Residential segregation Negro employment and industrial decentralization: Retrospect and prospect

Joseph M. Queenan

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RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION, NEGRO EMPLOYMENT AND INDUSTRIAL DECENTRALIZATION: RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

By

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B.A., LaSalle College, 1969

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Detailed analytical works by geographers, sociologists, and economists alike have amply documented the racially discordant and socially divisive nature of America's central city-suburban dichotomy. Social and, particularly, urban problem analyses have repeatedly, and perhaps accurately, designated America's central cities as the locus of such pervasive social ills as poverty and discrimination. Accordingly, the dominant theme of urban development policy and, indeed, social reform movements in general, in areas such as housing and employment, has been "place-specific." That is to say, remedial action to mitigate the pressing and perplexing problems of residential segregation and high Negro unemployment rates has been narrowly restricted in its geographic focus to ghetto and poverty areas.

The belief that an understanding of urban problems would be significantly augmented by a more complete realization of their geographic, sociological, and economic dimensions has generated the present research. The descriptive aim of this paper is to synthesize several strands of the voluminous literature in these disciplines pertinent to residential segregation and economic activity into an integrated image of the ever-changing urban structure.

Appropriate methods for analyzing the socio-economic phenomena of residential segregation, Negro employment and industrial decentralization are available. The social sciences of geography, sociology, and economics
are rich in descriptive and theoretical writings which are of interest to serious analysts of the urban structure. Thus far, there have been few analyses in these social sciences which have suggested the salience of taking into account the impact of residential segregation and industrial decentralization on employment opportunities for urban Negroes. Literature stressing these interrelated aspects of the metropolitan structure is gradually developing, however. This paper attempts to fill part of the gap in the existing urban-oriented geographic, sociological, and economic research.

One of the fundamental problems encountered in geographic research concerns the basis of residential assignment in urban areas. Recent advances in analytic methods of geographic research are conducive to simulation of the process of ghetto-formation. In this context, the first question to be examined is that of a definition of the term "ghetto." A definition of this term emphasizing its racial and economic aspects, is set forth in Chapter II, and census data concerning ghetto population dynamics and Negro in-migration are presented, attesting to the changing color composition of metropolitan areas. In an attempt to describe the process of ghetto-expansion, several probabilistic simulation models are provided in Chapter III. Conditional forecasting models in geography indicate that rapid ghetto population growth will continue to exert expansionary pressures on the ghetto subsystem. Evidence from the existing geographical literature suggests that future expansion of the ghetto will be accommodated by axial and concentric growth of segregated areas, as in the past. An additional perspective on the evolution of individual neighborhoods is gained by a brief review of the economic, social, and physical forces which operate to perpetuate the ghetto subsystem.
For some time now, theoretically-inclined sociologists have called for systematic research on ethnic residential segregation. In recent attempts to understand the impact of ethnic relations—particularly Negro-white relations—on the metropolitan structure, there has been a pronounced emphasis on the nature and degree of ethnic residential segregation. In Chapter IV, the ethnic residential segregation dimension is stressed. Although precise estimates vary, formal sociological research on ghetto residential occupancy has evinced a persistently high degree of racial residential segregation in metropolitan areas. Further insight into the intensity of the spatial concentration of the urban Negro population is acquired by reference to the dissimilarity or residential segregation index. Exogenous factors which operate to promote and maintain race-specific zones in metropolitan areas are cited. Finally, it will be shown that rapid ghetto population growth tends to accentuate Negro-white rent differentials in the metropolitan housing market.

Urban geographers have displayed increasing interest in the relationship between residential segregation and work-trip length. An important and consistent finding in this area of geographic research is that the patterns of intra-urban mobility for urban Negroes are sharply circumscribed by residential segregation. The findings of several major metropolitan transportation studies are summarized in Chapter V, indicating that the geographical and social isolation of Negro residences may have adverse effects on Negro employment opportunities.

Among the clearest national and regional trends of the past few decades have been those of demographic and industrial decentralization. Data from employment and industrial location studies provide empirical
evidence of the decentralization of economic activity in metropolitan areas. In Chapter VI, the trend toward industrial and commercial decentralization is established, and estimates of this pattern are advanced. Viewed in this context, substantial compositional change in aggregate demand conditions and therefore in employment opportunities in major metropolitan areas appears ominous for the job-seeking urban Negro male. In addition, recent improvements in economic analysis permit tentative estimates of employment losses which are sustained by the Negro community as a result of the continuing patterns of residential segregation and industrial decentralization. These estimates are also presented in Chapter VI.

The mechanics of the urban labor market information system, which seemingly favor white workers, are emphasized in Chapter VII. Labor force participation within metropolitan areas is examined in light of the geographical dispersion of Negro employment opportunities. The operation of the major determinants of the job search process is by now rather well understood. Available evidence from urban labor market studies suggests that information concerning employment opportunities is diffused through types of informal social and economic contacts to which few Negroes have access. Additionally, it appears that the segregation of urban Negroes, both residentially and socially, denies access to a valuable resource -- information concerning employment opportunities.

The widely-accepted ghetto-enrichment strategy is treated in Chapter VIII. In particular, two developmental schemes, industrial location incentives, and migration of Negro families to satellite cities, are described and subsequently analyzed in light of their apparent economic and social costs. And, although the necessary cost-benefit analyses are not yet available, preliminary investigations indicate that the current urban
planning orientation may be counterproductive to the interests of the Negro community as a whole.

In Chapter IX, close examination is accorded the linkage between the ghetto and the nation, focusing on the potential impact of the present ghetto-enrichment programs. To adumbrate the conclusions of the present paper, an enrichment-plus-dispersal strategy is proposed as a means of attenuating the geographical dominance of the ghetto subsystem. The desegregation potential is evaluated in light of the existing stock of suburban housing. Finally, to facilitate dispersion of working-class urban Negroes, rent and wage subsidies are suggested.
CHAPTER II
A Definition of the Term "Ghetto"

Students of the urban scene frequently differentiate between the racial and the economic aspects of the ghetto. In its racial sense, a ghetto refers to an area in which members of an ethnic minority, particularly Negroes, are residentially segregated by social and physical pressures from the rest of society. Thus, a ghetto may contain upper- and middle-income as well as lower-income residents. In its economic sense, a ghetto refers to an area in which poor people are compelled to live because they cannot afford better accommodations. In this context, a ghetto contains primarily poor people, regardless of race or color. Under both aspects, racial and economic, the ghetto connotes geographical constraint. The present paper attempts to blend both the racial and economic aspects of the ghetto.

