

**CHARACTER AND IMPLICATIONS
OF NEGRO MIGRATION FROM
THE SOUTH**

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OF NEGRO MIGRATION FROM
THE SOUTH

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Austin Peay State University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Grace Lanier Brewer

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ABSTRACT

As Adlai Stevenson once expressed it, "The race problem is an American, not a southern dilemma.... Before we cast a stone at Alabama, it might be well for those of us who live in some of the great northern states to ask ourselves in candor how the Negro is faring in our own communities... Racial discrimination in some degree is still a fact of life for the great majority of our Negro citizens who live outside the South."¹ Stevenson was stating his views regarding one of the most important aspects of contemporary American history. The migration of the Negro from the southern states of Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, and the cotton-producing areas of the Upper South has been of fundamental significance with regard to the race issue. The implications of this mass movement have affected every aspect of American life--socially, economically, and politically. Thus, this hegira has had a tremendous impact on the contemporary American mentality. The new militant attitude of many Negro

¹"Is Race Friction in the North being Fully Reported," U.S. News and World Report, XL (March 23, 1956), pp. 48-50.

leaders has brought the issue to the forefront for American authors, journalist, sociologist, psychologists, and students of recent American history. The major focus of those studying the problem has been on conditions which led to migration, problems faced by a rural Negro in an urban environment, discriminatory practices of both North and South, and political implications of this shift in the racial balance.

This migration toward greater economic opportunity has been one of the most extensive population movements of modern times. Hodding Carter III in his article, "The Negro Exodus from the Delta Continues," called it "one of the great unsung sagas of human history." Involving the uprooting of more people in a shorter period of time than almost any peacetime migration known to man,² this hegira is a vast demographic transfer that has changed the course of American history. It is a trend that has become a part of the popular conscience long after its initial impetus. This is indicated by the paucity of newspaper and periodical articles before 1960 dealing with this exodus of the Negro from the rural South to urban ghettos of the North and West.

²Hodding Carter III, "The Negro Exodus from the Delta Continues, "New York Times (March 10, 1968), pp. 26-27.

The movement has paralleled industrialization and mechanization of farming in the South, which displaced many Negro workers as machines replaced manpower. The hegira began in the first decade of the twentieth century when depredations of the boll weevil drove thousands of workers off the cotton farms. Non-whites were attracted to the northern cities by the expanded need for industrial labor. The agricultural depression of the late twenties and thirties stimulated this movement. Southern Negroes thus responded to the economic pull of northern industrial centers as they were simultaneously displaced by mechanization and depression of farming in the South.

This exodus from the South has had important implications with regard to the ubiquitous Negro problem in the United States. With redistribution of the Negro, the southern race problem has become national in scope. The historical focus on the South has now shifted to the North and West. The migration of millions of Delta and deep south Negroes, their influx into the teeming ghettos of northern and western cities, and the spectacle of their discontent over their new surroundings has broadened the scope, complexity, and focus of the race issue. Because northern liberals have been forced to divert an increasing proportion of their attention to racial problems in the northern cities, the

southern image as a symbol of racial intolerance and prejudice has declined somewhat, and is now being shared with the nation at large. De facto segregation, housing problems, the prevalent black belt characteristic of northern and western metropolitan areas, and racial conflicts are embarrassing evidence of a universal prejudice which can no longer be ignored. Large cities throughout the land are faced with racial problems equally as serious as any the South has ever experienced. Furthermore, Negro migrants have discovered that discrimination is more than a southern provincialism, and the North is finding it increasingly difficult to dictate how southern race relations should be conducted.

This study will deal with the various aspects of Negro emigration from the South and the problems created by their influx into metropolitan areas of the North and West. Included will be a survey of major causes of the non-white migration from its rural southern environment, states experiencing the greatest non-white out-migration and statistics supporting this aspect of the problem. Also included will be a discussion of major migratory streams as well as changes in the migratory patterns. The study will attempt to determine the common characteristics of those who migrate such as age and socio-economic level, and finally, will deal with problems encountered and created by this hegira as well

as national implications of this mass movement. Emphasis will be on important trends manifested in the decades of the 1950's and 1960's.

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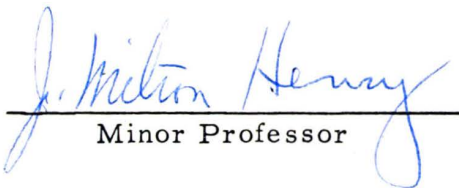
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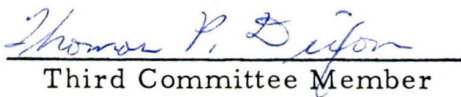
To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a Thesis written by Grace Lanier Brewer entitled "Character and Implications of Negro Migration from the South." I recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.


Major Professor

We have read this thesis and
recommend its acceptance:


Minor Professor


Third Committee Member

Accepted for the Council:


Dean of the Graduate School

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INTRODUCTION

As Adlai Stevenson once expressed it, "The race problem is an American, not a southern dilemma.... Before we cast a stone at Alabama, it might be well for those of us who live in some of the great northern states to ask ourselves in candor how the Negro is faring in our own communities... Racial discrimination in some degree is still a fact of life for the great majority of our Negro citizens who live outside the South."¹ Stevenson was stating his views regarding one of the most important aspects of contemporary American history. The migration of the Negro from the southern states of Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, and the cotton-producing areas of the Upper South has been of fundamental significance with regard to the race issue. The implications of this mass movement have affected every aspect of American life--socially, economically, and politically. Thus, this hegira has had a tremendous impact on the contemporary American mentality. The new militant attitude of many Negro

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This migration toward greater economic opportunity has been one of the most extensive population movements of modern times. Hodding Carter III in his article, "The Negro Exodus from the Delta Continues," called it "one of the great unsung sagas of human history." Involving the uprooting of more people in a shorter period of time than almost any peacetime migration known to man,² this hegira is a vast demographic transfer that has changed the course of American history. It is a trend that has become a part of the popular conscience long after its initial impetus. This is indicated by the paucity of newspaper and periodical articles before 1960 dealing with this exodus of the Negro from the rural South to urban ghettos of the North and West.

²Hodding Carter III, "The Negro Exodus from the Delta Continues," New York Times (March 10, 1968), pp. 26-27.

The movement has paralleled industrialization and mechanization of farming in the South, which displaced many Negro workers as machines replaced manpower. The hegira began in the first decade of the twentieth century when depredations of the boll weevil drove thousands of workers off the cotton farms. Non-whites were attracted to the northern cities by the expanded need for industrial labor. The agricultural depression of the late twenties and thirties stimulated this movement. Southern Negroes thus responded to the economic pull of northern industrial centers as they were simultaneously displaced by mechanization and depression of farming in the South.

This exodus from the South has had important implications with regard to the ubiquitous Negro problem in the United States. With redistribution of the Negro, the southern race problem has become national in scope. The historical focus on the South has now shifted to the North and West. The migration of millions of Delta and deep south Negroes, their influx into the teeming ghettos of northern and western cities, and the spectacle of their discontent over their new surroundings has broadened the scope, complexity, and focus of the race issue. Because northern liberals have been forced to divert an increasing proportion of their attention to racial problems in the northern cities, the

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This study will deal with the various aspects of Negro emigration from the South and the problems created by their influx into metropolitan areas of the North and West. Included will be a survey of major causes of the non-white migration from its rural southern environment, states experiencing the greatest non-white out-migration and statistics supporting this aspect of the problem. Also included will be a discussion of major migratory streams as well as changes in the migratory patterns. The study will attempt to determine the common characteristics of those who migrate such as age and socio-economic level, and finally, will deal with problems encountered and created by this hegira as well

as national implications of this mass movement. Emphasis will be on important trends manifested in the decades of the 1950's and 1960's.

I. WHY THE NEGRO LEAVES THE SOUTH

Areas in the South with the greatest concentration of Negroes and the lowest measures of human well-being have been those with the heaviest rates of emigration. The reasons for their leaving this geographic area have included low wages for farm laborers, poor housing, bad working conditions on farms, poor educational facilities, and inequality in law enforcement. Declining farm employment and racial and educational barriers preventing them from finding other forms of employment also have been significant factors in the decision of non-whites to migrate.³

Thus, the two most basic causes of this farm-to-city diaspora have been the industrial revolution in agriculture and the corollary emergence of better economic opportunities outside the South. The initial demand for workers in industrial areas coincided with depression in agriculture throughout the cotton belt. Furthermore, increasing use of tractors and other labor-saving devices made apparent the advent of mechanization in agriculture and aggravated the rapidly declining demand for manual labor caused by the

³Dorothy K. Newman, "The Negro's Journey to the City-- Part II," Monthly Labor Review, LXXXVIII, (July, 1965), p. 647; "Why Negroes Move North," Fortune, LXXVIII, (August, 1968), pp. 82-83.

depression. The Negroes responded to the economic pull of the urban areas as they were simultaneously displaced by mechanization and depression on the southern farm.⁴

In the past decade, this industrialization and mechanization of farming has become prevalent. On the cotton plantations, tobacco lands, and in the cornfields, machinery has steadily replaced thousands of hired hands and sharecroppers. As large farmers have become more efficient, the small white and Negro farmers and sharecroppers have been forced to abandon their land. Lack of sufficient capital or knowledge to compete with their large neighbors, and resulting inability to switch to more profitable methods of farming have made this inevitable. Forced to leave the shacks that were once their homes, Negro farmers and sharecroppers have taken to the road each year in increasing numbers. Sometimes they have moved to small towns in the South; sometimes they have gone to large southern cities such as Atlanta, Memphis, and Birmingham. Even here they have faced tremendous hardship and in some black neighborhoods of New Orleans, unemployment has been as high as 47 percent. More often, these sharecroppers have migrated north, "where there is

⁴ "Negroes Leaving Farms in South," New York Times, November 22, 1966, p. 137; St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Clayton, Black Metropolis (New York, 1945), pp. 3-213.

at least a chance of a job, no men in hoods ride the streets, and there is a welfare payment to keep the migrant alive."⁵ Many feel that as bad as the northern slum is, it is better than what they have left behind. Moreover, southern Negroes have always been primarily sharecroppers or tenant farmers with the least hold on the land, therefore, the most willing to leave. For this reason, the decline of Negro farmers during the decades of 1950 and 1960 has been twice as great as that of white farmers.⁶ This combination of factors has influenced Negro migration from the area, and southern farming has shown a tendency gradually to become an all-white occupation.

The malaise of the rural South and resulting migration can also be understood in light of government policies and programs devised by the agricultural committees in Congress in which southerners allegedly have had the dominant voice. Encouraged and financially aided by the Department of Agriculture, southern farmers have utilized modern techniques that have raised the productivity of both labor and land. But the resulting abundance of crops has led to surpluses for which there has been no demand.

⁵Roger Beardwood, "The Southern Roots of Urban Crisis," Fortune, LXXII (August, 1968) pp. 82-83; "Eviction of Negro Sharecroppers Is Cited in Ghetto Growth," New York Times, May 24, 1966, p. 18.

⁶"Negroes Leaving Farms in South," New York Times, November 22, 1966, p. 137.

To combat over-production, the Department of Agriculture has had to pay farmers to reduce cultivation. The land cultivated needs less labor each year, and land taken out of production needs almost none. These policies have tremendously benefited the large farmers and consumers. They have raised efficiency and kept prices stable, and have enabled the nation to conserve arable land. For hired hands and sharecroppers, however, this agricultural revolution has created a dual problem. First, there is less work each year, and second, excess labor has led to low wages.⁷

Between 1950 and 1960, 493,000 Negroes lost jobs in southern agriculture. Within the next seven years, it has been estimated that another quarter of a million people, both black and white, will be thrown out of work. This collision with agricultural economics has been disastrous for the Negro and has speeded migration to urban ghetto areas. The United States Agriculture Department estimated the income of the average Negro farm worker in 1964 and found that non-white tenant farmers and sharecroppers in the sixteen southern states worked seventy-seven days a year and earned only \$353.00. Most of them also spent twenty-four days at non-farming jobs

⁷Beardwood, pp. 82-83; Walter Rugaber, "In the Delta, Poverty is a Way of Life," New York Times, July 31, 1967, p. 1.

including domestic work, gardening, and hard labor. They earned an additional \$150.00 in non-farming jobs bringing their total annual income to a mere \$503.00.⁸

There was also wide variation in wages in 1964. The average sharecropper earned \$.65 an hour in South Carolina and \$.99 in Florida. In some states, farm laborers were still earning less than \$.65 an hour in 1968. The 1966 median income for a Negro family in the sixteen southern states and Washington, D. C., was \$3,422.00. In other sections of the United States, the median income was \$5,746.00 a year.⁹ This southern income lag was also an important factor in the decision of these people to leave the South in search of greater economic opportunity.

Many southern Negroes are chronically hungry. A survey financed by churches and private foundations discovered 235 "emergency hunger counties" in the South with a total population, black and white, of almost five million. There is a heavy concentration of Negroes in most of these counties; in some, the children are literally starving, according to Roger Beardwood, whose study was published in the August, 1968, issue of Fortune magazine. Three of four houses occupied by Negroes in small

⁸Beardwood, pp. 82-83.

⁹Ibid., pp. 82-83.

towns and rural areas of the South are without basic facilities and are classified as dilapidated. In the large cities of the North and West only 15 percent of the housing facilities are in such condition.¹⁰

The typical three-room sharecropper's shack is an unstable structure of unpainted boards sometimes covered with asphalt sheeting. It is occupied by a family of five, six, and sometimes twelve members. The inside walls are covered with magazines and newspapers. There is no electricity or running water. Heat is provided by a stove or fireplace. The yard is littered with debris, auto parts, tin cans, and cast-off furniture. A shallow well pump or rain barrel provides the water supply.¹¹

The southern educational system as a cause of migration should also be considered, for it has allegedly left 33.5 percent of all adult Negroes illiterate and consequently, practically unemployable. In the rest of the nation, the illiteracy figure for Negroes averages 23.4 percent.¹² Better educational opportunities elsewhere have further motivated non-white emigration from the South. In some cases, this has been a principal factor in the decision to move to other areas.

¹⁰Alan Batchelder, "Poverty, the Special Case of the Negro," New York Times, July 31, 1967, p. 7.

¹¹Ibid., p. 7.

¹²Carter, pp. 26-27.

Thus, the Negro is confronted by many barriers in the South such as racial discrimination, poverty, segregated schools, widespread unemployment, and hunger. These problems are particularly prevalent among the unskilled farm workers in the Delta region of the Mississippi, and have caused thousands of Negroes to move from this area to the northern ghettos. Between 1950 and 1960, eighteen counties of the Delta, where the great concentration of Mississippi Negroes live, experienced a net loss of 200,000 non-whites. Between 1960 and 1965, 35,000 Negroes emigrated from the area.¹³

As in other areas of the South, mechanization has been the principal protagonist in the economic set-back of the Mississippi Negro sharecropper and in his decision to migrate. In 1953, only 14 percent of the Delta's crops were picked by machine. Within ten years, however, the revolution in farming had become firmly rooted in this area. The result was a tremendous surplus in cotton, and in 1966, the government cut the state's cotton allotment by 30 percent. The peak work season had dropped from more than 120 days in the fifties to less than thirty days by 1965. Mechanization, by 1966, had cut the required man hours per acre to less than thirty-five hours which was far below the 165 hours once needed by men and mules to harvest the cotton. By 1967, more than 90 percent

¹³Carter, pp. 26-27, "Eviction of Sharecroppers," New York Times, May 24, 1966, p. 18.

of the crops were picked by machine.¹⁴

The minimum wage law which took effect in February, 1966, was another factor which speeded non-white emigration from the South. A farmer who had hired more than 500 man-days of labor during any calendar quarter of 1966 was required to pay his workers one dollar an hour. Previously, the average had been three dollars a day. The demand for seasonal labor, following enactment of this Federal legislation, promptly collapsed. It became much more difficult to find a job. Walter Rugaber, journalist for the New York Times hoped that industrial expansion would absorb jobless Negroes, but went on to observe that even an entire decade's increase in industry would be insufficient compensation for current job dislocation.¹⁵

Seasonal unemployment has also played an important role in the Negro exodus from Mississippi. February is the monsoon month. The best times are never financially good for a farm worker whose earnings average no more than three dollars a day. There is no work during this season, and there are no tiding-over provisions made for unwanted humanity. Farmers once advanced credit during the winter months to insure an adequate labor supply in the spring.

