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ABSTRACT

United States population trends in 1960 suggested that the growing socioeconomic status of blacks would result in increasingly similar migration patterns among blacks and whites. Analysis of 1950 to 1980 census data was conducted to test that prediction. The analysis showed that in general, recent population trends have differed greatly from past trends, and are characterized by a shift toward nonmetropolitan growth (versus earlier movements toward large cities) and a resurgence of Southern growth. Examination of movements between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan counties showed that blacks are participating in the same redistribution trends that characterized the American population as a whole in the 1970-1980 decade. The greater black (versus white) growth rates in fringe counties, the resurgence of black growth in nonmetropolitan areas, and the decline in racial growth differentials between the South and non-South in the 1970s suggest that blacks are increasingly affected by social forces that determine white population redistribution. However, growth rates have not completely converged: the narrowing of the gap between percentages of blacks and whites is marked only in fringe counties of large metropolitan counties. Given the magnitude of change in the last decade, the uneven distribution of blacks and whites will probably remain despite recent evidence of convergence. (Author/MJL)

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THE GEOGRAPHIC REDISTRIBUTION OF BLACKS AND NONBLACKS:

THIRTY YEARS IN PERSPECTIVE

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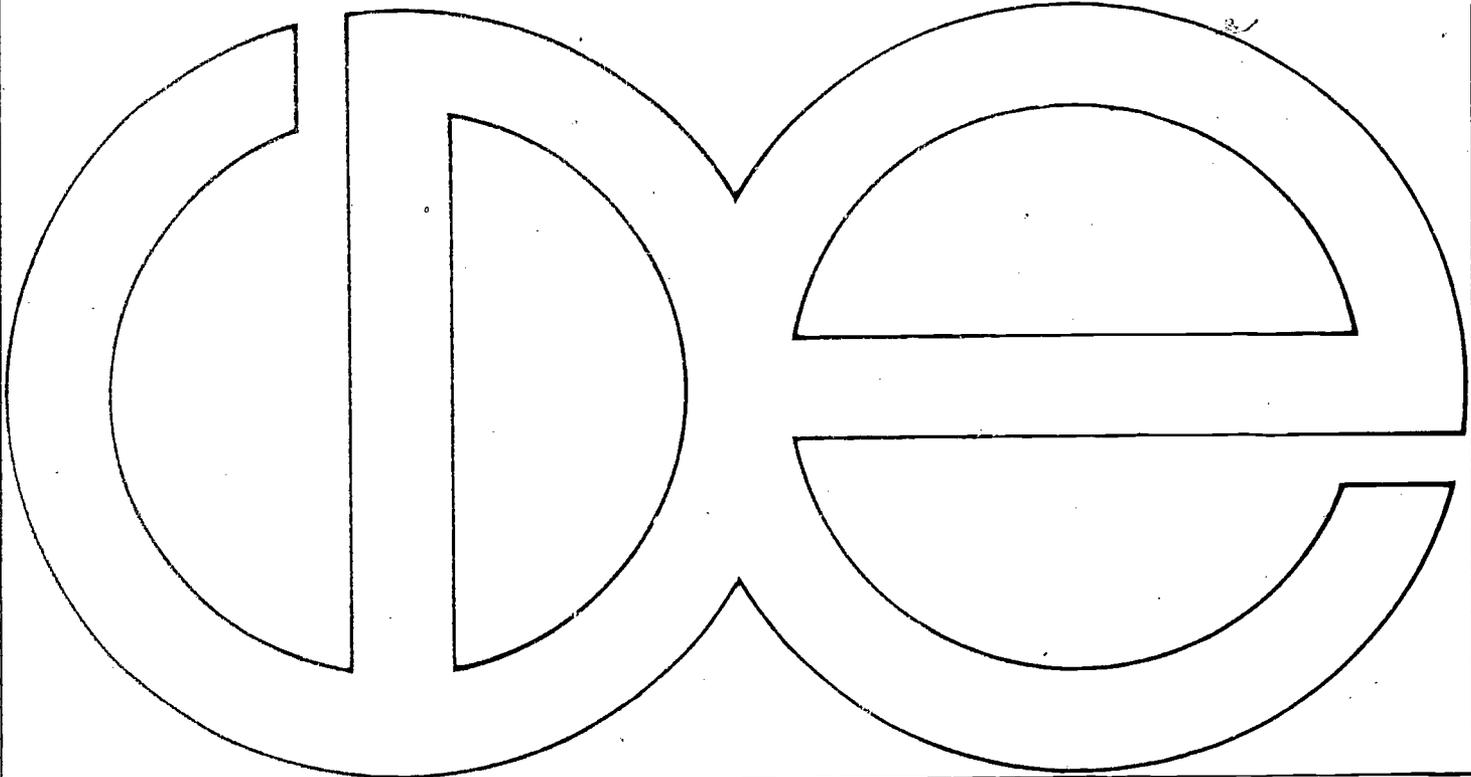
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THIRTY YEARS IN PERSPECTIVE

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INTRODUCTION

During this century, the geographic distributions of blacks and nonblacks within the United States have changed greatly, and yet have continued to be rather dissimilar.¹ In 1900, most blacks resided in the rural South. Since then prevailing movement has been out of the South, toward the central cities of the North. (Hamilton, 1964; Beale, 1971). In 1960, for the first time, the number of blacks in core counties of large northern SMSAs exceeded the number in the nonmetropolitan South. During this period whites, though not concentrated so much in the South, also moved out of rural and nonmetropolitan areas, but this movement included a strong suburban growth around major cities and into adjacent counties.

Black-nonblack comparisons are complicated, furthermore, by the emergence of new patterns of population redistribution since 1960. While suburbanization continues apace, growth has shifted away from densely settled areas in the North toward southern and western states, and away from the largest metropolitan areas and toward smaller SMSAs and nonmetropolitan areas. Each of these shifts toward population deconcentration runs counter to previous redistribution trends, and particularly to trends for the black population. By now considerable work has been done documenting and seeking to explain these recent departures from long-standing trends (for example see Brown and Wardwell, 1980 and work cited therein). Post-1970 data bases, however, primarily county population estimates and local area surveys, have included little or no information by race. Now that total counts of the 1980 US Census are available, we can for the first time follow the trends of blacks and

others through this period of transition.

From an analysis of 1960 Census data, Taeuber and Taeuber (1965:440) suggested that, "as the character of the Negro population has changed from that of a disadvantaged rural population to a largely metropolitan population of rising social and economic status, Negro migration should increasingly manifest patterns similar to those found among the white population." Although the relative status of blacks has shown some improvement, the pace of convergence has been slow, implying that socioeconomic equality among the races is unlikely in the near future (Farley, 1977; Daymont, 1980). Much of the reduction in racial disparities has occurred among younger age groups, however, precisely those most likely to contribute to population redistribution (Featherman and Hauser, 1976). Consequently, the statement by Taeuber and Taeuber provides the basis for a meaningful question at the present time. We will consider this question in the context of examining trends since 1950 among types of metropolitan and nonmetropolitan counties by region of the United States.

Distribution within metropolitan areas. Perhaps the most heralded movement of the black population is toward suburbs. In 1960, 4.7 percent of the suburban population was black. By 1970, there was a barely perceptible increase to 4.8 percent, implying that the rate of suburbanization was slightly higher for blacks than for nonblacks during this period (Long and DeAre, 1981). By 1980, however, the percentage increased to 6.1 percent as a result of substantially higher rates of suburbanization among blacks (Long and DeAre, 1981). Nevertheless, movement to the suburbs does reflect economic gains for the black population (Farley, 1970), and is perhaps indicative of increased ability to select housing and neighborhoods in accordance with individual preferences.

Large cities have typically served as centers of attraction for black migrants. Industrial growth in cities and mechanization of agriculture gave impetus to this urbanward movement. In the 1970s, according to national survey data, blacks have become net migrants from central cities (Nelson, 1980). Also, for the first time in many decades the proportion of blacks living in central cities declined between 1970 and 1980 (Long and DeAre, 1981). Still the black population in central cities increased by 12.3 percent compared to an 11 percent loss for the population as a whole. Thus, it would appear premature to conclude that black redistribution within cities parallels that of nonblacks, even though there has been some convergence in trends.