Ghetto Population Dynamics

The incipient growth of the Negro ghetto, as a subsystem within the larger American urban system, may be traced to the rise of the Negro population in northern industrial centers, beginning with the decade preceding World War I. The geographical dominance of the Negro ghetto has

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become increasingly manifest in the core sections of our largest metropolitan areas. Today, the Negro ghetto is found in virtually all two hundred metropolitan areas in the United States. Typically, the northern ghetto may be found in a zone peripheral to the central business district, an area which often contains "formerly elegant houses intermingled with commercial and light industrial uses."  

The migration patterns and spatial distributions of Negroes have been described and analyzed in some detail by members of the various social sciences. The rural to urban migration of blacks may be understood in terms of certain "push" factors, namely, technological advances in the Southern agricultural base, and certain "pull" factors, namely, economic opportunities in northern and western metropolises. It is apparent, however, that although the differential in white and Negro migration is "clearly related to differential economic opportunity, the overall level of Southern migration must be ascribed to the underdeveloped nature of the region."  

From 1960 to 1966, ghetto population growth in the United States occurred at the rate of about 400,000 persons per year. In contrast, during the same period, the white population in central cities declined by as much as 4.9 million due to out-migration to suburban areas. Thus,  

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3Ibid.  
over 100 percent of the net increase in the central city population was Negro, since the white population was declining. In contrast, only about 2.0 percent of the population growth in the suburbs was Negro, whereas 98.0 percent of the suburban population growth was white.® Recent census bureau statistics further illumine this phenomenon. Between 1960 and 1970, approximately 750,000 blacks moved to the suburbs while 12.5 million whites moved to the suburbs during the same period.®

Recent work has shown that there have always been some blacks in the suburban rings surrounding northern and western cities. The black population in these suburban rings remained approximately 3.0 percent for many decades.® Between 1955 and 1960, suburban rings attracted higher status black residents from their central cities and, in addition, attracted a significant proportion of the higher status inter-metropolitan migrants.® Although the growth of the Negro suburban population has increased by 42.0 percent in the last decade, at present, the black population represents only 4.5 percent of the total suburban population. If recent trends continue, it is expected that, by 1985, nonwhites will constitute absolute majorities in New Orleans, Baltimore, Cleveland, St. Louis, Detroit, Philadelphia, Oakland, and Chicago, in that order.®

®Ibid., pp. 524-25.
CHAPTER III
The Spatial-Temporal Approach to Ghetto Formation

Although the black ghetto, as an urban spatial form, has been visible since the decade prior to World War I, little theoretical attention has been given to its internal development. And while the debilitating effects of the ghetto on the lives of its residents have been widely chronicled by social scientists, the morphology and the spatial dynamics of the ghetto have been little researched by urban geographers. With increased interest in central place theory, however, geographers have demonstrated a concern for the internal structure of black social areas. Twentieth century social science literature contains several models of ghetto development, chief among which are a spatial diffusion model and a ghetto-developer model.11

A Spatial Diffusion Model of Ghetto Development

To discover and illustrate the nature of ghetto expansion into a surrounding white area in Seattle, Washington, Morill employed a diffusion model of the probabilistic simulation type. This model of ghetto expansion incorporated the following elements: (1) natural increase of the Negro population, (2) Negro immigration into the ghetto, (3) the nature of the resistance to Negro out-migration and its relation to

11See, respectively, Morill, 55, pp. 339-61, and Rose, 60, pp. 1-17.
distance, (4) land values and housing characteristics, and (5) the population size limits of destination blocks. This diffusion model did not purport to predict individual behavior of actual people, but rather to simulate moves for typical ghetto households. In this conceptual scheme, expansion of the ghetto occurred as impoverished Negro migrants:

...were forced to double up in the slums that had already been created on the periphery of business and industrial districts. The pattern has never been broken. Just as one group was becoming settled, another would follow, placing ever greater pressure on the limited area of settlement, and forcing expansion into neighboring areas, being emptied from fear of inundation.12

Thus, expansion of the ghetto was described as a spatial diffusion process whereby Negro in-migrants gradually penetrated the surrounding white area. Morill has described the spatial process of ghetto formation as: "a block-by-block diffusion of a new condition--that is, Negro for white occupancy..."13 The pattern of ghetto growth does not progress evenly and smoothly in all directions but exhibits an uneven edge and moves at different rates in different directions, here advancing from block to block, there jumping over an obstacle."14 In time, the ghetto acquired a dualistic dimension by which Negroes were largely excluded from white areas, and whites were largely absent from Negro areas. Morill has contended that: "...the nature of expansion does not differ from one ghetto to another, though the size of the ghetto and the rate of expansion may vary."15

12Morill, 55, p. 340.  
13Ibid., p. 348.  
14Ibid., p. 349.  
15Ibid., p. 355.
As indicated earlier, most scientific inquiries by urban geographers into the spatial dynamics of the ghetto have crystallized in a diffusion model. The seminal work in the spatial behavioral approach to the process of ghetto development was Morill's spatial diffusion model. However, the suitability of the spatial diffusion model for describing ghetto expansion in metropolitan areas has subsequently been questioned. The underlying assumption of Morill's diffusion thesis was that each metropolitan system operated as a closed system rather than an open system, functioning under severe social constraints. Further geographic research has suggested that the spatial spread of the Negro ghetto is "a function of white adjustment to a perceived threat."16

A Strict Segregation Model of Ghetto Development

Recently, however, a competing viewpoint, that is, an adjustment hypothesis, based on a behavioral pattern of social avoidance, has gained ascendance as a method of describing ghetto expansion. The most notable of this type of approach is the ghetto-developer or strict segregation model formulated by Rose.17 Three fundamental components are considered in this simulation model of ghetto development: first, a demographic component to determine housing demand; second, a producer component to determine the availability of housing; and third, a consumer component to determine allocation or residential assignment.