¹⁴Rugaber, p. 1; Batchelder, p. 7.

¹⁵Rugaber, p. 1.

However, there is no longer much prospect of labor in the spring for those who once worked the soil. Tractors, cultivators, pickers, tanks of chemical fertilizer and herbicides have made labor superfluous. The minimum wage law has merely hastened an irrevocable and far advanced process.¹⁶ This knowledge, coupled with the hardships of the winter months, augment and accelerate the hegira.

Most of these non-whites realize that nothing awaits them in the North or West. They know that the urban area to which they migrate is no mecca. Most arrive penniless. Many are illiterate. Few have trades or skills that command more than a minimum wage. Some will search in vain for work, yet they continue to migrate. Jobs are hard to find in New York, Chicago, or Detroit, but there is no work at home in the South either.¹⁷

The rapidly changing occupational composition of the southern Negro can also be seen as a determining factor in his decision to move from a rural to an urban environment. Between 1950 and 1960, the number of Negroes employed decreased by 4.3 percent. However, the non-white population increased during this same period by 7.7 percent. The number of Negro males employed

¹⁶Carter, pp. 26-27.

¹⁷ Beardwood, pp. 82-85.

declined 13.8 percent.¹⁸

The sharp decline in agricultural employment, followed by no parallel broadening of job opportunities, forced non-whites to look elsewhere for work. Some were able to upgrade their employment opportunities within the South. However, progress was minimal. In 1950, 4.8 percent of the Negro males were employed in white-collar jobs. By 1960, the percentage had increased only to 6.8. The white-collar employment for Negro females also showed no more than a minimal change. In 1960, 11.3 percent of Negro females were employed in white collar occupations, an increase from 9.7 percent in 1950. More than two-thirds of the non-white females were employed either as private household workers or as service workers.¹⁹

Thus, in spite of the changed character of Negro employment in the South, the result of declining farm jobs, little progress was made. Sharecroppers disappeared, but job opportunities in other areas did not absorb this element of the non-white working force. The Negro was forced to search for other forms of employment in areas outside the South.

¹⁸Selz B. Mayo and C. Horace Hamilton, "The Rural Negro Population of the South in Transition," Phylon, XXIV (Summer, 1963), pp. 160-171.

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 160-170.

Selz B. Mayo, chairman of the department of rural sociology at North Carolina State College, stated in July of 1968 that he expected another major wave of off-farm migration within the next five years because of the rapidly declining demand in the area of agricultural employment. He went on to say that within ten years no Negroes would remain on southern farms. Other farm experts have predicted that the majority of Negroes in the southern border states would also look elsewhere for employment.²⁰ There has been much disagreement with regard to this aspect of the hegira, however. If sufficient employment opportunities developed in the South and in the southern border states, this would, perhaps, stem the non-white exodus significantly. However, many sociologists have stated that the redistribution of the Negro within the southern states is merely a transitory phenomenon, to be followed by a later migration to other areas of the United States because non-agricultural employment opportunities in the South have been so limited.

This exodus has been termed one of the most important demographic events of mid-century, yet leaving his southern rural environment is a clandestine operation for the Negro. When he leaves, it is sudden and secret. He usually goes

²⁰Ibid., pp. 160-171.

unannounced as a final gesture of rebellion and fear of southern institutions and mores. The families themselves seldom know when they will go until the moment for departure comes. Departure is often dependent on the car of a visiting relative. The times of greatest population loss in the South are usually holidays or long weekends when city relatives can make the long trip down from the North. Often, bus tickets are sent by some member of the family already in the city. A mother may take her youngest child to "visit her sick aunt in the city," where she then finds a job and sends tickets to her husband and other children. The final decision to leave is the logical outcome of the varied factors involved. However, these factors do not explain the bitter emotion of those who have left or plan to leave.²¹

Census statistics have revealed the extent of this major movement of the United States Negro which has taken place during the first six decades of the twentieth century. The Negro problem today has stemmed from this continuing massive shift of the non-whites from the rural South to the central areas of northern and western metropolitan areas.²² In 1910, 90 percent of the American

²¹Ben H. Bagdikian, "The Black Immigrant," Saturday Evening Post, CCXL (July 15, 1967), pp. 25-29; Carter, p. 1.

²²Lester A. Sobel, ed., Civil Rights, 1960-66 (New York, 1967), pp. 6-17; "The Negro Problem at a Glance," U. S. News and World Report, LXIV (June 10, 1968), pp. 62-63.

Negroes lived in the eleven former Confederate states of the Old South. By August of 1968, this percentage had declined to just under 50 percent. During this period, the United States Negro population increased at a greater rate than the general population. In 1900, the country's 8,833,944 Negroes comprised 8.5 percent of the total population of 75,995,575. By 1960, the non-white population had increased to 18,871,831, comprising 9.5 percent of the United States population of 179,323,175. Despite the proportionate increase in the total Negro population, the percentage of Negroes in the South declined in this sixty-year period as a result of migration.²³

During World War I, the Negro population received its first major impetus. The war, which drastically reduced the flow of European immigrants who had traditionally provided cheap, unskilled labor for the North, produced a need for Negro labor in northern cities. This great hegira continued during the 1920's as a result of the continued labor shortage produced by restrictive legislation which atrophied the flow of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. By 1940, the Negro population in the southern states had increased only 12 percent. In the same

²³Charles E. Silberman, "The City and the Negro," Fortune, LXV (March, 1962), pp. 88-91; Sobel, pp. 6-17; Beardwood, pp 82-85.

period, the non-white population in other areas of the United States had more than doubled.²⁴

Migration, inhibited by the depression of the 1930's, accelerated again during World War II, and has continued with increasing momentum during subsequent decades. Between 1940 and 1960, the Negro population in northern and western cities more than doubled, from four million to more than nine million, or 48 percent of the entire Negro population. On the other hand, it grew only 9 percent in the eleven southern states. From 1910 to 1960, the Negro population increased 92 percent but less than three percent of the increase took place in the five southern states which had the largest non-white population in 1910. Almost one-half of the increase occurred in the central cities of the twelve largest metropolitan areas: New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, San Francisco, Oakland, Boston, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Washington, Cleveland, and Baltimore. These cities, by 1962, held 31 percent of all the nation's Negroes.²⁵ The significance of this hegira has been further emphasized by a comparison of the Negro population growth between 1940 and 1966.

²⁴Silberman, pp. 88-91.

²⁵Ibid., pp. 88-91.

In 1940, 8.9 million Negroes, or 69 percent of the black population resided in the South. Negroes in other areas numbered 3.9 million, or 31 percent of the population. In 1966, 10.1 million Negroes, 47 percent of the black population, lived in the South. More than eleven million, or 53 percent of the population resided in northern and western metropolitan areas.²⁶ According to these figures, the Negro population increased from 12.8 million to 21.4 million, yet the Negro population in southern states only increased 1.3 percent between 1940 and 1966. By 1968, 3,500,000 Negroes had left their rural southern environment. In 1940, 77 percent of all Negroes lived in the South. Since then, the number has declined by 37 percentage points.²⁷

Migration statistics of the 1950's and 1960's reveal important trends in this redistribution of the non-white population. Between 1950 and 1960, net out-migration totaled 1,457,000. The average annual rate reached 145,700. From 1960 to 1963, the rate slowed down temporarily and the average out-migration was only 78,000.

²⁶"Negro Problem," U.S. News and World Report, LXIV (June 10, 1968), pp. 62-63.

²⁷"Negroes Continue to Migrate," New York Times, July 19, 1968, p. 1; Beardwood, pp. 82-83.

However, the 1963 to 1966 period saw a more rapid exodus with the annual average estimated at 125,000.²⁸ Continued mechanization of agriculture in the South sustained this movement.

Negro exodus in the late 1950's was most pronounced in the former plantation states of the Deep South, where fifty years before, some farm counties had nine Negroes to every white resident. The states with the largest non-white emigration included Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Georgia. Other southern states recording a decline in the growth of Negro population included Louisiana and the cotton producing areas of the Upper South. In many cases, this preponderance was reduced by more than half. For example, a large plantation in the Mississippi Delta lost 56 percent of its Negro working force in twelve years. A county in Alabama saw one-fourth of its Negroes vanish in a decade.²⁹ Of fifteen million Negroes in the United States in 1955, 60 percent were still in the South, although this section comprised less than one-third of the territory and population of the country. The four northern cities with the largest Negro population included

²⁸Report of the National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorder, II, (March 2, 1968), pp. 1-31.

²⁹Sobel, p. 80; "The Change in Industrial America," U. S. News and World Report, XL (January 27, 1956), pp. 48-49.

New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Detroit. The greatest concentration was in the metropolitan area of New York--north-eastern New Jersey with nearly one million Negroes, more than any single southern state except Georgia and North Carolina. This area was rivaled only by Washington, D. C., which between 1950 and 1960, became more than half Negro and the only city in the United States with more Negroes than whites.³⁰

Between 1957 and 1960, the proportion of Negroes living in the South declined from 60 to 56.1 percent.³¹ Northern and western states, on the other hand, recorded significant gains in the proportion of Negroes residing in these areas. Of the northern and western states with a non-white population of more than 100,000 in 1950, the state with the sharpest percentage increase was California, whose Negro population rose 90 percent. In New Jersey, it rose 63 percent and Illinois' Negro population increased by 61 percent. Other northern states with a large non-white immigration were New York, Ohio, and Michigan.

³⁰"The Race Problem Moves North," U. S. News and World Report, XLV (August 23, 1957), pp. 64-74.

³¹United States Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960, United States Summary's Final Report PCU-1B (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1961), pp. xi-xii.

In 1960, Negroes comprised 12 percent of the population in municipalities of more than one million people as compared with 10 percent in 1950.³² By 1968, the largest cities had doubled their proportion of Negroes. The ratio had become one Negro for every three whites. In many of the central cities, the proportion was much higher. Washington, for example, recorded two Negroes for every white in 1965.³³

Negro migration rates have been twice as high as those of whites who have left the South. Between 1959 and 1964, the number of whites living in the South declined by 15 percent. The Negro population declined by 32.4 percent. Most of those who left were tenants and sharecroppers. During this five-year period, 42 percent of all Negro tenant farmers and sharecroppers in eight states of the Deep South left their farms. Only four of the eight states had sizable numbers of Negro farmers remaining in 1964. These were Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina, and South Carolina. Negro tenant farmers in Arkansas declined by 53.5 percent. Mississippi had the largest number of Negro

³²"Nation is Warned on Negro Status," New York Times, December 3, 1961, p. 62; Sobel, p. 50.

³³Sobel, p. 50.

tenant farmers in 1959, and lost 43.4 percent during the five subsequent years. Yet, this state still had a larger Negro population than any other state covered by the census.³⁴

Between 1950 and 1960, Negro migration reached 1,500,000. The projected 1960-1970 prediction has been that this exodus from the South will reach 2,000,000. This estimate was based on figures for the first half of the present decade which showed that migration during this period totaled one million or more which was higher than ever before. Thus, the flood of unskilled, poorly educated Negroes from rural areas to northern and western cities has not only continued; it has increased. Only 142,506 of the 718,900 Negro farmers remained in the South after 1964.³⁵

The tables on the following pages reveal the extent of this hegira both by state and by comparing urban and rural population growth or loss between 1950 and 1960.

³⁴"Negroes Leaving Farms in South," New York Times, November 27, 1966, p. 1.

³⁵"Negro Problem," U. S. News and World Report, LXIV, (June 10, 1968), pp. 62-63; "Negroes Leaving Farms," New York Times, November 27, 1966, p. 137.

TABLE I
NEGRO POPULATION BY STATE, 1950 AND 1960

Southern States	1950	1960
Alabama	979,617	980,271
Arkansas	426,639	388,787
Florida	603,101	880,186
Georgia	1,062,762	1,122,596
Kentucky	201,921	215,949
Louisiana	882,428	1,039,207
Mississippi	986,494	915,743
Missouri	297,088	390,853
North Carolina	1,047,353	1,116,021
South Carolina	822,077	829,291
Tennessee	530,603	586,876
Texas	977,458	1,187,125
Virginia	734,211	816,258

TABLE I (continued)

NEGRO POPULATION BY STATE, 1950 AND 1960

Northern and Western States	1950	1960
California	462, 172	883, 861
District of Columbia	280, 803	411, 737
Illinois	645, 980	1, 037, 470
Indiana	174, 168	269, 275
Maryland	385, 972	518, 410
Massachusetts	79, 011	111, 842
Michigan	442, 296	717, 581
Minnesota	14, 022	22, 263
New Jersey	318, 565	514, 875
New York	918, 191	1, 417, 511
Ohio	513, 072	786, 097
Pennsylvania	638, 485	852, 750
Washington	30, 691	48, 738
Wisconsin	28, 182	74, 546

Source: Luman H. Long, (ed.), The World Almanac and Book of Facts, Doubleday, p. 255.

TABLE II
POPULATION, URBAN AND RURAL, BY COLOR: 1950 AND 1960

	<u>Percent Distribution</u> <u>Non-white</u>
<u>1950</u>	100.0
Urban	61.7
Urbanized area	45.3
Central cities	39.2
Urban fringe	6.1
Other urban	16.4
Rural	38.3
<u>1960</u>	100.0
Urban	72.4
Urbanized area	58.9
Central cities	50.5
Urban fringe	8.4
Other urban	13.5
Rural	27.6

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the U. S.:
1968, (89th edition) Washington, D. C., 1968.

II. THE NEGRO MIGRATION FROM THE SOUTH

In spite of out-migration from the area, the Negro population, as the preceding tables reveal, continued to increase throughout the South in absolute numbers. Relatively, however, the decline was rapid. Between 1940 and 1960, the Negro population in the South increased only 9.4 percent as opposed to a white increase of 39.1 percent. During the same two decades, the natural increase of the Negro population as a whole was 48.9 percent. The growth rates of the Negro population thus reflected the heavy migration from these states. In 1940, 29.0 percent of the total population of the South was Negro. In 1950, this percentage had declined to 26.2 and by 1960, the total non-white population of the South was only 24.3 percent.³⁶

Between 1950 and 1960, however, the proportion of Negroes increased in some southern states and there was an absolute decline in only two states, Arkansas and Mississippi. This indicated that in spite of continued out-migration the Negro population was beginning to redistribute itself within

³⁶Mayo and Hamilton, pp. 160-171.

the Southeast. Florida, for example, was 7.3 percent Negro in 1950. This proportion had increased to 9.9 percent by 1960. Four other states reported a higher percentage of non-whites in 1960. These states were Louisiana, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. The remaining states: Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina reported declining percentages. Thus, the peripheral states of the southeast--Florida, Louisiana, and Virginia--have become increasingly important with regard to redistribution of the Negro population throughout the nation. However, with the exception of these three states, Negroes continued to emigrate from the South at a rapid rate.³⁷

Demographic changes have occurred not only as the Negroes emigrated from the South but also within the southern states. During the 1950 to 1960 decade the southern Negro population became an increasingly urban population. Therefore, this urbanization of the non-white has not been merely a phenomenon of Negro migration to the North and West. This has been a nation-wide rather than a sectional trend. Negro urbanization predominated throughout the nation by 1960. In 1950, 32.8 percent of the southern Negro population was urban in character. The average increase since then has been 2 percentage points

³⁷Ibid., pp. 160-171.

annually. By 1960, the percentage of urban non-whites in the South was 52.9. During the same period, the Negro rural non-farm population increased from 18.7 to 31.6 percent and the number of Negro farmers decreased from 48.5 to 15.5 percent. Sharecroppers virtually disappeared during this period. In 1959, they numbered 72,186 which was a 74.5 percent decline from the 1940 figure of 282,618.³⁸

Another aspect of the changing demography of the Negro which should be examined is the growth rate of the non-white population which has increased significantly faster than the white population. In 1950, the total non-white population was 16,176,000. By 1960, it had increased to 20,491,000. The increase in white population was not nearly as large. In 1950, the whites totaled 135,150,000 and by 1960, had increased only to 158,832,000.³⁹ During this decade, then, the increase in Negroes and other non-whites has exceeded the growth rate of the white population by a five-to-four ratio. In 1960, one of every ten Americans was Negro. By 1965,

³⁸Ibid., pp. 160-171.