The nonmetropolitan turnaround. The new nonmetropolitan growth, with a reversal from net outmigration to net immigration in nonmetropolitan areas, caught most observers by surprise. The phenomenon has been in existence long enough now that various models have been put forth to explain it. Economic opportunities are an important element in many of these models which point to energy development, filtering down of manufacturing, growth of recreational services, and cessation of the decline in agricultural employment as factors which contribute to nonmetropolitan growth. To the degree that blacks are able to capitalize on these trends a reduction in black outmigration and some metropolitan-to-metropolitan movement might be expected. In addition to economic opportunities, the rising standard of living coupled with the search for a higher quality of

life are cited as important factors in the turnaround. This explanation assumes a level of affluence that has yet to be attained by a majority of the black population. Thus some explanations for the turnaround appear to be more applicable to blacks than do others.

The limited analysis in previous research indicates that blacks have not yet experienced a turnaround. In the 1970-75 period, a net flow of over one million white persons to nonmetropolitan areas was recorded, compared to a net movement of 111,000 in the reverse direction for blacks and other races (Bowles, 1978). Nevertheless, our detailed growth comparisons for county groupings over a 30-year period will show some convergence of metro-nonmetro distributions.

Southern growth. As with the turnaround, a variety of factors are cited as explanations for the resurgence of the South. The "sunbelt" model emphasizes mobility in search of a more pleasant climate and the associated amenities. The "filtering down" model focuses on relocation of manufacturing in areas with a surplus of low-wage labor. Other observers point to the inflexibility of the Northeast in adopting new modes of production and subsequent development in the South. Some of these explanations may be more applicable to blacks than others. Certainly, the diminution of movement out of southern agriculture marks the end of one major source of outmigration. Growth of low-wage labor may be particularly attractive to the unskilled segment of the black population. On the other hand, attractions such as mild climates and other amenities may rank lower in importance for blacks who have still not joined the mainstream of American consumerism. Although, as with suburbanization and nonmetropolitanization, there is reason to believe that interregional redistribution will now evidence more similarity between races than has been the case in the past, complete convergence has not yet been attained.

Post-1970 data indicate that blacks are moving southward, albeit at a very low rate. Between 1965 and 1970, the South experienced net out-migration of about 216,000 blacks, but in the following five-year period migration accounted for a net growth of only 14,000 blacks. Comparing these two periods, black outmigration decreased by 23.8 percent and immigration increased by 86.4 percent (Berry and Dahmann, 1977). In part, immigration of blacks to the South may be a consequence of the large reservoir of potential black return migrants in the North, a legacy of the long history of southern black outmigration. Long and Hansen (1975) note a temporal increase in the rate of black return migration to the South which applies to each education and age group considered. They also note that this return migration is selective of blacks of higher socioeconomic status. This black return to the South may be attributed, in part, to the success of the Civil Rights Movement in franchising blacks, and promoting a more acceptable social and economic climate (Campbell, et al., 1974).

Utilizing results of the 1950 through the 1980 censuses, we will compare black and nonblack population redistribution within and among metropolitan and nonmetropolitan counties, and across regions of the country. Our objectives are: (1) to determine how blacks and nonblacks have contributed to the newer patterns of population redistribution, and (2) to address the question of whether their movements are becoming increasingly parallel.

DATA AND PROCEDURES

The basic units of our analysis are 3069 counties and county equivalents that define the contiguous 48 states of the nation. Alaska and Hawaii could not be included because the black population was not available there for counties or county equivalents in 1950. We have used a constant metropolitan definition, that of 1974, which includes

counties metropolitan in 1970 plus adjacent counties added by the government on the basis of commuting data obtained from that census. County equivalents of SMSAs were used in New England, and the independent cities of Virginia were combined with their adjacent counties. Further residential refinement is obtained through a classification of nonmetropolitan counties as "adjacent" and "not adjacent" to an SMSA. In addition to geographic contiguity counties classed as adjacent had at least one percent of their labor force commuting to the metropolitan central county for work in 1970 (Hines, et al., 1975:3). The regional distinction contrasts the Census South with the remainder of the country. Other regions were not considered separately because of the small number of blacks living in nonmetropolitan locations outside the South.

METROPOLITAN - NONMETROPOLITAN REDISTRIBUTION

The basic numbers of our analysis are given in Table 1. Over the 30-year period the black population increased from 15 to 26 million, and the nonblack from 136 to 199 million. For both groups, most of this population and the absolute change for each decade, was concentrated in metropolitan areas. Recent increased nonmetro growth is shown by the shift from earlier absolute decline to gain in 1970-80 for blacks, and by a considerable increase in absolute growth for the other population. In 1970-80 almost 50 percent of the nonblack absolute growth was in nonmetropolitan areas.

Separate consideration of the South and the remainder of the country (except Alaska and Hawaii) indicates the growing importance of blacks outside the South, more than doubling, and of nonblacks in the South, from 37 to

61 million. The small number of nonmetro blacks outside the South shows why our metropolitan-nonmetropolitan comparisons are not made among the four Census regions. The recent importance of nonmetropolitan growth is indicated both in and out of the South. Despite growth in 1970-80, however, there are fewer nonmetro blacks in the South and the nation as a whole in 1980 than in 1950, whereas all other categories in the table increased over this three-decade period.

Metro-Nonmetro Growth Rates. Next we consider trends in relative change. Figure 1 gives the percent population change for metropolitan and nonmetropolitan categories over each decade. The left-hand set of bars in the top graph of the figure exemplifies the nonmetropolitan population turnaround, with the marked decline in the metro bars over the three time periods matched by an increase in the size of the nonmetro bars, so that by 1970-80 metropolitan areas were growing less than 10 percent and nonmetropolitan areas almost 16 percent.

The next two sets across the top panel of the figure contrast the black and other segments for the nation. Bars for the nonblack population follow the total rather closely. This is hardly surprising, since nonblacks are about 90 percent of the total population throughout this period. For blacks, the process of concentration in metropolitan areas was considerably more extreme than for nonblacks in the 1950 through 1970 period. Though metro growth was less in the 1960s than the 1950s for blacks, nonmetro loss was actually greater in the later period. As already noted in table 1, however, there was a turnaround from nonmetro decline to growth in the 1970-80 period for blacks, but metro percentage change, although following the downward gradient that is typical in this figure, was still more than twice as large as nonmetro percentage change in the most recent period.

There are interesting regional variations in these patterns. First, looking down the left-hand set of bar graphs, it is evident that the metro growth rate did not decline appreciably in the South in the most recent decade, and is still larger than the nonmetropolitan percentage change, although the latter figure increased considerably over the three decades. Outside the South, however, nonmetro areas grew more than twice as rapidly as metro areas over 1970-80.

Blacks in the South showed a turnaround in growth both in metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas, though metro growth was considerably more than nonmetro growth in the most recent period. Outside the South, on the other hand, there was a strong diminution in black metropolitan growth rates. Nonmetropolitan rates were perhaps somewhat erratic because of the small population base, particularly in 1950. Nevertheless it seems noteworthy that by 1970-80 for the first time metro and nonmetro rates are equivalent.

Unlike the blacks, the other population in the South did not show as much metropolitan growth in the most recent decade as in the 1960-70 period, and the nonmetropolitan rates increased to a level equal to the metropolitan rate by 1970-80.

Growth Rates: Detailed Metro-Comparisons. Shifts in metropolitan and nonmetropolitan growth levels are but a composite of trends within each of these segments. More detailed analyses during the past few years have shown that the nonmetropolitan population turnaround as illustrated in Figure 1, is simply an abstract of pervasive deconcentration trends. Growth has extended out to the rural nonmetropolitan peripheries, and within the metropolitan segment, to favor smaller metropolitan areas, even as major metropolitan centers have shifted to absolute population decline (Beale and Fuguitt, 1978; Fuguitt, Lichter and Beale, 1981). We consider here how

blacks and the nonblack population have shared in these changes, through a detailed county classification.

Although blacks have been concentrating in the central cities of major metropolitan areas of the North, even as nonblacks have increased in the periphery, there has been a more recent shift of blacks to the suburbs (Farley, 1970; Long and DeAre, 1981; Nelson, 1980). How this deconcentration compares with that for nonblacks for the 1950-80 period, and whether it represents a belated parallel or convergence, are major concerns. On the nonmetropolitan side, we know that there has been renewed total growth in remote rural areas as well as in counties adjacent to large cities. Whether the increased black growth in nonmetro areas generally follows the nonblack locational pattern also needs to be determined.

