, families,

move essentially alone. They may decide to come on the strength of recommendations from friends in a city, or their impression of a place. It is possible that this takes place most frequently over short distances, but it is not unlikely that inter metropolitan migration occurs like this as well. A man who preceded his mother (2) here by 10 years came after working for a chain of restaurants along the east coast as a driver; later his brother, who was in the army here, joined him.

Without benefit of a supporting institution -- whether the support is in the form of advice from the family, or secular assistance, from an employer or welfare agency -- this type of migration may take place as a form of transiency among poor people, who use immediately available benefits (General Relief, for example), and do not involve themselves in the constrictions of many associations in an area<sup>8</sup>. Or, it may take place among people who have enough money and negotiating skills to be independent of supporting institutions. It may account for some of the movement described in the first part of this paper, in which people move to progressively larger centers, and then between large urban centers.

## Notes - Chapter II

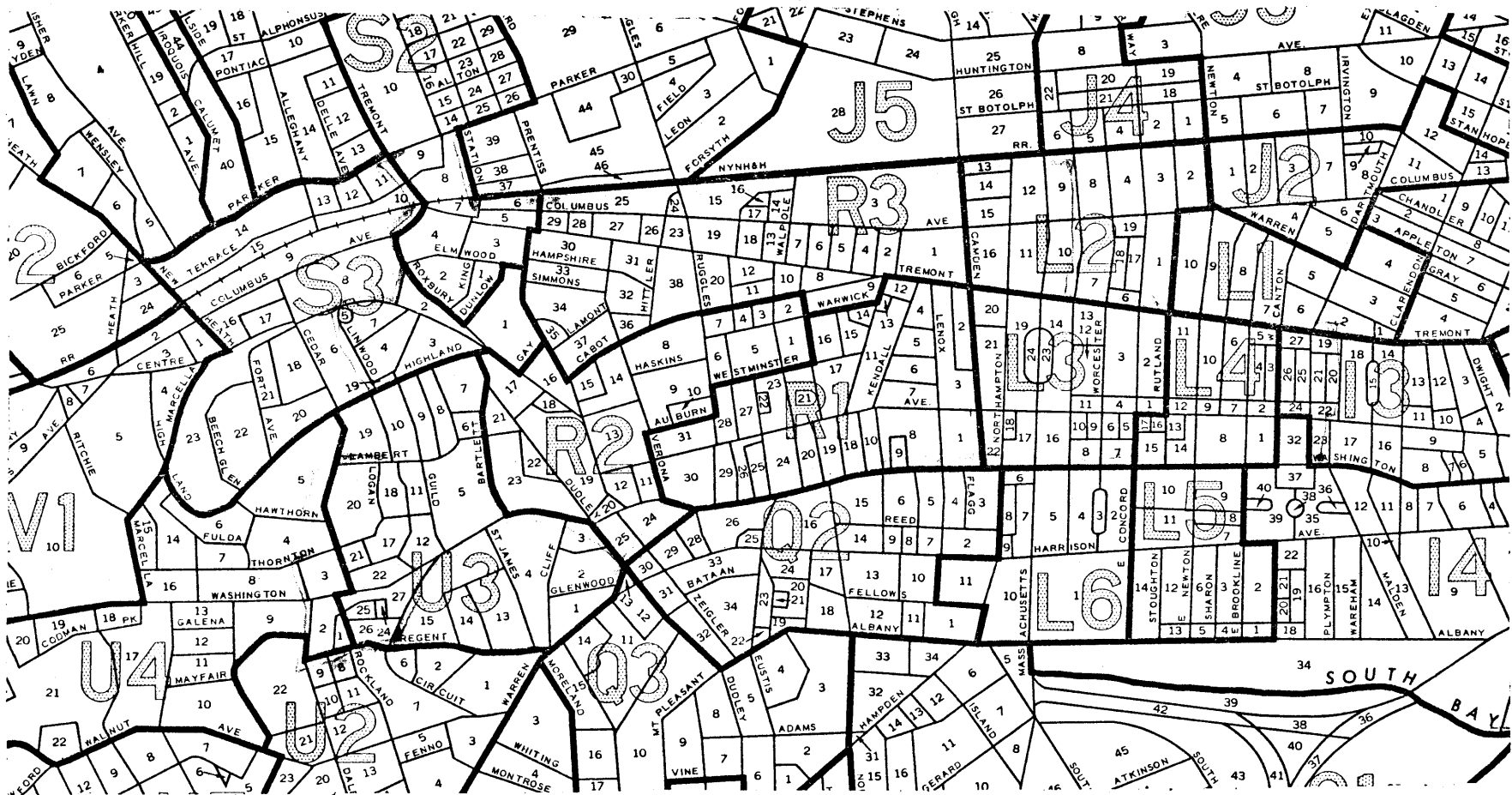
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4. Thomas F. Pettigrew, A Profile of the Negro American, p. 15.
5. U. S. Census PC2/2B, Table 2.
6. J. S. MacDonald, "Summary Recommendations for B. Migration and Population Policy for Guyana," Joint Centre for Urban Studies, U.W.I., Trinidad. Unpublished mimeograph, p. 8.
7. Charles Tilly, op. cit., p. 27.
8. See also Tilly, op. cit., p. 4.

\* The numbers in parentheses throughout the thesis refer to Appendix VI, where persons in the sample are listed by number, with brief notes on the circumstances of their migration. (6) always refers to the man who came a year ago from Selma, for example.

Chapter III:

Life in Boston

- A. Receiving Area for the Migrating Families
- B. Relationship to the Labor Force: Employment, Dependency and Supplements.  
Summary: Word-of-Mouth and Marginality
- C. Housing
- D. Churches



LEGEND

BLOCK NUMBERS 27

TRACT NUMBERS 2

TRACT BOUNDARIES

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

Sample, or receiving, area

Boundaries of Ward 9

Boundaries of Census Tracts

TABLE 2: SAMPLE, OR RECEIVING, AREA FOR MIGRANTS



### A. The Receiving Area for the Migrating Families

The sample was drawn from a limited area, and the conditions of the migrants are largely dependent on the life in that area. We did not find that the migrants lead an obviously different way of life. In brief the area is best described by saying that it is in transition. That euphemism covers many facts: that it is built of old housing which has been redivided and badly repaired for many years and suffers in no peculiar way from the maladies of absentee landlord ownership and increasing costs on the property attached to decreasing returns from it. The census tract areas have experienced a 34-57% drop in population from 1955-1960. In addition, the area is threatened by substantial demolition for the highways going through Madison Park and Tremont Street, and for the new housing in the South End urban renewal project. The buildings in the South End which are not torn down will probably be "improved" and no longer cheap enough for low-income renters. Not only will the physical elements of the area be changed radically, but also the distribution of services will be changed. It is unlikely, therefore, that the area will continue to act as it has for these migrants. We must assume that the stability which the migrating families seek -- and which institutions, in turn, look for in families, as evidence of good character -- is continually threatened by the business of public projects in an area like this one. It is very difficult, under these circumstances, for the families to stay in one place, if they want to and the place is decent.

They must move again, and incur, thereby, more penalties in the city for changing their residence. Areas like this one are not only valuable for low-income residents and migrants, who can move easily and cheaply through the net of existing public and private activities. They are also valuable to defenders of the tax base in the city, who want to use these areas for the convenience of residents of other areas (freeways are serving suburbs, for example), and for increasing tax revenues from the land. If the current plans proceed, all but one of the families in the sample will have to move within the next five years. Tremont Street

The figures for the numbers of people moving to Ward 9 from the south indicate that many people are moving into the South End, which has been the traditional port of entry for new migrants (and is, more visibly, now serving that purpose for new migrants from Puerto Rico). But we can expect that pattern to change, due to the changing character of the areas, <sup>in</sup> and near the South End. Chain migration, as it operates for these families, also diminishes the importance of a port of entry, as we conceive of it. When the migrating family comes to a sponsoring family which has been forced to move farther out from Lower Roxbury and the South End, island relationships between the migrating and local families result, rather than enclaves of new migrants who are attached to groups of old migrants already here.

This tendency is related to the nature of the "community" as it currently operates in Lower Roxbury, and as I gather it operated in Washington Park<sup>1</sup> before the boundaries of the urban renewal area made it a neighborhood by fiat. That is, it is not a "community" at all, as Gans

described the West End, or as we have come to understand Charlestown, the North End and other tightly knit areas. The more traditional communities have spokesmen who can develop and act on a consensus which can be said to represent the great part of the residents of the area. This area is more like a coral reef, with various residents moving through until their purpose is served (and they can afford an apartment further out, for example) or until the reef is demolished. A map is included here, as Table 2, to show the location of each migrating family and its local family.

All of these areas are characterized by the great decrease in the population, mentioned earlier, a normal rate of immigration from other points of the city, and a high rate of immigration from the South, as compared to the city and the SMSA. In the census tracts in Roxbury and the South End, there are slightly higher proportions of the population who have moved from another place within the Central City, and consistently higher proportions of people who moved from outside the SMSA (See Table 4).

The receiving area for the migrating families is, then characterized by a converging of unpromising elements. The rates of infant mortality, and the incidence of tuberculosis are higher in these areas than in the rest of the city. The buildings are decaying and about to be destroyed; the residual population, which has not moved out with the exodus of the last ten years, has a high rate of unemployment. However, it is still true that the area operates to the advantage of new and poor families; it is near public services, offers facilities for a variety of demands, and offers relatively cheap housing for rent.

Table 3

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE AREA:  
RACE, INCOME, EDUCATION

	L-1		L-2		R1		R2		R3		S3		U3	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
<u>RACE</u>														
Nonwhite Pop. (P.4)	801		3432		3766		1081		2161		1124		1767	
Total	3262		3728		3936		1969							
Nonwhite as %total		24		92		95		54		84		30		51
Negro Pop.	679		3346		3736		1071		2142		1094		1739	
Negro as %total		85		97		99		99		98		97		98
<u>MEDIAN INCOME</u>														
All Families	\$3231		\$3084		\$3178		\$3648		\$2750		\$4895		\$4533	
Nonwhite	--		3857		3205		3549		2627		4351		4517	
Total Fams.& Unrel. Individuals	1881		2637		2176		2530		2247		3638		3295	
Nonwhite Fams.& Unrel. Individuals	2494		2750		2219		2671		2251		3568		3464	
<u>MEDIAN YEARS SCHOOL COMPLETED</u>														
Total Population	8.9		9.3		8.7		8.9		8.8		9.4		9.0	
Nonwhite	9.1		9.3		8.6		8.5		8.9		9.5		9.7	

Source: U.S. Census of Population and Housing: 1960  
Final Report PHC(1)-18 (Boston, Massachusetts)  
Tables P-1 and P-4.

Table 4. MIGRATION RATES

	Population 5 years and older, 1960	Moved from other house in C.C.	Moved from Outside SMSA	Moved from South
SMSA	2,317,570	.12	.074	.01
Boston	631,796	.324	.07	.015
Iool	1,788	.387	.049	.001
J2	289	.367	.13	.10
J	2,597	.299	.03	.006
J-1	3,721	.369	.109	.02
J-2	1,949	.24	.17	.07
J-3	2,327	.30	.12	.02
J-4	2,830	.30	.14	.02
L-1*	3,102	.395	.079	.08
L-2*	3,427	.343	.15	.09
L-3	2,661	.29	.157	.10
L-4	1,747	.358	.08	.025
L-5	1,122	.29	.169	.029
L-6	2,153	.344	.07	.009
Q1	815	.334	.03	.01
Q2	2,314	.436	.05	.027
Q3	3,825	.40	.05	.03
Q4	2,239	.38	.03	.02
R1*	3,469	.34	.06	.04
R2**	1,767	.36	.06	.03
R3*	2,238	.336	0.8	.06
S2	3,206	.36	.03	.007
S3*	3,194	.36	.05	.04
S4	3,530	.26	.09	.004
S5	5,240	.27	.11	.01
S6	3,251	.35	.03	--(4)
U1	4,451	.38	.07	.03
U2	3,644	.46	.10	.08
U3*	2,985	.44	.09	.04
U4	4,333	.35	.11	.07
U5	6,287	.44	.09	.04
U6a	4,334	.39	.09	.04
U6b	5,225	.49	.09	.04
V1	3,430	.37	.065	.008
V2	5,207	.45	.037	.009

Source:

U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1960  
Final Report PHC(1)-18. Table P.1.

	Boston	L-1	L-2	R-1	R-2	R-3	S-3	U-3
Civilian Labor Force Total	303,567	1549	2114	1477	810	808	1572	1354
Unemployment in CLF	5%	10.9%	6.7%	9.0%	14.1%	7.9%	6.9%	7.5%
<u>Employment</u>								
Mining	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Construction	4%	3.0	4.3	1.6	7.9	4.8	4.9	4.6
Manufacturing	24%	15.0	28.7	28.0	28.0	26.0	34.0	23.4
Railroad and Railway express	*	1.9	1.1	.6	1.0	1.4	*	*
Other transportation	4	4.5	2.1	2.9	4.3	1.1	2.5	3.4
Community utilities and sanitary services	2.9	*	0	0	2.0	1.0	1.8	1.7
Wholesale trade	4	3.4	2.2	3.6	2.9	2.0	1.6	4.5
Eating and drinking places	3.5	14.4	7.5	3.2	2.9	3.0	3.5	2.7
Other retail trade	10.9	5.8	7.5	6.3	3.9	6.9	5.2	7.2
Business&repair service	2.6	2.9	2.2	2.0	2.3	2.6	2.3	3.0
Private household	1.3	5.8	8.7	6.6	5.6	11.0	4.0	2.8
Other personal services	3.9	11.0	8.3	8.5	5.8	6.9	7.2	12.0
Hospitals	5.0	3.9	4.8	9.3	3.3	8.2	7.3	9.2
Educational services	4.9	2.0	2.0	1.8	2.3	2.0	2.8	2.2
Other professional and related services	4.9	3.2	2.3	2.0	3.0	1.7	4.6	3.7
Public administration	6.7	2.7	2.7	2.0	1.6	1.8	3.7	2.3
Other industries (including not reported)	15.0	20.0	15.5	21.0	22.0	18.4	13.7	16.6

\* Indicates less than 1%

TABLE 5 : Employment in the Sample Area, and in Boston

Source: United States Census of Population and Housing, 1960. PHC(1)-18. Table P3.

	Boston	L-1	L-2	R-1	R-2	R-3	S-3	U-3
Professional	8.6%	6.3%	3.0%	4.3%	6.3%	6.0%	5.8%	10.6%
Clerical & Sales	11.5	10.4	8.1	6.6	7.4	10.0	16.3	10.3
Craftsmen, Foremen & Operatives	34.9	19.3	29.8	23.9	26.6	26.7	30.0	22.2
Private Household, Service & Laborers	29.1	40.1	34.0	29.7	27.2	31.1	24.0	21.5

TABLE 6: Occupational Status in the Sample Area, and in Boston.  
Source: United States Census of Population and Housing, 1960. PHC(1)-18. Table P3.

B. Relationship to the Labor Force: Employment, Dependency and Supplements

We want to know what skills the migrant brings, and what kind of labor market he finds. Is there a pool of migrant labor in the cities, which can be tapped, like agricultural migrant labor, and which remains outside the industrialized working force?

First we will look at the area. As Table 5 shows, unemployment in the sample area in 1960 was much higher than in the rest of the city, where the unemployment rate was 5.8%. In census tract R2, 15% of the labor force is unemployed. Most of the employment is concentrated in manufacturing (some of which is located in the factories of Lower Roxbury), personal service, private households, hospitals and unspecified industries. The status of the work force is concentrated in craftsmen, foremen and operatives, private household and service, and laborers. Within the tracts of the sample area these skill levels account for 53-63% of the work force; in the city, they account for 57%.

These characteristics are rather neatly represented in the sample group. The summary below\* shows the way members of the sample group support themselves.

- (1) Old Age Assistance (OAA), and Old Age, Survivors, Disability and Health Insurance (OASDHI), No education.
- (2) OAA. No education.
- (3) Children (3 unmarried daughters, all working). No education. Worked, before present illness, as hat trimmer in factory where another daughter worked.
- (4) Kitchen worker at Massachusetts General Hospital. Eleventh-grade education.



(5) Packer at surgical instrument company. This is her third job in five years. Immediately after coming, she worked in Ladies' Room of Greyhound Station, where her brother has a maintenance job.

(6) Laundryworker at Children's Hospital. Two years of college. She is planning to go to school to learn data processing.