³⁹"Exporting the Negroes," The Economist, CCIII (May 5, 1962), pp. 450-452.

however, the ratio was one of every nine.⁴⁰ One of every seven children under fourteen years of age was non-white. As a result, the Negro population as a whole was much younger and much more mobile than the white. The median age of Negroes was between 17.7 and 24.2, as opposed to the white median age range which was much wider: 26.8 to 52.2.⁴¹ In 1966, 35 percent of the white population was under eighteen, as opposed to 45 percent of the Negro population.⁴²

Growth of the Negro population cannot be attributed entirely to a higher birth rate, for this has declined somewhat as they have moved cityward. Decline, however, has been offset by greatly diminished death rates among non-whites, the result of advances in medicine and medical care. The Negro death rate has fallen even more rapidly than the white death rate. This, and a more rapid decline in white fertility rates, explains the increasing youth of the non-white population as well as its more rapid growth.⁴³

The proportion of Negroes in the total population rose from 10 percent in 1950 to 10.7 percent in 1960, and had increased to

⁴⁰"Nation is Warned," New York Times, December 3, 1961, p. 61.

⁴¹Lewis Bowman, "Racial Discrimination and Negro Leadership Problems," Social Forces, XLIV (December, 1965), pp. 173-186.

⁴²Report of the National Advisory Committee, pp. 5-11.

⁴³Census of the Population, 1960, pp. xi-xii. Report of the National Advisory Committee, pp. 5-11.

11.1 percent by 1966.⁴⁴ The rapid growth rate and increasing youth of the Negro population have enhanced mobility and urbanization and have therefore been very significant in Negro migration to northern and western industrial centers. Moreover, the selective character of Negro migration--the exodus of the younger, more intelligent and ambitious of southern Negroes--has left a disproportionate number of older and less able Negroes in the South. This, of course, has affected fertility rates in the South and accounts for the increasing youth of the non-white urban population. The rapidly growing Negro population has been continuously hampered by allegedly inferior employment opportunities, as well as poor education and inadequate housing facilities. The cities cannot keep pace with the high birth rate and rapid influx of Negroes from the South.

The Negro exodus before 1960 was primarily to cities of the North and West. However, in recent years, non-whites have also begun moving to southern metropolitan areas. This hegira has, therefore, involved two basic patterns. One has been the movement from south to north. The other has been the change from a rural to an urban environment either in the South or in the North or West.

When the Negro remains in the South, he usually moves

⁴⁴Ibid., pp. xi-xii; pp. 5-11.

to a city in the same or an adjacent state. The decision to move north or west, on the other hand, involves definite migratory patterns. Interstate migration has become highly selective, depending on the southern state or region from which the Negro has migrated. Three migratory streams have become apparent. From the South Atlantic states, with the exception of Georgia, three-fourths of the migrants move to the northeastern cities of New York, Philadelphia, and beyond. These cities are also the destination of more than half the non-white migrants from Georgia. Fewer than one-fourth of the migrants from Alabama move to the cities of the Northeast. Those migrating from the Atlantic seaboard states of the Carolinas and Georgia follow the rail lines and highways into Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and cities in Ohio. Of the Negroes who lived in New York City in 1960, but were born elsewhere, 77 percent came from the South Atlantic states as well as West Virginia, Delaware, and Maryland.⁴⁵

Migrants from the East South Central states went due northward. This geographic area included Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, and approximately half of the non-white migrants from

⁴⁵Report of the National Advisory Committee, p. 11; Beardwood, pp. 82-85; John Fraser Hart, "The Changing Distribution of the American Negro," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, XLVIII (September, 1958), p. 268.

Arkansas. From Mississippi, Negroes rode the Illinois Central Railroad to St. Louis, Chicago, and Detroit. Almost half of the non-whites living in Detroit, and almost 60 percent of those in Chicago in 1960, who were born elsewhere, came from this area of the South.⁴⁶

The pull of the Pacific states was felt slightly in Mississippi, as well as Arkansas and Oklahoma. Migrants to the Pacific states were mostly from Louisiana and Texas. From these states came more than half of the Negroes living in Los Angeles in 1960 who had not been born there.⁴⁷ The fact that these states were the origin of only half of the Negro migrants to cities in California suggests the increasing but little-mentioned importance of east-west migration above the Mason-Dixon line. Large northern metropolitan areas have become increasingly significant as distribution points for Negroes migrating westward.

Another trend which exists to a lesser degree is the westward surge from the West South Central states to Texas. It is apparent, therefore, that each source region has a dominant region of destination. Conversely, each migratory magnet pulls principally

⁴⁶Beardwood, pp. 82-85; Hart, "Changing Distribution," pp. 242-266.

⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 82-85 and 242-266.

from a single region of origin. Between 1940 and 1950, three-fourths of all non-white migrants to the Pacific states were from the four West South Central states. Three of every four migrants to Megalopolis were from the Atlantic seaboard or the South Atlantic states.⁴⁸

Three major streams of non-white migration became apparent during the 1940-1950 decade, and continue to be of significance. There are first, the westward stream from the tran-Mississippi region to the Pacific Coast; second, the migratory stream which flows northward from the Middle South into the Midwest and third, the route up the Atlantic seaboard from the South Atlantic states into the Northeast.⁴⁹

The existence of these three streams indicates the reciprocal trends for the Negro population between pairs of regions; one in and one out of the South. This reciprocal relationship has been based on the flow of migrants as well as the length of time over which these trends have existed, indicating that streams of migration follow old routes. It has even been pointed out that the streams follow fairly closely the old routes of the Underground Railroad.⁵⁰

⁴⁸Hart, pp. 242-246.

⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 242-246.

⁵⁰Ibid., pp. 242-246.

The heaviest Negro migration has been from the counties of the western South. The least has been from coastal districts, the eastern South, and in counties with urban centers. The heaviest in-migration has been to the northern cities and into southern metropolitan centers. The smaller cities of the South have lost a large number of Negroes. These conclusions are based on a study of Negro migration made by John Fraser Hart for the decade of 1940-50. However, they are generally applicable to migration of the 1950's and 1960's although new trends have been observed. Hart stated that the migratory rates of the 1940's would not continue. He predicted, however, that if they were maintained, more than half of the Negro population would have left the South by 1965.⁵¹ In 1965, only 54 percent of the Negroes remained, and the hegira has continued. Thus, Hart's estimate has become fact.

Conclusions vary in any study of recent trends in Negro migration. However, changes in the migratory pattern of non-whites are becoming increasingly apparent. These include five basic trends. While the movement from South to North continues, there is a corollary hegira of Negroes westward from the South,

⁵¹Hart, "Negro Migration in the United States," p. 268.

and increasingly from the North; southern cities have also become significant as final destinations rather than "transition camps"; intermetropolitan migration has become so important in recent years that it is beginning to overshadow the rural to urban migratory streams; a growing preference for smaller cities in both the North and West has also been noted. Finally, and to a lesser degree, is the movement of Negroes from northern cities to the South, often to non-metropolitan areas.

Population growth in the western United States substantiates conclusions that metropolitan areas in this part of the country are becoming increasingly significant. The western United States doubled its Negro population from 4 percent in 1950 to 8 percent in 1965. On the other hand, the non-white minorities in the North Central and Northeastern United States increased from 15 percent in 1950 to only 20 percent in 1965 and from 13 to only 18 percent, respectively.⁵²

California's non-white population increased 90 percent between 1950 and 1965, and now rivals New York. The greatest increase took place between 1960 and 1964, and shows that an increasing

⁵²"Effects of Shift in Population." U. S. News and World Report, LX (March 7, 1966), p. 51.

number of migrants are going west, rather than north. By 1964, Los Angeles County had more than half a million Negroes as opposed to 218,000 in 1950. Denver gained and continues to gain in Negro population faster than Pittsburgh. And Negroes are now moving into the San Francisco Bay area at the same rate they are moving into Washington, D. C. Oakland, California, thirty percent Negro in 1964, is expected to be all Negro within ten years if the present trend continues. The flow of incoming Negroes has simultaneously diminished in certain northern cities such as Detroit, Philadelphia and Chicago, where blue-collar jobs are being lost to automation.⁵³

Recent Census Bureau figures reveal the extent of the corollary movement of Negroes westward from northern states. In 1960, only 5.7 percent of the total population lived in the West. However, by 1965, this figure had increased to 8.2 percent. The increase in the northern Negro population was significantly smaller; 17.9 percent lived in the Northeast in 1965 as opposed to 16 percent in 1960. The North Central states also showed a smaller increase, from 18.3 percent in 1960 to 20.2 percent in 1965. Although this movement from northern cities has been small, it has become increasingly significant, rising from 2.4 percent in 1960 to 26 percent

⁵³"Who Goes North?" (ed.) Wall Street Journal, July 28, 1964, p. 164.

in 1963.⁵⁴ Because northern Negroes are primarily urban, this would indicate that those cities are gaining in importance as distribution centers for migration west.

This observation is further substantiated by the simultaneous decline, between 1959 and 1963, of the westward migration of Negroes from the South. In 1959, movement west was 33.3 percent of total Negro migration from the South. By 1962 this figure had dropped to 23.2 percent, and in 1963, was only 16.1 percent as opposed to the small but significant increase in migration of northern Negroes westward.⁵⁵ However, this trend has changed since 1963 and in recent years, California has become the prime destination of Negro migrants, rivaled only by New York.

As the exodus from rural areas continues, southern cities are beginning to attract larger numbers of the migrants. Atlanta is now 44 percent Negro; New Orleans has become 41 percent Negro. The non-white population in Memphis is 40 percent; in Houston it has reached 23 percent. Most who leave farms settle first in towns or cities within their home state. Some remain; others go North. As southern cities open new jobs for Negroes, increasing numbers

⁵⁴Dorothy K. Newman, "The Negro's Journey to the City-- Part I," Monthly Labor Review, LXXXVIII (June, 1965), pp. 502-507.

⁵⁵Ibid., pp. 502-507.

make these cities their final destination.⁵⁶ Southern metropolitan areas draw 80 percent of their non-white in-migrants from the South. Two-thirds of the in-migrants are from non-metropolitan areas. Most are from the same or neighboring states.⁵⁷

According to a study conducted by Karl and Alma Taeuber, the predominant migratory pattern has become intermetropolitan rather than rural to urban. Most Negro migrants to northern cities have thus had considerable previous experience with urban living. Furthermore, once a Negro becomes a metropolitan resident, the tendency is to remain within the area and to move, if at all, within the national streams of intermetropolitan migration.⁵⁸ The fact that the majority of the non-white population is now an urban population makes this changing trend possible.

Of those non-white out-migrants from southern cities, most of those remaining in the South moved to non-metropolitan areas in the same or contiguous states. Of those moving to metropolitan areas, more than two-thirds went north. The general assumption is that there is a sizable intermetropolitan flow of the Negro population, both from southern metropolitan areas to northern

⁵⁶Beardwood, pp. 82-83; Carter, pp. 26-27.

⁵⁷Karl E. Taeuber and Alma F. Taeuber, "The Changing Character of Negro Migration," American Journal of Sociology, LXX (January, 1965), pp. 429-441.

⁵⁸Ibid., pp. 429-441.

cities and between northern cities. The southern metropolitan areas are experiencing a large local exchange of Negroes. The majority of their in-migrants are from non-metropolitan areas within the same general vicinity. While some of the out-migrants return to such areas, there is a substantial movement of Negroes from southern non-metropolitan to metropolitan areas in the northern and border states. However, such migrants have become a minority of all in-migrants to these SMSA's.⁵⁹ The relative importance of this intermetropolitan migratory stream has increased and continues to increase because of the rapid urbanization of the Negro population.

Furthermore, the Negro is no longer going exclusively to the big cities of the Eastern Seaboard and Midwest. Besides the recent preference for southern cities, many are now migrating to smaller cities in both the North and West, such as Buffalo, Rochester, Newark, New Haven, Fort Wayne, and Oakland.⁶⁰ Between 1960 and 1965, the Negro population percentage increased faster in the smaller towns than in the large cities, further substantiating this new trend in the migratory pattern. The number of non-whites living in central cities of metropolitan areas grew steadily and sharply until very recently. Between 1950 and 1966 the number of

⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 429-441. SMSA (Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area).

⁶⁰Silberman, pp. 88-91.

metropolitan Negroes increased by 5.5 million.⁶¹ Within the first five years of the 1960's alone, the non-white population of the central cities increased by 2.5 million. Simultaneously, smaller metropolitan areas were gaining a substantial non-white population, and between 1966 and 1968 the increase in the larger SMSA's had stopped. In some cases it was actually declining. This development substantiates the recent preference for smaller cities and can also be accounted for in part by the much smaller return movement of the Negro from the North to metropolitan areas of the South. These latter trends, although significant are not, at present, very great in magnitude or importance.⁶²

Bus and train are the preferred modes of travel northward for the Negro migrant. Some go by car. Those who go are the most intelligent young Negroes, and they are the hardest to replace. They disdain farm life whether it promises steady employment or not. The biggest single age group of the Negro migratory stream

⁶¹David Lawrence, "Redistribution of People," U. S. News and World Report, LXIV (January 22, 1968), p. 104; "Negro Problem Keeps Growing," pp. 58-62.

⁶²"Are Negroes Leaving the Big Cities?" U. S. News and World Report, LXV (August 12, 1968), p. 6; "Negroes on the Move--Where They Settle," U. S. News and World Report, LVI (April 27, 1964), p. 36; Peter Kihss, "Area Study Finds Negroes Restive," New York Times, June 11, 1967, p. 4.

are people in their teens or twenties. They leave behind them a sizable concentration of illiterate and sick people, as well as the old and the very young. Many of the children live with their grandparents who have remained in the South. They are but remnants of a family unit that has lost its wage earners through migration. Thus the South has lost, and continues to lose a high proportion of its younger, better educated Negroes. This in turn makes the region less attractive to corporations planning new plants. And, the lack of those new plants and the jobs they provide forces still more Negroes to migrate.⁶³

The loss of the Negro young people has become the most disturbing element of continued migration from the Delta, and from the South generally. This is indicative of a change in the character of Negro migration, first noticeable in the mid-1950's and which has now become the predominant pattern. The traditional stereotype of the Negro migrant was that he was a low-status n'er-do-well who would increase the burdens on northern schools, welfare agencies, the police force and other public agencies. However, several studies have shown that this is not necessarily true.

Initially, professional and white-collar Negroes remained in

⁶³Beardwood, pp. 82-85; Carter, pp. 26-27.

the South. Those who moved to the industrial centers of the North and West were usually unskilled. By 1960, this trend had changed markedly. Whether skilled or unskilled, those who migrated came predominantly from the most productive age groups. They have always been a select population, younger than average and better educated. Between 1955 and 1960, the most mobile group included males between the ages of twenty-five and twenty-nine years. Most had at least some high school training; they were the most skilled and intelligent of the Negro working force. During this five-year period, one-fifth of those who left the South had had a year or more of college. Between 1955 and 1960, four states of the Deep South--Alabama, Kentucky, Mississippi, and Tennessee--lost one-third of their college-trained non-white young men.⁶⁴

Thus, general demographic research in the area of Negro migration shows that it is the higher status segments of the population which are the most residentially mobile. This can be explained in part by the basic premise that many of the Negro immigrants to northern metropolitan areas have had considerable previous experience with urban living. The intermetropolitan movement, then, is an increasingly important aspect of total

⁶⁴Newman, p. 503.