We classified U.S. metropolitan counties (metropolitan as of 1974) so as to differentiate them by size of SMSA. For the larger SMSAs greater than one million total population in 1970, we also distinguished core counties which include the Central Cities, from the peripheral SMSA counties we have termed here "fringe," and which were made metropolitan because of close ties with the core counties. Figure 2 gives the percent changes for the total U.S. population by these groups of counties. (In this figure and the one to follow, the total nonmetropolitan percent change is given in the unshaded bar on the right for comparison). The overall configuration for the metro sector is decreased growth, particularly for the core and fringe counties. In the 1950s major relative growth was in the fringe counties of large metropolitan areas as this was the high period of metropolitan suburbanization. By the 1970s, however, core counties are barely growing, and fringe counties only at a level of the smaller SMSA groups and the nonmetro

population as a whole. The set of bars is interesting in showing that from this perspective the nonmetropolitan turnaround is due to the increased growth level of nonmetro areas up to that of smaller SMSAs, and the change to a virtual nongrowth situation for the core counties of the major metropolitan areas.

If one combines the core and fringe counties, growth rates are 27 for 1950-60, 17 for 1960-70, and 6 for 1970-80. Thus in the 1950s and 1960s there was a regular gradient by size of SMSA, with highest growth levels in the largest SMSAs, whereas in the 1970s this pattern is completely reversed with highest growth of 18 percent in SMSAs having fewer than 250,000 people.

Turning to the differences by race and region, figure 3 is the preceding figure reproduced four times for blacks and nonblacks in and out of the South. Black rates are usually higher than white rates in both geographic areas. In the South black rates show a marked shift from a pattern of concentration in the cores of major metropolitan areas to a very strong deconcentration in the fringe counties of these areas. Growth in smaller SMSAs dipped in the 1960s, but were at their highest levels in the 1970s. Outside the South there has been a general decline in black growth rates, with the change in pattern to one favoring concentration in fringe counties, though not as extreme as in the South. Although rates for smaller SMSAs are high here, and particularly in the 1950s, one should note that in 1950 outside the South 75 percent of the black metro population, and 70 percent of the black total population resided in core counties of major metro areas. Changes in the relative distribution of populations will be considered in a section to follow.

The patterns for nonblacks both in and out of the South are quite similar to those for the total population as given in figure 2. Growth

levels for metro categories in the South are generally greater than for nonsouth categories throughout the 30-year period. By the 1970s, core counties outside the South were losing people who are not black, and together with fringe counties, major metropolitan areas gained only one percent. In the South, however, core counties were gaining nonblacks almost as rapidly as other metro segments, and major metro areas (core and fringe combined) were gaining 21 percent, or about the same as the other metro and the nonmetro groups. For both regions, it is interesting that the pattern emerging for blacks in the 1970s (relative growth favoring fringe counties of large SMSAs) is that found for nonblacks in earlier decades.

Detailed Nonmetro Comparisons. The recent shift in growth patterns within nonmetropolitan areas is revealed clearly in Figure 4. Here nonmetro counties are classed first by whether they are adjacent to 1974 metropolitan areas (see methodology section). Then the nonadjacent counties are distinguished by their level of urbanization as shown by the size of the largest place in the county. The importance of urban development for nonmetro growth is shown particularly for 1950-60 and 1960-70; adjacent counties are gaining rapidly along with other counties having larger cities. Overall, counties without cities over 10,000 lost population in those two decades. (One factor in the increased levels of growth over the decades for the adjacent counties is no doubt that a constant 1974 metropolitan definition is used. The general pattern of growth association with urbanization would no doubt be sustained, however, and probably even emphasized, in a tabulation using the current metro definitions at the beginning of each decade).

The situation in the most recent decade is quite different. All

types of nonmetro counties are growing at a relatively high level, noticeably higher than all metro counties taken together. Even the remote, completely rural counties are growing slightly more rapidly than remote counties that have large cities. As has been often stated, the nonmetropolitan turnaround cannot simply be attributed to tardy classification changes of counties from nonmetropolitan to metropolitan status.

The urban-oriented nonmetropolitan growth pattern was found for blacks and others both in and out of the South in the 1950s and the 1960s (see figure 5). That is, nonadjacent counties without cities of 10,000 or more declined the most or grew the least for each grouping. For blacks in the South, nonmetro losses were found, however, in all types of counties, while for nonblacks this was true only in the remote counties. Because of the small number of nonmetropolitan blacks outside the South, detailed results from this county classification must be considered cautiously (lower left section of figure 5). They show, however, rather rapid growth, albeit from small bases, in adjacent and other nonmetro counties having larger cities during the 1950s and the 1960s.

The most recent decade has nonblacks in and out of the South rather like the totals of figure 4, with adjacent counties growing most rapidly. In the South, the growth of nonadjacent counties is inversely associated with the size of the largest community in the county, whereas outside the South nonadjacent counties with large cities grew almost as rapidly as adjacent counties, followed by the completely rural counties. The range for the four nonmetropolitan groups, however, is only 3.8 percentage points outside the South, and it is 8.7 within the South.

Blacks in the most recent decade, while continuing to increase more rapidly in metropolitan areas, shifted from decline to growth in the

nonmetro South and increased their growth levels, in comparison with the 1960s, outside the South. Their growth patterns clearly favored more urban locations in 1970-80, however, with little growth taking place in more remote rural counties. In the South, where most of the nonmetro blacks still reside, we have a situation where blacks are growing more rapidly than others in metropolitan areas, primarily due to much more rapid growth in the fringe metropolitan counties of large SMSAs, and in nonmetro areas they are growing more rapidly in remote counties having large cities. Nonblacks, on the other hand, are growing more rapidly in nonmetro areas, particularly in adjacent counties, and in nonadjacent rural counties where the black population continues to decline slightly.

Convergence of Black-Nonblack Growth Rates. Black and nonblack rates of population change are directly compared in Table 2. In the 1950s these rates reflect black redistribution out of the South and into metropolitan areas, and especially into central counties of large SMSAs. Even in southern central counties, the black growth rate exceeds the nonblack rate. Suburbanization within large SMSAs, however, was largely a nonblack phenomenon. In the 1960s by comparison, there is a general tendency for the black-nonblack growth differentials to narrow somewhat in accordance with the aggregate national trend. Exceptions to the narrowing gap tendency occur in the nonmetro South where the rate of black population decline actually increased while the nonblack rate shifted from negative to positive, and in nonsouthern fringe counties where the black growth rate remained stable while the nonblack rate declined. Most black-nonblack growth differentials narrowed again in the 1970s. Only in fringe counties does the gap increase. In the South the rate of black growth in

fringe counties nearly doubled from the 1960s to the 1970s, and in the nonsouth the black rate remained fairly stable during the same period. In contrast, the nonblack rate in fringe counties declined in both the south and the nonsouth. Thus, corresponding to the overall national trend of convergence in the black-nonblack growth differential, we do find narrowing differentials within categories of metropolitan status and region, the major exception being fringe counties of large SMSAs.

A more subtle form of convergence occurs where the black-nonblack differentials become more similar across categories of region or metropolitan status. The comparisons of differences in growth rates among core, fringe, small SMSA and nonmetro counties are complicated by reversals from negative to positive in the racial growth differential for fringe counties. Nevertheless, even if fringe counties are ignored there is no clear trend toward attainment of comparable racial growth differentials across categories of metropolitan status in either the south or the nonsouth. In fact, comparability decreases slightly from the 1950s to the 1960s and then increases in the 1970s. Therefore, it is premature to conclude that in the near future there will be a convergence in the racial growth differentials across categories of metropolitan status.

Despite a lack of convergence, there is evidence that the black population was subject to some of the same factors that have lead to shifts in nonblack redistribution. In the 1970s, the black growth rate is higher in the south than in the nonsouth in central and fringe counties of large SMSAs, and in other SMSAs southern and nonsouthern black rates are similar. Even in nonmetropolitan areas the south-nonsouth black growth differential has narrowed. Moreover, there is an increase in black non-metropolitan growth rates in both regions. Finally, the differential rate of suburbanization (in fringe counties of large SMSAs) has reversed from

favoring the nonblack population to favoring blacks in the 1970s.