Replicating the residential spatial configuration of the Negro ghetto in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Rose found that "the continual expansion of the

16 Rose, 60, p. 2.
17 Ibid., pp. 1-17.
ghetto is essentially dependent upon the collective behavior of individual residents of ghetto space, white and black."\textsuperscript{18} Evacuation by whites occurred precipitously at the tract level, apparently in response to the Negro build-up in contiguous space. This occurrence "implies an initial saturation at the block level, proceeding outward from blocks with an already heavy Negro concentration."\textsuperscript{19} The residential location pattern which emerged from this study indicated that the ghetto resident in Milwaukee was involved in a series of short-distance moves, rarely exceeding a ten-block distance and commonly confined to distances of less than six blocks. This residential choice pattern "permits whites to continue to compete for housing only a short distance from the margin of the ghetto, as the slow process of filling-in occurs along the ghetto edge."\textsuperscript{20}

Although there is considerable debate among urban geographers concerning the ghetto-forming mechanism, most analysts agree that four interrelated factors are essential in determining a stable interracial neighborhood: (1) proximity to the ghetto, (2) the neighborhood's racial composition, (3) white attitudes toward the entry of nonwhites, and (4) the magnitude of the nonwhite influx.\textsuperscript{21}

Nonwhite Entry and Property Values

The assertion that the entry of nonwhites into a white neighborhood depresses property values has proved to be a commonplace in the popular

\textsuperscript{18}ibid., p. 9.  \hfill \textsuperscript{20}ibid., p. 14.
\textsuperscript{19}ibid., p. 7.  \hfill \textsuperscript{21}Morill, 55, p. 361.
literature, despite trenchant criticism of this notion. There is incontrovertible evidence which belies this traditional conception of neighborhood transition.

The classic analysis of racial influence on property values was conducted for the Commission on Race and Housing by the economist Luigi Laurenti. In *Property Values and Race*, Laurenti summarized the results of 10,000 real estate transactions. It was found that prices rose in 44.0 percent of the cases when Negroes entered, remained stable in 41.0 percent, and declined in only 15.0 percent. These summary figures represented long-term trends, measured relatively to trends in carefully matched neighborhoods which remained all white.

Empirical evidence from studies in California, Illinois, Kansas, Michigan, Oregon, and Pennsylvania corroborated the fact entry of nonwhites into a white neighborhood was usually associated with increasing rather than declining home prices. As an example, Palmore and Howe measured the effects of Negro entry on property values in nine neighborhoods in New Haven, Connecticut, between 1950 and 1960. These researchers found that, in no case, was the entry of nonwhites accompanied by a decline in property values. Although one neighborhood showed no increase in property values, the other neighborhoods revealed increases ranging from 3.0 percent to 15.0 percent, a pattern which was consistent with or which surpassed the trend of rising home prices for New Haven as a whole.

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More recently, Marcus examined the hypothesis that a continuing, substantial entry of nonwhites into a small suburban community, surrounded by nine contiguous municipalities with no significant Negro population, will bring a decline in property values. The test of this hypothesis was undertaken in Plainfield, New Jersey, over an extended period of time (1955-1966). Marcus' study failed to produce evidence that home prices were adversely affected either absolutely or relatively by the continuous, substantial entry of nonwhites during this period. According to Marcus, the absence of any empirical racial influence on home prices is:

all the more damaging to the contention that the entry of nonwhites affects property values adversely when one considers that Plainfield is surrounded by nine communities nearly all of which might have served as convenient substitutes for those wishing to avoid living in a community with a sizable Negro population.

Rather, in both Plainfield and in the substitute community, Marcus found evidence of rising home prices coincident with the increasing nonwhite share of the city's population.

The Tipping-Point and Racial Transition

The issue of a "tipping-point" in a racially-changing neighborhood has long been problematic to the real estate industry and to social scientists alike. Although there is general agreement that there exists some critical threshold level beyond which whites will cease to share a


25 Ibid., p. 338.
common residential space with Negroes, there is scant empirical evidence
to either definitively accept or reject this hypothesis. In his study
The Metropolitan Area as a Racial Problem, Grodzins described the pro­
cess by which whites of the central cities evacuate areas of Negro in­
migration in terms of the social-psychology of "tipping" a neighborhood:

once the proportion of nonwhites exceeds the
limits of the neighborhood's tolerance of inter­
racial living (this is the 'tip-point'), the
whites move out. The proportion of Negroes
who will be accepted before the tip-point is
reached varies from city to city and from
neighborhood to neighborhood.\[26\]

In simulating the process of ghetto expansion in Seattle, Washington,
Morill observed that whites appeared willing to accept from 5.0 percent
to 25.0 percent (with a mean of 10.0 percent) Negro occupancy for some
time before beginning abandonment.\[27\] And in Milwaukee, data on white
entry into census tracts in ghetto space, which had a minimum of 40.0
percent Negro occupancy by 1960, indicated that whites continued to seek
housing in close physical proximity to Negroes until Negro occupancy
reached a level of approximately 30.0 percent. Beyond that point, about
20.0 percent of the housing-seekers continued to be white, although the
percentage declined sharply thereafter.\[28\]

Among the numerous factors which appear to be significant deter­
minants of the rate of racial transition, expectations loom large. As
Rapkin and Grigsby, two real estate economists, have stated:

\[26\]Morton Grodzins, cited by Eleanor P. Wolf, "The Tipping Point in

\[27\]Morill, 55, p. 360.

\[28\]Rose, 60, p. 7.

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the predictions of white families concerning the eventual racial mix of a neighborhood and their apprehensions regarding the possibility of inundation may be more significant than any other factor in determining the level of white demand. Yet it is largely the level of white demand that determines the eventual racial mix.29

In summary, the ghetto-forming mechanism has been described in this chapter in terms of a strict segregation model, emphasizing a spatial-temporal behavioral pattern of social avoidance. Although the scale and pattern of black occupancy may vary from city to city, an increasing body of geographic research suggests that the ghetto "generally tends to radiate out from a location near the fringes of the cities' central business district in one or more directions."30 Finally, four factors: (1) proximity to the ghetto, (2) racial composition of the neighborhood, (3) the attitudes of whites toward the entry of nonwhites, and (4) the magnitude of the Negro influx, were found to be highly significant in determining the scale and expansion of the ghetto subsystem.