Negro migration, and has had a significant effect on the status of these in-migrants to northern cities. In recent years, approximately one-half of the non-whites who have moved to northern cities have come from other metropolitan areas. These intermetropolitan migrants are characteristically of unusually high educational and occupational status. Migrants from non-metropolitan areas are, by contrast, of much lower socio-economic status. Thus the relative high status of the total in-migratory group is the result of a combination of the higher status intermetropolitan stream with the lower status stream of non-metropolitan origin, particularly the rural to urban.⁶⁵

Furthermore, according to a study of the character of Negro migration made by Karl and Alma Taeuber, the data for the 1955-60 period shows that Negro in-migrants are of substantially higher socio-economic status, on the average, than the residential population of many large metropolitan areas. In-migrants are better educated and more likely to be employed in white-collar occupations than their non-migrant counterparts. These findings vary with those of most previous studies of Negro migration which would indicate, perhaps, a change in the character of those non-whites who migrate.⁶⁶

⁶⁵Karl and Alma Taeuber, pp. 429-441; John P. Davis, The American Negro Reference Book (New Jersey, 1966) pp. 125-129.

⁶⁶Karl and Alma Taeuber, pp. 429-441.

Negro migrants of the '30's and '40's were predominantly of low educational status without capital or financial reserve. They were ready to enter the labor market at the bottom of the occupational ladder. Comparisons of the years between 1955 and 1960 were clearly indicative of an upgrading of Negro in-migrants relative to non-migrants. This hypothesis was further substantiated by comparison of the socio-economic status of non-white migrants of the late 1950's and early 1960's. With regard to education, the net impact of migrants of the 1940's was to retard improvement in the educational status of the metropolitan Negro population. Recent migrants born in the South and moving to northern metropolitan areas have had median educational levels similar to northern born non-whites, as opposed to the older migrants who were less well educated than the non-migrants.⁶⁷

As recently as 1958, 80 percent of the college-educated Negroes took jobs in the segregated school systems of the South. By 1964, however, only 55 percent were teaching in southern schools. Many more were leaving the South. Fifteen teachers found jobs in Nebraska alone. Nearly all of those getting degrees in engineering, accounting, nutrition and therapy took jobs outside

⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 429-441.

the South.⁶⁸ Of Negroes between ages twenty and twenty-four living in the South in 1955, 9.5 percent of those with four or more years of college had left the area by 1960, as contrasted with a mere 1.9 percent of those with under five years of schooling. Thus, an increasingly disproportionate number of educated Negroes were leaving the South.⁶⁹ This factor has been of major importance in the trend toward a higher status migrant from the South.

Raymond Brown, director of the Urban League's mid-west regional office at Akron, Ohio noted this change. He observed that former long lines of unskilled Negro workers seeking help finding manual labor jobs in local factories had been replaced by Negro teachers, nurses, scientists and others with degrees from southern colleges. The resulting problem centered around unemployment among southern unskilled Negroes who had migrated to this area as opposed to active recruitment by Akron rubber companies of southern Negro college graduates. Recruitment as late as 1958 was widespread for Negroes to move North to blue-collar jobs. By 1960, however, recruiting of

⁶⁸"Who Goes North?" (ed.) Wall Street Journal, July 28, 1964, p. 164.

⁶⁹Newman, p. 503.

college graduates by major northern firms had become a decisive factor in the migration of college graduates from the South.⁷⁰

Another influence upon this higher socio-economic status migratory stream was the declining demand for factory workers in the industrial centers of the North and West.

This selective mobility of the younger element of the Negro population not only raised the status of the in-migratory streams into metropolitan areas; it also tended to accentuate extremes, leaving more than 43 percent of the nation's Negroes aged sixty-five and over in the southern states of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas. At the opposite extreme were the states where the median age was increasingly lower. These included Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Washington, D. C., California and Maryland.⁷¹

This development has important implications with regard to birth rate in the South and with regard to the quality of the southern Negro labor force. As a result of out-migration, the Negro birth rate in the South has not increased as rapidly as it has in other areas. Negro population continues to increase in the South in absolute numbers. Relatively, however, there has been a rapid

⁷⁰(Ed.) Wall Street Journal, p. 164.

⁷¹T. Lynn Smith, "The Changing Number and Distribution of the Aged Negro Population of the United States," Phylon Quarterly, XVIII (January, 1958), pp. 339-354.

decline. Between 1950 and 1960 the Negro population in the Southeast increased 7.7 percent as opposed to 19.0 percent for the white population.

In the 1940 to 1950 decade the southern Negro population increased by 1.6 percent. The white population, on the other hand increased by 16.9 percent. Thus, in two decades the Negro population of the South increased only 9.4 percent as opposed to a 35.9 percent increase for the white population. Without population loss through migration the southern non-white population would have increased by 25.2 percent in the 1950's alone. During the decades of the 1940's and 1950's the Negro population throughout the nation increased 48.9 percent.⁷² Furthermore, the Negro population, nationally, grew, and continues to grow at a much more rapid rate than the white population. Thus, this out-migration of the younger Negroes has had a significant effect on population processes within the South.

Another effect of this selective migration will manifest itself increasingly as industry moves from northern metropolitan areas into cities of the South. Unless this hegira is halted, southern industry will experience an increasing and a potentially detrimental labor shortage.

⁷² Mayo and Hamilton, pp. 60-71.

Departure of the Negroes has been welcomed in some quarters. Dr. William H. Nicholls, Professor of Economics at Vanderbilt, questioned the wisdom of this view. He contended that because of the racial problem, this heavy race selectivity of out-migration was by no means wholly unfavorable. He pointed out, however, the probability that within the next generation some of the states of the Deep South were "going to realize that they (had) taken too cavalier an attitude toward this loss of Negro population."⁷³

Nicholls felt that the South should hold and train some of these Negroes or it would face a labor shortage. This had not yet become a problem, according to Nicholls, but if the region should succeed in its campaign for new industrial plants and expansions, any existing labor surplus would be absorbed rapidly. This would shut off most of the white migration automatically. The Negroes, on the other hand, especially if they were leaving the South because of discrimination, would continue to move out in large numbers. He concluded, therefore, that further Negro migration should be discouraged.⁷⁴

The above statement expresses the prevalent contemporary

⁷³Claudine Sitton, "The Negro Migration," New York Times, April 29, 1962, p. 8.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 8.

white southern point of view. It also represents a complete cycle in the typical attitude of the southern white toward Negro emigration from the area. The Negro, initially, was indispensable to the southern economy. Efforts by labor recruiters to persuade the Negro to come to the North to fill the industrial vacuum created by the two World Wars were met with angry opposition on the part of southern white farmers. They manhandled recruiters; some threatened tenants who tried to leave. The southern economy changed, however, with industrialization in farming. The Negro was no longer indispensable to the new southern civilization characterized by assembly lines and diversified, mechanized farms. Furthermore, rising racial animosity followed in the wake of the Supreme Court's school integration decision of 1954. The majority of white southerners wanted to augment migration. When the Negro was necessary to the economy he was encouraged to stay. When he was no longer needed, he was encouraged to leave.⁷⁵ This opinion was prevalent throughout the 1950's. Only in recent years has southern opinion begun to move toward completion of the thought cycle.

It was not until the drain on the non-white population began striking at the region's "nervous system and brains" that popular

⁷⁵Hodding Carter, "Is Relocation the Answer?" Virginia Quarterly Review, XXXIII (Spring, 1957), pp. 161-173.

opinion began to reassess the situation. Only when it became obvious that further out-migration would seriously hamper the future ability of Mississippi, for example, to "climb out of the economic and social bog in which it had been mired," did public opinion reverse its stand. In Mississippi, and throughout the South, the loss of the most talented Negro young people became the most disturbing element of continued migration from the region. There was an increasing realization that those non-whites who had gone should be encouraged to return.⁷⁶

This change in attitude paralleled the unprecedented and explosive economic growth of the South in the mid-1960's. The result has been that Federal, state and local agencies have begun to cooperate in an effort to give low income Negroes reason to remain in the South through the creation of new job opportunities. Some of the jobs provided have been of the "make-work" type, subsidized by taxpayers. It was hoped, however, that these jobs would provide income and experience leading ultimately to productive employment in business and in industry. The goal has been to set in motion an economic cycle that would be self-perpetuating.⁷⁷

⁷⁶Carter, "Negro Exodus," pp. 26-27.

⁷⁷"How the South Hopes to Keep Negroes," U. S. News and World Report, LXIII, October 2, 1967, pp. 42-44.

Programs have thus been started as southerners have realized that non-whites would be a decided asset to the future expansion of industry if trained to fill the jobs that expansion of business and industry would make available in the southern states. An example of this kind of program has been that of the Congaree Iron and Steel Company, located near Columbia, South Carolina in typical "black belt" country. Work has been provided for low income Negroes of the area. According to Congaree President W. F. Thweatt there were 350 men on the payroll in 1967, and of these, 290 were Negroes. Many had attained supervisory positions. He cited examples of Negro progress. One non-white had been with the plant eight years. He had started at one dollar an hour, and within eight years he had become superintendent of the plant making \$140 a week. This same Negro stated that it was better for non-whites to remain in the South now that jobs were increasingly available in this area.⁷⁸

South Carolina has promised to train workers to fill jobs created by business and industry. In 1967 ten technical education centers were in operation and others were under construction.⁷⁹

⁷⁸Ibid., pp. 42-44.

⁷⁹Carter, "Negro Exodus," pp. 26-27.

In the Mississippi Delta Federal programs have created new job opportunities. Head Start has contributed to Negro education and has provided jobs hiring cooks, janitors and teachers' helpers from the Negro community. In 1967, the Mississippi Research and Development Center began developing a program to stimulate economic growth. The program was using Federal, state and Ford Foundation funds to finance a project on the site of the former Greenville Air Force base. One hundred Delta Negro families were to be moved there. The program included special courses for wives in family budgeting. Sports and educational activities were provided for the children, and the men were to be given intensive job training and instruction.⁸⁰

Many such programs, both Federal and local, aimed at rural development and increased job opportunities, have been started throughout the South to counteract Negro migration to the cities of the North and West. But a generation of Negroes have already gone to the crowded, impersonal urban centers. To successfully inhibit the non-white exodus from the South, a much more comprehensive and liberal welfare system would be necessary to provide for those who could never become productive citizens.

⁸⁰Ibid., pp. 26-27.

Job retraining programs would be necessary for the thousands who could make use of them. Increased job opportunities, including Federal encouragement of industrial relocation in the South need to be made available. Although progress has been made through various programs and as a result of legislation such as the Manpower Development and Training Act passed by Congress in 1962, Federal training and anti-poverty programs are merely postponing the inevitable unless the Negro is given concrete evidence that opportunities exist for him in the South as well as in the industrial centers of northern and western cities. Thus, to stop this exodus a major effort must be made by the South and the Federal government to provide jobs, education and decent homes for rural Negroes.⁸¹

Even southern politicians, as they become increasingly aware of the potential political power of the Negro indicate that they would like to see the non-white exodus stemmed. Senator Herman Talmadge discusses the advantages for the Negro who remains in the South. Although statistics do not support his statements, Talmadge contends that Negro opportunity is not better outside the South, that although there has been a widening gap between white and Negro incomes,

⁸¹Paul Clane, "Can the Southern Negro Exodus Be Stemmed?" Reporter, XXXVII (November 2, 1967), pp. 27-35; Carter, pp. 26-27; "How South Hopes to Keep Negroes," pp. 42-44; Vernon M. Briggs, Jr., "Manpower Programs and Regional Development," Monthly Labor Review, XCI (March 10, 1968), pp. 55-61.

this has not been true in Georgia or in the South. He states that incomes in the South are generally lower for everyone which accounts for the gain the Negro experiences as he moves north or west. He goes on to say that the South is making greater economic progress at present than the nation as a whole, and that Negroes are sharing in that progress. He is aware of the poverty in the South, but points out that the poor whites outnumber the poor Negroes in this region almost three-to-one. Talmadge expresses optimism with regard to the future of the Negro in the South, citing examples of Negro wealth in Atlanta to support his stand. He feels that problems such as drug addiction, crime rate, and illegitimacy are much aggravated when the Negro moves north. For these reasons the Negro is better off in the South.⁸² This is another manifestation of the changing attitude within the South toward the non-white exodus from the area. Businessmen are increasingly aware of the essential manpower Negroes will provide for industrial growth within the South. Politicians are increasingly aware of the potential power of the non-white vote. Thus, programs are being developed to stem this Negro migration.

⁸²"Negroes Future in the South," U. S. News and World Report, LIX (October, 1965), pp. 66-68.

III. RESULTS OF NEGRO MIGRATION

Before going into problems faced by the non-white migrant, the results of his movement from the farm to the city should be discussed briefly. Philip Hauser, a population expert at the University of Chicago summarizes the various implications of this hegira very succinctly in his statement that "(this migration) poured over so large a Negro population into the cities, especially the large cities, over so short a time that it made the Negro in-migratory stream relatively unassimilable--economically, socially, politically."⁸³ This has become increasingly apparent as the racial balance within metropolitan areas has shifted, due to the non-white influx.

These economic, social and political aspects of the Negro problem in northern cities carry with them an undercurrent of racial prejudice that exists universally and perhaps explains to a large degree the inability of the Negro to be assimilated into the urban structure. Northern prejudice is not as overt as it is in the South. However, it exists. This is one of the first discoveries the non-white makes when he settles in a northern or western city.

⁸³"Negro Problems Growing," pp. 58-62.

Although he has moved north toward greater economic opportunity, he continues to be confronted by the barriers of racial prejudice. It is difficult even for those Negroes with proper qualifications and training to find employment. It is even more difficult for the non-whites to upgrade their socio-economic status, for they are initially and often eternally confined to the ghetto of the central city.

Prejudice is manifested also by the "white flight" to the suburbs in the face of the non-white influx. It is apparent in transition neighborhoods by suddenly and increasingly deflated property values as whites sell their homes at greatly depressed prices when the Negro black belt threatens to spread into adjacent white neighborhoods. This "white flight" carries with it social implications. In mixed neighborhoods which are usually in rapid transition from white to black, there is very little social interaction between whites and non-whites. The only exceptions are various manifestations of hostility on both sides.

Politically, the unassimilable Negro has fared better. The fact that he has not become a part of the city itself has given him unwarranted political power, for Negroes invariably vote as a unified, monolithic whole. Politicians have become increasingly aware of the growing importance of the non-white in urban politics. This has meant that many of the non-white demands have been met in an effort to gain their votes. It has also affected legislation both

locally and nation-wide. The Negro's impact has been most apparent in the area of politics.

Many have traced the northern riots to the non-white exodus from the South. Roger Beardwood, writing for Fortune expressed it this way: "The rural South is green, beautiful and quiet. The ghettos of the North are grim and noisome stews that boil over when summer heat ignites old frustrations."⁸⁴ Kenneth Crawford of Newsweek carried the thought a step further when he spoke of the Negroes as "country chickens come to roost in overpopulated cities."⁸⁵ Many who have studied the implications of this non-white hegira have agreed that the majority of the nation's most pressing urban problems originated in the rural south, that the Negro as he migrated north and west was faced with and created problems which have involved and embroiled the entire nation.

An important result of urbanization of the Negro has been the shift in racial balance. Between 1950 and 1960, the twelve largest cities in the United States lost more than two million whites and gained almost two million Negro residents.⁸⁶ Thus, by

⁸⁴Beardwood, pp. 80-87.

⁸⁵Kenneth Crawford, "Down on the Farm," Newsweek, LXVI (September 6, 1965), p. 22.

⁸⁶Silberman, pp. 88-91.