Convergence in the racial growth differential, is evident when comparing black-non-black growth differentials between the south and nonsouth within categories of metropolitan status. In the 1960s regional differences in the differentials were not much different than in the 1950s. In the 1970s, however, patterns of racial growth differentials become more similar between the two regions. Comparing the 1960s with the 1970s, the regional difference in the black-nonblack growth differential drops from 22.6 (13.1-35.7=22.6) to 7.4 in central counties, from 33.6 to 18.8 in fringe counties, from 36.4 to 13.3 in other SMSAs, and from 22.9 to 16.6 in nonmetropolitan counties. In sum, analysis of black and nonblack growth rates indicate regional convergence between the south and nonsouth, if not between categories of metropolitan status. Moreover, the absence of black-nonblack divergence in the 1970s indicates that blacks, like the rest of the population, have been experiencing new patterns of population redistribution.

Convergence in Percentage Distributions? The link between black and nonblack percentage changes and the resulting geographic distributions is not always obvious. If the base population is small, as in the case of blacks living in fringe counties, large growth rates do not necessarily produce large population shifts, nor does a convergence in racial growth differentials necessarily imply convergence in the resulting black-non-black percentage distributions. That is, the rates could be becoming more similar over time, but the percentage distributions of blacks and non-blacks would become more constant over time.

In Table 3, the percentage distributions for blacks and nonblacks are presented for various United States geographic locations for 1950,

1960, 1970, and 1980. We note that in 1950 the percentage of blacks (62.6%) in metropolitan areas was lower than that for nonblacks (67.0) but by 1960 exceeded that for nonblacks for the first time. Moreover, the residential distribution of blacks was substantially more metropolitan (79.4%) than that observed for nonblacks (71.3%) by 1980. As a result, the indexes of dissimilarity comparing blacks to nonblacks across metro-nonmetro location showed an increasing divergence over time after reaching a low in 1960 (see second row from bottom of Table 1).

Underlying the metropolitanization of blacks during the 1950-80 period was the large redistribution of blacks to core counties of SMSAs of over 1 million population. Whereas in 1950 approximately 30 percent of all U.S. blacks resided in these counties, by 1980 this percentage had increased to about 43. Perhaps more significantly, the percentages of blacks and nonblacks in these core counties in 1950 were roughly equal, but by 1980, there was nearly a 20 percentage point difference (43% vs. 25%). This black population shift was largely responsible for the increases over time in the indexes of dissimilarity comparing blacks and nonblacks across all eight residential categories (bottom row, Table 3). The index increased from 6.3 in 1950 to 18.4 in 1980. It should be noted, however, that the smallest changes in these indexes were observed for the 1970-80 period, suggesting that the apparent divergence between the black and nonblack residential distributions has recently slowed.

It is also important to recognize that the increasing rate of suburbanization among blacks has not resulted in a substantial shift of the black population to the suburbs (i.e., fringe counties of large SMSAs). The percentage of blacks in these counties shifted from about 4 percent to 7 percent during

the 1950 to 1980 period. In contrast, a change from 8.4 percent to 13.8 percent of the total among nonblacks was observed for this residential location.

In light of current regional trends in black/nonblack redistribution, it is important to elaborate the analysis above by examining residential redistribution by regional location. Across the south and the remainder of the nation, the distributions of blacks and nonblacks have converged over time. The indexes of dissimilarity declined from 40.7 in 1950 to 22.2 in 1980. (In part because of the nature of this measure, the indices calculated across the four census regions are identical to those across the South as a whole, data not shown). In large part, this convergence was due to the movement of blacks from the South to other regions of the United States. In 1950, for example, about two-thirds of all blacks lived in the South, but today they are divided about equally in and out of the South.

Given these patterns of redistribution, it would appear useful to examine the residential distributions of blacks and nonblacks separately for the South and Nonsouth. These data are provided in Table 4 and 5. For the South (Table 4), we note that the distribution of blacks and nonblacks by metro-nonmetro location were quite similar regardless of period considered. This contrasts vividly with the results just presented for the U.S. as a whole. Indeed, for the South, the black and nonblack residential distributions were most closely alike in 1980 when the metro-nonmetro index of dissimilarity was a mere 1.4. For southern blacks and nonblacks alike, slightly over 60 percent were living in metropolitan areas in 1980.

It is also instructive to note in Table 4 that the black/nonblack distributions across all eight locational categories showed the greatest dissimilarity in 1970, but had subsequently declined by 1980. Again, at least for the South, these results suggest a growing convergence in the

distributions of blacks and nonblacks across these broad residential locations.

In Table 5 is the corresponding analysis of black and nonblack residential distributions in the Nonsouth. Several general observations are warranted. The metro-nonmetro distributions of blacks and nonblacks was considerably different than that observed for the South. Blacks residing outside the South were far more likely than Southern blacks to reside in metropolitan areas. Indeed, regardless of period considered, approximately 95 percent of nonsouthern blacks were living in metropolitan areas. As a result, the indexes of dissimilarity comparing the blacks and nonblacks distributions across metro-nonmetro location (second row from bottom, Table 5) changed very little over time. Regardless of period considered, about 20 percent of the blacks would have to move to nonmetropolitan areas before the black/nonblack distributions would become equal.

Furthermore, the bulk of all nonsouthern blacks resided not simply in metropolitan areas, but in largest SMSAs. Indeed, 70 percent of all blacks in 1980 resided in core counties of large SMSAs. This figure is considerably different than the mere 30 percent observed for nonblacks outside the South. This black/nonblack differential in core counties is largely responsible for the rather large indexes of dissimilarity observed when blacks and nonblacks are compared across all eight residential categories. Indeed, the black/nonblack distributions appear to be becoming more dissimilar over time, with the index of dissimilarity rising to 38.6 in 1980 (bottom line, table 5). It should be noted, however, that the rate of divergence had slowed during the most recent period between 1970 and 1980.

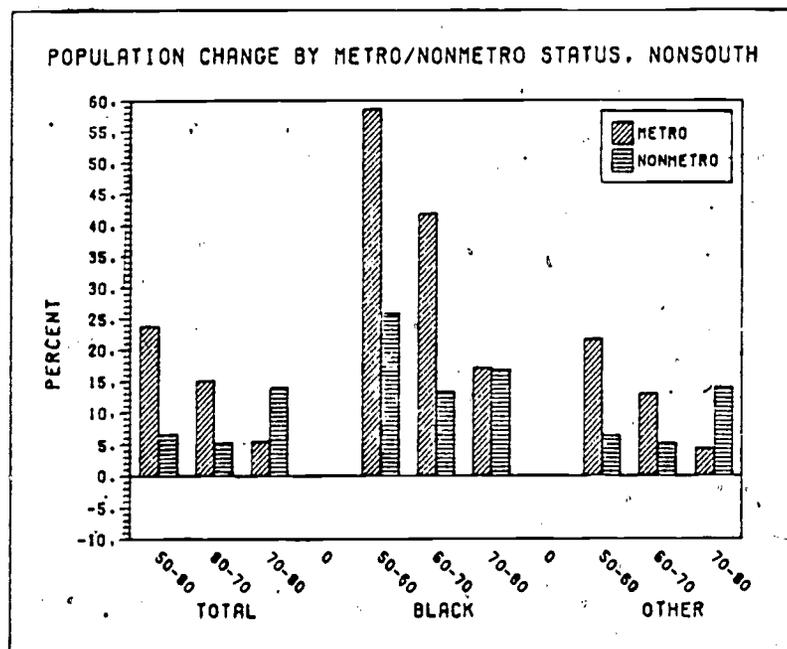
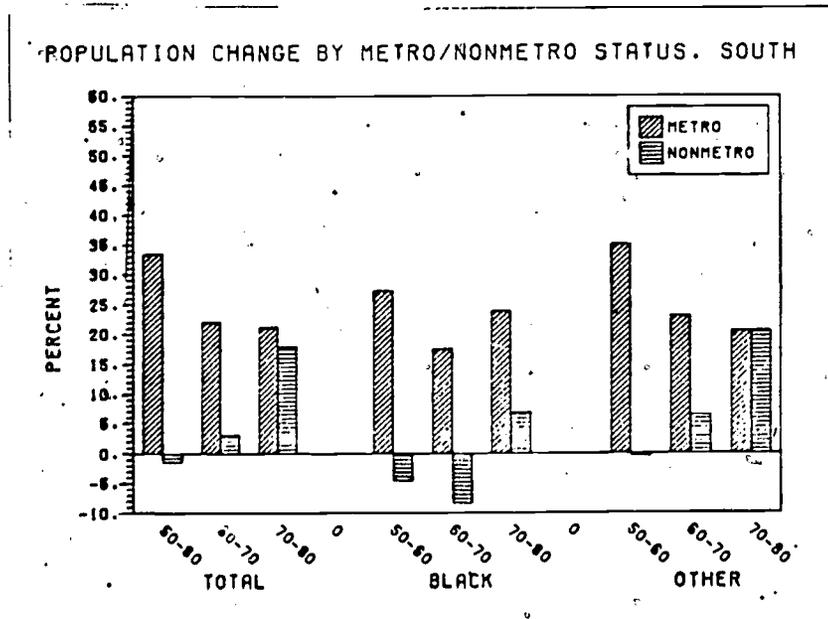
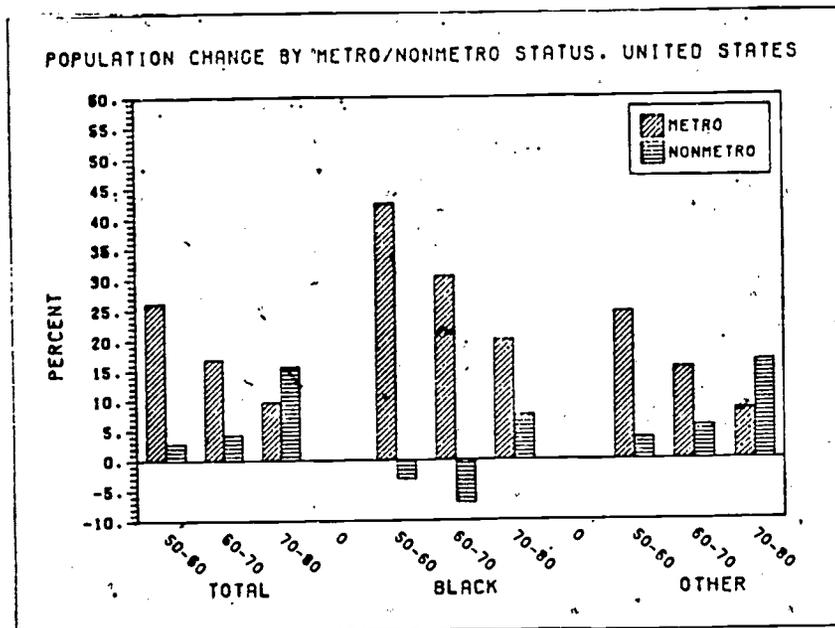
CONCLUSION