(7) Janitor at Wentworth Institute. This is his second job in a year. The first was as a packer for a clothes manufacturer, but the work was too heavy. Third grade education.

(8) Domestic for a home in Newton. Twelfth grade education.

(9) Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) program at Webster School to learn sheet metal work. He was formerly a brick cleaner on demolition projects, which had only given sporadic employment here. The family also receives AFDC support. Fourth grade education.

(10) Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) for mother, one infant.

Most of the migrants have taken jobs which do not require previous training; an exception to this pattern is the woman (the sister of the man, (4)) who works in the kitchens at Massachusetts General Hospital. She is in the diet department and had done work at home in Selma which made her familiar with hospital operations. One woman (5) had worked for a doctor at home in Georgia, so she too was familiar with her new work here (packing surgical instruments).

Unions have provided means of advancement and job security for large parts of the labor force, But unions are traditionally weak in the south, and since Negroes are usually excluded from building trades unions (which offer the most mobile jobs), it is unlikely that unions are important in the migrants' job hunt. Unions can become important after the man is hired, and has the chance to join the union at the plant; but in this case

the migrant had to get himself to the job before the union began getting benefits for him. Membership is not centralized, and in most unions (except the building trades) the strength of the locals overrides the need for facility in transferring. The cost of joining, plus requirements for residency and for recommendations by local members, mean that migrant status will have worn away before union participation is possible; ~~it is not likely that they~~ coincide often.<sup>4</sup> One man in the sample (9) is participating in an MDTA program; his family is being supported by AFDC payments and supplementary payments from the Division of Employment Security while he is in the program. The family gets \$40 per week from AFDC as a family allowance, and \$70 per week for the man's participation in the program. Out of this he supports eight people, and pays \$95 per month for rent, which gives the family of 9 about \$1 per day per person.

His program, at Webster School, gives basic education courses to reach an eighth grade equivalency in math and reading, then to qualify for specialized trade training programs. After twenty weeks of introduction to four shops and tools (woodworking, electric, sheet metal and auto mechanic), the trainees try out for the longer special training programs. The program lasts as long as 21 months, but few people stay that long. The introduction to the MDTA program, and the job placement after its completion, are handled by the Division of Employment Security. The program has no relation to union apprenticeship programs, and is not an entry to union membership.

This man, then, may overcome his serious deficiency in education and industrial skill training, and may not be consigned to unskilled labor, or

continual unemployment. Admission to the program depends on the collaboration of the welfare department with the Division of Employment Security.

It is clear from the sample that the nearly equivalent job status of all the migrants exists in spite of differences in education. It would seem that the woman with two years of college who is a laundryworker, and the man with an 11th grade education who is a kitchenworker, are both qualified to work in better jobs. They may have private reasons for not finding better jobs, but these two cases may reflect the fact that the job market for Negroes is compressed, despite some recent improvements, so that higher educational levels are not guarantees of advancement. A man with no education or inadequate education is already at a disadvantage in finding work; but he is at a further disadvantage if he is black. Rashi Fein has said:

I would estimate that perhaps one-third to one-half of the poverty of the Negro today is a function of discrimination today, that is, not the historical discrimination in education, but the fact that Negroes with education are placed in occupations lower than whites with the same education and receive wages lower than whites in those occupations ...<sup>6</sup>

This is

This collapsing of job status in the Negro community (the non-professional community, at least) affects the social status of migrants in the community as I shall describe later. But the mechanism which collapses job status has the same effect on housing, so that the constraints on jobs and housing affecting the Negro population today make it unlikely that jobs are set aside especially for migrants, or that there is a pool of migrant labor. In combination with the previous urbanization of either the sponsoring family or the recent migrant family, this reduces the instances in which the migrant can be singled out for attention in jobs and housing.

### Finding the Jobs

All but one of the first jobs were acquired through word-of-mouth either from talking to family and friends (four jobs came from family suggestions, one from friends). This is another chain mechanism, in employment as well as in moving to the city.

Lurie and Rayack described the earlier European immigrations in which

Not only did chain migration produce a "Little Italy" ghetto in Middletown but it also led to "chain occupations" -- particular niches in the American employment structure to which successive immigrants directed their fellows on the basis of their own experience.

The jobs listed here, below, are held by people who are either in the sponsoring family, or are members of an institution to which the new migrant turned. They are:

machinist	chauffeur
preacher	hat trimmer
preacher/student	maintenance man at bus terminal
diet worker in hospital	brick cleaner
domestic in a home	employee at KLM
domestic in a school	employee at Honeywell

We can see here that these few jobs imply a net of information about other jobs, which would find jobs available in service work. Few of the jobs are in manufacturing and few in other areas of unionized labor where there is more anticipation of vertical mobility with the same employer. So, there are few possibilities of newly arrived workers being introduced to jobs which have been opened up by their immediate contacts in the city, which are jobs with security and advancement.

Lurie and Rayack concluded, from their study of Middletown, Connecticut, that the chain mechanism of employment for migrants is at present circular. A Negro worker in search of a job will be most likely, depending on word-of-mouth, to look where "they have reason to believe there are 'Negro' jobs."<sup>8</sup>

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Not only did chain migration produce a "Little Italy" ghetto in Middletown but it also led to "chain occupations" -- particular niches in the American employment structure to which successive immigrants directed their fellows on the basis of their own experience.<sup>7</sup>

The jobs held by people not in the sample but related to it, by being either sponsoring families or members of an institution to which the new migrant turned, are as follows:

machinist  
preacher  
preacher/student  
diet worker in hospital  
domestic in a home  
domestic in a school  
chauffeur  
hat trimmer  
maintenance man at bus terminal  
brick cleaner on demolition crew  
employee at KLH  
employee at Honeywell

We can see here that these few jobs imply a net of information about other jobs which would describe jobs available in service work, primarily. Few of the jobs are in manufacturing and few in other areas of unionized labor where there is more anticipation of vertical mobility with the same employer. So, there are few possibilities of newly arrived workers being introduced to jobs which have been opened up by their immediate contacts in the city, which are jobs with security and advancement.

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This judgment depends heavily on a small sample and it must also happen that migrants do find themselves in touch with good jobs which offer more advancement and security, but one can imagine the existence of a net implied by the list above, with the consequent limitations on the long-term increase in income which the migrant can expect here.

Not only do the migrants depend on secondary information (that is, not information directly from the employer, or a formal recruiter) to get the job, but employers depend on information from present employees to hire new people. At Mass General, where one of the sample works (4), having been sent there by a cousin and a sister, the personnel director said that present employees are "an excellent source" of new employees. Mass General also fills jobs by advertising in local papers and sending word to employment agencies, but "the agencies don't know our needs as well" as the people who already work there, and their referrals are less dependable. In order to find "people who plan to stay on the job"<sup>9</sup> she said that the employees' referral system was far better than the other two systems. No profile of employees has been made, so we cannot know how the workers were recruited.

Arthur Papasthathis, who is in charge of hiring at Wentworth Institute, where one man (7) in the sample works, said that the same hiring practice is used there. For maintenance jobs, the school rarely advertises, but depends instead on present employees to bring in applicants. Four or five people apply for every vacancy in maintenance-level work; there are no specific educational requirements,

but every man must be literate. There is a formal screening process in which every applicant, whether he comes through a relative or alone, is interviewed by several people before he reaches an interview with the foreman of the crew on which he would work. The foreman is apparently able to make the final decision, and at that point it is likely that chain relationships enter. Under supposedly equal conditions, it is to an applicant's advantage to know, or be related to, a current employee who is a good worker. At the clerical level, there are more positions than applicants, and Wentworth advertises through local papers and agencies. The school never sends listings of jobs to the Division of Employment Security.<sup>10</sup>

The impact of this chain mechanism in getting jobs depends not only on the skill levels asked for the job (Mass General has what is probably an unusually wide range of jobs, beginning with some which don't require literacy) but also on the distribution of the population in question (here, the nonprofessional Negro population) through the institutions which are hiring; it has been suggested that "a critical mass"<sup>11</sup> must be reached in the number of a population in a particular skill level in order to assure their continued employment as long as personal referrals are important. The personnel director of Hood's milk said that the company had previously relied nearly entirely on the referral system to fill new jobs, and "We had so many whites on the payroll that Negroes weren't applying for jobs."<sup>12</sup> Now, according to the article, Hood's has exposed its jobs more publicly by meeting each Friday "with Negro leaders"<sup>13</sup> to give them a list of jobs and depending on them to spread the information within the community. On a small scale, this makes the leaders important in ways the padroni

were for the Italian immigrants, and ward bosses were, on a grander scale, for other immigrant groups. In this case the jobs are most likely to reach the migrants through the local family's connections to the world of the "community leaders".

Employers are reluctant to expose themselves to more public listings of jobs (with a centralized government employment service, for example). This reflects, in reverse, the "equilibrating function" and need for "comparative evaluation" which the migration chains use in sending information to prospective migrants.

Racism functions in job selection, obviously, and it has a particular impact on the operation of public listing agencies. According to one man,<sup>15</sup> companies are reluctant to list jobs with public institutions since their firing practice then also comes under public scrutiny. If a company were to fire a succession of workers who were incompetent and were, truly incidentally in this case, Negro, it would be open to attack by anti-discrimination groups. So, by holding back from public listings, a company reserves for itself the right to fire in spite of and because of race.

Private employment services are, reportedly, reluctant to take the risk of placing an applicant who is not clearly, if not overly, qualified, since they are profit-making enterprises and depend on quantity of placement for their return. These particular "institutional intermediaries", like the unions, have proven to be little help in the transfer of low-skill Negro labor.<sup>16</sup> It is likely that liaisons like Action for Boston Community Development (ABCD), Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC), Urban League and NAACP programs



will come to be more responsible for formalizing chain employment, and opening up some jobs where personal referrals are inadequate to meet either the employer's or the community's demands. At present, these liaisons operate by putting offices at various points within the areas having the greatest concentration of underemployed and unemployed.

Dependency.

Three of the people in the sample (1, 2, 3) are elderly women who migrated to join younger children who had been here from ten to fifteen years; a fourth woman, with an infant (10), has joined her brother. They are all dependent, that is, unable to work, but for different reasons. They all suffered some penalties for having moved, since recipients of some benefits must have legal residence (in Massachusetts, one year's continuous residence). They "lose their claims in one community before they acquire a foothold in a new one."<sup>17</sup>

The programs being used by the women in this group are all under the Social Security Act:<sup>18</sup> Old Age, Survivors and Disability Insurance (OASDI), Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), and Old Age Assistance (OAA). Levitan said:

This Act has created two distinct groups of beneficiaries; some receive payments regardless of the economic resources of individual recipients; others qualify for benefits only upon the determination of individual need. The distinction between the two types of programs is made on the basis of prior contributions. Those who made payroll contributions qualify to receive benefits for themselves, their dependents, and their survivors as a matter of right; they are not required to establish personal need.<sup>19</sup>

One woman (1) receives OASDI, since her former job was covered in the Social Security Act and she made payroll contributions while working; she also receives OAA. The second (2) receives only OAA, since her job was not covered. The third (10) receives AFDC, which does not depend on any contributions. The fourth (3) is completely dependent on her children, since she is too sick to work, too young to receive either OAA or OASDI (for which she is probably ineligible, anyway).

The first woman (10) has lived here two years and has had her child since coming; her eligibility for payments from AFDC is not in question, therefore, since she has completed the year's residence required to be a legal resident of Massachusetts. Since she lives with her brother she receives less money than if she lived alone. Since this is the type of dependency so often attributed to migrants, that they come to the place which can support their fatherless families most generously and have no intention of converting themselves into either the wife of a working husband or a member of the work force, it is important to investigate it further. I did not ask if she intends to work, but that is not as relevant as the means which the state and city use to account for this type of migration and dependency. A review of the relevant controls<sup>20</sup> is helpful: if she had not secured legal residence in Massachusetts, by living here a year, and became pregnant without having a means of financial support, she could either be supported from General Relief funds, which are allocated by the local jurisdiction (here, the county) without significant contributions from either the State or Federal government; or, if the social worker in the welfare office judged her a definite liability, she

could be put under pressure to return to her home state. This is accomplished by the Boston welfare department contacting the state welfare department in her home state to ask if she were a welfare recipient there, and if the welfare department knows why she left; if there is no anticipation of other support for her here, like a relative or other sponsor, and the social worker continues to feel she should not stay, the welfare department in the state where she last had legal residence may be asked to pay for her transportation home, or, the local welfare department here may pay for the transportation. If she refuses to leave under these various invitations, the welfare department may threaten to withhold support for her, which it is apparently entitled to do if she is not a legal resident. This sequence of negotiations is supposed to occur only if the girl is single and pregnant; if she is not yet a legal resident, is only single, not pregnant, and asks for support, she is only entitled to General Welfare support, and that for only two weeks pending her finding a job or entering a job training program. In order to lighten the burden on General Relief funds, a family which comes and requires public assistance, and which was receiving AFDC payments in their home state, may have the home state continue AFDC payments (the welfare department here being responsible for the negotiations) supplemented here by funds from General Relief.

The raison d'etre of General Relief is to discourage reliance by employable people on public assistance; in particular, the mechanisms of assistance are arranged so as to make transiency of families particularly hard. Transiency by single men and women does

not initiate the same investigations by the state of new residence of the client's welfare role in the former state; the payments to a single person are made dependent on the person's forming some relationship to the local work force, either through employment, retraining or certified disability.

AFDC also intends to discourage reliance on public assistance for support, but since there are conditions which are considered to be grounds for exclusion from the work force (small children at home are considered to require the mother to remain at home), and since legal residence in a state precludes deportation to the former state, AFDC mechanisms are confined to making the assistance minimal compared to the local wages from gainful employment. It may not be minimal, however, in comparison to the benefits allowed in the former state; it is not difficult to calculate the attraction of states with more generous benefits to people who are marginal to the labor force anyway, and whose maintenance is dependent on institutional liberality. And this liberality extends not only to the size of the stipend per person, but to the availability of systems of public clinics and medical treatment, social services, special and continuing education, and transportation. Some of the services, medical and social, are attached to the stipend, but others depend on a wider establishment of public systems; just as Ornati suggested that it was likely that a migrant from a rural area to a city reduced his chances of being poor by placing himself in a larger pool of employment and educational opportunities, it is logical to assume that a migrant with existing or probable dependency reduces his chances of severe deprivation by

placing himself in a position to take advantage of more liberal public institutions in the north.

Myrdahl described the south in 1940, where welfare benefits were small to begin with, then were reduced or withheld for Negro clients. The situation persists today, and welfare benefits for fatherless families in Mississippi and Louisiana specifically have been pared with an axe, eliminating many Negro families. Equalization of benefits over the 50 states has been suggested as one solution to the problem, which would "make it possible to stay home."<sup>21</sup> This effect has probably not been overlooked by southern states, who view the reduction of welfare as an instrument of punishment as well as an incentive for the poorest to leave the state. Appendix V compares state expenditures for public welfare compared to per capita personal income, for the southern states and Massachusetts.

Two of the women (1, 2) receive Old Age Assistance, which pays them \$80 a month; only legal residents of a state can receive OAA, and the levels of assistance vary among the states -- it is technically no longer necessary to demonstrate need (inability of children to provide support) in order to receive OAA.

One woman, not in the sample, received less for OAA in Virginia than she did for her Social Security payment (OASDI) which was \$44 per month. When she came to Boston, with a granddaughter to relatives, it was thought possible to send her back, but her OASDI payments were supplemented, instead, with General Relief funds for a year until she became eligible for Old Age Assistance in Massachusetts.<sup>22</sup>

One woman (1) receives only OAA and is raising her great-grandson; while she was raising her family in Kentucky, she supported

them by running a farm, and by doing domestic work, neither of which were covered by the Social Security/ (OASDI) program, so she is not receiving benefits now. The second woman (2), did tailoring and sewing while raising her family in Columbia, South Carolina, and accumulated Social Security benefits, which she adds to her OAA checks.

The third woman (3) is, at 57, too young to receive Old Age Assistance, and the cost of her sickness and unemployment is apparently being borne by her three working daughters, and the public clinics at City Hospital. Unlike the other three women, she anticipates working again; she is illiterate, however, and the combination of age, illness and illiteracy probably weigh heavily against her becoming independent of her family's support.