CHAPTER IV

Residential Segregation: Some Empirical Observations

Numerous social science investigators, sociologists and economists alike, have assessed the effect of racial discrimination in the metropolitan housing market. An extensive literature has developed on this subject, indicating that the absence of freedom of choice among urban Negroes has resulted in the existence and persistence of two widespread images of metropolitan housing markets: (1) a high and an increasing degree of racial residential segregation in the central cities of American metropolises, and (2) a dual housing market in which nonwhites tend to be concentrated in substandard and overcrowded housing units, the costs of which are higher than comparable quality housing units occupied by whites.

Urban Racial Residential Segregation

Recent trend analyses of racial and ethnic segregation have compared the situation of Negroes with that of various immigrant groups. For example, in Ethnic Patterns in American Cities, Lieberson employed ward data for 1910 and 1920 and census tract data for 1930 and 1950 compare

31 See, for example, Davis McEntire, Residence and Race (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1960).


the residential segregation of various ethnic and minority groups from each other and from whites in ten northern cities. The conclusions from this perceptive study of ethnic assimilation in American cities indicated that:

Negroes and immigrant groups have moved in opposite directions, i.e., declining segregation for immigrants and increasing segregation for Negroes. In terms of sheer magnitude, the Negroes are by far more highly segregated than are the immigrant groups.34

To measure the degree of urban racial residential segregation, Karl E. and Alma F. Taeuber35 computed racial residential segregation or dissimilarity indices from block data for 207 cities in 1960 and 109 cities in 1940 and 1950. These were cities which had more than 1,000 occupied dwelling units with a nonwhite head. The dissimilarity index has a range of scores between 0 and 100, and it represents the percentage of nonwhite households that would have to be shifted from one block to another to effect an even, unsegregated distribution; that is, one in which the percentage of nonwhites residing in each block is the same throughout the city. Thus, the greater the dissimilarity index score, the greater the degree of residential segregation; and the smaller the score, the greater the degree of residential intermixture. Values for the 207 cities in 1960 ranged from 60.4 to 98.1. Only a few cities had values in the lower range of observed scores (eight cities had values below 70.0). Thirty-

34Ibid., p. 132, emphasis added,

one cities had values below 79.0. Half the cities had values above 87.8, and a fourth above 91.7. According to the Taeubers, their findings "provide strong and consistent support for the conclusion that Negroes are by far the most residentially segregated large minority group in recent American history." 36

Later, in an independent yet related study, Reynolds Farley and Karl E. Taeuber 37 examined census data from thirteen cities to assess trends in population change, migration patterns, and residential segregation from 1960 to 1966. Analysis of dissimilarity indices for the thirteen cities for 1960 and subsequent special census dates pointed to a pattern of increasing residential segregation. Fusing their results with those compiled previously by the Taeubers (for 1940-1960), they concluded that there is "strong evidence that the pervasive pattern of residential segregation has not been significantly breached." 38

Legal and Extra-Legal Practices in Residential Segregation

Case studies have generated a variety of methods designed to promote and maintain residential segregation: racial prejudice, discrimination by the real estate industry and financial institutions, and legal and governmental barriers. 39 For example, it was not until

36 Ibid., p. 139.


38 Ibid., p. 3.

39 Morill, 55, p. 344.
1917 that the Supreme Court ruled against racial zoning ordinances. During the period 1935-1950, the Federal Housing Administration advocated neighborhood homogeneity. Indeed, its Underwriting Manual stated: "if a neighborhood is to retain stability, it is necessary that properties shall continue to be occupied by the same social and racial groups." However, in 1948 the Supreme Court ruled that racially restrictive covenants were legally unenforceable. Yet no uniform, explicit policy opposing discriminatory practices in residential segregation emerged until the Executive Order of 1962 which barred discrimination in housing owned and operated by the federal government and which received some type of government assistance. Additionally, tax and fiscal considerations have conspired to preclude all but negligible numbers of lower-income groups from entering suburban communities. The practice of economic exclusion or fiscal zoning by suburban governments dictates minimum lot requirements, minimum house requirements, and restrictive subdivision requirements, thus preventing the construction of moderate-cost suburban housing.

Dualism in the Metropolitan Housing Market

Several recent simulation models of ghetto expansion have presented empirical evidence that racial residential segregation and discrimination have produced a dual housing market in metropolitan areas. For example, the findings of Rose's strict segregation model

suggested that ghetto development is "essentially related to the refusal of whites to share residential space with blacks on a permanent basis, and to the search behavior employed by blacks in seeking housing accommodations." His research on the pattern of intra-urban mobility of ghetto Negroes in Milwaukee indicated that (1) while Negroes tend to move more frequently than do whites, the lengths of their moves are usually shorter, and (2) over an extended period of time, whites and Negroes rarely compete for housing in a common market. A sample of ghetto movers who occupied housing units on the edge of Milwaukee's ghetto in 1960 revealed that while 4.0 percent of the Negro movers acquired housing located more than ten blocks beyond the original ghetto neighborhood, 39.0 percent acquired housing within five blocks of the ghetto, and 41.0 percent selected housing within the same neighborhood.

Economic analysis indicates that racial separation in metropolitan areas creates rent differentials which "can only be explained by a market separation model." In this context, the evacuation phenomenon which operates in metropolitan areas tends to affect the rents paid by ghetto residents. Rapid growth of the Negro population tends to accentuate rent differentials between the Negro ghetto and other parts of the city. Haugen and Heins' multiple regression model for 82 SMSA's, based on a theory of market separation, indicated that Negro-white rent differentials depend upon the nature

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41 Rose, 60, p. 1
42 Ibid., p. 9,
of the containment and growth of ghettos within the metropolitan areas. For example, their cross-section regression analysis of 1960 census data for these same 82 SMSA's established that:

location of the ghetto area inside the central city tends to increase rents that ghetto residents, primarily Negroes, pay... When the ghetto is highly centralized... Negroes paid rents approximately 8 percent higher, relative to whites, than they paid when the ghetto was not centralized.44

CHAPTER V
Residential Segregation and Work-Trip Length

As expected, racial residential segregation results in an uneven distribution of the supply of nonwhite labor within different areas of the major metropolises. In addition, since differences in employment location for whites and nonwhites exist, the spatially restricted supply and demand of nonwhite labor produces a pattern of work-trips which differs markedly from that of white workers.