As the saying goes, there is good news and bad news. Blacks are participating in the same redistribution trends that have characterized the U.S. population as a whole over the last decade. In the 1970s, the black growth rate in fringe counties was greater than the nonblack rate, there was a resurgence of black growth in nonmetropolitan areas, and a decline in racial growth differentials between the South and nonsouth. Thus it appears that blacks are increasingly affected by social forces that determine population redistribution for the nonblack population, suggesting that blacks are being integrated into the mainstream of American society.

Optimism regarding the convergence of distributions of the black and nonblack population across the broad geographical categories we have considered here, however, must be tempered. First, growth rates have not completely converged, especially when comparing across categories of metropolitan status, and indeed indexes of dissimilarity between the blacks and nonblacks actually increased slightly between 1970 and 1980. Only in fringe counties of large SMSAs does the gap between the percentage black and nonblack narrow, and it would require over 50 years for the gap to disappear given the magnitude of change between 1970 and 1980. Second, even if growth rates converged, differences in existing distributions would persist. In order for convergence in the distribution to occur in the near future, rates would have to change much more than they have in the recent past. Much as existing inequality of black-white income ratios will persist long into the future even if labor market processes are equalized (Daymont, 1980), the uneven distributions of blacks and nonblacks will probably remain even though rates of growth have shown some convergence over the last decade.

The black-nonblack distinction is used here rather than the usual white-nonwhite distinction for two reasons. First, it places stronger emphasis on the black population. Second, since there was a change in coding of the Spanish surname population between 1970 and 1980, the black-nonblack contrast facilitates temporal comparisons. In 1980, about two percent of the nonblack population is nonwhite.

Figure 1.



POPULATION CHANGE BY DETAILED METRO, UNITED STATES

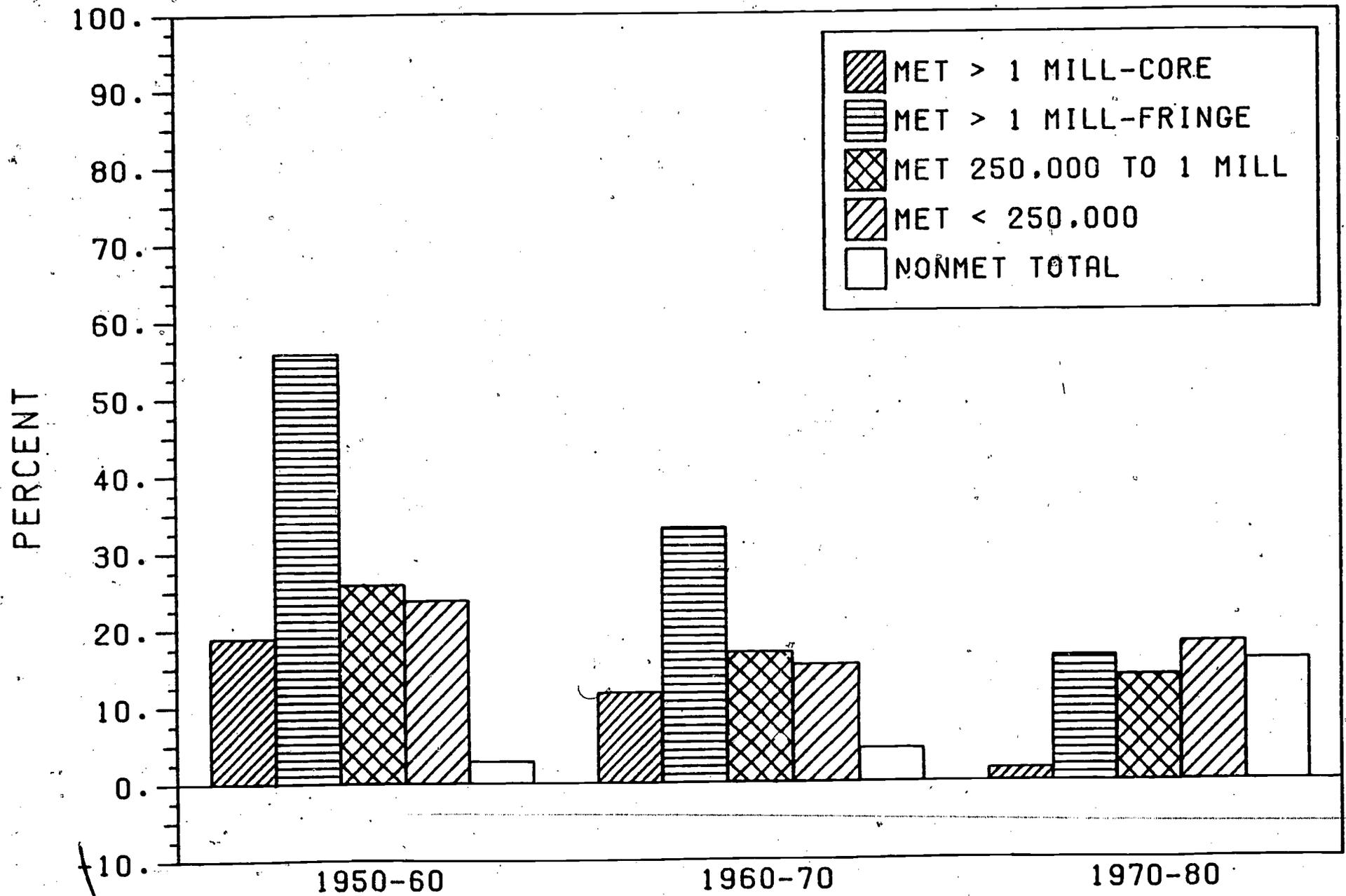


Figure 2.