1960, the nation's largest cities had a substantially greater non-white representation than in 1950. This change has followed a common pattern in the larger cities. In the Northeastern census region, each of thirty-eight metropolitan areas had a higher non-white population in 1960. In all communities in the North Central region which had a population of 250,000 or more in 1950 the non-whites grew at a faster rate than the white population. This seemed to be characteristic of all of the cities of the area, regardless of size. Western cities also followed the same pattern. Most of the Negro population growth has taken place within these metropolitan areas, primarily within the central core of the cities. Between 1950 and 1966, the United States Negro population rose 6.5 million. More than 98 percent of the increase took place in metropolitan areas, 86 percent within the central cities, and 12 percent on the urban fringe.⁸⁷

During this time the white suburban population increased 35.6 million. The white population in the central cities increased only 2.5 percent. Since 1960, the white central city population has declined 1.3 million. Thus, the central cities have become steadily more heavily Negro. The urban fringes around them, however, have remained almost entirely white. The proportion of Negroes in all

⁸⁷Leo F. Schnore and Harry Sharp, "Racial Changes in Metropolitan Areas," Social Forces, XLI (March, 1963), pp. 247-253.

central cities rose from 12 percent in 1950 to 17 percent in 1960, and had reached 20 percent by 1966.⁸⁸ This, then has been an important factor in the more rapid urbanization of the Negro when compared to the white population. The segregation of the non-white within the central city is an important indication of the fact that he has been unassimilable; it is an outward manifestation of the problems he must overcome, primarily in the areas of housing, employment, school segregation and politics.

The migrants have moved in at a time when the better educated, better paid whites are moving to the suburbs. This has meant that the hearts of these cities, the industrial backbone of the nation, have and continue to be occupied by people regarded as burdens rather than assets to these modern, progressive urban communities. The whites do not want the Negro, for he is a potential source of trouble.⁸⁹ This non-white influx is the basis of contemporary urban problems which continue to grow in spite of the increasingly higher status of the non-white intermetropolitan migration which has gained increasing significance within recent years, and which could eventually offset the effects of the traditionally low status,

⁸⁸Report of the National Advisory Committee, pp. 6-11.

⁸⁹Carl T. Rowan, "The Negro in the North," Saturday Evening Post, CCXXX (October 12, 1957), pp. 32-33.

rural in-migrant as Negroes become predominantly urban in character.

Thus, in summary, the results of this vast population movement of the non-white to cities of the North and West have included growing slums, increased juvenile delinquency and adult crimes, overcrowded schools, overloaded public hospitals, growing relief and welfare rolls and an alarming increase in racial hostility. The tension has increased as Negroes have moved into the worst housing areas and have obtained jobs with the lowest pay and status.⁹⁰

Parallels have been drawn between the urban Negro, the problems and hardships he encounters, and those of the immigrant groups of sixty and seventy-five years ago. Both usually left a rural agrarian environment, and both remained for one or two generations in the area of first urban settlement.⁹¹ Both brought habits that clashed with city standards. The characteristic impersonal city life tended to erode social relations that regulated life in "the old country," or in the small southern community. As immigrants or Negroes moved into the central city, the older, established residents moved into the suburbs. Both migrant groups

⁹⁰Ibid., pp. 32-33.

⁹¹Newman, p. 644.

tended to get the least desirable jobs, to live in the slum or ethnic ghetto, and "under the burden of low earning power and limited conversance with the large society--to struggle to conform or to become part of the 'American Way.'" ⁹² Thus, the early pattern of Negro settlement within the metropolitan areas followed that of the immigrant groups. The migrant characteristically settled in older sections of the central city. The lowest cost housing was there, as well as friends and relatives, and the older neighborhoods often had good public transportation. ⁹³

At this point, however, the comparison broke down. Negro settlement and expansion in metropolitan areas diverged sharply from patterns typical of white immigrants. The immigrants, although discriminated against initially, were ultimately absorbed by the larger society. Many were able to leave their ethnic neighborhoods for outer areas with new housing and better schools. The Negro, on the other hand, has not yet been assimilated into the mainstream of urban life, although many have achieved incomes, living standards, and cultural levels matching those of their white counterparts. They have upgraded themselves from their distinctly ethnic neighborhood backgrounds, yet most have remained within

⁹²Ibid., pp. 644-647.

⁹³Ibid., pp. 644-647.

predominantly Negro neighborhoods.

The ghettos where most non-whites live are like countries within countries. What surrounds the city Negro is more hostile than anything any white immigrant has encountered. The ghetto perimeters are closed as tightly as foreign borders, thus isolating the non-whites from the principal aspects of urban life. Negroes have been almost entirely excluded from white residential areas. The most striking feature of the life of the Negroes in cities has become the separation of their housing facilities from those of whites, a universal characteristic of American metropolitan areas regardless of their sectional location or size.⁹⁴ Negroes are the most residentially segregated of minority groups in urban areas. The separation of Negroes from all groups of whites is sharper than that of any other ethnic or socio-economic groups within the white population. Thus, the ghetto situation has become one of the "most pronounced and tenaciously maintained forms of segregation the American Negro (has faced)."⁹⁵ The historic trend has been that with improved socio-economic status immigrants experienced

⁹⁴Ben H. Bagdikian, "The Black Immigrants," Saturday Evening Post, CCLX (July 15, 1967), pp. 25-29; "The Farflowing Negro Tide," Newsweek, L (December 23, 1967), pp. 21-22; Karl E. Taeuber, "Residential Segregation," Scientific American, CCXIII (August, 1965), p. 12.

⁹⁵Ben A. Franklin, "Urban Lag Found in Desegregation," New York Times, August 8, 1965, p. 58.

a parallel decrease in residential segregation. On the other hand, Negro residential segregation has increased steadily over the past decades despite advances in the socio-economic status of the non-white.⁹⁶ The present Negro community of New York City represents the largest concentration of black people in any metropolitan area in United States history, the result of residential segregation. This problem has become one of the primary concerns of contemporary American society as the concentration within the ghettos continues to increase.⁹⁷

An editorial in the Washington Post in December of 1966 expressed this concern: "A great tide of migration is segregating American life as most of us live it, faster than all our laws can desegregate it." Although residential segregation has continued to increase in the nation as a whole, Karl Taeuber has noticed a slight decline in residential segregation in northern and western cities evident for the first time in the census figures of 1960. The average increase in residential segregation has been larger in the South than in other regions. The segregation index for southern

⁹⁶Stanley Lieberson, "Ethnic Patterns in American Cities," American Journal of Sociology, LXIX (January 1964), pp. 374-382; Taeuber, "Residential Segregation," p. 12.

⁹⁷Gilbert Osofsky, "The Enduring Ghetto," Journal of American History, LV (September, 1968) pp. 243-255.

cities rose by 2.2 percent between 1950 and 1960. In other regions segregation declined. In the West, residential separation declined by 6.5 points. In the Northeast, the decline was 4.7, and the North Central segregation indices declined by 1.5 points. Many southern cities are approaching the upper limits of complete segregation. Although northern and western cities have experienced some decline, residential segregation remains a serious problem.⁹⁸ Moreover, during the 1960's there has been no indication of acceleration or even continuation of the trend toward decreased segregation in northern or western cities. There has been strong evidence that the pervasive pattern of residential segregation has not been significantly breached. Whether the temporal trend for a particular city has been up, down, or fluctuating, the magnitude of change has been minimal. Thus, stability of segregation patterns has been maintained despite marked advances in Negro economic welfare, urban renewal, other clearance and resettlement programs; despite considerable undoubling of living quarters and diminished room crowding, high vacancy rates in many of the worst slums, as well as Federal, state and local anti-discrimination laws and regulations.⁹⁹

⁹⁸Taeuber, Scientific American, p. 12.

⁹⁹Taeuber, Science, pp. 193-196.

Gunner Myrdal in his classic study of the race problem, An American Dilemma, has suggested three factors to explain the prevalent racial segregation. These factors included choice or preference, discrimination, and poverty. Karl E. Taeuber in a study of racial segregation published in Scientific American stated that choice might have been a factor but that this could hardly have been a free choice in a society where discrimination and prejudice have prevailed to the extent that when Negroes have moved into white neighborhoods they have been threatened with violence and social ostracism. Taeuber concluded that discrimination and poverty have been the most important factors which explained residential segregation.¹⁰⁰

The various discriminatory practices have been sometimes outright, sometimes hidden, but they characterize the housing market policies of most cities throughout the nation. Often, a Negro is forced to pay fifty percent more for housing equivalent in value to that of his white neighbors. Thus, a Negro's \$3,000.00 does not buy as much as a white's \$3,000.00. Furthermore, American cities have two housing markets: a city-wide market and a circumscribed Negro market. The supply is restricted and Negroes

¹⁰⁰Taeuber, "Residential Segregation," pp. 12-19.

get less housing value for the money spent than do whites.¹⁰¹ There has been a studied effort to discourage Negro families from purchasing or renting homes in all white neighborhoods, and in some cases efforts have been made to keep the Negro within non-white areas, as revealed in the accusation by the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, that the Housing and Urban Development Department has practiced a policy of approving public housing projects in areas "guaranteeing all-Negro occupancy."¹⁰²

Restrictive covenants once protected white residential property from the non-white influx, and virtually walled up the Negro sector of the urban population. These covenants were declared unenforcable by the Supreme Court in 1948. The only effect, however, was that the ghetto began to expand and encroach upon adjacent white neighborhoods. In spite of this Supreme Court decision, and in spite of more recent "fair housing" legislation in many cities where non-whites have sought homes in white areas, various stratagemms and evasions have been effectively used to prevent the non-white from buying in

¹⁰¹"The Farflowing Negro Tide," pp. 21-22; Batchelder, pp. 21-22; Batchelder, pp. 530-539.

¹⁰²"National Commission Against Discrimination in Housing Charges Federal Government has Helped Build Nation's Ghettos," New York Times, February 9, 1967, p. 23.

all-white neighborhoods.¹⁰³

In Chicago, housing segregation has been the product of the city Real Estate Board's "rule of segregation" which decreed that "each block shall be filled solidly (with Negroes) and further expansion shall be confined to contiguous blocks. . . and this shall be done as slowly as possible." The board called for active cooperation of all civic organizations. This has never wavered. Citizens cooperated by inserting clauses into their property deeds forbidding resale or lease to Negroes. The city council, police and newspapers also cooperated with this policy.¹⁰⁴

Those with better incomes were thus penalized in Chicago and in most urban areas. Although many could afford better housing, they were unable to find it except at excessive prices. Often, real estate agents simply refused to show homes to Negro buyers. If a family did move into an all-white neighborhood he paid more than a white family would have paid for the same home. He often took in roomers to help meet higher mortgages than he could afford. As a result, the neighborhood deteriorated.¹⁰⁵ Many middle-class Negroes have

¹⁰³"Farflowing Negro Tide," pp. 21-22; Taeuber, "Residential Segregation," pp. 12-19; Elinor Richey, "Splitville, U. S. A.," Reporter, XXVIII (May 23, 1963), pp. 35-38.

¹⁰⁴Elinor Richey, "Splitville, U. S. A.," Reporter, XXVIII (May 23, 1963), pp. 35-38.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., pp. 35-38.

not looked for homes outside all-Negro areas, for the simple reason that the pressure of the non-white to move out of segregated districts has met with stiff resistance.¹⁰⁶ Even urban renewal projects perpetuate the segregation. Their result is higher rents which many non-whites cannot afford; thus, the ghetto is maintained.¹⁰⁷

Juxtaposed to this effort to keep non-whites out of white neighborhoods has been the increasing flood of Negroes pressing against the borders of the ghetto. Because of the rapid influx into these areas, and the resulting housing shortage as the supply available remained the same, families have had to double up.¹⁰⁸ Older, larger units have been converted into many smaller ones to house the ever-growing population. The one-room kitchenette is the ultimate result of this process in the black belt of large northern and western cities. When the saturation point is reached, potential landlords seek other large units still available for conversion, at this point, found only

¹⁰⁶"Farflowing Negro Tide," pp. 21-22.

¹⁰⁷Leonard Blumberg, "Segregated Housing, Marginal Location, and the Crisis of Confidence," Phylon Quarterly, XXV (Winter, 1964), pp. 321-330; Morton Grodzins, "Metropolitan Segregation," Scientific American CXC VII (October, 1957), pp. 33-41.

¹⁰⁸Arnold M. Rose, Frank J. Atelset, Lawrence R. McDonald, "Neighborhood Reactions to Isolated Negro Residents: An Alternative to Invasion and Succession," American Sociological Review, XVIII (October, 1953), pp. 497-507; "In-migrants, not Immigrants," The Economist CLXXXIV (September 28, 1957), p. 37.

in areas occupied by members of the majority group. Expansion into adjacent areas usually begins when a member of the majority group who is moving sells to a member of the minority group or real estate agent who turns it over at a large profit to a non-white buyer. When two or three houses are sold in this fashion, the property in the neighborhood then changes hands rapidly as Negroes move in and whites move out. Thus, the ghetto expands.¹⁰⁹

Many of these real-estate agents have capitalized on this "white flight" in the face of Negro pressure for housing. Some have developed their strategy to such a high degree that they are known as block-busters or speculators. The block-buster locates a block ripe for racial change and then "busts" it by buying property from white owners and maneuvering Negro buyers onto the block. The intent is to break down the remainder of the block for colored occupancy. The demand for housing, as the Negro population explodes and continues to concentrate itself in urban areas, makes this a very lucrative process for the block-buster. He fans racial prejudice and fear in his attempt to persuade whites to move. The result of the real-estate agent's spreading of panic in the area is that in this moment of terror a house owner sells his home for a price far below its actual value. The real-estate agent then resells

¹⁰⁹Rose, Atelset, McDonald, pp. 497-507.

the home to a Negro family for as much as \$5,000.00 more than he has paid and then finances the purchase at a high rate of interest, making a tremendous profit. He lures the Negro into a sale he cannot afford, and this non-white buyer must fill the house with roomers. He is forced to rent every foot of the house to pay for it. If a payment is missed, the agent, who has retained the title to the home, repossesses it and installs another family. In this way, the buyer becomes the unpaid slum manager for the block-buster.

The speculator focuses on neighborhoods near the black belt, where whites have already been conditioned to insecurity by the march of the color line in their direction. He then buys buildings in this neighborhood, holding them until the area is ready to be turned for maximum profit. Negroes move in and begin enrolling in the neighborhood schools. Churches and businesses in the area cease to maintain public facilities as they normally would. Parks that were once all white become all Negro. Homeowners applying to banks for home-improvement loans are turned down because they are too close to the color line and therefore are

¹¹⁰Elinor Richey, "Kenwood Foils the Blockbusters," Harper, CXXVII (August, 1963), pp. 42-47; Norris Vitcheck, "Confessions of a Block-Buster," Saturday Evening Post, CCXXXV (July 14, 1962), pp. 15-19; Kaye Boyle, "So Slowly We Move," Nation CLXXXIV (May 4, 1957), pp. 390-393.

bad credit risks. Small businesses begin to close. New whites, if they move into the area, are of a lower economic class and are tenants rather than owners because lending institutions invariably blacklist an area for regular mortgage when change is imminent. Whites cannot buy here even if they need to. Those who try to stay are subjected to threatening phone calls at all hours of the day and night; rocks are thrown through their windows. When the last family is harassed to the point of moving out, the transition is complete and the block-buster shifts his focus to another block.¹¹¹

This process creates problems not only for whites who are uprooted; it also causes hardships for the non-whites involved. The repeated efforts of middle and upper class Negroes to form high-standard Negro or interracial neighborhoods are thwarted by the unscrupulous and illegal practices of real-estate agents. After middle class non-whites successfully "pioneer" a white neighborhood, real-estate agents deliberately introduce Negroes from a much lower economic level to frighten away whites in the area. Negro professional and businessmen are therefore deprived of the environment they want, and are enveloped again by the slums they fled. Decent homes in a decent neighborhood are almost impossible to obtain. Alderman Leon Despres of Chicago expresses it this way: "Chicago has said to Negroes, 'No matter how urbane you may be,

¹¹¹Richey, pp. 42-47; Vitcheck, pp. 15-19.

no matter how educated, no matter how good your reputation, or high your honor, you must stay in the ghetto.¹¹² This statement is, perhaps, an exaggeration of the problem. However, if block-busters are allowed to continue such practices, the problem of the ghetto and its continuing expansion into white areas will remain unsolved.