#### Supplements to Inadequate Wages

One family in the sample (7) is getting surplus food; they are not receiving any other welfare payments. Levitan said:

The food donated by the government is acquired under the price support and surplus removal programs.... Thus, the direct food distribution program provides a socially acceptable outlet for surplus agricultural commodities.<sup>23</sup>

Food is available to anyone having a Boston address, whose income falls below the maximum, which is adjusted for the number of persons in the family. Welfare clients are automatically eligible, and non-welfare recipients must have their income certified by a social worker in the district welfare office. For a family of 10, the size of this family, the maximum income allowed is \$114.23 per week

(net, after deduction for taxes and insurance); the family in the sample at present earns \$64 per week net, approximately half the maximum. The kind and amount of food distributed in this program depends on the surpluses on hand, not on diet requirements, and consists largely of starches and oils (flour, corn meal, rice, lard and peanut butter, for example). Robert Sherrill said: "A diet of nothing but 'commodities' is guaranteed to produce physical lethargy, mental depression, and frequent onslaughts of disease."<sup>24</sup>

The surplus food program in Boston is to be changed to the food stamp program in July, and we can expect that families like this one, with so little cash available now, will be crippled by the need to put up cash to receive stamps. It is not difficult to see that the surplus food program, although readily available without requirements of residence, cannot make up the difference between adequate and inadequate wages for this family -- it prevents starvation. It is also easy to see that the surplus program alters only slightly the attraction of AFDC payments, making the father leave home in order to let his family get more money than he can earn.

SUMMARY: Word-of-Mouth and Marginality

In summary, then, we have an idea of the sample's relationship to the labor force and an idea of the contacts known to be available to the members of that sample in the search for a job. Word-of-mouth is more diffuse than this sample indicates, of course, and it is impossible to identify exactly what other contacts have come into the lives of the people looking for work. Judging by their jobs, including the first job and the succeeding ones, the sample represents

the people who are increasingly marginal to the labor force as it develops under present technology; it is fitting that few people are involved in traditional manufacture of products (the closest are the men who are a machinist and a construction worker), but are instead involved in expediting the services of large institutions (hospitals, bus terminals, schools) or are in electronics manufacture. The electronics industries are expanding rapidly in Boston, and offer good training programs. The two girls who work at KLH and Honeywell are twenty years old, single, and have about an eleventh-grade education. (They are the daughters of the woman (3) in the sample). They received on-the-job training, which the older, less educated men did not.

Again the jobs are gotten and changed independently of formal intercession by recruiters, agencies or unions. This process is circular at present, since both workers and employers expect to screen each other this way.

### C. Housing

The housing which the migrant families have at present shows three striking characteristics: it was found by their local family, who continue to live nearby in most cases; it is relatively cheap; it is near (often within walking distance) work, church and family. Some of the families in the sample have been here one year, others fifteen, and it is important to see that the sponsoring families have remained nearby. That fact that all but one (4) of the families will soon be forced to move will probably interrupt this relationship, but it may be that they will find ways



in which to continue it. None of these families had been forced to move before, so it is not possible to judge the next move by the one made before; since none of the buildings have been claimed yet, for public projects, and not all of the people knew of the plans, apparently, I did not introduce the problem since I felt it would bias the interviews (I already look enough like someone from either the welfare department or the BRA). When the migrant family first comes, they stay in the home of their family here; usually, according to the persons in this sample, a new apartment is found quickly, and the immediate burden is removed from the local family. In one family (9) which had many young children to take care of, the father came ahead to live with his sister, and found an apartment later for the family to move into on arrival. Six of the families (2,3,5,6,8,9) live in the same building with their local families; there is no relationship between the size of family and proximity to the local family -- that is, the single people as well as the families with small children find space near the family when they want to. The apartments are cheap; by the going standard of paying 20-25% of income for rent, the families are getting by lightly. There is no standard proportion among them for the amount of income paid for rent; in many cases (2,3,4,6,8) the burden is even lighter since there is more than one wage-earning member of the household who contributes to the rent. In two cases (2,6) the burden is made even lighter (or less regular) since the local family is buying or has bought the house, a three-story row house in each case, and the person who has just come here, both single women, continues to live there. One family (9) for whom

their church was the landlord and the minister the manager, were able to reduce their rent by agreeing to do some of the repairs needed on the building; it was not possible, however, to keep the house in sufficiently good condition to meet the fire codes, and the apartments were closed.

Despite the relatively low cost of housing, it must be remembered that the cost of settling is high; several of the families mentioned that they had gone into debt by having to buy furniture on time. They had bought from dealers nearby, on Tremont, Washington and Dudley Streets; here the cost of buying on time in areas where merchants demand a high return for the risk of offering credit to people with limited and irregular incomes, is added to the cost of buying new, so the burden is neither small nor short. Most people came by bus or train, and did not bring many things from their old house; only one family (7) were able to bring things, since their son had come to get them with a station wagon, and her husband rented a trailer and drove up.

The families with small children are crowded, as are most people with many children and low incomes; one family (9) had 8 children under 14, in a three bedroom apartment, another (7) has 8 children under 15 in a two-bedroom apartment. The first family came from Atlantic Beach, Florida, and disliked their place here since they were accustomed to "more suburban" homes, with more rooms and with yards. The second family had been working as tenants on a farm, near Newberne, North Carolina, with more outdoor if not indoor space. The woman (8) who

has four children is also crowded, but much less so than the other families.

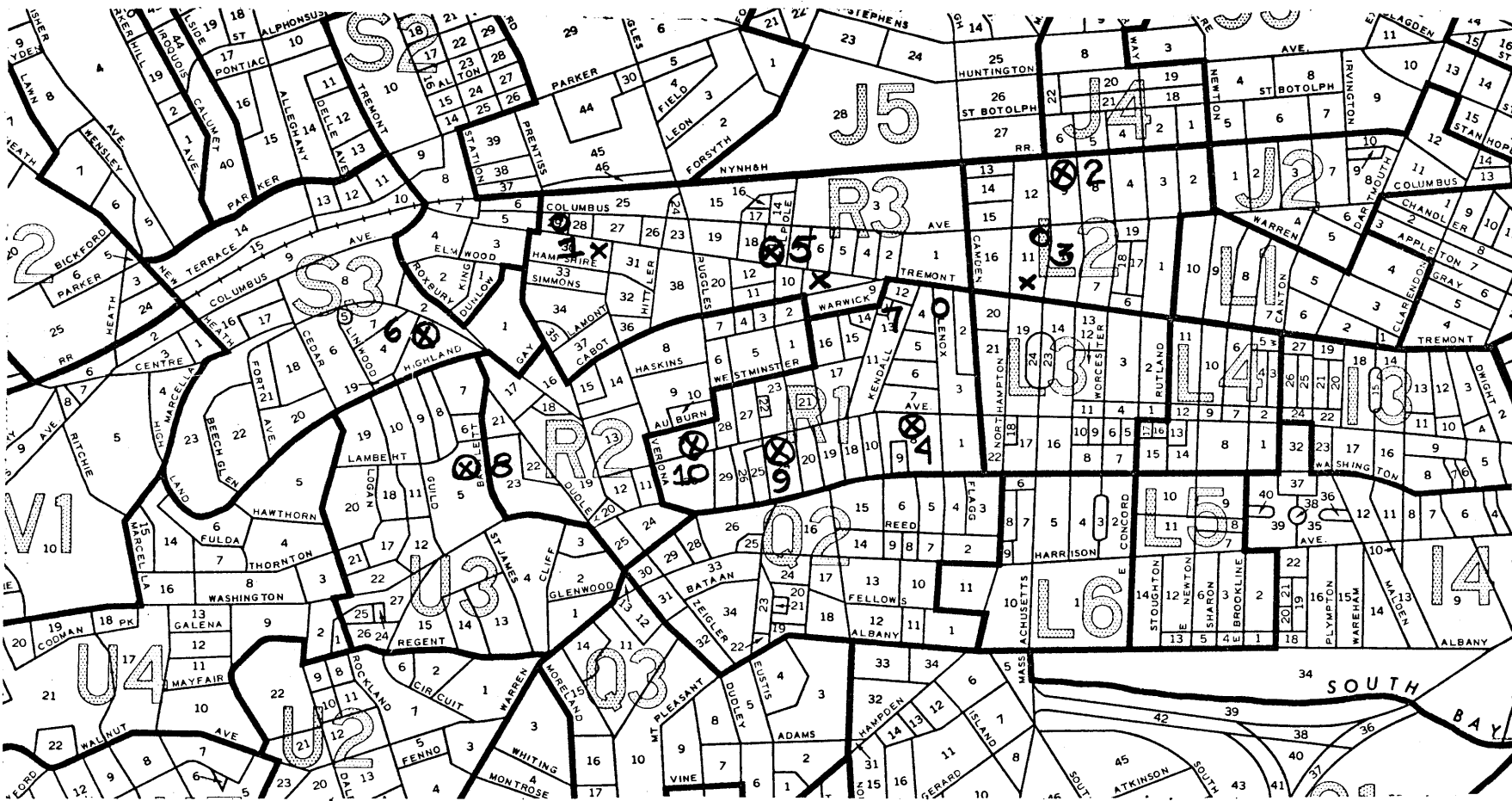
The single people who are not dependent are less of a burden, since their move and living conditions are much simpler than those of people who have children, or who cannot work. In many cases, they continued to live with their local family: one woman (5) lived with her brother and his family until they moved, then she continued to live in the apartment, which was over another brother's apartment; two women (2,6) live with their family, which includes by now several generations as other members of the family move from Boston or the south, in houses which are owned by the local family. The father (9), who came ahead of his family, continued to live with his sister until the family arrived; then he found an apartment next door.

After moving out of the house of the local family, the migrant family most often has an apartment within two or three blocks of the local family's. The families visit each other frequently, and for the people who must stay home, because they are old or have many children, the original family continues to provide the only social life. The son of one family (7) lives in the Lenox Street project and found the apartment on Tremont Street for his family when they came; as I mentioned earlier, it is not possible to tell how the forced moves facing all the families will affect these relationships to their local families. The high density, and high turnover rate for apartments in Lower Roxbury and the South End, make it easier to maintain this proximity than do the less dense, more uniform areas

of Mattapan and Dorchester into which most of the families will move.

There is no evidence, from these families, of enclaves by state in these areas. There are often reports of such enclaves, however, by social workers and other students of the area; it may be that the families in this sample, who live south of the reputed "port of entry" in the south end, are not part of such an enclave, and it may be that the chain migration of several families from an area who continue to find apartments close to each other, appears to be an enclave of people from the same town whose relationship to each other is not clear to the social worker looking in. Most families mentioned such concern with their isolation, and so few things which alleviated their loneliness, that it is difficult to believe that the enclave, if there is one beyond their family, operates as any sort of small community. It appears that the net of associations is much looser for these families, and that beyond their local families, there are few associations which grow out of a common community of origin.

In summary, then, beyond the proximity of local families, and the uniform difficulty with housing conditions in old housing stock, there are no particular conditions or unusual patterns of housing for these migrant families which make the migrant population discernible from the general population in this area. What is important in looking at housing is the proximity which the housing affords to family, work, transportation, church and other exchange points of urban life; the financial cost of reaching these points is minimal, and the particular knowledge of how to reach them (the geographical



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LEGEND

BLOCK NUMBERS 27

TRACT NUMBERS 2

TRACT BOUNDARIES

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

- X Migrating family
- O Local family
- ⊗ Migrating and local families in same house

TABLE 7: LOCATION OF HOUSING FOR LOCAL AND MIGRATING FAMILIES IN THE SAMPLE (Numbers refer to Appendix VI)

directions and the foreknowledge of what they are actually like) is more readily available at this scale and with this conglomeration of activities than at one more homogenous, whether more or less dense.

It becomes evident, then, that the migrant's housing and employment quickly become economic factors of life in the new city, rather than situations peculiar to a migrant. As was described earlier, the first apartment of the new migrant is often near his local family, and he continues to draw on the family and its associations, to find jobs and other information. But the families are not part of migrant ghettos. Similarly, the job which the migrant first gets, often through the family, he may not be constrained to keep in order to preserve values important in his former life, or for reasons related to his persistent status as a migrant (unlike the Italian women described by McDonald who continued to work in factories where relatives worked in order to preserve their chastity, through the built-in chaperonage of the relatives<sup>26</sup>). So, again, the migrant is not readily separable from the general population, in economically determined situations, as long as that population (here, the Negro population of Boston) remains compressed in those situations. These situations do not include social standing, and disdain can and does single out migrants from older residents, associating the migrants with low social status.<sup>27</sup>

#### D. Churches

One of the most obvious places to turn when considering the places migrating families look to in the new city is the church; by its nature

a helping institution, the church has few exclusions of members, and in fact actively solicits participation in its life. Unlike housing, unions, and employment agencies, there are no fees, except as the requests to contribute money come to be felt as a fee; unlike jobs and schools there are no ready standards which must be met in order to gain entrance. Some demonstration is asked, in the form of participation in the faith as it is expressed in the particular church; but on the whole, the church is the most likely institution to accommodate aspects of peoples' lives which escape public attention, as that attention is presently given according to standards of health, welfare according to relationship to the work force, and education. As I shall point out, its potential strength, in bringing together information and assistance for migrants, is limited by the amount of public attention afforded other parts of the migrants' lives; but it is also true that the appropriateness of the church to the needs of migrants should be considered carefully in trying to understand the scale of institutions made use of by these migrants, and the type of demands made.

The three denominations mentioned by persons in the sample are Baptist, Pentecostal and Holiness; the first, the Baptist, is more fundamentalist than most other Protestant denominations, and was founded in the nineteenth century as part of an evangelizing movement throughout the country, particularly in the south. E. Franklin Frazier, in The Negro Church in America, noted:

The proselytizing activities on the part of the Methodists and Baptists, as well as the less extensive missionary work of the Presbyterians, were a phase of the Great Awakening which began in New England and spread to the

West and South. When the Methodists and Baptists began their revivals in the South, large numbers of Negroes were immediately attracted to this type of worship.... In the emotionalism of the camp meetings and revivals, some social solidarity, if temporary, was achieved, and they were drawn into a union with their fellow men.<sup>28</sup>

The Baptist Church now has the apparatus and history of an established denomination, its churches have "established systems of bookkeeping and something approaching an impersonal bureaucratic organization."<sup>29</sup>

The Pentacostal and Holiness denominations were founded later, probably by convictions similar to those which founded the Baptist church. These churches are concerned with a special purity of belief, worship and life which they feel comes exclusively through being "reborn" and "cleansed" in the rites and faith of their denomination; this is not an uncommon religious conviction, of course, but the small size of the congregations, the intensity of their expression and faith, and the fact that most members come by conversion rather than inheritance increases the separateness and intensity of life in these two denominations. Frazier said that

They insist that Christians shall live free of sin and in a state of holiness. They refuse to compromise with the sinful ways of the world. By sin they mean the use of tobacco, the drinking of alcoholic beverages, cursing and swearing, dancing, playing cards, and adultery.<sup>30</sup>

This institution makes most clear the subordinate role which Negroes have been allotted in the south, and in northern cities as well; although the northern city does not impose such strict separation of life upon its Negro population as does the southern city, it is in the philosophy of these churches which have retained strength in the northern city, that we realize that this life for the migrants



is in effect a peasant life, and carries the protective suspicions of the other life from which the peasant is excluded.\*\* The radical simplicity of the faith, coupled with its vehement prohibitions and belief that this is the end time, do not make the churches into institutions which are what we ordinarily call planning institutions in an urban setting. They lack the bureaucratic structure and mentality which can confront the other bureaucracies affecting their congregations; that lack is, of course, an attraction for members who seek some intimacy in an environment which is made up of impersonal institutions. It is also true that the impersonality of these institutions is in effect hostile, since by their income, education, race and newness the migrant families are in touch with institutions which either exclude them (unions, schools) or emphasize their place at the bottom (welfare, surplus food program, job status, housing conditions). So there is still need for refuge; and there is a need to justify hard conditions which appear to be immutable.

All three of the churches have missionary activities; the Pentecostal and Holiness churches send missionaries to Africa and to the south (including, in one instance, a woman who came to Boston from North Carolina, was converted here from the Baptist to the Holiness Church, and returned for a year's assignment to be a missionary in another small town in North Carolina), since their message is also to people who are already Christians, though indifferent or lax ones by the missionaries' standards. Since they were not active in the time of the development of Jim Crow laws, the Pentecostal and Holiness churches did not have to contend with separating their administrations

and congregations according to race; much of the rhetoric of the church expresses the conviction that belief and salvation overrides race and other conventions of this world such as class and status. The congregations I have visited are fairly uniform in class and race, but the administration of the Pentecostal church is integrated, reflecting its conversions in having a bishop who is Jewish, and other bishops who are West Indian Negro, and white.