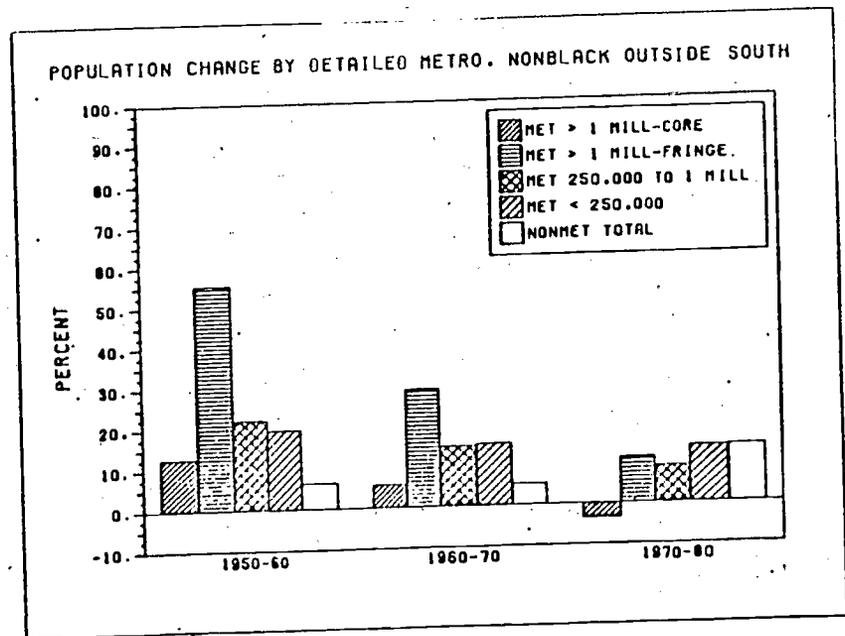
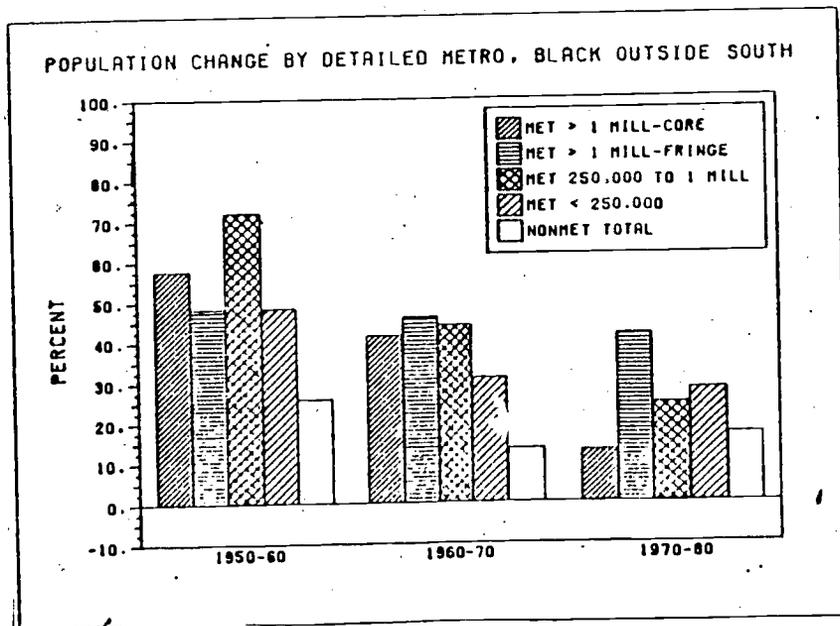
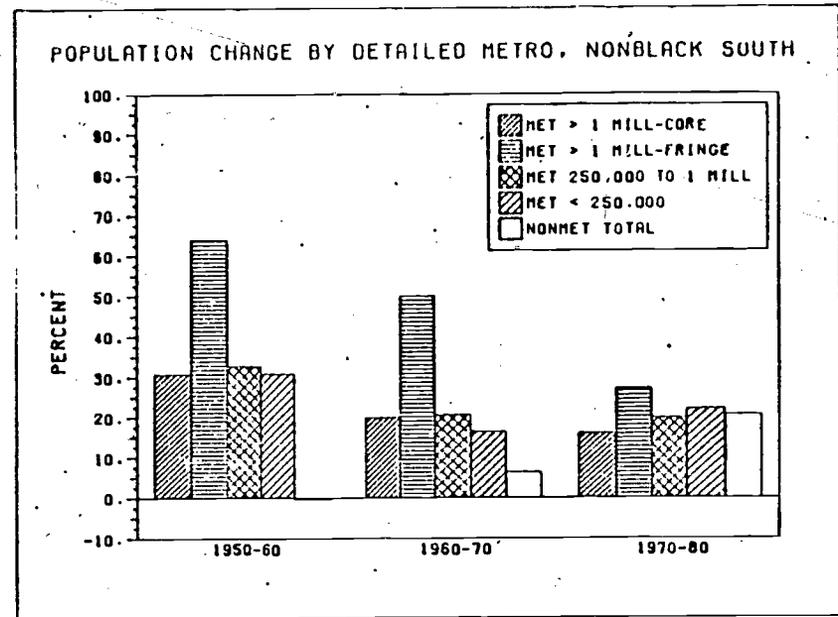
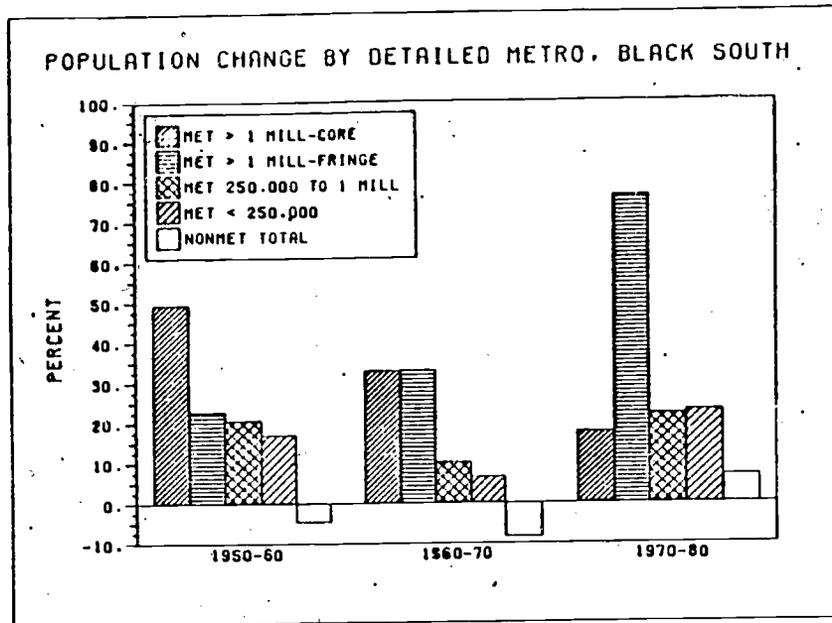


Figure 3.