The "white flight" to the suburbs, is therefore an overt manifestation of racial prejudice, capitalized on by real-estate agents. Statistics reveal the increasing significance of this movement of whites to suburbia in the face of the tremendous Negro influx. In 1950, about 45.5 million whites lived in central cities. If this population had grown at the same rate as the nation's population as a whole, it would have increased by eight million. But it rose only by 2.2 million, indicating an outflow of 5.8 million people from these central cities. Between 1960 and 1966, the outflow was even more rapid. The white population of the central cities declined by 1.3 million instead of rising 3.6 million as it would have done if it had grown at the same rate as the entire white population. In theory, 4.9 million whites left the central cities during these six years. Between 1950 and 1960, the total Negro population in the ten largest cities increased by 1.8 million, or

¹¹²Ibid., pp. 42-47.

fifty-eight percent, while the white population in these cities declined by 1.5 million.¹¹³ Thus, these demographic trends, the concentration of the non-white in the ghetto of the central city and the resulting "white flight," to the suburbs continue. Residential segregation is perpetuated.

The Negroes, confined to the ghettos of central cities, are forced to occupy substandard housing. The migrant enters competition for housing at the bottom of the low scale. In New York, he may wind up in crude cubicles hastily erected in tenement basements. In Pittsburgh, migrants flood condemned buildings. They have nowhere else to go. Housing cannot keep pace with the rapid influx. Louis Bowman writing for Social Forces, points out that in nine census tracts more than 10 percent of the housing units are substandard.¹¹⁴ Another survey shows that half of the houses occupied by Negroes in metropolitan areas are classified as dilapidated or deteriorating, as opposed to only 15 percent of the white homes.¹¹⁵ Between 75 and 100 percent of the units are renter-occupied. Less than 25 percent of the units are owner-occupied.¹¹⁶

¹¹³Report of the National Advisory Committee, pp. 6-22.

¹¹⁴Bowman, pp. 173-186.

¹¹⁵Silberman, pp. 88-91.

¹¹⁶Bowman, pp. 173-186.

The housing problems faced by Kansas City in 1957 were typical of the ubiquitous dilemma of all cities with a large Negro population. The initial reaction of whites to Negro in-migration has been one of hostility. Between 1940 and 1950, the Negro population of Kansas City increased by more than 15,000 without a compensatory increase in living space. Expansion was inevitable. The Negroes began crossing old social and physical boundaries into white neighborhoods. The white residents objected strenuously. "Improvement committees" were organized to withhold the advancing wave of Negroes. The physical and social walls of segregation were being weakened. Resulting tension was ultimately culminated in May, 1952, in the bombing of the home of the first family to move into the adjacent all-white neighborhood. Another bomb was exploded in September, 1952. There were numerous threats to Negroes who moved into the neighborhood. White property owners justified their actions on the grounds that movement of non-whites into their neighborhoods would result in the decline of the real estate and property values. The ultimate result, then, would be a general deterioration of neighborhoods undergoing this transition.¹¹⁷

Between 1940 and 1950, the metropolitan area of Kansas City had a population increase of 100,000, or 14.3 percent. The Negro

¹¹⁷Thomas L. Gillette, "A Study of the Effects of Negro Invasion on the Real Estate Values," American Journal of Economics, XVI (January, 1957), pp. 151-162.

population had increased by 33.9 percent. Housing available, standard and substandard, did not keep pace with the population increase during this period. This made an already crowded situation much more acute. Moreover, 50.6 percent of the housing occupied by Negroes in Kansas City was substandard. Many Negroes at this time were forced to occupy housing considerably below the quality they desired and in many instances, were financially able to possess.¹¹⁸

Kansas City exemplifies the problems typical of all metropolitan areas where Negroes are concentrated. As each succeeding year brings a new influx of migrants, the problems are intensified. If white families had not moved to the suburbs in large numbers, racial tensions created by the housing bottleneck would be far worse.

The Negro immigrated north only to discover that the discrimination which had seemed so oppressive in the South was more than a sectional provincialism; it was ubiquitous and could not be discarded as easily as could his rural background. This was revealed very clearly, especially with regard to housing problems, development of the urban ghetto, and the non-assimilation of most urban Negroes by the white culture of American cities.

¹¹⁸Ibid., pp. 151-167.

Despite such efforts as the benign quota system and President Johnson's repeated requests for a fair housing law "to bar racial discrimination in the sale or rental of housing," discrimination has not been altered.¹¹⁹ It has continued because of unchanging and unchangeable human prejudice. Upon the basis of this conclusion, Karl Taeuber contends that the focus of the Civil Rights effort since 1954 on alteration of cultural deprivation, lack of education, poverty, denial of employment, voting, and other rights among Negroes is totally irrelevant in the cities, that these factors are much less important to the cause of urban racial assimilation than is "outright discrimination" against Negroes by whites and other non-Negro ethnic groups.¹²⁰

The bad housing areas to which the Negro has been confined have contributed to family disorganization and delinquent behavior characteristic of the ghetto. The Negro is unable to buy, for housing is not freely available on equal terms. Economic and social factors bar him from the market for new construction. With the rapid population growth, and because of discrimination, Negroes are constantly looking for homes in the older, less expensive areas of

¹¹⁹Silberman, pp. 88-91.

¹²⁰Franklin, New York Times, August 8, 1965, p. 58.

the cities. This is unsettling for both the Negro and white communities for it leads to unstable, fast-changing neighborhoods. There is no such thing as a permanently integrated neighborhood. When the Negro moves in, violence may result, and it is inevitable that the area will be completely abandoned by white residents. These people leave the neighborhood for three reasons: fear of a Negro majority, prejudice, and depreciation in the value of the property.¹²¹

Other characteristics of the Negro slum district are summarized by Allan H. Spear in his study of the Chicago ghetto. Physical decomposition and social disorganization are predominant. Chicago's Woodlawn area, for example, is the principal port of entry for Negroes coming to the city from the South. The result is a large transient population. Gambling, prostitution and narcotics peddling are widespread. Social chaos increases the unrest. Juvenile delinquency is common. Many are dependent on welfare.¹²² Once spacious, grass-covered malls are now covered with dirt and broken glass. When the wind blows swirls of garbage are lifted into the air. On every block one can view buildings gutted by fire or vandals, and deserted by landlords. Children scribble on the walls. Garbage

¹²¹Crawford, p. 22.

¹²²Allan H. Spear, Black Chicago (Chicago, 1967) pp. 200-254.

fills the stairwells. Dead animals decompose in the alleys. Young men hang around street corners; old men drink fifty cent wine from paper bags.¹²³

Detroit is another example of the tensions and bitterness arising in a city where thousands of newcomers move in only to find themselves trapped in squalid housing areas by the customs of residential segregation. The black belt here is located in the core of metropolitan Detroit. This is a separate Negro world, and the area of urban blight and slums; it is "the remains of a city threatening to decay from the inside while those who might do something about it are fleeing to the suburbs. Junkyards clutter residential areas. The ugly, unpainted shacks are stubbed with 'for rent' signs. Inside, kerosene burners dimly penetrate dark, dismal and musty rooms. Parents talk of children bitten by rats."¹²⁴ These are only a few of the problems characteristic of the ghetto.

In St. Louis, in 1957, 75 to 80 percent of the non-white population was on general relief. In Washington, D. C., 78,000 Negro children needed public foster care, as opposed to only 1,650

¹²³David A Satter, "West Side Story--Home is Where the Welfare Check Comes," New Republic, CLV (July 2, 1966) pp. 15-19.

¹²⁴Rowan, pp. 32-33.

white children. The national percentage of Negro women living apart from their husbands was four times as great as that for white women. The head of the family frequently abdicated all responsibility. In the South, the Negro family was somewhat more unified, but in the big city this cohesiveness has been lost.¹²⁵

Many studying the problem of the ghetto have attempted to explain the causes of these squalid conditions within the ghetto which have resulted in so many problems. Martin Luther King stated that the urban problem was the result of economic exploitation, that these slum conditions came about and continued to exist because someone profited by their existence. Slum landlords have found a lucrative return on minimum investment, the result of inefficient enforcing of city building codes and overcrowding of living space. The tax structure on slum property is such that the worse the condition of a building, the less tax one has to pay. The landlord expects to collect his rent, but is not willing to make the necessary repairs.¹²⁶

This landlord, on the other hand, prevents a valid argument to refute these accusations. He states that because rents are not paid he cannot afford to make a large investment for upkeep. Real estate in the Lawndale area of Chicago, for example, is very unprofitable. Evidence of this is the abandoned buildings as well as

¹²⁵"The Farflowing Negro Tide," Newsweek, L (December 23, 1957), pp. 21-22.

¹²⁶Satter, pp. 15-19.

the impossibility of borrowing money for a first mortgage. Loan officers know that chances are overwhelming that the landlord will not be able to meet mortgage payments from rents on real estate in this area. And, it is economically unsound to finance a first mortgage on property that will probably never pay for itself. A University of California sociologist, Nathan Glazer, cited a case in New York City where a group was appointed to take over the worst slum buildings in the city using rent money to make necessary repairs. This group found that they could maintain the buildings no better than the original landlords. Tenant destructiveness makes adequate maintenance financially unfeasible and inadequate maintenance then perpetuates the neglect that leads to disrespect for property which is so characteristic of the Negro ghetto.¹²⁷ Thus, the situation is self-perpetuating.

In Chicago's West Side ghetto, aid recipients make up between 30 and 50 percent of the tenants of buildings that rent for under \$105 a month. They do not pay rent, and they are destructive. According to one manager who is responsible for more than thirty West Side buildings, aid recipients account for almost 85 percent of the rent delinquency in the area. Rent seems to be the least pressing

¹²⁷Ibid., pp. 22-23.

responsibility of these non-white tenants, for one can live in a building for as long as four months on one month's rent, or longer on partial payments. There is no way for the landlord to recover back rent, for the recipient has no wages. Furthermore, trying to find the recipient, if he does not want to be found, is a monumental task. Mailboxes in Lawndale may have five or ten names scrawled in crayon one over another. Letters are delivered to an address, not to a person. Only the public aid department caseworker knows the address of the recipient and often, he will not give the information.¹²⁸

Because the city is not absorbing and urbanizing the new Negro residents rapidly enough, the slums are no longer "the incubation of a new middle class."¹²⁹ Alienation is the predominant characteristic of all urban lower class non-whites. The Negro is caught within the web of what has been called urban blight, characterized by family dislocation, pauperism, crime and delinquency. White immigrants faced these same problems. Ultimately they were able to work their way into the mainstream of white America. Although discriminated against initially, the immigrant was able to overcome this barrier. But the Negro has not been able to escape the ghetto so easily. One reason is the color of his skin. In addition, environmental and

¹²⁸Ibid., pp. 22-23.

¹²⁹Silberman, pp. 88-91.

sociological factors have operated to retard vertical mobility of the Negro. All other slum-dwellers, when they can afford it, have been absorbed into the middle class. This has not been true of the Negro. There is little in his environment to give him aspiration or a sense of direction. He has no male model to emulate, and little reason to assume, according to Charles E. Silberman, writing for Fortune magazine, that education is the way out of the slum; thus, the tension grows as his efforts to escape remain ineffectual.¹³⁰

In an effort to relieve the plight of the non-white slum inhabitant, President Lyndon Johnson placed a bill before Congress in 1966 which proposed that Negro ghettos be rebuilt as a part of a 2.3 billion dollar program of slum clearance. This was the result of increasing pressure to break up the ghetto and move the Negro to the suburbs. Johnson also proposed Federal legislation to bar discrimination in sale or rental of housing, which passed Congress. He asked for rent supplements to help needy families pay rent, and to help them finance homes in the suburbs.¹³¹ These are examples of the various efforts to outlaw racial bias, but they have been more symbolic than real. Even those who support fair housing legislation say enactment

¹³⁰Ibid., pp. 88-91; Daniel N. Gordon, "A Note on Negro Alienation," American Journal of Sociology, LXX (January, 1965) pp. 477-479.

¹³¹"Negro Cities, White Suburbs--It's the Prospect for Year 2000," U. S. News and World Report, LX, pp. 72-73.

would not enhance a rearrangement of the racial problem within the near future. They are skeptical because of the failure of present, limited rules to make headway in bridging the gulf between the Negro city dweller and the white suburbanite. They state that the majority of Negroes could not afford housing even if it were available, for the median income of the Negro, according to census bureau estimates of 1964, was \$3,724 yearly, one half that of whites. However, even those whose economic status would allow them to live in the suburbs are excluded from these areas. One cannot assume that white and Negro families at the same income level are not residentially segregated. In no city do non-whites live randomly scattered in the same neighborhood with high income whites. Regardless of income, most Negroes live in Negro neighborhoods and most whites live in white neighborhoods. Furthermore, 85 percent of the urban non-white population prefer to remain with their own kind. Those with money encounter "crushing hostility and resentment," both overt and covert, from the whites. This increases their natural reluctance to move to the suburbs as well as their alienation from white culture.¹³² No amount of Federal

¹³²Monroe Karnin, "Race and Residence," Wall Street Journal, June 13, 1966, p. 167; Taeuber, "Residential Segregation," pp. 13-19.

legislation will change the prejudice that has resulted in housing discrimination.

Further ground for skepticism of Federal legislation is the fact that the largest slums and ghettos are in states with fair housing laws. No significant change in the housing patterns has followed enactment.¹³³ Efforts to enact fair-housing laws on both state and national levels have met with almost imperceptible success during the 1955-1965 period and after. It remains to be seen whether Federal legislation will succeed in alleviating the housing dilemma and its inherent problems with regard to the amalgamation of the Negro into the mainstream of urban life.

The segregation of Negro residences from those of whites underlies many problems faced by the urban non-white. One of the most urgent problems is the education dilemma, which has also been one of the most neglected aspects of the Civil Rights effort. The question of education is closely tied to the concentration of Negroes in their ethnic ghettos. Housing is a basic commodity which the Negro cannot purchase in the open market in the North or the South; thus, he is compelled to live in an all-Negro neighborhood and send his children to the all-Negro neighborhood school. According to Roy Wilkins, writing for Current History, extensive

¹³³Karnin, p. 167.

integration in the North will come only when the non-white gains freedom of residence.¹³⁴

The "white flight" has further contributed to the problem of integration in the schools, for this movement of the whites to the suburbs has made de facto segregation within the schools inevitable. Furthermore, population densities of areas occupied by Negroes in the cities of the North and West are sharply above the levels of the same neighborhoods when they were previously occupied by whites.¹³⁵ To further aggravate the problem, the non-white population is growing much faster than the white population, and Negro school enrollment is growing even faster than the total Negro population.¹³⁶ The result has been vastly overcrowded non-white neighborhood schools. Many schools are forced to operate on double shifts. Elsewhere in the same communities, in the older, white neighborhoods, the school populations have dropped rapidly as children have grown up and left the area. The result has been empty classrooms and smaller classes in many white sections of the city as opposed to the over-

¹³⁴"The Race Problem Moves North," U. S. News and World Report LXIII (August 23, 1967), pp. 69-74; Roy Wilkins, "Desegregation North and South," Current History (May, 1957), pp. 283-287.

¹³⁵"Race Problem Moves North," pp. 69-74; G. W. Foster, Jr., "The North and West Have Problems," p. 100.

¹³⁶"Can the North Really Integrate? An Official View," U. S. News and World Report, LIII (December 17, 1962), pp. 68-69.

crowded, sometimes double-shift classes of other areas which are all or largely Negro.¹³⁷ In few of the major cities do more than 20 percent of the non-white students attend school with white children.¹³⁸

There has been pressure from Negro groups in large cities such as New York and Chicago to use these cities' power to pick up the children of one neighborhood and move them to another so the races will be mixed in the schools. But many feel that such a transfer of non-whites to a predominantly white school would be at best awkward and artificial because of the contrived nature of such a setting as well as the vast difference in the socio-economic background of these two groups. It has also been suggested that schools should be built on the fringes of the neighborhoods. However, the fringes move. This would be only a temporary solution and might cause even more rapid transition of neighborhoods.¹³⁹

The situation is not alleviated by the attitude of school officials. They, although criticized for not moving toward integration fast enough, state that the prevalent de facto segregation is not their

¹³⁷Foster, pp. 69-72.