These two fundamentalist denominations have been making many conversions among Puerto Rican Catholics, and among other urban populations, so what we are seeing here is not a phenomenon unique to Negro populations, but probably reflects a common demand for smaller scale and an intimacy beyond family ties. James Q. Wilson described storefront churches in Los Angeles thirty years ago which drew large numbers of migrants, often white; he felt that these churches operated in the absence of block ethnic associations and identities which lead (in other cities with immigrants) to political positions.<sup>31</sup> The same circumstances occur in this area of Boston -- the absence of block organizations, and political identities -- but it is probably not true that the churches replace political systems; the churches are weaker and more diffuse.

When asked why they chose the church they go to here, most people in the sample mentioned reasons which combine old allegiances with whatever conveniences the new setting offers. One woman (7) was a Baptist at home, and "wanted to stay one," and went to a storefront church five doors from her apartment. For another woman (4), her father is a preacher in a Pentecostal church in Selma so she was especially

anxious to find a church which approximated home; she goes to a small one four doors from her apartment. Few of the migrant families have changed their religion in the time since they have been here; but the congregations in the Pentecostal and Holiness churches are made up of other people who have changed, like the woman described earlier. One woman<sup>(6)</sup> said that she and her brother decided to go to their church, a Baptist one, since they were walking by it one Sunday, and were invited in; it is a large church, and is most evidently in transition since it is faced with relocation and the decision about rebuilding the church -- this physical move has forced other reconsiderations about the kind of service which the church should offer. One older woman in the sample (2) had gone to church but stopped because the trip was too hard and she continued to feel strange in the church, where <sup>she</sup> they most expected to feel at home. ✓

The minister of the Baptist church said that the congregation in his church divide<sup>s</sup> informally according to the length of residence ✓ in Boston, since many families who come to Boston want a church which is closer to the old pattern of a community focal point, with the type of restrictive morality which has characterized southern Protestant churches, rural and urban, and which characterizes the storefront churches. The families making these demands on the church are in some opposition to the families who have been here longer, and who view the church as a more secular institution, with less rigorous articulations about the church's domination of life. Since the Pentecostal and Holiness churches include these articulations as part of their creed, and make their conversions on this basis,

they are able to account for the demands of families who have migrated from more traditional churches much more readily and it is not likely that congregations divide as much on these issues. It is not important here to decide the exact extent those articulations and restrictions are carried out by the people who want to hear them in their church, but it is important to understand that this institution in both storefront and traditional forms, is the one most capable of transferring the familiarities of the old life, "that intricate web of normal expectation"<sup>32</sup> which is not likely to be found in employment or housing accommodations, or in settlement houses.

In spite of this conscious demand for familiarities, and for an explicit morality which is perhaps most typical of new conversions and recent migrants, there does not seem to be a pattern in which migrants are distinguished in the churches to which they mentioned going. The ministers knew of the member to whom I had talked, and had in some cases helped that person find a house, or to meet other members. But, as far as I know, the persons in this sample are not attending churches which are established either by or for recent migrants; it is most obviously true here that in some sense all northern Negroes are migrants from the south, and the shared origins in the south contribute to familiarity as well as snobbery.

The churches are organized in many ways which indicate their functions as points of exchange; there are many services during the week, in evenings, and on Sunday, including young people's meetings, and Sunday school as well as worship services. The young people's meetings attracted the woman (4) who was anxious to find a church which was like her father's; since the Holiness church prohibits

the dancing and drinking which often go with parties, it cannot condone them as church functions, but the services and an annual picnic for young people serve as meeting times and opportunities to plan other meetings.

A second way in which the storefront churches act as exchange points is that the minister may have a second job which he holds for the week, only opening the church for services; in this way, the net of information available to recent arrivals here through their minister, is increased beyond what it would be if he were only employed as a minister.

Like the migrants' apartments, their churches are in the path of clearance during the next five years; as described earlier, the large Baptist church is planning to move and rebuild near Franklin Park when it is given money for relocation for the Madison Park renewal project. Since the Pentecostal church is also the landlord for the building in which it holds services, it will receive money for relocation which enables it to think in terms of a new church, although not on as large a scale as the first church is able to; the minister has suggested establishing a new church in Mattapan, since many Negro families have moved there, not because many of the present congregation have moved and are presently commuting back for services. The third church only rents its space, and is looking for a new place, though not with the same urgency of the other two. This type of mobility for churches is, in a way, inherent in the nature of storefront churches; since the church's available revenue does not put it in a position to acquire or rent property which is in demand for

either residence or commercial use, it is always at the end of the use of the property (with the exception possibly of churches which are more established storefronts, and may have more money to pay for rents). So, it is subject to public intercession by either the health and fire inspections or by Boston renewal activities; one of the storefront churches which owned its property, renting out the apartments above, had the apartments closed for fire hazards, and without an especially negotiated low-interest loan (which is apparently not available), the apartments cannot be rehabilitated and reopened. So, the churches are able to take advantage of the location, near the homes of ministers and congregations, and relatively cheap price for a meeting place, until the cost of reviving a decaying building is imposed on the church. Then it is faced with the same problem of other landlords in these areas, who cannot anticipate a return sufficient to warrant the investment necessary to bring the building to code standards, or higher; and the church must anticipate even less return from the building it owns, since not all of the space can be rented for residence or commerce, but must be saved for meetings, whose return varies with the offerings. (The churches all have national administrations, but they probably do not underwrite much of the expense of a building.) Of course, the church which only rents is in a more flexible position, and can keep renting spaces in a particular area as long as they are available, without worrying about structural maintenance of the building; but it is likely that the incentive to move, which would grow out of a congregation and minister moving as well as out of conditions of the building, applies to many of these congregations.

The physical mobility of the congregations and the churches is related to the use which the migrant families in the sample make of the churches; that is, in terms of the church, which intends to serve its whole congregation, and in terms of the migrants, who come to it in order to maintain old allegiances and find new associations, the fact that the minister helps the new migrant find an apartment, or a job, is secondary. This secondary use of an institution, which is not intended for migrants but which accommodates some of their needs, is typical of the pattern which chain migration establishes for the migrant in the city; his job search, selection of apartment, and use of welfare benefits (knowing how to apply, where, and so forth) is conditioned by the fact that he is using certain associations to lead to others he needs, without ever having to declare himself a migrant to an institution which focuses its attention on migrants.

Another part of the reason that churches, in particular, do not expect to be active social service institutions, formalizing a net of information and assistance which would spare the migrant the hardship of underemployment and bad housing, is that the churches are constrained by limited economic status of their members in providing such a net, and that much of the most active types of benefit has been absorbed by public welfare. John Hatch<sup>33</sup> who worked at South End Settlement House noted that many of the traditional functions of mutual aid societies, lodges and other fraternal organizations which have been active for Negroes in the south, are less active here since the availability of welfare to the public has reduced the need for private forms of redistribution. So, it is natural for these reasons, to find

a church which offers spiritual assistance, and sociability, but only incidentally offers other assistance, related to fields in which there is a definable level of public assistance.

The churches are most important in providing the opportunity for relationships to form, in ways which are probably not duplicated elsewhere, and which are important for the migrant. Many of the persons in the sample mentioned that they were horribly lonely after coming here (this is less true of the youngest ones), and that they were glad to find a place where friendships were offered.



## Notes - Chapter III

1. L. C. Keyes, Ph.D. Thesis.
2. See Social Fact by Census Tract, 1960, published by United Community Services.
3. Melvin Lurie and Elton Rayack, "Racial Differences in Migration and Job Search," Southern Economic Journal, Vol. 33, No. 1, July 1966.
4. Ray Marshall, The Negro and Organized Labor.
5. Description of the program from conversations with Mr. Johnson, the head of the MDTA program at Webster School, and Mr. J. McDonough, Assistant Director Vocational Education and Industrial Arts, Boston School Committee.
6. In Daedalus 95: 292; winter 1966.
7. Melvin Lurie and Elton Rayack, op. cit.
8. Ibid., p. 92.
9. Conversation with Mrs. Donnelly, Employment Office, Massachusetts General Hospital.
10. Conversation with Arthur Papastathis, June 14, 1967.
11. Conversation with Peter Doeringer, Department of Economics at Harvard, May 5, 1967.
12. "The Unfinished Business of Negro Jobs," Business Week, June 12, 1965.
13. Ibid.
14. J. S. MacDonald and L. MacDonald, Millbank, New Jersey.
15. Conversation with Peter Doeringer, May 5, 1967.
16. Lurie and Rayack, 92.
17. Testimony of Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, in Hearings before the Select Committee to Investigate the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens. House of Representatives, November 29, December 2, 3, 1940. Part 8, p. 3331.

18. For a full description of these programs, see Programs in Aid of the Poor by Sar Levitan.
  19. Ibid., p.5.
  20. Information from caseworker who wishes to remain anonymous, Boston Welfare Department, May 18, 1967.
  21. Testimony of Frances Perkins, ibid.
  22. Caseworker, ibid.
  23. Levitan, op. cit., p. 37.
  24. Robert Sherrill, "It Isn't True that Nobody Starves in America", New York Times Magazine, June 4, 1967. p. 22.
  25. Conversation with Mr. Esposito, head of Surplus Food Program, Church Street Office of the Boston Welfare Department, June 7, 1967.
  26. J.S. MacDonald, op. cit.
  27. I have not dealt with this problem within the paper, since it is not directly relevant to the planning questions which I have asked. Several sources do deal with it, however: Langley Keyes, "The Rehabilitation Planning Game: A Study in the Diversity of Neighborhoods" 373 ff; Rheable Edwards and Laura B. Morris, "The Negro in Boston"; Chester Rapkin, "The Washington Park Urban Renewal Area": Attitudes toward newcomers has been an important factor in the activities of community organizations which are supposed to plan for "their area"; these organizations are most often made up of long-time residents who resent the migrants. This resentment is not limited to the Negro migration, of course; it has occurred in other immigrant groups, and as this paper points out, is borne out by some institutions.
  28. E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro Church in America. p. 8-10.
  29. Ibid.p. 52.
  30. Ibid.p. 56.
  31. James Q. Wilson, "A Guide to Reagan Country", Commentary, May 1967.
  32. Gilbert Murray, cited by Robert E. Park, in "Human Migration and the Marginal Man".
  33. Interview, May 16, 1967.
- \* These numbers correspond to Appendix VI.
- \*\* Robert Redfield, Peasant Society and Culture.

Chapter IV:

Conclusion: Migration and Planning

There have been few situations in which the migrant families in the sample found themselves in situations in which they were singled out as migrants. The compression of the job and housing markets, and the similarity between the migrants and other residents -- in language, culture and previous urbanization -- mean that the migrant is not often set apart. The most obvious description of the new situation of migrants grows out of their economic condition, and the relationship of that condition to the urban institutions with which they are in contact. They are poor, badly educated and underemployed. And those conditions are not peculiar to migrants.

There are three points at which the problems facing these families can be dealt with, and only the first takes special note of the fact that families the/have recently migrated. The points are: social accomodation, in which people who come along can be in touch with a family or individual who has been here longer and who will approximate the sponsoring family in looking after a new migrant; economic, jobs and education; physical, anticipating a newly-constructed environment which can respond to the information and family structure as it currently operates in the migrants' neighborhood.

#### A. Social Accomodation

The first area, social accomodation, is concerned with reproducing the assistance given by sponsoring families to the migrating families; here, we are concerned with the people who come alone, and whose isolation makes them more vulnerable to misinformation and exploitation.

Two programs, one existing and one proposed, illustrate the idea of supplying an intermediate stage, between complete newness and the relatively greater security of longer residence.

The Women's Service League at 565 Massachusetts Avenue has attempted to serve as a waystation for single girls, offering some room and board and offering all counseling, recreation, and the opportunity to use their building for meeting friends, changing clothes, cooking, and other informal activities. A pregnant girl who is a resident may stay until her baby comes; the women in charge help her with hospitalization and resettling in an apartment. The women organizing the program also work for the Roxbury multi-service center, the NAACP and the Welfare Department. There is a special program called the In-Migrant Domestic Program, which is for southern and Jamaican women who come here to work. The facilities of the Women's Service Club are available to them; in addition, the organizers have lobbied to get minimum wage laws passed for domestics, and have tried to establish formal channels of information between Boston and the communities of origin, in order to warn prospective migrants of difficulties and make the W.S.L. known. A copy of the minutes of one meeting is included as Appendix \_\_\_ since it makes very clear their organization and intentions.

John Hatch<sup>1</sup> has suggested that new migrants who come alone be given the opportunity to have a sponsoring family; this family would be one which has come not long ago from the south and has made it decently, not spectacularly. The "adopted" sponsoring family could provide the same sort of familiarity which the migrants in this sample

drew from their own family here; job and school information could also be transferred through this adopted family. This program would, in a sense, secularize and augment the churches' activities; it should be useful for people who do not attach themselves to a church, or who need other assistance. It required much more in the way of community organization than does the Women's Service League, since both recent and older migrants must be contacted and brought together. This alliance would not offer the recent migrant the same financial support he would receive from his own family, but it should be able to offer some informal assistance, and whatever comfort comes from common associations and experience.

#### 11. Economic Conditions: Jobs and Education

The second area, economic conditions, is the most far reaching; the intention of changes made in this area is not just to make it possible to earn a higher income here, but to make the next move less punitive economically, since certain skill and education levels guarantee easier transfer. The migrants in this sample are in some cases persons who have little or no education and whose previous jobs do not qualify them for steady work here (9,7). Others, according to their education level, are underemployed (6,8,4). For both groups, on the job training for higher skill-levels should be put into effect; it should also be possible to attach literacy and supplementary academic training to the job, since a recognized educational attainment is readily transferred. Education is probably the more secure training since it allows transfers to unlike jobs; without it, the worker is dependent on steady demand for his particular skill which

overlooks his lack of education and either keeps him at his present job or retrain him if the industry is expanding enough to demand it. These two programs, education and skill retraining, are in this case attached to the job; like the unions, then, they are effective in securing benefits for the worker once he has gotten himself to the job.

The alternative situation was suggested in two cases (9,3); there it is clear that there may not ever be jobs available. The man in the MDTA program (9) is included since without the program he would have been unemployed; he could not get steady work with a 4th grade education and previous experience at unskilled labor. The woman (3) who is illiterate and, at 57, between the ages for good employment and for retirement, is also not readily employable. For them, on-the-job training is not as relevant; public retraining and education programs, leading directly to jobs, will reach people presently excluded from the labor force. Here the most important factor is probably the maintenance or creation of demand; this will probably come about through increased public works expenditures, since the present job market is constricting at the lower levels at which the people presently unemployed would ordinarily enter the labor force. In a society which still values work, and work related activities, and in which schools, housing and transportation need rehabilitation and rebuilding, job-creating programs seem logical.<sup>2</sup> The MDTA program has probably made the difference between no job and the possibility of a job for the man in the sample; but it does not

guarantee him a job, nor can it absorb all of the people in his situation.

The third part of the economic condition involves the employment of women. One woman (10) with an infant is receiving AFDC; the welfare program considers it essential that a mother remain at home with a child under 3<sup>3</sup> and will not pay for day care for the infant, so she is prevented from working. Also there are few day care centers and few of them care for infants. Another woman (8), with a high school education, keeps a job as a domestic in order to be home with her son, who is ten. She works three full days a week; her household is able to make ends meet since two sons are also working. She could not make it alone, however, and still be home with her son part of the time. A third woman (3), who is least employable, is keeping two grandchildren while their mother works. The fourth (1) is 79, and far too old to be employed in the present job structure, but she would like to work, and can do tailoring. The first three women are caught between the need to stay home with a child, and the need to work; the resulting compromise puts them at an economic disadvantage since few jobs except as a domestic promise steady employment without demanding a full work week.

It should be possible to create jobs for these women which are essentially local craft and service jobs,<sup>4</sup> which pay well enough to support the mother and her family. Some much-needed housing rehabilitation and maintenance could be carried out this way, in areas where janitors are often notoriously lax and are immune to direct protest. (Tenants can protest to the landlord, and, with some risk, withhold



rent, but the janitor's services often remain promises.) Neighborhood action programs, under the poverty program, were beginning to create this sort of job, using people who knew the area and could help in the formal information centers. Underlying any programs like this should be the understanding that a woman who has children and would like to work should not have to abandon one need for the other. AFDC, by discouraging mothers from working, and not paying for day care centers, effectively discourages the mothers as well as the establishment of more centers. It is as true of them as of men who would receive guaranteed income payments, with no job, that custodial care is debilitating and eventually incurs greater social cost.