2.1

POPULATION CHANGE BY DETAILED NONMETRO, UNITED STATES

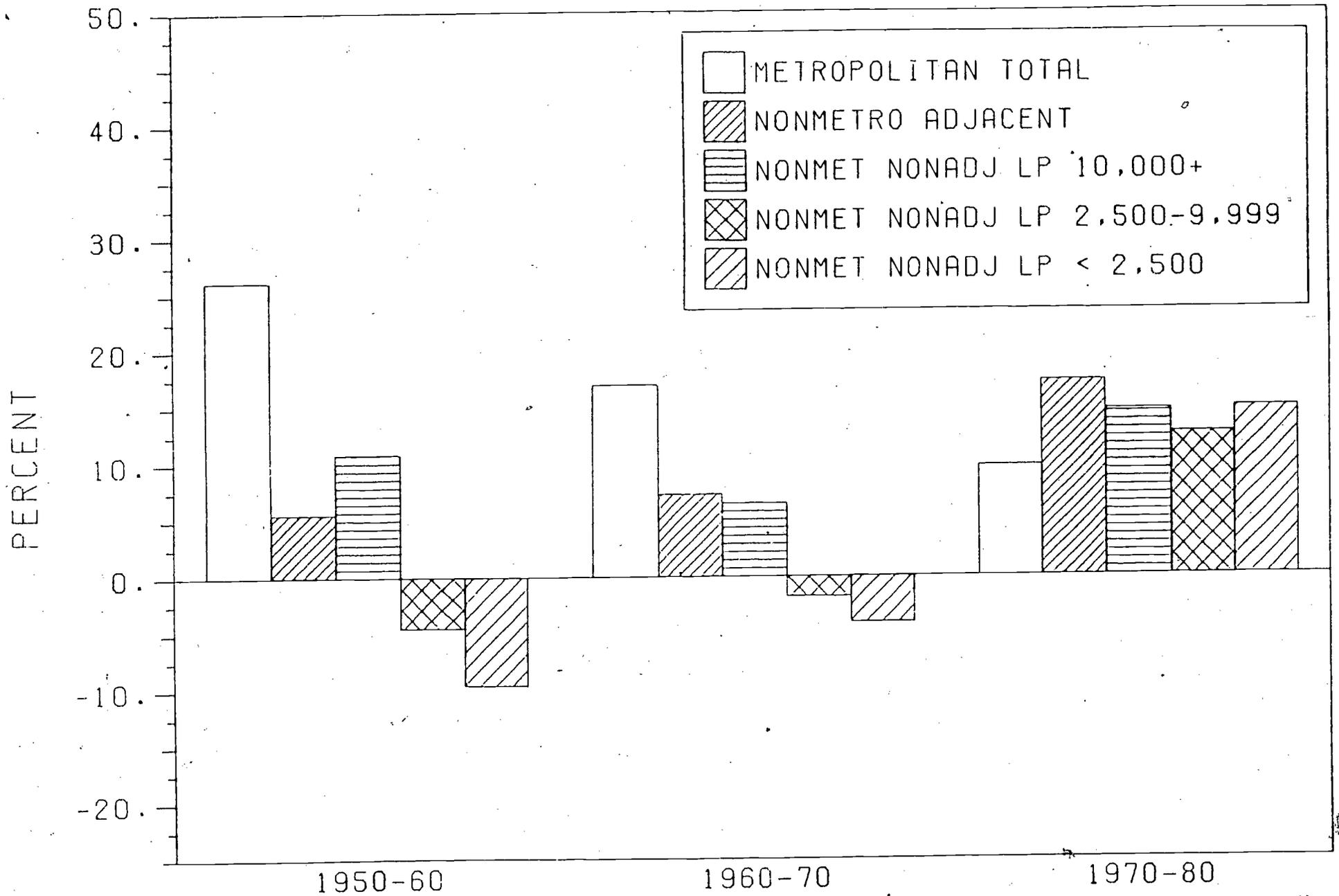


Figure 4

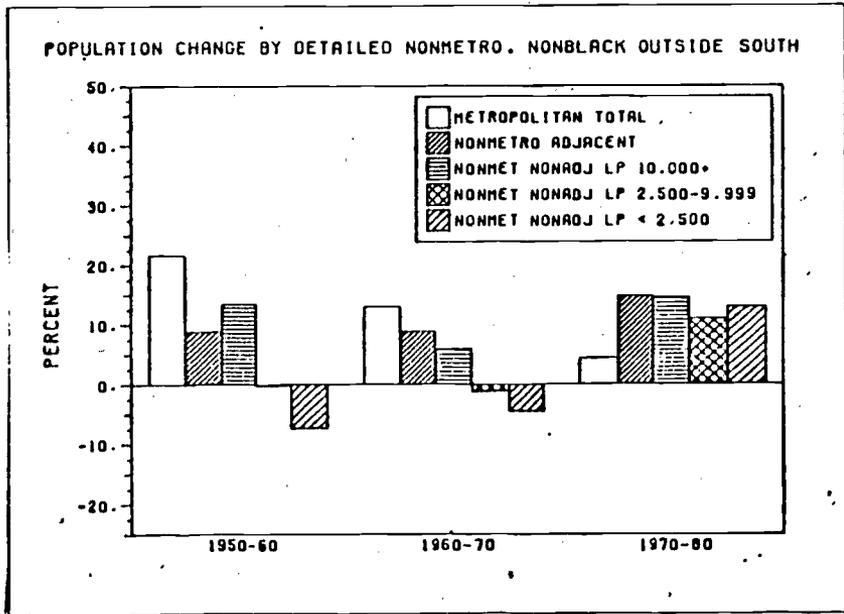
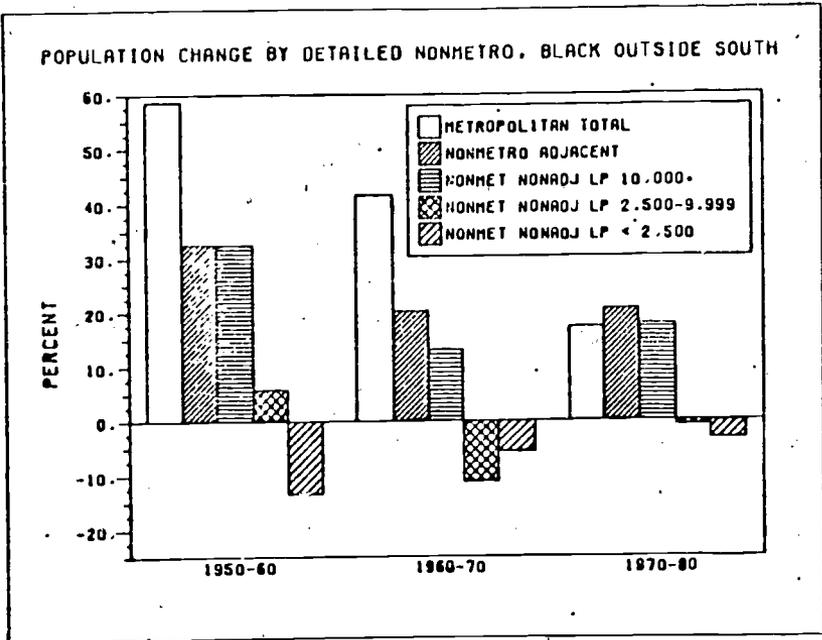
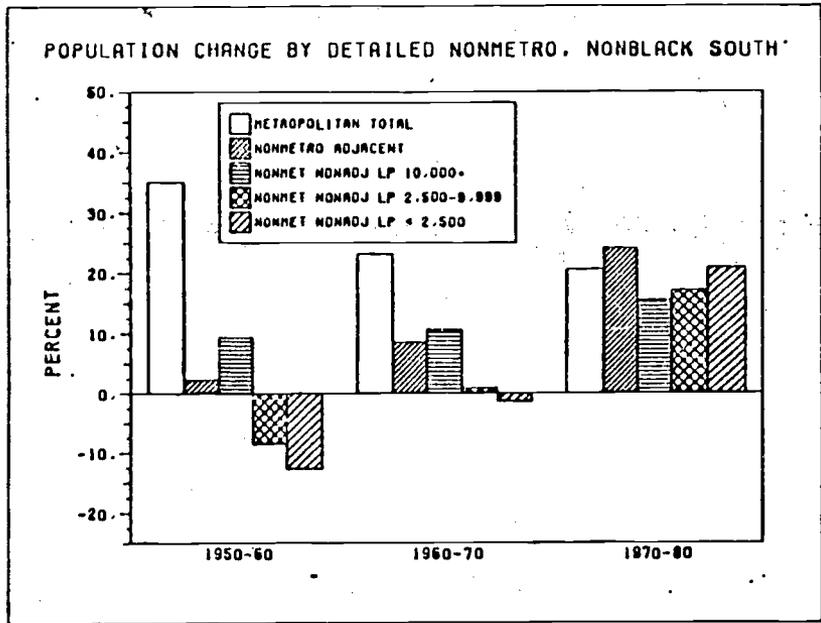
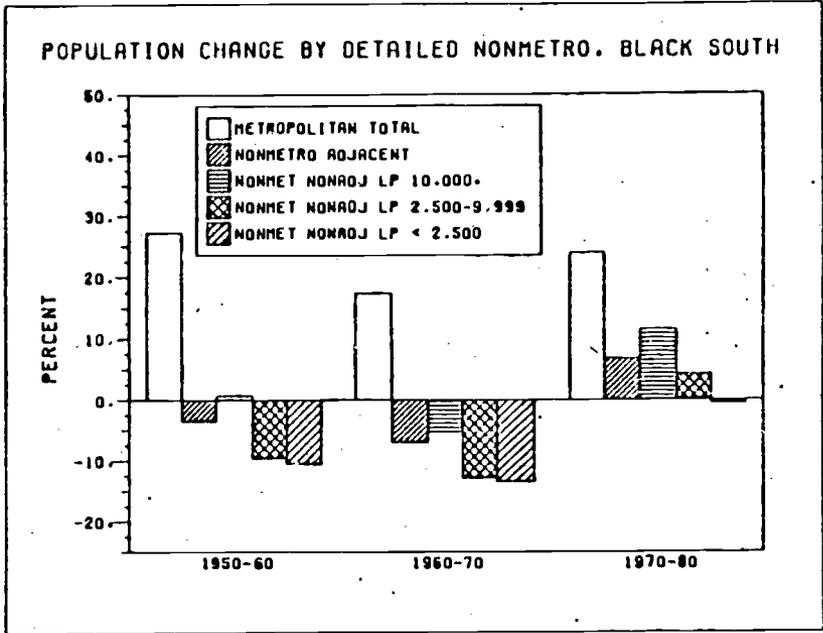


Figure 5.