¹³⁸Chester Bowles, "Has the North Clean Hands?" New Republic CXLI(July 6, 1959), pp. 6-8; Rowan, p. 32.

¹³⁹"Jim Crow Dressed Up," Nation, CLXXXIV; "Can the Negro Really Integrate?" pp. 68-69.

fault. According to them, residential patterns rather than racial bias is the root of the problem. Moreover, the pressure toward integration has been paralleled by increasing resistance, among the whites to a forced mixing of the races, impeding the process still further.¹⁴⁰ The superintendent and school officials have been faced with Negro pressure toward more rapid integration on one hand, and increasing resistance of those opposed on the other. The white populations of non-southern cities oppose segregation in Mississippi, but cannot apply this ideal to their own situation when confronted with the same problem.

In some instances, as in New Rochelle, New York, school district lines have been redrawn in such a way within the residential areas that white students have been given transfers to schools outside their neighborhoods, resulting again in de facto segregation.¹⁴¹ Almost three-fourths of the New York City schools were still segregated in 1966, twelve years after the Supreme Court ruling reversing the principle of separate but equal education. Englewood, a suburb of Manhattan, faced a two-year school desegregation controversy as late as 1962-63. The controversy was the result of

¹⁴⁰"Race Problem Moves North," pp. 69-74.

¹⁴¹Ibid., pp. 69-74.

a study of students at Lincoln School in Englewood where 495 of 505 pupils were non-white. Achievement tests showed that Lincoln sixth graders were two years behind students in other elementary schools. The remedy proposed by the Negro parents was that the students should go to schools that were not 98 percent Negro. However, Englewood's City Council denied a direct causal connection between racial concentration and the quality of education received. It stated that the 1954 Supreme Court decision did not apply to Englewood, that segregation had not been deliberate, but had been de facto, the result of the "white flight" to the suburbs, thus absolving themselves of any obligation to reassign the students. Fifteen non-southern states experienced approximately sixty-nine similar battles between 1954 and 1963. These controversies had been provoked by the fact that segregated neighborhoods led to segregated schools and subsequent objection to this situation by non-whites and whites who opposed segregation.¹⁴² Thus, fifteen years after the Supreme Court's decision to integrate schools, most efforts have apparently resulted in abysmal failure. De facto segregation in the North has actually increased since the Supreme Court decision according to an article written for Saturday Evening Post.¹⁴³

¹⁴²Gerald Walker, "Englewood and the Northern Dilemma," Nation, CXC VII (July 6, 1963), pp. 7-10.

¹⁴³Steward Alsop, "The South's Revenge," Saturday Evening Post, CCCXXXIX (September 24, 1966), pp. 18-21.

The problem of school segregation exists in every northern city with a sizable non-white population. In most cities, minority groups have centered their major attack on the housing dilemma, the area of greatest resistance and the area imposing the severest threat of violent conflict. Negro leaders have concentrated on the housing problem because the location of their homes determines the schools their children will attend. They believe that education and location of their homes increases the chances of escaping the "web of delinquency and violence" characteristic of the ghetto.¹⁴⁴ On the other hand, the question has been raised as to whether any plan for integration could be completely effective in light of the changing school patterns characteristic of urban areas. The Philadelphia Superintendent of Schools, Dr. Allen H. Wetter, said in 1962 that there was no way in which methods consistent with sound educational practices could be adopted which would prevent segregation.¹⁴⁵ It would seem that the only solution allowing teachers and schools to maintain definite standards of achievement and preventing mediocrity in American education would be a track system in which students were grouped according to their individual abilities. However, wherever

¹⁴⁴Rowan, p. 86.

¹⁴⁵"Can the Negro Really Integrate?" pp. 68-69.

this system has been tried non-whites, partially because of poor academic backgrounds, have been placed in the lower tracks in disproportionate numbers. Negro politicians have thus denounced the system as another form of segregation.¹⁴⁶ These non-white politicians fail to realize that unless students are grouped in some manner, one teacher is forced to deal with wide differences in motivation, ability and achievement among children in the same class. As a result, the teacher cannot allow for individual differences. The extremely intelligent students as well as those at the other end of the spectrum must be ignored. The teacher is forced to adapt his approach to the median level of intelligence and cannot give individual attention to those above or below the norm.

A solution to the problem of school segregation is essential, for the importance of the school lies in the fact that it is the social institution touching the Negro problem most directly. Since the 1890's the public school has been the means by which newcomers to the city, primarily the second generation, have been able to move out of the slums. The public school should have been the greatest opportunity to dissolve the cultural barrier blocking the Negro advance into the mainstream of American life. But because of the segregation dilemma

¹⁴⁶Alsop, pp. 18-21.

this opportunity has not and cannot be taken advantage of completely.

The problems encountered in the Negro slum school aggravate the situation still further until it becomes a vicious cycle, feeding on and perpetuating itself.¹⁴⁷ A child entering school is, more often than not, unprepared. Frequently, he is badly behaved because he sees the environment of the school as alien and hostile. It is something he cannot comprehend and therefore something to fear. The reaction of these children to an environment that seems so hostile is often so ferocious that they try physically to destroy their schools. The teachers are compelled to give their main attention to keeping order. Occasionally the teachers themselves are in physical danger. Discipline gains precedence over learning in such an environment. Another problem is the transience of the non-white urban population. Families move frequently. The pupil turnover is very high, reaching more than one-hundred percent in some New York slum schools.¹⁴⁸ Under such conditions, one would expect to spend more for education per Negro than white. However, the opposite is true. The schools in the Negro slums are the most overcrowded, are manned by the least experienced teachers many of whom are not even certified, and

¹⁴⁷Silberman, pp. 88-91.

¹⁴⁸Alsop, pp. 18-21; Silberman, pp. 88-91; Foster, pp. 69-72.

have the highest ratios of students to teachers. It is almost impossible to obtain an adequate supply of competent and interested teachers. The physical facilities of the slum schools are often inferior, buildings are old, and excessive enrollment increases the burden of the educational program and facilities.¹⁴⁹

With semi-literate backgrounds and hostility toward school and teachers, many children never learn to read properly. This ultimately atrophies the entire learning process as the Negro falls behind in every other subject. By the time he reaches junior or senior high, it is almost impossible to communicate with him.¹⁵⁰ Three of five Negro children thus drop out of school before graduation, uneducated, uneducatable, and unemployable.¹⁵¹ The inability to achieve and subsequent alienation leads to great frustration. The Negro student feels that the segregated school system is not preparing him to compete in the white world. Lacking training, he cannot find a job, has no earning power, and is relegated to marginal or sub-marginal existence. He is eventually robbed of the will to try. Surrounded by a poor family and community and with no example to emulate, a child faces the problem of getting himself off the treadmill on his own initiative.

¹⁴⁹Foster, pp. 69-72.

¹⁵⁰Silberman, pp. 88-91.

¹⁵¹"Big City Life Said to Exclude Negro," New York Times, April 28, 1963, p. 84.

According to Dorothy K. Newman, writing for Monthly Labor Review, Negroes at all age levels place high value on education. They realize that this is the most effective and probably the most certain means of advancement. In fact, according to Newman, many Negro parents are more interested in their children's schooling than are white parents. Among poor families in which the father has not finished high school, the proportion of non-white to white children in the sixteen to seventeen and eighteen to nineteen age groups enrolled in schools in urbanized areas is substantially larger, indicating their recognition of the value of education. Since 1950, the proportion of Negro youth enrolled in school has risen more rapidly than that of white teenagers.¹⁵² By the fall of 1962 and 1963, approximately the same proportion of non-white as white youths were in school. For the sixteen to seventeen age group, proportions were close: 78 percent for non-white students and 86 percent for white.¹⁵³

The 1950-60 decade saw, for these ages, a significantly greater rise in enrollment than in population among Negroes. Since 1960, the increase in enrollment has continued to exceed the non-white population growth rate, although this enlarged enrollment

¹⁵²Newman, pp. 502-506; "Negro Problem Keeps Growing," pp. 58-62.

¹⁵³Newman, pp. 502-506.

has not entirely absorbed the marked increase in the number of youth aged sixteen to nineteen.¹⁵⁴ Median educational attainment has thus risen although the gap between white and non-white educational achievement remains wide. The average education for the non-white male was 12.1 years of schooling in 1966 as opposed to 10.5 years in 1960. The median educational level for white youth on the other hand, was 12.6 years in 1966 as opposed to 12.4 years of school in 1960. The percentage of non-white men who finished high school rose between 1960 and 1966 from 36 to 53 percent. The number of white males who finished high school rose from 63 to 73 percent between 1960 and 1966. Thus, the percentage of Negroes finishing high school is increasing significantly faster than is that of whites.¹⁵⁵ However, many believe that until the educational gap between the races is eliminated, Americans will continue to be confronted with an insoluble race problem. The continuing increase in non-white enrollment substantiates the premise that the Negro recognizes the value of education. According to Dorothy K. Newman, the dropout problem which continues in spite of increased enrollment and in spite of the supposed high motivation of the non-white, is not the result of declining aspirations

¹⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 502-506.

¹⁵⁵"President's Report," New York Times, November 3, 1967, p. 17.

but exists because of the problems encountered in the classroom.

Employment, income and occupational structure should also be included in a study of the Negro migrant in urban areas. Not only is the non-white a man without a home, he is also a man without assured earning power. Whether he is an unskilled worker or a college graduate, employment, although hoped for, does not always materialize. The combined problems of limited skills and job discrimination often relegate the non-whites to the lowest paying jobs or to chronic unemployment.¹⁵⁷ The Negro has traditionally suffered from more irregular employment than his white counterparts for the reasons stated above and because residents of disadvantaged neighborhoods characteristically find greater employment difficulties than most workers in our society. Thus, the housing dilemma also plays an important role in the inability of the non-white to find lucrative employment. And the ghettos expand due to confinement of the non-white to disadvantaged neighborhoods because of joblessness and lack of earning power.¹⁵⁸

Economically, a large majority of Negroes have found it harder than ever to compete with whites. Negroes who went north before 1950

¹⁵⁶Newman, pp. 502-506.

¹⁵⁷Boyle, pp. 390-393; Foster, pp. 69-72.

¹⁵⁸Foster, pp. 69-72; Lawrence, pp. 104-117.

were able to find jobs. Wage rates were high when compared with the non-white income as sharecropper and fieldhand in the South. Many jobs were available to the unskilled migrant. However, within recent years hiring standards have stiffened as unskilled jobs have been eliminated. Most major companies are "equal opportunity" employers. They have fewer unskilled jobs to offer, but are willing to hire Negroes for higher paying jobs that require more skills.¹⁵⁹

As the Negro has gone North and West, the difficulty that many have competing in an integrated society has become increasingly apparent. The jobs the Negro wants most are those with better pay and higher skills, but there are more job opportunities than there are non-whites to fill them. Employers throughout the United States are discovering this. Non-whites are being hired as fast as companies can locate them. There is a shortage of professional and technical personnel in industry and government jobs, all of which are open to any Negro. Employers willing to hire them have trouble finding non-whites to hire. There has been a nation-wide effort to find qualified Negroes to fill good jobs in business and government. Colleges as well as medical and

¹⁵⁹"Negro Problem Keeps Growing," pp. 62-63.

professional schools cannot find qualified Negroes. The National Scholarships and Service Fund for Negro students reports that it has five times as many places available in Negro colleges as there are students to fill them. Colleges and universities have been swamped by recruiting agents from business and government looking for non-whites to fill available jobs. The result of this active recruiting policy has been the discovery that there is a shortage of non-whites who qualify for the skilled jobs. Many have not taken advantage of professional and business opportunities which the growth of the big-city Negro population has offered.¹⁶⁰

The number of Negro physicians in the United States, for example, has remained unchanged for many years. James J. McFadden, Commissioner of Labor in New York City says, "There is no question about it--there is a shortage of qualified Negroes for professional and semi-professional jobs." New York City has set up a "job talent center" to give employers information about non-whites with special skills or college training. Approximately 125 companies have contacted the center as opposed to only 300 Negroes. The United States Commission on Civil Rights concluded on the

¹⁶⁰Silberman, pp. 88-91; "Jobs for Negroes--Is There a Real Shortage?" U. S. News and World Report, LV (August 12, 1963), p. 28.

basis of such evidence that the principal reason for continued and continuing Negro poverty has been a lack of motivation on the part of many of this minority group to improve their educational and occupational status.¹⁶¹ However, it has also been shown that many non-whites are extremely interested in bettering their socio-economic status through education and occupation. Thus, to say that lack of motivation is a principal factor in continued Negro poverty is an oversimplification of the many and varied factors involved which include poor educational background as well as environmental problems. Lack of motivation is an important factor, but there are other aspects of the problem which underlie and perhaps explain, to a certain degree, this apparent apathy.

There are others who have studied the problem who would take issue with the view that there are not enough qualified Negroes to fill the jobs available. Joseph Lyford of Saturday Review states that trained and educated Negroes are now entering the economic arena in substantial numbers. As educational opportunities have expanded, the number of qualified Negroes has multiplied. According to Lyford, the American Negroes are not finding jobs proportionate to their numbers or equal to their competence. He states that this

¹⁶¹Ibid., pp. 88-91; and p. 28.

is true with respect to both skilled and unskilled manpower.¹⁶² However, more and more companies are employing an increasing percentage of non-whites in their work forces. The unemployment level is not merely the result of discrimination as Lyford implies, but has remained essentially unchanged because the Negro population has increased more rapidly in metropolitan areas than have job opportunities. Furthermore, many companies have removed their plants from big cities to the country. This also handicaps qualified Negroes who hope to move into technical work and other better paying occupations. Thus, the job opportunities, regardless of race factors, are not being increased in cities as rapidly as they were in prior years.¹⁶³ This factor is also an essential aspect of the non-white unemployment problem. Moreover, Negroes are constantly moving into jobs vacated by whites for better ones. The employment pattern is very similar in this respect to the housing pattern. Much of the employment taken over by the Negro is vulnerable to automation. The result has been that Negroes who moved to cities because their farm jobs were abolished by technology are frequently finding the same thing happening in their city jobs.¹⁶⁴ According to a study of

¹⁶²Joseph Lyford, "The De-Regionalization of a Problem," Saturday Review, XLVI (October 19, 1963), p. 28.

¹⁶³Lawrence, p. 104.

¹⁶⁴"Negro Problem Keeps Growing," pp. 62-63.

unemployment conducted in 1955, 17 percent of the Negroes, primarily wage-earners, were unemployed. This study was made in a hard-core area of a large city, typical of non-white ghettos generally. The non-white unemployment level was more than twice as high as that among white wage earners of the same occupational level within the city as a whole.¹⁶⁵ The gap between non-white and white employment levels for New York City in 1960 was similar to that of the 1955 study especially for youths aged fourteen to nineteen. Unemployment for Negro youths was 17.8 percent, twice that for white youths, which was 8.4 percent.¹⁶⁶ Thus, even in times of prosperity and despite gains in the 1960's, unemployment rates for Negroes have remained consistently double those of whites in every category.

Negro workers continue to be concentrated in the lowest-skilled and lowest-paying occupations. There is a tremendous gap between employment conditions in most of the nation and those prevalent in disadvantaged Negro areas of large cities. In 1966, the rate of unemployment in these areas was 9.3 percent, as compared to 7.3 percent for Negroes generally. These neighborhoods, however, are where the migrants from southern communities

¹⁶⁵"Housing--Changing Residential Patterns," Social Forces, XLI (October, 1959), pp. 253-260.