It is my opinion that the economic conditions involved here are the most critical; if the problems represented by these families cannot be solved, then action on the physical environment, and social attention to migrants, will only be palliatives, in place of any fundamental improvement. The problems described in this paper are only peculiarly related to migrants when the migrants receive special treatment because they have few references, and are dependent for job transfers on the intercession of sponsoring friends or relatives. Otherwise they are in the same position as other workers with low skills, and often with low education levels. The problem is compounded, of course, by the collapsed market in which Negro workers operate. To treat the problems of the workers in the sample as though they were related to migration alone would miss the basic questions. That is, it would be some help to deal with difficulties in transferring jobs, from one region to the next, and to work towards setting up more formal information centers in order to transfer information about job supply to

prospective migrants; but the problem for both sending and receiving cities is that there are few jobs available, and fewer promised unless the present situation is altered.

#### B. Public Institutions

The economic conditions of the migrants' situation are also met with varying adequacy by public institutions of the city -- schools, hospitals, and public transportation. The network of those public accommodations is the usual domain of planning interest: calculating aggregate demand, a volume of services over a geographical area, and quantified standards for the distribution of those services. The migrant families do use these facilities, according to the limitations set on education, length of residence and income. In fact, there are few other organized institutions with whom the migrants are in contact -- "participation," which is often measured when migrants first come to a city, is, at this economic level, limited to surviving.

The pressures operating on the institutions which deal with the migrant families should be summarized; these are general descriptions since I have not investigated the institutions' attitudes towards the migrants as thoroughly as migrants' toward the institutions. Most of the institutions with which they are in contact are designed to justify activities by volume of clients, and success in serving them; they are to meet a need which arises, in most of these cases, out of some sort of "problem" -- sickness, unemployment, incomplete education. Therefore, the migrants are identified as they contribute to the volume, and as they seem capable of success in the institution's terms. In order to prevent inefficient spending, and a flood of clients, barriers

are set up which often let this migrants in just under the wire. Employment agencies whose success depends on quantity of placements, ask for easily describable skills, a certain education level, and references; the welfare program looks for some evidence of employability if the father is at home, and polices the behavior of its clients so as to cut off support from transient families, and others who do not work when they supposedly could; only the churches do not set up these barriers, and the small ones consciously avoid this type of bureaucratic rationale for their activity.

#### Economic Conditions and Physical Planning

Surviving involves more than taking the obvious services available from public institutions; it requires some screening, and since few services are generous, some inquiries about services not yet used, and about supplements from other sources. This is accomplished, for these families, by a network of information and judgment which comes through their family which sponsors them here, and associations of that family. The network is also made up of information and assistance gathered from exchange points within the area: churches, drugstores, shoeshine parlors and similar places. This network, combining direct assistance from the family, and information gathered from informal meeting points operates without any larger community to assist the migrants. There is, according to the information from these families, no community of migrants comparable to the "Little Italies" and the home-state clubs are intended, apparently for people who have already made it. Further, there is no community like the West End, with interrelationships going back over many years in a small area, to assist migrants.

There are, again, islands of associations -- and for the migrant the island is made up of his own family and the family who was here ahead and has brought him. Those islands are not fixed; they move as demolition forces the families to move, and as the families decide to move out from the center of the city. The exchange points are increasingly vulnerable to moving; the pressures on the storefront churches were described earlier and the mortality rate for corner stores and small services is extremely high, particularly when the cost of relocation is taken from already limited profits. So it is not likely that the area which has served the present group of migrants will remain fixed, and it is also not likely to be recreated elsewhere in the same form since the areas farther out, where relocated families are likely to move, are more homogenous, and more removed from public services.

The limited formal associations, and wide informal associations carried out through secondary uses of exchange points, plus the dependence on the sponsoring family, are patterns which are essential to the survival of the migrant family. The pressures creating those patterns do not change as the city is "renewed" and the families move, although the physical surroundings do. The pressures on the migrants may be summarized: employment and underemployment of persons who have little education (and in some cases a high school diploma from the south is discounted in the north) and whose skills are not in demand; the need to survive on welfare payments which are intended to prevent getting ahead, either by saving money or by improving living conditions beyond the minimum.

In short, the migrants are in a squeeze between their own needs to improve their lot, and urban institutions' needs to maintain themselves; the informal network of information, and secondary use of places is a way of being an entrepreneur, when other ways of being one are closed, and when formal resources (available jobs, welfare payments, medical care) are inadequate. So, as long as these gaps exist, it is necessary to provide some framework for the continuing of this network of secondary information.

The most pathetic example of helplessness in the face of public institutions (and the inability of even this network to help) is the woman (2) who is trying to get some money from her husband's social security funds, and cannot find a way to do so; someone suggested to her that she should sit in a park and probably someone would come by who could help her. She hadn't done so, but she wasn't sure it was an unreasonable idea.

The development of storefront service centers -- South End Neighborhood Action Program, Roxbury Multi-Service Center, for example -- reflect the awareness that the storefront scale of information and the multi-purpose use of a space, is good in areas like this one. There is still a problem, however, of one expects all information to be channeled through formal "information centers"; given the economic constraints, and the mutual need for screening which has been described earlier, it is more likely that the multi-purpose service centers will reassemble the kind of information normally transferred through agencies, rather than draw on information transferred through drugstores, churches and similar places. So, it would not be logical to look to the expansion

of storefront multi-service centers as a solution to the problem of transferring information.

Nor is it likely that it can be reconstructed in the old ways, by craft and chaos. Building costs per unit, as units are presently constructed by a succession of craft unions, according to restrictive building codes, result in new construction which must generate high returns (by volume of sales, or rents) in order to pay for itself; this eliminates, as I mentioned earlier, space for small services, which permit a variety of things to happen on the premises. Chaos, the accumulation of unaccounted-for elements in a neighborhood, which Jane Jacobs considered healthy, is not likely to provide life in new areas which are formally planned, and whose tenants and activities are thought out beforehand. To design for a mixture of demands, it seems most logical to look to Habitat, the housing experiment in Montreal; in this, small units are assembled in a dense pattern which -- if the whole project were large enough -- could intersperse service stores, and other places which could support this network of information.

In conclusion, then, we can look back to Tilly's statement that, "a society that finds mobility normal and necessary also finds means to cushion its consequences."<sup>5</sup> The official means, in the absence of anything like the Influx Control Policy of South Africa,<sup>6</sup> (which uses permits to regulate the flow of labor from the country to the city, and back) or other formal receptions for migrants, we have an unofficial policy which combines indifference with suspicion. It reflects some awareness of the migrants' previous urban experience, by assuming that they know how to avail themselves of institutional benefits here,

and an awareness that the disabilities of low skills and low education can either be absorbed by existing institutions (public schools, which affect the children, for example) or can be ignored since this pool of labor is large and the demand for it is small.

We see the consequences of this policy in the migrants' adjustments; they have found their way with the help of their family, and informal exchange centers. Different economic conditions would probably produce radically different patterns; and to have described these conditions is not to justify them, or suggest that the inequities which are so hard on the families be perpetuated, since the families seem to have survived. To make mobility less punitive, when a migrant's skills, education and capital are low, we should design so that secondary uses can be made of places, and so that new physical environments allow unplanned-for life to go on within them.

Most important, we should make economic changes which create new demands in urban employment. For a first step, workers who are presently expendable, who have low education and skill levels, should be given training, education and employment in the much-needed rejuvenation of urban places.

## Notes - Chapter IV

1. Tufts Medical School, Columbia Point Health Project, conversation, May 12, 1967.
2. I cannot deal with this question here, but I believe these programs are more logical than ones which make guaranteed income payments, without opening up new jobs.
3. Caseworker who wishes to remain anonymous, Boston Welfare Department, conversation, May 18, 1967.
4. I am indebted to Lisa Peattie for this suggestion.
5. Tilly, loc. cit.
6. Philip Mayer, Xhosa in Town, p. 57.



## Appendix I

Urban, Rural Farm and Rural Nonfarm Distribution  
of the Total and Nonwhite Populations  
in the Southern States, 1960<sup>1</sup>.

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1. United States Census of Population, 1960. PC2/2D, Tables 1 and 5.

## VIRGINIA

State Economic Area	Total and Nonwhite Populations*	% Urban	% Rural Nonfarm	% Rural Farm
1	176,125 3,957	14.6 39.1	75.6 59.0	10.4 1.2
2	212,168 5,719	20.7 48.3	50.7 46.0	28.4 5.6
3	184,657 12,079	34.3 47.5	52.0 49.8	13.8 2.6
4	224,735 11,121	34.0 54.9	51.0 42.0	15.1 3.0
5	249,767 43,068	26.0 24.2	60.8 65.4	13.5 10.0
6	211,901 82,428	28.4 25.7	50.7 55.6	21.0 18.6
7	319,922 104,123	26.2 20.5	43.9 40.8	29.8 38.6
8	158,162 60,529	6.0 2.0	78.4 86.4	15.5 11.6
9	447,601 21,076	- -	84.3 87.0	15.7 13.
10	161,285 78,150	28.5 20.8	52.4 56.9	19.0 22.2
A	158,803 20,221	78.6 89.0	20.0 9.9	1.4 .5
B	527,098 3,281	90.8 82.5	8.7 17.0	.3 .4
C	408,494 107,745	82.3 90.0	16.8 9.6	.8 .3
D	578,507 152,968	90.2 89.0	9.0 9.4	.7 .6
E	224,503 62,826	93.0 93.5	6.7 6.2	.2 .2
F	110,701 23,599	56.5 51.0	34.3 37.1	9.0 11.8

\* In these tables, the first number refers to the total, and the second to the nonwhite, populations.

## NORTH CAROLINA

State Economic Area	Total and Nonwhite Populations	% Urban	% Rural Nonfarm	% Rural Farm
1	262,812 9,210	10.7 26.4	62.6 62.9	27.0 10.5
2	189,889 12,405	17.1 34.5	69.2 59.9	10.3 5.5
3	403,014 93,775	29.7 25.7	43.3 37.5	26.7 36.8
4	530,455 76,037	39.1 44.7	49.9 46.0	10.9 9.2
5	348,054 63,342	39.8 35.5	47.3 47.6	12.9 16.8
6	234,153 77,092	19.6 17.4	41.2 42.2	39.2 40.4
7	203,623 111,887	20.8 12.2	43.9 46.1	35.2 41.4
8	396,944 166,585	39.7 36.0	31.8 30.1	28.5 33.8
9	354,994 134,201	33.2 26.3	47.4 43.7	19.3 29.9
10	90,063 32,689	26.6 28.1	53.8 58.7	19.5 13.1
11	421,944 121,254	22.7 23.0	56.3 51.8	20.9 25.1
A	130,074 14,137	52.7 88.6	39.5 10.9	7.8 .5
B	189,428 45,767	69.2 93.0	27.4 6.0	3.3 .7
C	246,520 51,463	76.1 83.4	18.9 13.0	5.0 3.4
D	272,211 66,818	78.0 86.3	20.3 12.1	1.6 1.5
E	169,082 44,005	63.2 55.7	26.5 28.4	10.3 15.8
F	111,995 36,040	75.6 82.2	21.0 14.0	3.6 3.7

## SOUTH CAROLINA

State Economic Area	Total and Nonwhite Populations	% Urban	% Rural Nonfarm	% Rural Farm
1	86,234	22.7	66.8	10.4
	8,925	37.6	52.4	9.9
2	347,261	43.0	48.9	8.0
	81,129	60.2	44.0	10.6
3	214,220	42.2	47.0	10.6
	61,876	36.7	47.6	16.6
4	110,466	23.0	57.0	20.0
	49,453	17.1	61.1	21.6
5	67,302	17.8	57.7	24.4
	25,870	19.0	51.9	29.0
6	351,255	25.1	45.1	29.6
	189,872	20.3	40.8	38.9
7	256,215	27.6	33.0	39.4
	113,793	22.6	30.9	46.3
8	181,617	20.1	67.2	12.6
	88,085	13.8	71.0	15.2
A	260,828	44.5	33.0	3.0
	75,679	59.4	37.2	3.2
B	81,038	36.6	54.5	8.0
	21,391	27.9	54.4	17.6
C	216,382	73.5	25.4	2.6
	78,911	64.9	33.3	1.7
D	209,776	63.7	33.0	3.0
	86,978	70.4	24.7	4.9

## GEORGIA

State Economic Area	Total and Nonwhite Populations	% Urban	% Rural Nonfarm	% Rural Farm
1	246,917 24,218	37.5 60.2	52.6 32.6	9.8 7.0
2	85,831 1,924	6.4 24.3	76.4 73.9	17.1 1.7
3	253,471 30,995	22.7 38.7	62.5 49.6	14.7 11.5
4	522,276 201,724	37.7 34.7	49.7 50.8	12.5 14.3
5	58,364 31,452	9.2 9.9	69.3 70.5	21.3 19.5
6	151,548 65,478	25.6 23.0	46.8 47.8	27.6 29.2
7	396,647 179,863	43.2 39.8	32.2 34.1	24.3 26.0
8	315,206 78,290	40.8 45.1	33.7 32.5	25.3 22.3
9	174,467 52,406	40.3 41.9	49.4 53.8	10.2 4.2
A	45,264 2,438	41.9 43.1	52.7 50.2	5.4 6.5
B	1,017,008 231,643	82.3 92.5	16.7 7.	.9 .3
C	171,634 10,988	76.3 78.3	23.5 21.2	.3 .4
D	135,601 42,955	81.8 90.5	17.7 9.0	.3 .4
E	188,299 64,177	90.2 93.0	9.5 6.8	.2 -
F	141,249 41,257	83.9 89.9	14.9 8.9	1.1 1.2
G	39,154 8,820	63.0 46.2	30.8 37.8	6.1 15.9

## FLORIDA

State Economic Area	Total and Nonwhite Populations	% Urban	% Rural Nonfarm	% Rural Farm
1	187,461	47.7	48.3	3.9
	25,522	68.0	30.4	1.3
2	139,427	37.8	57.3	4.8
	35,180	46.2	51.6	2.2
3	324,173	41.3	46.7	12.0
	110,288	36.8	52.3	10.7
4	305,923	57.2	41.3	1.4
	53,630	76.3	21.5	-
5	437,685	48.6	46.6	4.8
	86,810	56.2	41.9	1.9
6	311,295	58.6	39.7	1.6
	42,972	67.9	30.5	1.2
A	455,411	85.0	14.4	-
	106,325	95.5	4.5	-
B	772,453	85.2	13.5	1.1
	89,529	94.1	5.4	-
C	935,047	95.6	4.1	-
	139,637	97.0	2.7	-
D	203,376	64.9	32.9	2.1
	38,522	78.4	21.5	-
E	318,485	72.8	26.1	1.0
	53,153	73.9	25.3	-
F	228,106	82.8	16.7	-
	52,459	76.1	23.6	-
G	333,946	96.6	3.2	-
	55,632	98.5	1.2	-

## ALABAMA

State Economic Area	Total and Nonwhite Populations	% Urban	% Rural Nonfarm	% Rural Farm
1	229,596 36,989	44.3 43.9	36.0 36.4	19.6 18.6
2	197,139 5,546	27.3 48.7	37.3 36.2	35.3 15.0
3	368,385 71,681	48.6 59.6	48.4 35.9	7.9 4.3
4	176,103 53,814	40.3 37.0	48.1 50.7	11.7 12.2
5	227,014 65,491	20.6 20.6	56.7 56.6	22.5 22.8
6	201,919 137,847	27.0 20.1	43.8 44.6	29.1 35.2
7	58,980 26,976	13.8 12.3	69.9 71.0	16.2 16.6
8	82,599 21,757	36.2 38.4	52.6 57.4	11.1 4.2
9	315,884 100,689	38.0 35.0	39.6 42.7	22.4 21.9
A	634,864 219,942	84.6 92.6	14.9 7.3	.4 -
B	46,351 23,003	59.6 44.3	29.3 36.7	11.0 19.0
C	169,201 64,682	84.5 75.0	11.2 17.7	11.1 7.3
D	314,301 101,386	86.1 89.3	12.8 10.2	1.0 -
E	109,047 31,313	70.4 74.1	24.6 20.3	4.9 5.6
F	117,348 22,013	64.0 53.0	23.4 24.9	12.7 22.4