A series of transportation surveys and reports in the major metropolitan areas in the United States revealed that, in general, nonwhites have lower work-trip mobility than do whites.45 Taken together, these studies support the thesis that residential segregation "affects

44Ibid., p. 667.

nonwhite employment location and work-trip length variously for different status groups."\(^{46}\) Owing to the large numbers of nonwhites in the lower status occupations, the average distance traveled to work is lower for nonwhites than for whites. On the other hand, the greater distance traveled to work for higher status whites is due to the concentration of employment in the central business district and a dispersed residential pattern in certain sectors of the metropolitan area. Among whites, work-trip mobility increases with higher occupational status. For nonwhites, however, there is "no consistent status/distance correspondence, and nonwhite work-trips are dominated by intra- and interghetto movement."\(^{47}\)

Wheeler's investigation, based on data provided by the 1958 Pittsburgh Area Transportation Study, suggested that work-trip behavior on nonwhites is "in response to racial discrimination and not dependent upon mobility preference as with white workers."\(^{48}\)

Although historically there has been a tendency for lower-income groups to live in central cities, it can be safely assumed that this residential choice pattern was due to a highly centralized employment structure and to limited transportation facilities. Today, with the accelerating pace of suburbanization of industry and employment, the apparent transportation advantage of workers living near the central business district is gradually waning. And, as this suburbanization continues, transportation disadvantages seem "certain to intensify, particularly for Negroes residually trapped in the inner-city."\(^{49}\)

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\(^{46}\)Wheeler, XLIV, p. 111.

\(^{47}\)Ibid., p. 112.

\(^{48}\)Ibid.

\(^{49}\)Wheeler, 53, p. 173.
At this point, it should be stressed that inadequate transportation facilities and services connecting the ghetto with other areas of the city serve to limit the geographical mobility of urban Negroes. The geographical or physical isolation of Negro residence is related to diverse transportation problems, for example, a low rate of automobile ownership. The effect of inadequate transportation services is to minimize social interaction with whites and to restrict employment and income alternatives available to ghetto Negroes.

To illustrate differences in Negro and white travel behavior and to specify major barriers to spatial mobility among ghetto Negroes, Wheeler examined data collected in 1964 as part of the Tulsa Metropolitan Area Transportation Study. Several general inferences may be drawn from his analysis of travel behavior. First, the high mean distance traveled to work by Negroes was primarily attributable to the long trips made by Negro females, whose average work-trips were more than two miles greater than those of Negro males. Second, mean travel time to central business district workplaces was greater for Negroes than whites, despite the clustering of Negro residences near the central business district. Third, Wheeler's research provided evidence in support of a previous study which concluded that residents of the central cities of the twelve largest metropolitan areas "spend the longest time getting to work and back, because the closer one is to the center and the larger the urban area, the slower the travel speeds." 52

52 James N. Morgan cited by Ibid., p. 175.
One plausible explication for the travel differences between Negroes and whites may be the operation of the "forced mobility" concept associated with limited residential choice. That is to say, Negroes due to limited residential choice, may have to travel a considerable distance to reach their employment locations. However, "forced mobility" is primarily characteristic of Negro females, since Negro and white males revealed no significant difference in work-trip length. However, as the trend toward industrial decentralization continues, it appears that "forced mobility" will become "a greater factor in work-trips by Negro men, as it now is among Negro women." 53

53 Ibid., p, 177.
CHAPTER VI
Residential Segregation, Negro Employment and Industrial Decentralization

The empirical facts of suburbanization have been widely recognized by demographers and developers, planners and politicians. The shift in the location of population growth within metropolitan areas has been abundantly documented by urban theorists. For example, by 1966, as a result of the suburbanization of the white population, only 42.0 percent of urban whites remained in central cities. Among urban nonwhites, on the other hand, more than 82.0 percent lived in central cities in 1966.54

Less recognized, however, is the process of industrial and commercial decentralization which has had a transforming economic impact on both the level and the distribution of employment opportunities within metropolitan areas. The nation's suburbs have been the locus of a significant percentage of new metropolitan employment. In the suburban shift of the last two decades, 1950-1970, 80.0 percent of the new jobs created in the nation's large metropolitan areas have been located in their suburban rings.55 In some cases, the central cities of these metropolitan areas have experienced a net outflow of jobs.

Location economists have identified six factors which appear to be significant determinants of industrial location: (1) land costs, (2) local tax policies, (3) the location of the firm's markets, (4) the transfer cost structure, (5) local labor market characteristics, and (6) possible external economies. In the postwar period, the interaction of these factors has led to three quite discernible trends in industrial location. First, as indicated, there has been a decentralization of central-city economic activity due to population shifts and the search for lower labor costs. Second, there has been a tendency for middle-size cities to grow faster than the largest-size cities. This development is partially attributable to the desire to avoid large-city problems while maintaining an urban location. Third, there has been a tendency for suburban locations to be preferred over central city locations, apparently as a result of the preference for using large land tracts for plant construction, avoidance of the increasing traffic congestion and social unrest, and a desire for more attractive sites. Although some of the factors inducing the decentralization of economic activity are unclear, "...the post World War II period has witnessed a decline in the role of the central city as a situs of employment relative to the surrounding metropolitan ring."  

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To analyze the complex relationship between the metropolitan structure and Negro unemployment, it is necessary to focus on two elements: (1) the rapid dispersal of employment, particularly blue-collar employment, within metropolitan areas, and (2) the continued separation and isolation of Negro residences in rapidly growing central city ghettos.  

Metropolitan Employment Decentralization

Recent analysis of employment patterns in the twenty-five largest standard metropolitan statistical areas by Mooney investigated the decentralization of economic activity. In 1948, 67.8 percent of all jobs in these areas were located in the central city. By 1963, however, this percentage had declined to 59.2. During this period, 1948-1963, central city employment witnessed a substantial decline in every sector except selected services. The sharpest declines were recorded in the manufacturing sector (-338,952 jobs), traditionally one of high Negro employment, and in retail trade (-249,798 jobs). Conversely, in the fringe areas, the manufacturing sector (+958,458 jobs) and retail trade (+539,487 jobs) exhibited substantial gains in employment.