Table 1. NUMBER AND ABSOLUTE CHANGE OF BLACK AND NONBLACK POPULATION
IN METROPOLITAN AND NONMETROPOLITAN COUNTIES, CONTIGUOUS
UNITED STATES, SOUTH AND NONSOUTH: 1950-1980.

	Black			Nonblack		
	Metro	Nonmetro	Total	Metro	Nonmetro	Total
UNITED STATES						
Number:						
1950	9411	5631	15042	90918	44737	135655
1960	13403	5457	18860	113120	46394	159604
1970	17497	5075	22572	130625	49033	179657
1980	21001	5463	26465	141588	57127	198714
Absolute Change:						
1950-60	3992	-174	3818	22292	1657	23949
1960-70	4093	-381	3712	17415	2638	20053
1970-80	3505	388	3893	10963	8094	19057
SOUTH						
Number:						
1950	4879	5346	10225	19247	17725	36972
1960	6213	5098	11312	26004	17658	43662
1970	7303	4669	11973	32048	18992	50840
1980	9058	4989	14047	38663	22662	61325
Absolute Change:						
1950-60	1334	-247	1086	6757	-67	6690
1960-70	1090	-429	661	6044	1135	7179
1970-80	1755	319	2074	6615	3869	10484
NONSOUTH						
Number:						
1950	4532	285	5631	71671	27012	98683
1960	7189	358	7549	87206	28737	115943
1970	10193	406	10600	98577	30240	128817
1980	11943	475	12418	102924	34465	137389
Absolute Change:						
1950-60	2658	74	2732	15535	1724	17259
1960-70	3004	48	3051	11371	1504	12874
1970-80	1749	69	1818	4347	4225	8572

Table 2

COMPARISON OF BLACK AND NON-BLACK GROWTH PERCENTAGES BY
TYPE OF METROPOLITAN COUNTY, REGION AND TIME PERIOD

Region	Metro Size		Percent of Growth			Black % - Non-black %		
			1950-60	1960-70	1970-80	1950-60	1960-70	1970-80
South	Central County of SMSA<1,000,000	Black	49.5	33.1	17.7	18.6	13.1	1.6
		Non-black	30.9	20.0	16.1			
	Fringe County of SMSA<1,000,000	Black	22.9	33.2	76.3	-41.1	-16.7	49.2
		Non-black	64.0	49.9	27.1			
Other SMSA	Black	19.5	9.1	22.4	-12.7	-10.1	1.7	
	Non-black	32.2	19.2	20.7				
Nonmetro	Black	-4.6	-8.4	6.8	-4.2	-14.8	-13.8	
	Non-black	-0.4	6.4	20.6				
Non-South	Central County of SMSA<1,000,000	Black	57.8	41.5	12.7	44.9	35.7	9.0
		Non-black	12.9	5.8	3.7			
	Fringe County of SMSA<1,000,000	Black	48.3	45.9	41.6	-7.3	16.9	30.4
		Non-black	55.6	29.0	11.2			
Other SMSA	Black	66.7	41.3	25.1	45.2	26.3	15.0	
	Non-black	21.5	15.0	10.1				
Nonmetro	Black	25.9	13.2	16.9	19.5	8.1	2.8	
	Non-black	6.4	5.1	14.1				

Table 3. Black and Non-Black Percentage Distributions, United States, 1950-1980.

United States	1950		1960		1970		1980	
	Black	Non-Black	Black	Non-Black	Black	Non-Black	Black	Non-Black
<u>Metropolitan</u>	62.6	67.0	71.1	70.9	77.5	72.7	79.4	71.3
Core 1 million+	30.8	29.8	38.2	29.0	44.5	27.7	43.2	24.9
Fringe 1 million+	4.1	8.4	4.4	11.3	5.2	13.3	6.9	13.8
SMSAs 250,000-1 million	19.4	20.8	20.4	22.1	20.4	23.0	21.3	23.4
SMSAs LT 250,000	8.3	8.0	8.0	8.5	7.4	8.7	7.9	9.3
<u>Nonmetropolitan</u>	37.4	33.0	28.9	29.1	22.5	27.3	20.6	28.7
Adjacent	18.5	16.2	14.6	14.6	11.6	14.1	10.7	15.1
Nonadjacent								
SLP ^a 10,000+	7.3	6.5	6.0	6.2	4.8	5.9	4.6	6.2
SLP 2500-10,000	8.7	6.8	6.3	5.6	4.6	5.0	4.1	5.1
SLP LT 2500	2.9	3.5	2.1	2.7	1.5	2.3	1.3	2.4
<u>Total</u>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Indexes of Dissimilarity</u>								
Metropolitan/Nonmetropolitan	4.5		.1		4.8		8.1	
All residential categories	6.3		9.9		16.8		18.4	

^a SLP refers to size of largest place in county.

Table 4. Black and Non-Black Percentage Distributions, South, 1950-1980.

South	1950		1960		1970		1980	
	Black	Non-Black	Black	Non-Black	Black	Non-Black	Black	Non-Black
<u>Metropolitan</u>	47.7	52.1	54.9	59.6	61.0	63.0	64.5	63.0
Core 1 million+	12.1	11.8	16.4	13.1	20.6	13.5	20.7	13.0
Fringe 1 million+	2.6	5.3	2.9	7.4	3.6	9.5	5.5	10.0
SMSAs 250,000-1 million	22.6	23.2	24.7	26.1	25.7	27.0 ^p	26.8	26.9
SMSAs LT 250,000	10.4	11.7	11.0	13.0	11.0	13.0	11.6	13.2
<u>Nonmetropolitan</u>	52.3	47.9	45.1	40.4	39.0	37.0	35.5	37.0
Adjacent	25.6	22.6	22.4	19.6	19.7	18.3	17.9	18.8
Nonadjacent								
SLP ^a 10,000+	10.2	9.3	9.3	8.6	8.3	8.2	7.9	7.8
SLP 2500-10,000	12.4	10.9	10.1	8.4	8.3	7.3	7.4	7.1
SLP LT 2500	4.1	5.2	3.3	3.8	2.7	3.2	2.3	3.3
<u>Total</u>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Indexes of Dissimilarity</u>								
Metropolitan/Nonmetropolitan	4.3		4.6		2.0		1.4	
All residential categories	4.8		8.4		9.7		8.1	

^aSLP refers to size of largest place in county.

Table 5. Black and Non-Black Percentage Distributions, Non-South, 1950-1980.

Non-South	1950		1960		1970		1980	
	Black	Non-Black	Black	Non-Black	Black	Non-Black	Black	Non-Black
<u>Metropolitan</u>	94.1	72.6	95.2	75.2	96.2	76.5	96.2	74.9
Core 1 million+	70.4	36.5	70.9	35.0	71.4	33.3	68.8	30.2
Fringe 1 million+	7.2	9.6	6.8	12.7	7.1	14.8	8.5	15.4
SMSAs 250,000-1 million	12.7	19.9	14.0	20.7	14.3	21.4	15.2	21.8
SMSAs LT 250,000	3.8	6.7	3.6	6.8	3.3	7.0	3.7	7.5
<u>Nonmetropolitan</u>	5.9	27.4	4.8	24.8	3.8	23.8	3.8	25.1
Adjacent	3.4	13.8	2.9	12.8	2.5	12.5	2.5	13.5
Nonadjacent								
SLP ^a 10,000+	1.2	5.5	1.0	5.3	.8	5.1	.8	5.4
SLP 2,500-10,000	1.0	5.3	.7	4.5	.4	4.0	.4	4.2
SLP LT 2500	.3	2.8	.2	2.2	.1	1.9	.1	2.0
<u>Total</u>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>Indexes of Dissimilarity</u>								
Metropolitan/Nonmetropolitan	21.5		20.0		19.6		21.3	
All residential categories	33.9		35.9		38.4		38.6	

^aSLP refers to size of largest place in county.

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