## MISSISSIPPI

State Economic Area	Total and Nonwhite Populations	% Urban	% Rural Nonfarm	% Rural Farm
1	367,539 238,651	32.8 25.8	34.7 35.5	32.4 38.6
2	236,787 145,112	20.9 11.0	35.3 30.5	43.6 52.0
3	227,890 113,879	37.5 33.5	48.2 50.9	14.1 15.5
4	160,725 28,062	19.6 21.5	40.3 33.0	40.0 45.4
5	200,006 79,995	38.8 32.9	35.7 30.2	25.4 36.8
6	485,069 178,168	26.0 23.9	44.5 41.4	29.4 34.5
7	2124,030 29,504	37.7 50.1	49.3 45.1	12.8 4.7
8	189,050 32,411	69.6 84.9	28.6 14.5	1.7 .4
A	187,045 74,952	80.6 70.2	13.5 18.8	5.7 10.9



## TENNESSEE

State Economic Area	Total and Nonwhite Populations	% Urban	% Rural Nonfarm	% Rural Farm
1	305,909	31.6	29.7	38.8
	102,913	28.4	22.2	49.3
2	150,130	21.0	45.0	34.0
	14,428	32.0	42.2	25.8
3	106,356	15.0	55.0	30.0
	4,223	25.4	56.0	18.5
4	128,625	34.0	41.0	25.0
	20,589	49.2	32.0	18.6
5	253,677	35.8	34.1	30.0
	38,435	46.5	31.3	22.2
6	189,168	23.8	42.1	34.0
	6,291	40.5	45.6	13.8
7	112,085	7.8	75.0	17.1
	2,177	37.6	60.3	-
8	688,410	31.4	46.1	22.5
	20,341	62.2	30.1	7.3
A	627,019	87.8	10.0	2.0
	227,941	88.0	8.4	3.6
B	399,743	87.7	11.0	1.3
	76,835	95.2	4.3	.5
C	237,905	79.2	19.5	1.3
	97,287	94.8	5.0	-
D	368,062	61.7	33.9	4.5
	27,676	91.5	8.0	.5

## KENTUCKY

State Economic Area	Total and Nonwhite Populations	% Urban	% Rural Nonfarm	% Rural Farm
1	156,937 11,776	38.8 66.2	40.8 23.3	20.3 10.4
2	108,724 5,683	46.0 70.6	36.7 25.1	17.3 4.3
3	326,669 17,585	16.6 29.6	55.8 58.9	27.6 11.5
4	183,376 26,629	37.7 43.3	32.2 35.8	30.0 20.8
5	167,198 4,404	10.0 17.4	40.2 54.3	49.5 28.2
6	336,338 23,130	26.4 49.8	39.7 35.3	33.7 14.9
7	108,467 10,728	44.0 59.5	26.6 31.0	29.3 9.5
8	215,719 1,261	9.0 17.8	56.0 70.7	34.7 11.4
9	398,690 8,798	15.8 56.9	77.2 42.0	6.9 -
A	610,947 78,723	88.5 95.9	10.8 3.7	- -
B	207,503 4,760	83.7 98.5	14.1 1.5	2.1 -
C	52,163 935	76.4 90.5	21.0 9.5	2.8 -
D	33,519 3,369	50.4 75.4	34.8 15.1	14.7 9.3
E	131,906 20,218	84.8 88.0	10.8 9.9	4.3 1.1

## WEST VIRGINIA

State Economic Area	Total and Nonwhite Populations	% Urban	% Rural Nonfarm	% Rural Farm
1	183,383	59.5	36.6	3.9
	2,767	85.4	14.6	-
2	245,014	14.4	69.3	16.2
	1,014	22.8	73.7	4.0
3	254,907	39.6	54.4	5.8
	5,741	55.7	43.5	.6
4	444,034	18.5	79.3	2.0
	48,842	30.3	69.4	.2
5	165,669	13.5	66.9	19.6
	5,470	22.0	72.9	5.0
6	60,832	30.4	59.5	10.0
	4,388	41.3	55.2	3.3
A	106,478	75.7	20.8	3.4
	2,635	87.4	12.2	.3
B	147,179	63.0	33.3	3.6
	4,850	98.9	.1	-
C	252,925	66.7	32.4	.7
	14,750	82.0	17.8	.2

## Appendix II

Intrastate Migration  
by Total and Nonwhite Populations\*  
in the Southern States, 1960<sup>1</sup>.

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1. United States Census of Population, 1960. PC2/2B. Table 32.  
\* In these tables, the first number refers to the total, and the second to the nonwhite, population.

## VIRGINIA

<u>RES 1951</u>	<u>SEA 1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>
1		2881* 61*	612* 4	211 -	642 -	169 16	203 -	87 4	- -	125 18*
2	1860* -*		1536* 19	241 5	642 -	279 42*	836 4	139 5	4 -	84 -
3	264 15	1309* 44*		1542* 29*	803 24	603 40	915 12	293 -	- -	239 21
4	66 -	129 -	977 39		1890* 83*	407 57	203 22	269 9	31 -	94 -
5	111 -	233 26	354 18	1786* 77*		1230* 366*	236 18	928 167	34 -	139 32
6	76 15	157 31	653 26	657 47	1456* 281*		1023* 264*	833 170	44 9	1370* 133*
7	96 8	473 31	863 16	566 27	481* 42	2327* 592*		605 41	20 4	517 69
8	16 -	69 12	228 21	230 4	1407* 206*	712 242	164 25		18 4	229 41
9	- -	5 -	83 -	12 -	63 -	74 40	39 4	71 -		81 20
10	44 4	82 30	220 33	175 3	286 18	1634* 736*	486 222	508 189	73 36	
A	141 -	414 17	2198* 79*	686 -	409 -	1310* 104*	1099 56	240 30	11 -	174 15
B	159 -	221 9	682 21	987* 16*	7211* 303*	537 126*	170 4	704 39	15 8	231 33
C	111 16	306 56	699 62	826* 26*	1242* 42*	3624* 729*	727 105	5287* 597*	20 88	1012* 1866*
D	110 24	212 87	732 45	397 57	1133 42	1463* 567*	480 61	1173 243	289 68	1866* 581*
E	76 -	107 5	400 27	230 -	430 22	415 166	255 54	1539* 296*	136 55	703 318*
F	17 -	96 10	483 65	325 42	393 -	1596* 215*	1201* 123*	84 22	4 -	117 19
Total Pop. 1960	155349 3492	190825 5130	166413 10759	201618 9942	219005 37065	188859 71941	283197 89296	140881 52034	42506 17974	141531 66903

<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>Mign.to Own St.</u>	<u>Mign.to Own St. as % of Total</u>
437 15	922* 12*	497 8	411 8	238 -	111 -	7546 146	21.5% 14.9
1368* 63*	861 33*	832 14	486 17	341 23	235 -	9734 225	32.9 26.4
4214* 237*	1146* 86*	1339* 40	707 67	526 8	702 24	14602 647	52.6 41.5
631 36*	1947* 59*	1258* 19	464 14	326 16	344 4	9039 358	43.9 37.4
324 45	4714* 263*	1657* 167*	916 31	408 38	337 18	13407 1261	36.4 33.0
278 104	699 189	1951* 1096*	728 137	407 103	1800* 327*	15832 2928	56.0 38.8
1681* 230*	857 377	3193* 621*	1047 169	962 353	1912* 269*	15600 2849	44.5 27.6
82 9	795 76	3862* 784*	639 75	1609* 551*	149 9	10026 2009	51.0 45.2
12 -	203 -	200* 62*	718* 82*	172 28	16 -	1749 236	29.3 15.2
57 12	472 42	2059* 542*	2213* 951*	1041 459	129 8	9479 3285	45.0 47.8
	643 35	1286* 68*	671 60	295 23	447 33	10024 520	47.9 31.6
271 9		1036* 60*	2200* 28*	977 41	346 8	15727 697	14.7 15.7
776 22	4632* 69*		1871* 205*	1304 182	655 21	20092 2356	40.5 36.8
750 31	3169 11	3885* 435*		2272* 332*	334 24	18265 2603	15.0 22.5
166 -	1189 29	1264* 297*	1885* 376*		178 -	8973 1645	23.4 27.6
458 33	354 26	747* 135*	356 50	286 48		6517 788	56.7 41.0
142399 17842	462392 28426	363995 93893	504281 130791	195414 54093	98879 20637		

## NORTH CAROLINA

<u>1955</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>
1		2343 4	629 -	1913* 68*	1343* 50*	47 8	40 -	170 8	288 15	16 -
2	1573 -		988 24	3220* 151*	1086 20	70 5	65 -	209* 60*	217 16	19 -
3	616 4	866 34		2488* 280*	766 8	1273 486	261 45	790 54	923 216	125 25
4	1117 15	2440 118	2908* 314*		2806* 327*	857 172	214 40	504 35	1504 241	101 20
5	1347 38	1599 58	783 61	3663* 575*		125 19	62 4	262 22	709 77	68 13
6	74 -	35 -	1993* 533*	968 84	206 4		703 357	3208* 853*	3166 715	118 61
7	104 6	16 4	405 44	157 8	78 12	563 180		2764* 1140*	327 109	987 387
8	103 -	61 9	1342 138	576 107	159 14	2641 770	2342* 1108*		1200 320	770 199
9	258 4	146 12	1069 77	2491 450	689 172	2549* 640*	170 93	1277 216		66 4
10	60 -	25 -	193 13	123 12	- -	166 20	947 171	1223* 179*	224 26	
11	159 -	199 -	829 58	1207 119	548 4	1625* 351*	489 114	5416* 1219*	3062* 599*	557 167
A	2176* 91*	423 8	217 21	380 42	491 50	28 4	43 8	167 9	204* 31*	7 3
B	288 4	398 14	2078 93	2170* 165*	269 71	73 17	102 56	174 36	394 88	23 -
C	301 16	383 -	3041* 340*	4009* 179*	428 47	211 30	105 65	400 57	626* 144*	82 25
D	311 7	302 18	745 120	2865* 477*	2985* 329*	198 56	20 4	301 45	788* 178*	23 8
E	239 9	148 -	1170 245	860 122	235 27	2579* 400*	374 96	1426 209	945 209	127 8
F	58 -	60 -	1898* 238*	286 60	119 9	489 97	134 55	331 71	485* 197*	67 25

<u>11</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	Mign.to Own St. as % of Total
214	3674*	698	912	762	374	158	42.0
12	68*	25	35	17	24	16	29.5
317	610	850	899*	844	420	121	58.8
4	26	24	83*	56	8	12	42.6
712	131	4342	5305*	804	1749	2166*	50.8
76	-	267	983*	-	219	701*	39.8
775	559	2575	5133*	4628	1504	514	55.1
37	25	222	677*	357	183	88	46.8
430	595	704	1061*	5976*	762	249	48.7
37	108	128	316*	990*	33	73	45.5
1508	58	329	881	268	5159*	657	36.5
39	-	60	145	25	778*	166	42.5
660	25	193	325	126	709	281	30.8
70	-	45	140	12	128	170	21.7
4924*	85	440	1121	437	2859*	590	42.4
1264*	17	150	271	49	554*	240	30.6
2428*	253	562	2098*	1462	1564	503	27.7
505*	45	130	644*	182	283	173	27.7
658	12	26	200*	94	379	155*	30.8
65	-	-	42*	8	41	60*	20.1
	106	439	1147	985	1695	627	24.7
	12	115	205	18	210	230	28.4
24		246	423*	523	377	76	33.6
-		8	52*	42	17	11	30.23
190	245		1752*	649	506	180	48.5
50	35		207*	76	68	66	35.4
550	235	1601		1206	675	376	47.5
12	5	77		26	26	57	30.5
528	457	793	1267		936	369	37.4
29	8	54	136		105	63	37.8
1060	203	752	797	880		1147*	46.6
13	4	28	143	12		379*	40.1
268	78	369	552	369	1277*		41.5
42	-	53	62	31	151*		29.9



## SOUTH CAROLINA

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>
1		2006* 94	147* 4	148 -	11	158 20	109 5	125 -
2	1976 86		12124* 227	1655* 236*	105 12	741 188	427 4	224 -
3	432 -	2197* 424*		605 40	737* 44	551* 122*	370 19	179 -
4	258 -	2126* 479*	681 118		187 70	456 60	152 11	164 44
5	116 -	229 19	996* 155*	107 8		945* 247*	332 12	137 48
6	502 4	836 94	615 38	555 101	1128 206		2631* 909*	1766* 547*
7	317 4	629 55	354 7	155 26	148 4	3256 1567		1516 269
8	107 -	251 16	275 26	219 19	76 -	1546* 421*	1268* 380*	
A	281 -	973 64	587 85	849* 153*	533* 118*	1761* 460*	936 55	673 63
B	111 -	477 20	125 -	394* 196*	48 -	842* 199*	229 -	84 13
C	239 -	399 21	187 -	72 -	41 -	1151* 308*	648 75	3870* 366*
D	183 17	4038* 409*	517 29	251 17	104 -	520* 68*	252 22	297 16

<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>Mign.to Own St. as % of Total</u>
335*	73	217	2039*	51.5
50*	-	-	72*	30.74
2412*	452	647	3990*	43.4
339*	12	20	589*	27.4
1631*	196	418	576	33.5
298*	-	42	30	16.2
2316*	824*	262	505	55.0
630*	325*	24	30	33.9
1084*	25	70	80	40.6
207*	-	8	-	22.6
4343*	1049	1544	627	31.7
1460*	173	154	64	18.5
2695*	160	2068*	311	34.8
537*	9	31*	29	16.3
925	102	2619*	126	33.1
246	8	446	12	23.3
	694	1010	1111	25.6
	59	29	56	17.3
1081*		315	295	25.7
187*		8	-	27.3
1638*	177		381	25.0
320*	22		19	21.0
1256*	130	514		31.9
144*	-	9		26.7

## GEORGIA

<u>1955</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>
1		626 12	1682 57	221* 114*	- -	49 21	435 65	281 29	123 3
2	845 12		2084* 57*	583 9	38 3	18 -	127 12	100 4	83 -
3	1482* 219*	1796 71		4726 635*	59 -	119 15	211 85	231 8	190 9
4	755 124	572 40	4044 599*		877 365	751 35	1581 418	1202 251	568 71
5	37 5	50 12	34 4	1423 515*		781 381*	710 339	100 35	31 -
6	155 35	75 4	141 4	1429* 241	777 367		1005 233	2409* 744*	737 226
7	534 113	200 55	388 20	2412* 454*	542 239	728 147		4652* 992*	884 254
8	291 36	202 15	312 4	1584 163	205 21	1717 262	4566 741		4366* 956*
9	133 21	56 -	181 10	874 159*	17 64	485 143	738 164	3156* 762*	
A	2007* 15	39 -	115 -	115 5	- -	8 -	88 -	27 -	20 -
B	3207* 280	1664 72	8240* 435	11727* 1902	159 64	488 72	2163 354*	1133 105	842 103
C	238 31	97 15	202 7	2035* 282*	144 11	126 26	963* 187*	258 29	249 16
D	145 22	134 18	122 22	2220* 312*	55 4	536 149*	250 20	377 39	283 26
E	183 72	75 23	85 -	708 178*	83 4	462 146	577 95	1423* 155*	2358* 271*
F	319 42	137 28	149 4	2190* 425	675 176	926 80	1175 262*	502 47	426 41
G	37 5	17 -	47 20	358* 28*	124 -	278 18	739* 261*	129 4	70 -

<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	Mign.to Own St. as % of Total
1707*	6212*	313	185	128	252	57	46.2
73*	153*	12	7	-	28	-	30.5
24	3078	70	36	24	66	35	60.0
-	20	-	-	-	19	-	35.5
32	9560	152	151	219	165	75	66.6
-	566*	5	31	36	4	-	59.8
94	15208	1691	1854	557	2330	441	56.5
-	3831	272	516	102	537*	20	50.7
7	618	346	172	24	1407	368	68.9
-	261	81	28	8	594*	91	62.0
-	1204	148	1183	1380*	1149	529	57.5
-	265	26	427	575*	187	-	41.4
8	3826*	1276	375	731	2062	1167	32.8
-	529*	470	60	118	360	248	20.5
56	3006	385	625	2628*	883	323	39.8
-	278	12	94	315*	44	-	27.3
4	1230*	190	194	1752*	284	59	36.1
-	90	18	19	339	37	21	37.6
	327*	53	8	24	27	-	41.3
	27*	3	-	-	4	-	29.0
247		1383	1122	1096	1636	458	31.4
15		122	116	131	113	21	34.0
8	2019*		406	215	406	157	15.80
-	163*		34	32	70	7	15.6
43	1580	454		407*	239	55	21.4
-	75*	58		36	31	-	18.5
9	1552*	171	259		330	171	28.2
-	64	20	31		82	26	22.5
-	1704*	279	221	285		1251*	50.6
-	154*	23	15	16		91*	36.9
-	321	36	4	71	928*		40.7
-	17	24	-	-	64*		55.1