The two growing employment sectors (selected services, and finance, insurance and real estate) within or around these central cities tended to employ large numbers of females. And while the manufacturing sector

60Mooney, LXXXIII, pp. 299-311.
61Ibid., p. 301.
continued to be the largest employment sector for Negro males, it has also experienced the greatest absolute shift out of the central cities to the fringe areas. Thus, the rapidly changing composition of employment opportunities within central cities "bode(s) badly for the Negro male in the ghetto who aspires for a high-wage 'regular' blue-collar job." The projection is that if present trends continue, that is, if Negroes remain heavily concentrated within central cities:

it is likely that the Negro female will become even more important as an earner in the typical urban Negro family. The nature of the jobs remaining in America's cities tends to favor a female, Negro or white.63

On the basis of preliminary results from Mooney's decentralization model of employment patterns within the twenty-five largest SMSA's:

it might be concluded that although the geographic separation of the ghetto Negro from the burgeoning job areas in the fringe areas reduces to some extent his employment opportunities, aggregate demand conditions...play a more important role.64

Residential Segregation and Central City Employment Dispersal

The second factor in the relationship between the metropolitan structure and Negro unemployment concerns the geographical isolation of Negro residences in growing central city ghettos. A growing body of literature has indicated that residential segregation may adversely affect the economic opportunities of the Negro community. In this context, although

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62Ibid., p. 311.
63Ibid.
64Ibid., P. 309.
jobs may be available in employment centers far from the central city ghettos, Negroes "...either have inadequate information about them or are unwilling to pay the very large transportation costs (both in time and money) required to reach them."65

To investigate the relationship between metropolitan housing market segregation and the distribution and level of nonwhite employment, Kain66 employed multiple regression analysis based on employment location and residence location data obtained from home interview surveys of the Detroit Area Traffic Study in 1952 and the Chicago Area Traffic Study in 1956. Specifically, the three hypotheses evaluated in this study were that racial segregation in the housing markets (1) affects the distribution of Negro employment, and (2) reduces Negro employment opportunities, and that (3) the postwar suburbanization of employment has compounded the problem.

Tentative estimates of nonwhite job losses suggest that housing market segregation and discrimination may:

significantly affect the level of Negro employment in metropolitan areas. If this is true, it has grave welfare implications since the costs that housing segregation impose on Negroes may be even larger than is generally believed.67

Estimated Negro employment losses attributable to housing segregation range from 22,157 to 24,622 jobs in Chicago, and from 3,863 to 9,113 jobs

65Kain, XXXV, p. 80.


67Ibid., p. 190.
in Detroit. Moreover, on the basis of Negro employment locations and low-income white residential choice patterns, it has been tentatively estimated that as many as 40,000 Negro workers in Detroit and 112,000 Negro workers in Chicago would move out of central city ghettos in the absence of racial segregation. Empirical investigations into the postwar suburbanization of metropolitan employment indicated that this trend may be:

further undermining the position of the Negro, and that the continued high levels of Negro unemployment...may be partially attributable to the rapid and adverse (for the Negro) shifts in the location of jobs. 

It appears, therefore, that extensive growth of metropolitan areas and the postwar decentralization of central city employment, "accompanied by no reduction and perhaps even an increase in housing market segregation, may have placed the Negro job-seeker in an even more precarious position." 

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68Ibid., p. 189.  
69Persky and Kain, No. 14, p. 76.  
70Kain, LXXXII, p. 197.  
71Ibid., p. 196.
CHAPTER VII

Ghetto Labor Markets

One of the most important questions in labor economics concerns the impact that changes in employment opportunities have upon the rate and level of labor force participation. Although urban labor market studies were conducted, analyzed, and interpreted as early as 1940, in general, they were aggregate studies based on levels of employment and income for Negroes. Theoretical attention to the dynamics of ghetto labor market behavior has been strikingly incommensurate with the importance of these aspects of the metropolitan economy.

The continuous growth of Negro ghettos has distorted geographical employment patterns, promoting structural and behavioral differences among various groups in the urban labor market. The increasing geographical dispersion of employment throughout the metropolitan market has induced the emergence of a new class in the urban labor market whose members are "separated from the mainstream of economic activity by deficiencies in skill and education, pronounced gaps in the labor market information system and increased physical distance."72 The impact of geographical distance and residential segregation on employment opportunities for urban Negroes has already been discussed. The issue of deficiencies in skill and education among urban Negroes is entirely beyond the scope of

this paper, a subject more germane to human capital studies. Concern here lies in describing the level and distribution of labor force participation among urban Negroes and in the inadequacies of the urban labor market information system.

Metropolitan Labor Force Participation

Empirical research on the distribution of Negro employment in northern metropolitan areas has indicated that the proportion of Negroes in an area's work force is dependent upon that area's distance:

from the ghetto and the racial composition of the surrounding residential neighborhoods.

These distributional characteristics also affect the level of Negro employment.73

Significantly, the emerging study of urban labor markets has shown that labor force participation varies inversely with the proportion of non-whites in the urban labor force population. Studying labor force participation rates in 525 low-income tracts in twenty-eight cities, Parker and Shaw74 found that among males fourteen years and over, discouraged workers were more likely to be found in lower-income areas and the "sensitivity to economic factors is relatively pervasive for low and middle income males throughout these metropolitan areas."75 On the other hand, among females fourteen years and over, there was evidence of a :

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73 Persky and Kain, No. 14, p. 78.
74 Parker and Shaw, XXXIV, pp. 538-47.
75 Ibid., p. 542.
strong negative relationship...between female labor force participation and the two unemployment rate variables. The female SMSA unemployment rate stands primarily for labor market conditions or opportunities in the metropolitan area.