¹⁶⁶"Big City Life Said to Exclude Negroes," New York Times, April 28, 1963, p. 84.

are located, and unemployment is their principal problem upon arrival in the metropolitan area. Underemployment for this group was 32.7 percent in nine major cities surveyed, 8.8 times greater than the over-all employment rate for all United States workers. The problem of the central city is, therefore, further aggravated by the constant arrival of new, unemployed migrants, and is a fundamental cause of the persistent poverty in these areas.¹⁶⁷

Employment has been a major problem faced by the Negro migrant who when he shifted to nonfarm employment, faced a period of greater job insecurity than his white counterparts because of his lack of educational and vocational training. He was further handicapped because of discriminatory hiring and layoff practices. His employment was restricted primarily to unskilled and semiskilled occupations, jobs most sensitive to business cycles and vulnerable to large-scale reductions through automation. Very few were in white-collar occupations. In 1962, only 17 percent of all employed Negroes were in the professional or technical fields as opposed to 47 percent of the white workers. Whites in this group outnumbered non-white workers twenty-eight to one. The representation in the civilian labor

¹⁶⁷Karl and Alma Taeuber, Negroes in Cities (Chicago, 1965), pp. 126-150.

force, on the other hand, was nine whites for every non-white worker.¹⁶⁸

Clerical work and production jobs in industry attract the greatest number of Negro migrants. The majority of non-white males employed in these occupations in the North and West are born in another region. According to Dorothy K. Newman, occupational dispersion and employment opportunities outside service and laboring jobs have been much greater for Negroes in the North and West than in the South. Basing her information on 1960 census data, she states that almost half of all employed Negro men in the North are in the lower range of white-collar work and semiskilled and skilled jobs.¹⁶⁹

An impressive gain for the Negro in the 1950's was in the semiskilled field. Negro males accounted for the entire increase in this field from 1950 to 1960; many replaced white men who had advanced to better jobs. This increase, according to Newman, was most significant outside the South.¹⁷⁰ Thus, in spite of the many problems the Negro faced in his transition from rural to

¹⁶⁸Matthew A. Kessler, "Economic Status of Non-white Workers," Monthly Labor Review, LXXXVI (July, 1963), pp. 780-788.

¹⁶⁹Newman, pp. 502-506.

¹⁷⁰Ibid., pp. 502-506.

urban life, he has, perhaps, made some gains by moving North and West.

Median incomes of Negroes have always been far below those of whites of the same educational level. Often, the gap increases with educational attainment.¹⁷¹ Although generally lower, the ratio of non-white to white earnings and income is significantly higher in the North and West than in the South. According to Newman, this regional difference holds in each occupational group and at each age level, primarily because of the great range in occupations held by Negroes outside the South. Earning ratios of non-white to white workers in 1959 of men aged twenty-five to sixty-four in the experienced labor force was about 50 percent in the South and more than 70 percent in the North and West.¹⁷² When surveying Negro and white income ratios in all occupations collectively, it is evident that the Negro made his greatest income gains between 1940 and 1954. Since then, his progress has been negligible. Earnings for whites have increased faster than those for Negroes. Between 1954 and 1958, the income ratio of non-whites

¹⁷¹Eugene Kramer, "Economics and Pigmentation," New Republic CXLIX (October 26, 1963), pp. 30-31; "Report to President Suggests Gain in Negro Income," New York Times, November 3, 1967, p. 2.

¹⁷²Newman, p. 503.

to whites declined from 56.2 to 49.9 percent.¹⁷³ Between 1959 and 1960, however, Negro income rose 13 percent while white income rose only 3 percent.¹⁷⁴

The Negro figure was still much lower and declined again in 1961 to 52.2 percent.¹⁷⁵ By 1965 the percentage was 55, and by 1966, the median annual income of a Negro family had increased to 58 percent of that of white families.

Between 1965 and 1966 the proportion increased sharply, but this may not indicate a trend. There was a similar increase during the Korean war.¹⁷⁶ Thus, the Negro income continues to fluctuate. Progress has been made, however. More than 55 percent of Negro wage earners continued to fall into the menial and unskilled categories in 1964. By 1967, more than half the non-whites were working in skilled and semiskilled jobs as opposed to only 42 percent in 1960.¹⁷⁷

The poverty percentages in large cities for 1964 would tend to support the idea of Negro progress in the North and West, if compared with poverty percentages in southern metropolitan areas.

¹⁷³New Republic, CXLIX, October 2, 1963, pp. 23-24.

¹⁷⁴New York Times, September 30, 1960, p. 3.

¹⁷⁵New Republic, pp. 23-24.

¹⁷⁶"Report to President," p. 2.

¹⁷⁷"Are Negroes Leaving Big Cities?" pp. 6-7; M. S. Handler, "U. S. Finds Negroes Trapped in Menial Jobs," New York Times, November 16, 1964, p. 2.

They are as follows: Los Angeles--23 percent; San Francisco--23 percent; Newark--24 percent; Chicago--27 percent; New York--27 percent; Cleveland--28 percent; Columbus--30 percent; Philadelphia--30 percent; Baltimore--32 percent; Buffalo--33 percent; Detroit--34 percent; Kansas City--35 percent; and Pittsburgh--36 percent.

Atlanta's poverty percentage is 49, much higher than that of northern cities surveyed. Furthermore, only 8 percent of the Negroes of Memphis and Atlanta fell into the middle class category. The percentages for northern cities are much higher, ranging from 27 percent in Philadelphia to 45 percent in Englewood, New Jersey. New York lists 30 percent of its Negroes as middle class and Chicago's percentage is 35.¹⁷⁸

Although the non-white has increased his income somewhat by moving from the South, many Negro males are unable to earn enough to support their families adequately. This explains the fact that a relatively high rate of secondary wage earners are found in Negro families, proof of their dependence on more than one source of livelihood. Often the women are compelled to take the role of breadwinner. The result has been that the percentage of Negro families headed by women increased from 19.4 percent in 1960 to

¹⁷⁸Handler, p. 21.

Negro men thus lose their self-respect as well as the respect of their children. This in turn increases the instability of the Negro family and it is often manifested through desertion by the father, a higher divorce rate, and a general shortage of parental supervision for children victimized by broken homes or by the fact that both parents spend too much time earning a living. Against such a background, the insecurity and delinquency of non-white children and adults is understandable.

Furthermore, there has been some debate as to whether the non-white enhances his socio-economic status significantly enough to warrant migration from the South. Many southern politicians are taking this stand. They state that any economic gain the non-white might experience by migrating North or West will be negated by new problems such as drug addiction, crime rate and illegitimacy which the non-white will have to cope with on a much larger scale than he would in the South.¹⁸⁰ It thus becomes a question of material gain through migration versus the problems of the urban ghetto environment to which the Negro is confined once he moves to northern and western industrial centers. It seems that any material

¹⁷⁹Rowan, pp. 32-33; "Housing-Changing Residential Patterns," pp. 253-260; "Are Negroes Leaving Big Cities?", p. 6; "Minority Groups in California, Monthly Labor Review, LXXXIX (September, 1966), pp. 978-983.

¹⁸⁰"Negroes Future," U. S. News and World Report, pp. 66-68.

gain the Negro might experience through migration would be offset by the prejudice and almost unbridgeable gap between ghetto and city life of northern and western urban areas.

The Negro has become increasingly important politically as more and more attention has been given to his dilemma. Migration from the South has enhanced his political importance considerably, especially in the urban areas of the North and West. One can already see the effects of changing population on programs for rebuilding and reshaping urban areas. The entire society is now aware of the new revolutionary mood of the non-whites since the Harlem riot of 1964, followed by violence to black communities throughout the nation.¹⁸¹ If the present trend continues, it is predicted that Negroes will outnumber whites in ten of the largest cities by the year 2000. By then, the Negro will make up one-third or more of the population in most of the thirty largest cities.¹⁸²

Initially, the Negro did not want separate political strength. He merely wanted integration, political assimilation and identity with established parties. This has changed within recent years as the black movement has become more militant. As politicians

¹⁸¹"Negro Cities, White Suburbs," pp. 72-73; Osofsky, pp. 243-245.

¹⁸²"Negro Cities, White Suburbs," pp. 72-73.

became increasingly aware of the political implications of Negro migration and began to study non-white interest in political issues of the 1950's they discovered that this desire for assimilation was the prevalent attitude. Politicians found that interest in politics varied among the economic classes, however. The very poor were too busy wondering about their next meal, or relief payments. The middle group was concerned with material benefits and with which candidate would build them new schools, hospitals and housing projects.¹⁸³ However, politicians realized that the heretofore muted Negro voices were going to find expression in the November, 1956 election in the cities of the North.¹⁸⁴

In many northern areas the Negro, by 1956, had the power of swinging both city and state elections. Thus, as the Negro has migrated North, he has gained tremendous political strength. The Congressional Quarterly stated in 1956 that Negroes held the balance of power in sixty-one congressional districts in the North. The non-white has experienced his greatest political power in cities where the bulk of the Negro population lives, where the ratio of Negroes

¹⁸³John O'Kearney, "Which Way Harlem?" Nation, CLXXXIII (October 27, 1956), pp. 347-349.

¹⁸⁴Robert Gruenberg, "Dawson of Illinois--What Price Moderation?" Nation, CLXXXIII (September 8, 1956), pp. 196-198.

to whites increases every day.¹⁸⁵

The non-white population has been an important force in Chicago politics within recent years. Chicago's Democratic non-white population which holds the determining balance of votes, has been controlled by William Dawson, grandson of a slave. His influence has been greatest in South Side Chicago, characterized by overcrowded tenements, factories, used car lots, stores and saloons. Dawson won his first congressional seat in 1942. He was the only Negro in Congress, representing 13,000,000 American Negroes. In 1950 he was named vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee. He had achieved power and prominence during these years and was able to attract into his organization some of the "bright young men" of Chicago Negro life who possessed skill, education, background, and the belief that only through the regular party system would the Negro progress. Dawson and his followers rejected the argument of more militant leaders that neither party could serve them effectively. However, as non-white militancy has gained momentum, Dawson's political leadership has been jeopardized. He has paid for his moderation

¹⁸⁵James Q. Wilson, "How the Negro Uses His Vote," Reporter, XXII (March 31, 1960), pp. 20-22; U. S. News and World Report, XLII (March 8, 1957), pp. 27-32.

through loss of prestige and loss of the support of many non-white voters.¹⁸⁶

By 1960 the impact of the non-white voters in northern cities was such that four cities had elected Negroes to Congress. William C. Dawson still represented Chicago. Adam Clayton Powell represented New York, Charles Diggs, Jr. was elected by Detroit voters and Robert N. C. Nix represented Philadelphia. By 1960 non-whites were strongly represented in councils of dozens of cities and in many state legislatures.¹⁸⁷ The result of this political strength has been a certain ambivalence on the part of white voters with regard to the Negro problem. Because of the way northern whites view the Negro question it is dangerous for a politician to be an all out advocate of civil rights if he wishes to appeal to the white voters. Only a one-in-four minority gives an unconditional "yes" to Negro aspirations. It would seem, then, that an unqualified affirmation on the part of a politician with regard to non-white civil rights would be detrimental. However, the gains of the liberal white politician among the Negro voters now offset votes he has lost among white Americans.¹⁸⁸ Thus, when Negroes

¹⁸⁶Gruenberg, pp. 96-98.

¹⁸⁷Ibid., pp. 96-98.

¹⁸⁸Stewart Alsop and Oliver Quayle, "What Northerners

enter an area, white politicians take a vigorous liberal stand. If the Negro element is the dominant group in the district, race appeals override positions on other issues.¹⁸⁹

City political officials have realized that the growing Negro population is one of the largest, most dependable sources of political strength. When a party in the city of Chicago allocates the resources it has for getting a large vote, it often decides to concentrate them most heavily in Negro neighborhoods. This has paid off in Chicago. When Mayor Richard J. Daley of this city was first elected in 1955, his majority came largely from Negro wards. By 1960 Chicago and Manhattan provided between one-fourth and one-half of the Democratic Parties' majorities. This ratio has increased in recent years.¹⁹⁰ And, with numerical majority goes political control. This could mean Negro governments in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Cleveland, St. Louis, Baltimore and Newark. These are among the top ten cities in size and they are rapidly moving toward a population of at least half-Negro. Washington, D. C., in 1966,

Really think of the North," Saturday Evening Post, CCXXXVI (September 7, 1963), p. 56.

¹⁸⁹Wilson, pp. 20-22.

¹⁹⁰Ibid., pp. 20-22.

was 43 percent Negro and is moving toward 75 percent. This is the major reason Congress has not granted the Capitol self-government.¹⁹¹

Many are apprehensive of the day when Negroes will control the city councils or elect a mayor. Some cities have proposed changes in the political system to curtail non-white political power and reduce the number of Negro office holders. The Los Angeles City Council has made it a practice to redraw district lines every four years, and has done so in a way that has placed Negro registered voters in a minority position in any given district. Most Negro leaders charge publicly that this is deliberate gerry-mandering to keep non-whites out of the council.¹⁹²

Thus, in recent decades there has been a rapidly growing interest in the voting behavior of the American Negro. Three major reasons for this interest have become evident. Non-whites have a reputation for voting en bloc more solidly than any other minority group. Moreover, there has been a rapid increase in the total number of Negroes voting, the result of non-white population growth, the increased political consciousness of the American Negro and Negro migration to northern cities. Politicians are increasingly aware of the fact that non-whites hold the key to

¹⁹¹"Negro Cities," pp. 72-73.

¹⁹²Wilson, pp. 20-22.

political success in many urban areas. Because of these factors, the black population now enjoys a national political prominence disproportionate to its numbers and unknown thirty years ago. The migration of the Negro to the North has led to an electoral revolution in the United States. The civil rights battles of the non-whites are now fought in the wards and precincts of northern cities. ¹⁹³

The Negro's role is felt heavily in the cities. An increasing number of urban non-whites are being elected to public office. White politicians are progressively more vocal in their support of legislation popular among the Negroes. ¹⁹⁴ In many cities the Negro vote has become the balance of power. The political strength of the non-whites lies in the fact that they are located in the most strategic areas, states with the largest number of electoral votes. ¹⁹⁵ Furthermore, the Negro has begun to take the initiative, make specific demands, and is now requesting that he be governed by

¹⁹³Pierce F. Lewis, "Impact of Negro Migration on the Electoral Geography of Flint, Michigan, 1932-1962: A Cartographic Analysis," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, LV (March, 1965), pp. 1-35.

¹⁹⁴"Negro Cities," pp. 72-73.

¹⁹⁵James Reston, "Negro Vote Now a Major Target in Campaign," New York Times, August 10, 1952, p. 3.

people of his own race.¹⁹⁶ Politicians can no longer dictate the non-white's political affiliation.

Northern and western prejudice has been evidenced as the Negro has gained politically. This was revealed clearly in Governor Wallace's invasion of northern presidential primaries in 1964 and again in 1968. His good showings illuminated white resentment of the Negro advance. In 1964, he left Wisconsin with 34 percent of the Democratic presidential preference ballots. In Indiana, he obtained 32 percent, and in Maryland, 43 percent. These voters were making Wallace the focus of their fears as they were simultaneously unable to check the inevitable and increasing political prominence of the American Negro.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁶"Farflowing Negro Tide," Newsweek, L (December 23, 1957), pp. 21-22.

¹⁹⁷Murray Kempton, "Gloria and the Governor," Spectator, CCXII (May 22, 1964), p. 684.

CONCLUSION

In considering the many facets and implications of Negro migration from the South, one is made aware of the continuing complexity of the Negro problem, especially as he has migrated to the industrial centers of the North and West. Adjustment to urban life has been difficult, for rural customs and mores are no longer appropriate. It has come as a surprise to many that leaving the South is not synonymous with leaving segregation and discrimination. This fact becomes evident in the job hunt and in the frustrating confinement of the black belts of these urban centers. The Negro has migrated primarily in search of greater economic opportunity but has not made allowance for the increased cost of living in northern and western urban centers. Although he has made some progress educationally, economically, and with regard to better job opportunities, his situation is ultimately dependent upon fluctuating economic conditions. His future is not secure. The Negro, by migrating from the South, has left problems characteristic of this region, only to create new problems and to face equally perplexing situations which, because of his rural background, he is not

equipped to solve. The question as to whether he has ultimately gained by leaving the South remains unanswered, as does the question of solution to the problems created by his immigration.

It is increasingly evident, however, that his problems will not soon be solved by legislation. No law can eradicate human prejudice. In the final analysis, it would appear that his greatest hope lies in effective education. Perhaps emphasis, then, should no longer be housing and Civil Rights legislation, but rather an all-out search for pertinent solutions to the problems of education in the ghettos.

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