## FLORIDA

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>
1		273 34	3179* 393*	836* 168*	921 71	473 46	796 75	777 106*	634 106*
2	267 32		2627* 390*	1214 281*	1333* 231	582 140	3269* 279*	1117 239	595 220
3	3343* 454	2620 388		2124 478	3726 733	1315 375	4337* 551	3787* 1158*	1961 660*
4	401 30	659 211	1691* 234		1722* 434*	1213 140	1193 174	1152 158	1605 315*
5	732 41	1073 203	3883* 542*	3457 517		3102 383	1766 151	7523* 772*	1668 378
6	338 41	442 106	1543* 260*	1309 125	2514 322*		939 57	2974* 247	2868* 490*
A	553 48	3840* 345*	4384* 647*	2357 339	1719 166	1267 101		2423 142	2873* 403*
B	766 15	715 102	3777* 558*	1881 199	7266* 602*	3370* 263*	1899 107		2681 221
C	485 19	784 70	4190* 563*	3468 425	3064 329	4200* 384	2687 134	3676 177	
D	1526* 58	164 12	1069* 131*	260 51	409 75*	362 35	1422* 60*	614 26	371 19
E	491 20	327 39	1875* 276*	3212* 281*	3091 279*	847 115	1103 125	2014* 239	1810 142
F	263 28	189 27	841 173	1403 291*	910 267	1420* 276*	496 59	739 133	1645* 242
G	75 20	176 46	1125 187	867 126	765 95	1411* 244*	377 66	627 46	3374* 436*

<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>G</u>	Mign.to Own St. as % of <u>Total</u>
1846*	679	191	163	28.0
100	41	30	59	40.6
191	797	252	227	56.3
-	140	62	36	62.9
1274	2583	943	1156	59.1
94	591*	310	506	64.7
199	1961*	936	845	42.2
13	151	282*	196	60.3
267	4436*	799	1025	55.0
40	531*	211	170	60.8
360	1056	1205	982	40.1
32	107	233	142	58.7
1401	2198	764	912	37.2
55	100	151	110	38.2
477	2059	822	1327	35.7
20	154	157	107	44.7
540	2295	3435	4515*	35.2
36	205	438*	797*	40.9
	530	140	114	19.5
	22	17	4	19.3
181		702	637	38.3
9		179	123	43.1
99	666		2291*	37.9
4	55		587*	53.1
92	442	1953*		43.8
-	40	265*		54.3

## ALABAMA

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>
1		1033* 44	723 14	400 10	927 65	103 4	43 23	38 12	94 -
2	1463* 33		3549* 49*	483 21	495 21	130 3	- -	64 -	76 -
3	771 7	3724* 119		2744* 229*	1627 149	510 134	61 14	159 43	367 19
4	305 4	350 15	2680* 386*		1334 403*	301 49	66 12	166 12	590 12
5	1638 60	398 19	1610 182	1216 276		1322 234*	138 12	203 61	633 83
6	101 38	75 11	484 117	361 16	1330 513		790 268	328 175	892 391
7	84 -	22 -	82 17	103 7	115 29	633* 283*		183 101*	221* 63
8	16 -	65 3	160 20	195* 5	106 66*	204 27	83 11		711* 220*
9	215 12	138 3	517 51	1120 4	669 211	947 265	176 62	1142 361	
A	1847 104	3419* 170	7529* 625*	1771 104	2561 639*	1375 684*	169 74	369 90	869 192
B	32 -	- -	68 -	802* 199*	119 46*	79 4	4 4	4 4	295* 16
C	208 23	146 23	546 128	766 73	2201* 384*	1025 354*	123 23	214 95	1473* 431*
D	204 8	89 -	386 43	544 8	505 129	823 418*	1054* 293*	2467* 409*	761 111
E	273 9	162 8	718* 24	148 20	1105* 142*	711 255*	102 4	116 12	150 8
F	1488* 304*	917* 34*	217 20	158 10	55 16	54 4	11 -	20 4	113 8

<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>	Mign. to Own St. as % of Total
1548*	15	303	250	429	1682*	32.6
135*	-	61	18	4	339*	79.6
3394*	-	242	246	407	1426	46.5
42*	-	10	-	-	49	44.0
8194*	44	886	1402	993	1153	42.2
781*	8	158	58	45	103	31.9
1834*	559	933	498	249	468	40.6
258	265*	114	31	13	46	31.4
3692*	111	3007*	707	2086*	321	50.4
600*	66	672*	145	330	14	34.4
3464*	111	1598	1892*	2081*	169	48.5
2757*	55	847	1258*	1121*	51	49.2
210	-	120	2709*	87	27	61.4
88	-	36	964*	12	18	60.9
197	-	193	2090*	142	69	35.3
17	-	19	176*	18	28	32.7
1194*	797	2779*	2331*	446	284	29.2
379*	32	500*	401*	48	84	20.2
	51	1683	1744	2707*	1646	38.2
	8	432	231	205	215	24.7
110		190*	8	85	19	27.2
37		57*	4	4	5	19.3
1534*	61		934	456	296	29.5
262	12		119	25	32	29.5
1073*	48	659		496	327	27.7
151	-	215		40	40	32.6
1840*	30	369	653		238	49.1
123*	-	42	79		21	36.3
375*	-	60	81	201		31.5
57*	-	18	24	12		31.1



MISSISSIPPI										Mign. to Own St. as % of Total
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>A</u>	
1		4386* 1893*	1222 444*	1157 22	1944 808	2271* 429	261 41	705 118	2640* 807*	26.8 14.5
2	5094* 2470*		668 117	1444 331	894 86	1957* 611*	209 53	376 52	2977* 1381*	39.7 28.9
3	1207* 630*	602 149		322 4	674 14	2046* 339*	701 76	796 188	3438* 891*	31.3 22.0
4	675 68	1387* 413*	177 16		3275* 324*	836* 183*	83 -	329 5	627 81	30.7 29.7
5	1013* 334*	561 228	334 54	2227* 424		1845* 310*	271 4	587 90	1012 141	32.8 22.8
6	2527 723	2190 581	2330 504	951 21	2709 239		3617* 722*	3334* 775*	7753* 1703*	42.7 30.0
7	382 97*	90 12	491 57	70 -	272 4	2215* 338*		2164* 210*	737* 54	37.4 29.7
8	481 143*	160 40	312 107	193 -	435 46	1167* 116*	1755* 138*		540* 55	13.9 15.3
A	1119 385*	1199* 392	1967* 553*	486 36	780 21	5034* 630*	616 37	822 112		41.1 30.4

## TENNESSEE

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>
1		3158* 241*	224 4	123 8	324 16	168 12	28 -	226 21
2	3044* 311*		471 4	117 -	138 4	81 3	30 -	164 -
3	340 -	643 47*		1009* 14*	1174* 9	225 -	39 -	74 -
4	87 20	151 31*	570* 27		548* 31*	377 4	49 -	79 -
5	243 68	95 8	753 11	764* 80*		2508* 53	102 -	399 -
6	87 -	68 -	69 -	428 -	2582* 124*		969* 8	460 14
7	60 4	8 -	7 -	175 4	229 4	1289* 8		1627* 12
8	167 16	216 -	326 8	367 46*	582 -	917 13	1391* 9	
A	3978* 1027*	1203 3	160 -	223 15	317 4	156 -	102 4	527 4
B	477 92	394 29	1467* 60	4097* 185*	4944* 413*	1350* 36	67 9	601 14
C	132 44*	41 -	28 -	134 24	288 12	434 15	1005* 22	2136* 44*
D	176 11	170 29*	148 -	176 13	463 4	603 5	769 7	9113* 204*

<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>Mign.To Own St. as % of Total</u>
9409*	1180*	93	369	36.7
2036*	317*	15	32	29.7
2424*	1113*	68	204	41.0
46	63*	-	71	27.5
275	2777*	78	124	50.4
4	148*	-	-	58.0
179	3981*	65	206	37.1
-	326*	-	4	26.6
334	8335*	317	501	47.2
12	1373*	26	5	51.0
242	3510*	505	511	40.1
7	91*	19*	-	3.9
48	610	1648*	867	39.3
-	56	49	14	44.0
573	998*	2714*	10188	24.0
8	127*	50	156	26.6
	1746*	461*	641	11.0
	386*	29	29	9.5
1470		769	949	34.0
170*		60	16	20.3
535	1166*		1116	18.6
4	218*		77	13.5
785	1561*	1156*		27.0
14	96*	23		18.4

## KENTUCKY

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>
1		309 4	960 45	541 39	48 -	202 33	68 -	51 -	35 -
2	293 8		2252* 47*	532 8	30 -	285 16*	48 -	28 -	30 -
3	1224 13	2708* 43		3201* 109*	553 27	1414 62*	243 -	240 -	199 -
4	546 29	298 12	2088* 167*		713* 16	418 76*	103 18	91 -	28 -
5	96 -	36 -	1374 54*	1897* 55*		2208* 50*	598 4	320 -	338 -
6	120 4	186 -	1655* 29	452 8	1085 8		3553 87	1287 -	487 4
7	70 4	37 5	322 4	160 9	155 6	2674* 93*		420 3	115 -
8	60 -	67 -	454 -	101 5	270 -	2586* 49	922 25		1858* -
9	69 8	83 7	752 13	187 19	599 -	2423* 57	581 -	3295* -	
A	491 8	646 16	6687* 222*	1618 146*	925 18	5024* 328*	587 4	322 -	634 -
B	37 -	34 -	141 8	98 4	89 -	5372* 37	271 7	279 -	372 -
C	8 -	24 -	83 4	26 -	8 -	222* 4	74 -	1508* -	181 -
D	54 -	727* 4	381* 17	172 17	- -	63 8	11 -	17 -	8 -
E	134 20	79 -	267 18	106 8	291 4	1386* 146*	2660* 116*	396 4	354 -

<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	Mign.to Own St. as % of Total
645	68	8	79	321	13.8
38	-	-	-	18	13.2
719*	66	12	793*	275	39.1
7	-	-	50*	10	27.9
8795*	87	60	406	686	36.4
308*	-	-	-	69	23.5
1872*	23	20	152	520	22.0
203	-	-	4	28	19.0
1599*	345	19	12	889	41.0
21	-	-	-	38	49.0
6310*	3773*	153	44	3993*	52.5
553	52	4	-	221	40.3
666	256	60	-	4326*	58.7
25*	16	9	-	374*	53.7
488	756	1659*	-	1468	32.4
5	-	4	-	54	56.6
1945	1258	512	52	2414*	20.5
9	-	4	4	23	10.5
	368	206	101	2212*	28.9
	8	14	-	73	19.8
404	-	24	10	581	30.2
8	-	-	-	9	12.6
135	5	-	-	316*	28.8
-	-	-	-	-	6.7
134	4	24	-	79	31.0
-	-	-	-	-	15.5
1264*	3	61	21	-	40.2
118*	8	-	-	-	35.0

## WEST VIRGINIA

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	Mign. to Own St. as % of Total
1		1743 4	1111 -	168 -	251 9	37 -	1255* 28*	234* 10*	378* 16*	22.5 17.4
2	3097 8		2872 3	1831* 12*	967 -	136* 22*	333 5	1455 10	4818* 23*	38.5 33.06
3	2060 10	2228 -		402 12	1253 4	169* 16*	818* 15*	263 5	686* 17*	21.3 12.26
4	322 8	3032 41	1156 20		2092* 72*	86 7	333 44	3033* 82*	4980* 623*	17.1 10.45
5	392 -	1306 15	1581* 30*	1807* 35*		476 8	164 8	293 15	742* 92*	25.6 29.9
6	55 -	41* 12*	191* 13*	67 -	191 -		52 9	13 -	21* 13*	9.3 14.7
A	892 4	252 8	470 -	155* 11*	101* 15*	89 12		90 4	204* 12*	17.2 19.2
B	297 -	1286 -	274 -	1039* 12*	168* 27*	12 -	210 -		998* 13*	18.3 12.4
C	671 16	4818* 56*	979 4	2726* 147*	616 17	71 7	283* 40*	1314 24		28.1 15.5

## Appendix III

Percent of Total Migration Going to Own State  
+ Percent Going to Contiguous State  
By Total and Nonwhite Populations  
in the Southern States, 1960 <sup>1</sup>.

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1. United States Census of Population, 1960. PC2/2B. pp. 178 and 338.

## VIRGINIA

State Economic Area	% of Total Emigration Going to Contiguous State*	Sum: % of Total Emigration Going to Own State + to Contiguous State
1	30.5	52.0
	30.7	45.6
2	38.4	71.3
	31.8	58.2
3	20.3	72.9
	27.0	49.2
4	22.4	66.3
	23.4	60.8
5	21.5	57.9
	36.1	69.1
6	15.6	71.6
	24.0	62.8
7	27.4	71.9
	28.8	56.4
8	15.1	66.1
	19.7	64.9
9	24.7	49.0
	26.7	41.9
10	17.8	62.8
	19.4	67.2
A	20.0	67.9
	25.2	56.8
B	26.0	40.7
	59.9	75.6
C	17.5	58.0
	20.6	57.4
D	16.9	31.9
	24.0	46.5
E	18.1	41.5
	21.5	49.1
F	16.9	73.6
	26.1	67.0

\* In these tables, the first number refers to the total, and the second to the nonwhite population.



## NORTH CAROLINA

State Economic Area	% of Total Emigration Going to Contiguous State	Sum: % of Total Emigration Going to Own State + to Contiguous State
1	25.1 9.6	67.1 39.1
2	12.7 6.2	71.5 48.8
3	19.0 11.6	69.8 51.4
4	16.2 6.9	71.3 53.7
5	23.6 9.4	72.3 54.9
6	14.1 8.7	50.6 51.2
7	30.0 24.2	60.8 45.9
8	18.8 11.5	61.2 42.1
9	18.6 11.1	46.3 38.8
10	26.8 16.7	57.6 36.8
11	20.3 12.3	45.0 40.7
A	23.2 11.0	56.8 41.2
B	16.0 9.5	64.5 44.9
C	17.3 9.0	64.8 39.5
D	25.1 13.0	62.5 50.8
E	16.1 7.8	62.7 47.9
F	16.0 10.8	57.5 40.7

## SOUTH CAROLINA

State Economic Area	% of Total Emigration Going to Contiguous State	Sum: % of Total Emigration Going to Own State + to Contiguous State
1	16.9 9.0	25.7 39.7
2	21.4 12.0	64.8 39.4
3	32.4 33.0	65.9 49.2
4	13.0 10.0	68.0 43.9
5	24.7 22.7	65.3 45.3
6	13.7 10.0	45.4 28.5
7	18.2 10.0	53.0 28.5
8	12.4 7.3	45.5 30.6
A	19.4 11.0	45.0 28.3
B	21.8 10.0	47.5 37.3
C	11.0 4.9	36.0 25.9
D	18.4 8.4	50.3 35.3

## GEORGIA

State Economic Area	% of Total Emigration Going to Contiguous State	Sum: % of Total Emigration Going to Own State + to Contiguous State
1	34.0 16.8	80.2 47.3
2	21.4 22.1	81.4 57.6
3	18.7 11.5	85.3 71.3
4	22.2 16.3	78.7 67.0
5	13.9 15.3	82.8 77.3
6	28.0 38.5	85.5 79.9
7	39.4 49.4	72.2 69.9
8	38.7 45.9	78.5 73.2
9	34.6 30.9	70.7 68.5
A	45.3 8.6	86.6 37.6
B	32.3 13.8	63.7 47.8
C	29.6 27.1	45.4 42.7
D	31.9 20.4	53.3 38.9
E	28.3 24.2	56.5 46.7
F	23.0 16.4	73.6 53.3
G	19.1 12.2	59.8 67.3

## FLORIDA

State Economic Area	% of Total Emigration Going to Contiguous State	Sum: % of Total Emigration Going to Own State + to Contiguous State
1	14.6 4.7	42.6 45.3
2	10.5 8.4	66.8 71.3
3	14.5 9.0	73.6 73.7
4	7.4 5.1	49.6 65.4
5	10.9 5.3	65.9 66.1
6	5.5 7.4	45.6 66.1
A	14.0 13.3	51.2 51.5
B	8.2 9.3	43.9 54.0
C	6.9 13.4	42.1 54.8
D	15.4 5.9	34.9 25.2
E	8.8 7.9	47.1 51.0
F	9.5 9.2	47.4 62.3
G	8.1 15.0	51.9 69.3