The implication derived from the Parker-Shaw study is that metropolitan areas should "be viewed fundamentally as a series of submarkets that are conveniently but at times misleadingly aggregated to one market at the SMSA level."^77

Racial Differences in Migration and Job Search

Labor mobility studies have established that the job search process plays an especially critical role in obtaining employment in the ghetto labor market. The method, and ultimately, the success of the job search depends on the "migratory status of the worker, particularly whether he is a new arrival from a distant and diverse labor market or whether he is a long term resident of the area."^78 In addition, success in job search depends on knowledge about several factors, for example, knowledge about the labor market and about job vacancies. Examining the job search process in Middletown, Connecticut, Lurie and Rayack^79 determined that length of residence or employment in a labor market is positively related to the amount of information the worker is likely to have about

^76Ibid., p. 543.
^77Ibid., p. 547, emphasis added.
^79Ibid.
employment opportunities in that market. However, even if residence or employment is the same, the white worker tends to have:

more knowledge about the job market than the Negro worker. Besides overt racial discrimination in hiring practices, there exists a more subtle form of discrimination—the white worker, even when his skill and ability are no greater than that of the nonwhite, is favored with a significant initial competitive advantage as he has access to more and better information concerning jobs.

Characteristically, the job search process for both whites and nonwhites involves formal and informal mechanisms. Formal search consists of measures such as public and private employment services, newspaper advertisements, and unions. Informal search, on the other hand, consists of information supplied by friends and relatives or in direct application at the plant gate. Although many Negroes have succeeded in securing employment through private institutional intermediaries, in general:

Negroes use such services less frequently than whites. This is of some consequence, for the better jobs in a labor market are filled through institutional intermediaries, particularly the private employment service and the union; the less than full use of these job services by Negroes probably results in underemployment.

Data from the Lurie-Rayack study confirmed the theorem that the majority of American workers, white and nonwhite, have found their present jobs through friends or relatives, or by applying directly to the firm. One

\[80\text{Ibid., p. 86.}\]
\[81\text{Ibid., p. 87.}\]
explanation, therefore, for the relatively higher level of unemployment among urban Negroes may lie in the "less adequate sources of job information--in terms of both number and quality of sources--available to them than to whites of comparable skills." The job-seeking Negro must, then, rely on contacts concentrated in the lower-status, less remunerative occupations; and the dependence of urban Negroes upon the type of information available from friends or relatives "tends to perpetuate the existing patterns of employment."

Although the Lurie-Rayack study apparently surveyed only those labor force participants who had successfully used job search methods, recent empirical work based on a sample survey in a ghetto area in Philadelphia included responses from both participants and non-participants in the metropolitan labor force. This study found that informal search methods continued to be the primary devices through which whites and nonwhites obtain employment. Of great interest, however, is the finding that Negroes are now making greater use of traditionally white channels of employment such as unions and want ads. Nonetheless, data from the Philadelphia study attested to the fact that private employment agencies continue to be white channels to employment.

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82 Ibid., p. 92.
83 Ibid.
attempts to influence industrial decision-makers, through a variety of subsidies and tax credits, to locate in close proximity to low-income residential areas, presumably minimizing transportation difficulties and simplifying the job search process for ghetto residents. Adherents of the industrial location incentive approach have argued that such mechanisms as accelerated depreciation allowances and investment tax credits are ineffective in stimulating new employment opportunities for the hard-core unemployed.

The first deficiency of such a proposal concerns the issue of economic costs. By subsidizing firms indiscriminately, the location incentive approach "...calls for a non-optimal spatial allocation of resources, ...offering pecuniary gains to many firms that may not be desired and to others which need not act any differently than they would in the absence of the subside."85 And although the needed cost-benefit analyses have yet to be completed, the proposal does not appear to be desirable on cost-effectiveness grounds, for private industry cannot "significantly reduce urban unemployment without a sharp increase in costs, with a consequent reduction in profits."86

A second disadvantage of this approach is related to the issue of social costs. It is likely that, by increasing real estate prices and traffic congestion, and by creating an undesirable commercial-industrial mix, the proposal may have decidedly adverse effects on the ghetto


community which may not be outweighed by the apparent advantage of the additional employment opportunities in urban poverty areas. A further social disadvantage is that such a proposal would perpetuate, and perhaps intensify, already rigid patterns of racial residential segregation in urban areas.

Although there is general agreement among manpower strategists that this form of job creation might initially succeed in reducing Negro unemployment, it is expected that such a proposal would eventually affect the linkage between the black Northern ghettos and the rate of Negro in-migration from the South. There is evidence to indicate that this system will respond "to any sudden changes in employment and income opportunities in northern ghettos.... Indeed it is possible that more than one migrant would appear in the ghetto for every job created."87 Although the concept of the elasticity of migration has not been adequately researched, available evidence indicates that migration and employment growth are causally related. That is to say, in-migration appears:

- to induce an increase in employment almost proportionate to its expected increase in the city's labor force. Just as clearly, employment tends to induce in-migration, though the latter effect is quantitatively smaller.88

It is suggested, therefore, that the economic and social appeal of the location incentive approach is largely illusory, although this is not meant to deny its considerable political appeal.

87 Persky and Kain, No. 14, p. 82.
Migration of Negro Families to Satellite Cities

Another scheme which purports to alleviate present ghetto conditions is migration of Negro families to satellite cities. Central to this view is the contention that the high costs of suburban residence and the continued animus of most white suburban communities to the entry of non-whites preclude the decentralization of the Negro population. The assumption underlying the satellite-migration strategy is that increased information—supposedly available to residents of satellite cities—concerning education, employment, and housing would present an alternative to ghetto residents "whereby some of them might choose residence in a satellite city rather than move a few blocks within the city to much the same kind of situation." 

Lurie and Rayack, the originators of this scheme, acknowledge that they have no illusions about racial discrimination and prejudice among white residents of satellite cities, yet at the same time maintain that:

> economic factors seem to make residence in satellite cities not only feasible but desirable as an alternative to the suburban migration suggested by others as a solution to the problems currently confronting the Negro central city family.

The assertion that Negro migration to satellite cities would measurably improve present ghetto conditions is specious. This proposal, based on

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90 Ibid., p. 195.