## ALABAMA

State Economic Area	% of Total Emigration Going to Contiguous State	Sum: % of Total Emigration Going to Own State + to Contiguous State
1	27.3 16.5	59.9 46.1
2	29.3 21.2	75.8 62.2
3	23.8 10.6	66.0 42.5
4	33.2 28.0	73.8 59.4
5	16.0 14.3	66.4 48.7
6	16.6 13.2	95.1 62.4
7	17.0 10.2	78.4 71.0
8	33.6 23.7	68.9 56.4
9	41.2 42.2	70.4 62.4
A	23.5 10.8	61.7 35.5
B	45.9 46.0	73.1 65.5
C	20.7 13.1	50.2 42.6
D	26.0 16.4	53.7 49.0
E	18.1 7.5	67.2 43.8
F	23.3 18.5	54.8 49.6

## MISSISSIPPI

State Economic Area	% of Total Emigration Going to Contiguous State	Sum: % of Total Emigration Going to Own State + to Contiguous State
1	40.2 12.6	67.0 27.1
2	26.0 25.1	42.3 54.0
3	34.5 30.0	65.8 52.0
4	28.7 12.2	59.4 41.9
5	22.4 15.5	55.7 38.3
6	20.8 14.5	63.5 44.5
7	29.4 24.0	66.8 53.7
8	20.8 18.3	34.7 33.6
A	19.0 9.0	60.1 39.4

## KENTUCKY

State Economic Area	% of Total Emigration Going to Contiguous State	Sum: % of Total Emigration Going to Own State + to Contiguous State
1	47.5 50.5	61.3 63.7
2	31.3 36.3	70.4 64.2
3	27.7 31.8	64.1 55.3
4	31.9 34.6	53.9 53.6
5	43.4 35.0	47.5 84.0
6	27.6 36.0	80.1 76.3
7	20.7 26.4	79.4 80.1
8	52.3 27.5	84.7 84.1
9	55.0 53.2	75.5 63.7
A	32.0 35.5	60.9 55.3
B	44.3 67.7	74.5 80.3
C	40.9 55.5	69.7 62.2
D	41.4 50.5	72.4 66.0
E	25.0 36.6	65.2 71.6

## TENNESSEE

State Economic Area	% of Total Emigration Going to Contiguous State	Sum: % of Total Emigration Going to Own State + to Contiguous State
1	20.2 12.0	56.9 42.1
2	19.5 12.6	60.5 40.1
3	18.5 11.2	68.9 69.2
4	24.7 22.9	61.8 49.5
5	19.1 10.4	66.3 61.4
6	17.0 11.9	57.1 16.8
7	13.6 10.7	52.9 54.7
8	26.6 12.1	50.6 38.7
A	33.4 20.7	44.4 30.2
B	22.8 13.1	56.8 33.4
C	41.9 14.8	60.5 28.3
D	22.5 11.9	49.5 30.3



## WEST VIRGINIA -

State Economic Area	% of Total Emigration Going to Contiguous State	Sum: % of Total Emigration Going to Own State+ to Contiguous State
1	47.9 46.6	70.4 64.0
2	39.6 27.1	78.1 60.1
3	43.3 39.3	64.6 51.6
4	43.2 40.6	60.3 51.1
5	50.1 39.1	75.7 69.0
6	59.8 42.8	69.1 57.5
A	48.6 49.0	65.8 68.2
B	44.5 55.0	62.8 67.4
C	25.0 39.7	53.1 55.2

Appendix IV  
Intermediate Stages in the Migration<sup>1</sup>

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1. United States Census of Population, 1960. PC2/2B.

## INTERMEDIATE STAGES IN THE MIGRATION

	Total	Nonwhite Male	Nonwhite Female
Total migration to New England, 1960	9,374,915	111,253	114,823
1. Living in Middle Atlantic in 1955	199,863	3,641	3,169
born in South Atlantic	6,862	1,094	1,063
born in East South Central	1,280	147	105
2. Living in South Atlantic in 1955	95,866	7,171	7,679
born in South Atlantic	39,754	5,859	6,717
born in East South Central	2,781	262	185
3. Living in East South Central in 1955	15,882	1,240	1,395
born in South Atlantic	1,224	93	36
born in East South Central	8,501	988	1,224
Total Migration to Middle Atlantic, 1960	30,649,774	1,182,216	1,328,366
1. Living in South Atlantic in 1955	335,332	48,553	63,130
born in South Atlantic	179,475	41,531	56,133
born in East South Central	6,405	840	1,005
2. Living in East South Central in 1955	47,772	5,947	8,537
born in South Atlantic	3,512	386	425
born in East South Central	26,791	4,584	7,383

## Appendix V

State Fiscal Ability and Fiscal Effort  
for Public Welfare<sup>1</sup>.

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1. Having the Power, We Have the Duty. Report of the Advisory Council on Public Welfare, June 1966. p.5.

STATE FISCAL ABILITY AND FISCAL EFFORT FOR PUBLIC WELFARE <sup>1</sup>.

State	Per Capita Income 1964	Expenditures for Assistance Payments from State and Local Funds, Fiscal Year 1965 (Excludes General Assistance) Per \$1000 Personal Income 1964
Virginia	\$2,239	\$0.82
North Carolina	1,913	2.30
South Carolina	1,655	1.52
Georgia	1,943	2.74
Florida	2,250	1.78
Alabama	1,749	4.33
Mississippi	1,438	3.11
Tennessee	1,859	1.90
Kentucky	1,830	3.24
West Virginia	1,965	3.45
Massachusetts	2,965	6.52

## Appendix VI

## Characteristics of Families in Sample

People who are dependent

	1.	2.
Migrating unit, ages	woman, 71	woman, 79
Place of origin	Louisville, Ken.	Columbia, S.C.
Date of arrival in Boston	1961	1966 (first here in 1960)
Members of family who were here ahead	daughter, son	2 sons, daughter
Persons living with persons who migrated	great-grandson, 5	daughter, grandson and wife
Source of income	OAA, \$70/month	OAA, \$70/month OASDI, \$30/month
How was job found?	-	-
How was housing found?	by daughter	daughter (who is buying the house)
Rent without utilities	\$45/month	pays daughter from time to time to help with payments on the house

People who are dependent, cont.

	3.
Migrating unit, ages	woman, 58 2 daughters, 20
Place of origin	Edgefield, S.C.
Date of arrival in Boston	1966
Members of family who were here ahead	2 daughters
Persons living with persons who migrated	1 daughter 23, 2 grandchildren, 4 and 2
Source of income	presently unemployed, due to sickness; formerly worked as hat trimmer
How was job found?	daughter who was already here worked in the plant
How was housing found?	by daughter who was already here
Rent without utilities	\$75/month



People with no dependents

	4.	5.
Migrating unit, ages	man, 20	woman, 42
Place of origin	Selma, Alabama	Griffin, Ga.
Date of arrival in Boston	1966	1963
Members of family who were here ahead	sister, cousins	3 brothers
Persons living with persons who migrated	sister, cousins in same building	brother in same building
Source of income	job as kitchen- worker at Massachusetts General Hospital	package packer, \$224/month
How was job found?	sister, who works there	friends
How was housing found?	sister	brother
Rent without utilities	\$50/month	\$40/month

People with no dependents, cont.

6.

Migrating unit,  
ages

woman, 39

Place of origin

Mathieston, Miss.

Date of arrival  
in Boston

1954

Members of family  
who were here ahead

brother

Persons living with  
persons who migratedbrother,  
brother and wife,  
neices and nephew  
in same building

Source of income

laundryworker

How was job found?

newspaper

How was housing  
found?brother owns  
house

Rent without utilities

-

People with young dependents

	7.	8.
Migrating unit, ages	man, 59 wife, 57 7 children	woman, 35 son, 12
Place of origin	Newberne, N.C.	Augusta, Ga.
Date of arrival in Boston	1966	1964 (first here. in 1960)
Members of family who were here ahead	son, 2 nephews	2 brothers, sister
Persons living with persons who migrated	grandchild, 5	2 stepsons, 18 and 20
Source of income	man is janitor at Wentworth Institute, \$280/month.	woman is domestic in Newton, \$12/day. stepsons also work
How was job found?	talking to men in drugstore at corner near apartment	sister
How was housing found?	by son	brother, who lived in same building
Rent without utilities	\$35/month	\$50/month

People with young dependents, cont.

	9.	10.
Migrating unit, ages	man, 38 wife, 29 8 children	woman, 29 brother, 26
Place of origin	Atlantic Beach, Fla.	Miami, Florida
Date of arrival in Boston	man, 1964 family 6 months later, January 1965	1965
Members of family who were here ahead	husband's sister	sister, brother
Persons living with persons who migrated	-	son, born here
Source of income	AFDC, \$380/month	AFDC, \$120/month
How was job found?	(man in MDTA training program)	-
How was housing found?	husband's sister	brother
Rent without utilities	\$45/month	

Appendix VII

Minutes of a Meeting  
of  
The In-Migrant Program  
Outreach Committee

## M I M U T E S

The In-Migrant Program  
 Meeting of Outreach Committee  
 Tuesday, April 4, 1967  
 Hazel L. McCarthy, Chairman

PRESENT: Mmes. McCarthy, Parrish, Ross, Stern.

The meeting began at two p.m. on March 15, 1967. The minutes were read and accepted with the necessary corrections.

Two very informative articles were read and discussed by the group describing the methods used in England pertaining to those who perform domestic tasks, and also those in America. The articles are entitled "Pact aids au pair girls, employers, by Melita Knowles, March 8, 1967, a correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor. The other article was "The Career of the Last Resort," by Roberta Gatz, National Council of Jewish Women, January 1967.

Mrs. McCarthy stated that it could operate in the following manner:

1. Get girls funnelled into a training program for Homemakers.
2. They will be fully trained Homemakers and presented to employers, with follow up from the program after they are on the job.
3. Obtain legal advice to institute the idea of training prior to job to insure benefits.

Mrs. Parrish presented tentative plans to Outreach Committee for a late April Seminar on Household Management, which involves employers and employees. This is to last a full day. Several groups were mentioned as would be interested parties. Some are as follows: League of Women Voters, Heads of Church Women, U.W.C.A., Colored Womens Clubs, Professionals from various area, Home Economists, Dietitians, Domestic Workers, and Employers. This program was discussed at Radcliffe by those who are interested in informing the employer.

The documentary should also be ready at this time.

Mrs. Woods read a letter which was sent to the Multi Service Center regarding a person who resides in Jamaica and desires employment in Domestic Service here in America. Mrs. Stern stated that she seemed a good prospect for "The Windo Shop." It was suggested that Jamaican Associates be contacted for their procedures in matters such as these. The group felt that she sounded like one who is interested in a Housekeeper position with Household workers, Hotel work, or Dietitian. It was further suggested by Mrs. Ross that Caterer's Domestic Science Training Center, Kingston Jamaica, W.I. be contacted and these questions asked: 1. What kind of training courses do you offer? 2. Where do they seek placement? 3. How many come to the United States as domestics?

-2-

The committee also worked on a letter to go out to the churches, radio and television stations, news media, and organizations in the South, explaining the circumstances the domestic finds herself in after having arrived here and worked on the job provided for them through Maid Service.

Another approach for advice which would be helpful to the proposed training program can be obtained through Mr. Donald White, Director of Migrant Workers, from the Commonwealth Service Corp.

Also living quarters for those participating in a possible 30-40 hour training week were suggested.

Mrs. McCarthy has a friend in domestic work who will tell others about the In-Migrant Program.

Another plan will be to get on the Riverside car and stop at each stop where domestic workers congregate on Thursdays for the purpose of letting them know about the program.

The next meeting will be held on Tuesday April 4, 1967 at 1:30 p.m. at the Womens Service Club, 464 Mass. Ave. Boston, Mass. Please do not park your car on Mass. Ave. as you risk getting a ticket. Plan to bring a sandwich, and we will provide the coffee, tea, and dessert.

The meeting was adjourned at 4:10 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

Norma Woods, secretary.

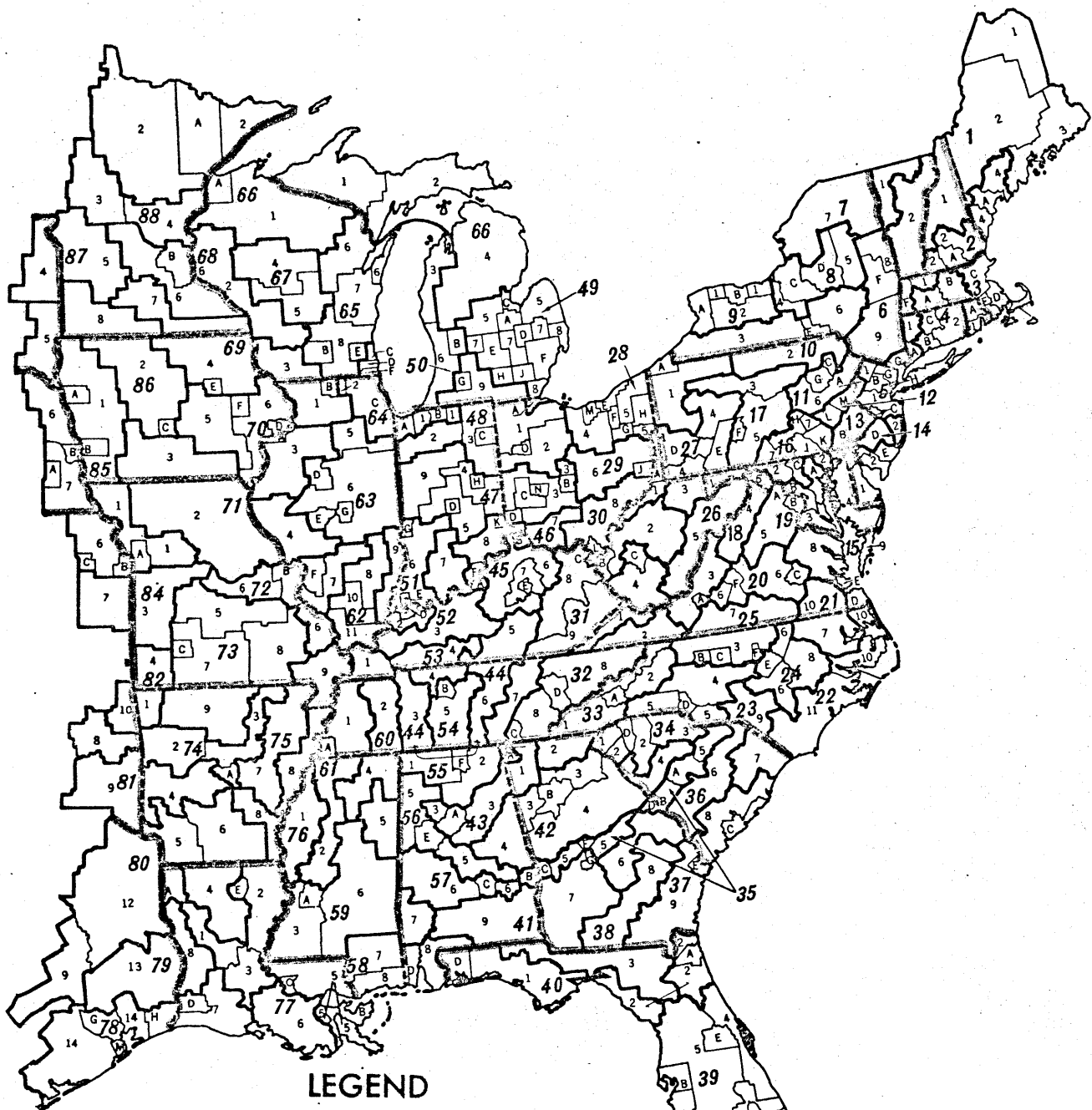
Appendix VIII

Map of State Economic Areas<sup>1</sup>

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1. United States Census of Population, 1960. PC2/2B.





**LEGEND**

- ECONOMIC SUBREGION BOUNDARY
- - - STATE BOUNDARY WHERE NOT PART OF ECONOMIC SUBREGION BOUNDARY
- STATE ECONOMIC AREA BOUNDARY. ALL ECONOMIC SUBREGION BOUNDARIES AND STATE BOUNDARIES ARE ALSO STATE ECONOMIC AREA BOUNDARIES
- 57 ECONOMIC SUBREGIONS—LARGE NUMBERS
- 8. A—N STATE ECONOMIC AREAS—SMALL NUMBERS AND LETTERS

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