91 Ibid.
allegedly greater employment opportunities for Negro females, may, in fact, reinforce the matrifocal\(^2\) structure of the Negro family. If this is the case, then the proposal would be "undesirable on sociological grounds, because this structure has psychologically emasculated the Negro male and consequently undermined the stability and viability of the Negro family unit."\(^3\)

\(^2\) For an enlightening discussion of this concept, see David A. Schulz, "Variations in the Father Role in Complete Families of the Negro Lower Class," Social Science Quarterly, 49, No. 3 (December, 1968), pp. 651-59.

CHAPTER IX

Some Implications for Public Policy

Despite the preliminary character of some of the findings reviewed in this paper, it may be useful to advance some policy implications. Evaluation of the existing evidence strongly suggests that greater consideration should be given to an enrichment-plus-dispersal strategy. In this context, efforts to improve the quality of life in the black northern ghettos would be continued. Yet the formulation of intelligent social policy requires a recognition of the linkage between ghetto-enrichment programs and the role of Negro in-migration to northern metropolitan areas. It appears, therefore, that the desirable economic policy might be one which would promote economic development in northern ghettos concomitant with expansion of total employment in the Deep South, hopefully lessening or perhaps even arresting the Negro migration streams to these same ghettos.94 A developmental policy of southern economic development is:

worthwhile in its own right as a cure to a century of imbalance in the distribution of economic activity in the nation. From the narrow viewpoint of the North, however, the economic development of the South can play a crucial role in providing leverage in the handling of metropolitan problems.95

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95 Persky and Kain, No. 14, p. 84,
One should take cognizance of the fact that housing integration and dispersal of the Negro ghettos are not synonymous. As Persky and Kain have stated, "many of the disadvantages of massive, central ghettos would be overcome if they were replaced or even augmented by smaller, dispersed Negro communities." For example, although there is a paucity of data available on the number of unfilled jobs in suburban areas, examination of various census publications, particularly County Business Patterns, and Census of Manufactures, reveals that many new employment opportunities in suburban areas exist in blue-collar occupations and at skilled and semi-skilled levels. Indeed, there is substantial evidence to indicate that employment gains from dispersal might be expected in the craftsmen and foremen, operatives, and laborers occupational groups. As an alternative to ghetto job creation, it is suggested that a flexible wage subsidy scheme, based on hiring the long-term unemployed by suburban employers, be extended consideration.

A further implication for public policy concerns the feasibility of desegregation. A review of the literature on desegregation evidences variegated data, making prediction in this volatile area of the American experience problematic. For example, Schermer has calculated that desegregation in Philadelphia by the year 2000 would require a forty-year (1960-2000) flow of 5,000 Negro families per year into the suburbs with

96Ibid., p. 80, emphasis added.
98Kain, XXXV, pp. 82-83.
a counterflow of 2,500 to 3,000 white families per year into existing ghettos areas.

The magnitude of these estimates suggests that desegregation in major metropolitan areas will not be easily attained nor should it be considered a short-term goal. On the basis of existing evidence, the efficacy of the "bring-back" theory itself appears questionable since policies designed to check the rate of white out-migration from central cities to suburban areas may have adverse effects on the Negro community. Empirical verification of this view is provided by the work of Haugen and Heins. Examining 82 SMSA's whose populations were in excess of 250,000 in 1960, these analysts found that:

in the absence of policies that would provide substantial outlets for population migration from ghettos, policies of encouraging whites to remain in the center city may tend to increase economic differentials between the white and Negro areas of the city.¹⁰⁰

Assuming that an affirmative policy of desegregation is considered desirable as a long-range objective, what is the feasibility for desegregation in the portion of the housing supply which is affordable to working-class Negroes? This group may be defined as those Negro households with annual family incomes between $3,000 and $6,000. In 1960, these households represented 40.0 percent of all Negro households in the large, northern metropolitan areas.¹⁰¹ An empirical study of the desegregation potential, based on data for eleven of the twelve largest metropolitan

¹⁰⁰Haugen and Heins, LXXXIII, p. 670.
¹⁰¹Langendorf, XXXV, p. 92.
areas, has indicated that there is "a much greater supply of low- and lower-middle-income housing outside the central city than is usually as-
sumed. Many working-class Negroes, today, have the economic capacity to
locate in suburban housing." Ample research has shown that rent sup-
plements can be an effective tool of housing policy. As flexible instru-
ments, rent supplements could provide "a least-cost means of achieving
these objectives with minimum social cost to the low-income families that
might be affected by any program to improve the urban environment." Systematic observation and evaluation of an experimental rent subsidy
over a three-year period (1964-1967) in Boston disclosed that the subsidy
"...met its objective of providing sound, attractive housing to low-income families without major difficulties and at moderate cost." Contemporary study of the achievement of economically unsegregated housing in four cities, Chicago, Detroit, Kalamazoo, and Rochester, sug-
gests that estimated maximum relocations would involve from 51.8 percent
to 71.7 percent of nonwhite households. The associated relocations of
white households range between 1.9 percent and 17.5 percent. Given
the high rates of residential-mobility, traditionally between 20.0 to
25.0 percent annually for nonwhite households and slightly less than 20.0

102 Ibid., p. 94.
104 Charles Tilly and Joe Feagin, "Boston's Experiment With Rent Sub-
106 Ibid., P. 273.
percent for white households, it is estimated that:

only a few years of directed relocation would be needed to achieve less segregated housing patterns... The problem in a narrow technical sense is to distribute moving nonwhite and white households more widely in the community.¹⁰⁷

From a planning perspective, however, it appears likely that, if the residential choice patterns of other ethnic groups are any guide, "many Negroes will choose to live among their own 'kind' even after they have formally free choice of housing."¹⁰⁸ Thus, the prospect of an affirmative policy of desegregation, that is, segregated-dispersal, is not unanticipative. Nor is such a development to be discouraged, for as Morill has suggested, "...the spatial arrangement that permits the largest stable proportion of nonwhites has been found to be a cluster pattern--small, compact colonies of a few houses--rather than dispersed isolates."¹⁰⁹ An effective enrichment-plus-dispersal strategy, it is felt, will "create an enormous improvement in the real freedom of residential choice enjoyed by individual Negro families. This will be true even if most of those families actually choose to remain in Negro clusters."¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷Ibid., p. 274.
¹⁰⁹Morill, 55, p. 361.
¹¹⁰Downs, "Alternative Futures for the American Ghettos," p. 49.
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