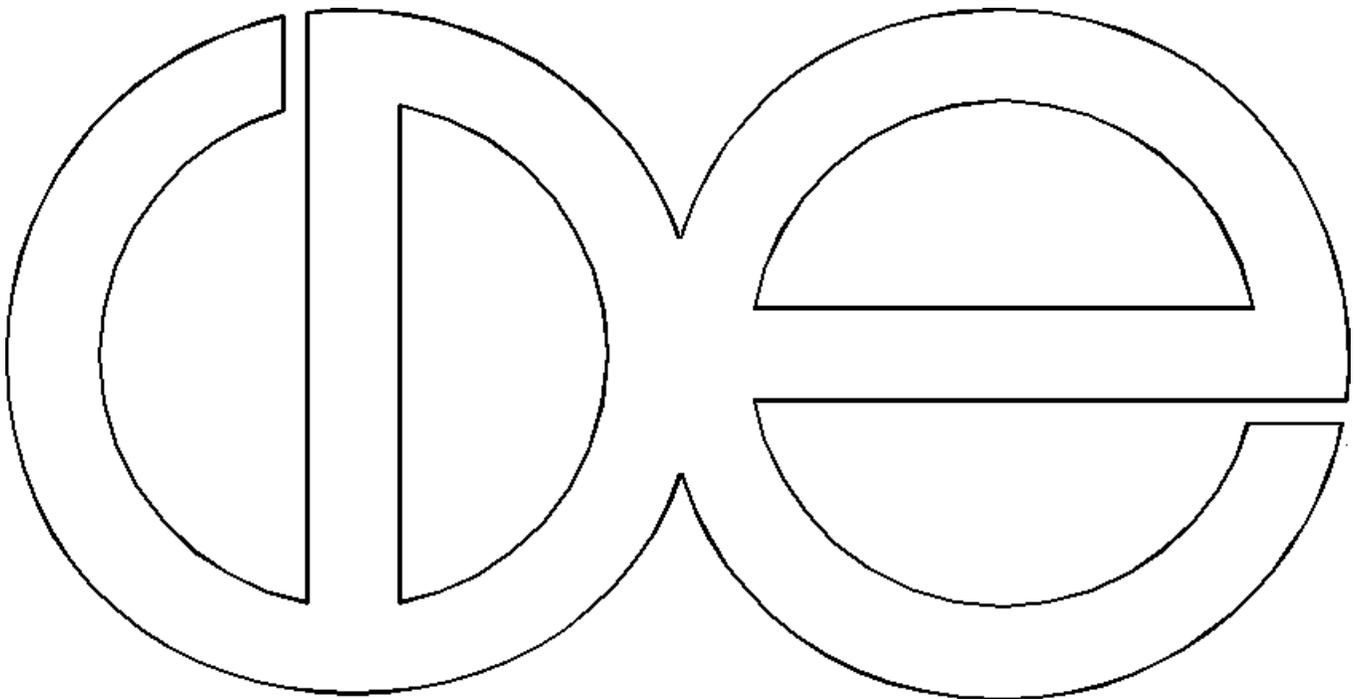


**Center for Demography and Ecology
University of Wisconsin-Madison**

**A Four City Study of Black and White Spatial Isolation,
1960-1980**

Mario Sims

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**A FOUR CITY STUDY OF BLACK AND WHITE SPATIAL ISOLATION,
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Mario Sims

Center for Demography and Ecology
University of Wisconsin-Madison
Room 4456 - Social Science Building
1180 Observatory Drive
Madison, WI 53706-1393

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Abstract

In this paper, I examine 1960 to 1980 trends in suburbanization and education segregation within the black and white populations of four U.S. metropolitan areas. This analysis provides a test of Wilson's (1987) social isolation thesis which claims that, during the 1960s and 1970s, middle-class blacks moved out of inner-city ghettos into suburbs, thereby isolating themselves from lower-class blacks. Results show that support is found for Wilson's thesis, in that highly educated blacks became more suburbanized over time (more so than whites), and more spatially isolated from less educated blacks than did highly educated whites from less educated whites over time.

Introduction

According to Wilson's (1987) social isolation hypothesis, middle-class blacks, upon benefitting from affirmative action in employment in the 1960s and the Fair Housing Act of 1968, moved out of inner-city ghettos away from lower-class blacks into other areas of central cities and into the suburbs. Moreover, among other factors (i.e., the suburbanization of employment, the decline in manufacturing jobs, and the rise of the service economy), the out-migration of middle-class families resulted in an isolated underclass that lived in ghettos lacking the resources, institutions, and values necessary for success in a post-industrial society (Wilson, 1987).

In the context of testing Wilson's (1987) thesis, this paper addresses two questions: (1) What is the extent to which highly educated blacks increased their proportions in suburbs over time?, and (2) What is the extent to which highly educated blacks increased their residential distance from less educated blacks between 1960 and 1980? These questions are addressed by referencing changes from a point before the legal basis of the civil rights revolution was established in the 1960s. For example, we want to know if black education segregation was greater in 1980 than in 1960. Social status is defined by measures of educational attainment. Analyses are derived from the 1960 and 1980 decennial censuses on the spatial distribution of the black and white populations by education in a case study of four cities. By testing Wilson's thesis, I expect that as educational attainment increase, suburbanization and segregation between education subgroups should increase as well.

The discussion is organized as follows. First, Wilson's (1987) hypothesis is reviewed as it pertains to the changing spatial relations among black social classes which have occurred over the last thirty years. Second, a discussion of factors contributing to segregation between socioeconomic groups is provided. Third, the distinguishing features of the current analysis are reviewed. Fourth, the methodology and results from an analysis of residential differentiation by education are provided.

Background

Wilson's Social Isolation Hypothesis

Because of the racial residential segregation with which blacks were confronted in the 1940s and 1950s, blacks of all social classes lived in closer physical proximity to one another than did white social classes (Frazier, 1957). This means that because of discriminatory practices in the housing market and the racial prejudice blacks faced, middle-class blacks could not freely assert their class status in a spatial manner by moving far away from lower-class blacks into better neighborhoods as could middle-class whites from lower-class whites. In brief, racial-status determined the spatial mobility process for blacks, and it largely distinguished black class segregation from white class segregation.

While the color of their skin confined blacks to segregated neighborhoods, Wilson (1987:7) declares that, during the 1940s through the early 1960s, the very presence of middle- and working-class blacks in inner-city neighborhoods provided social organization and economic stability for the less advantaged blacks and the community as a whole. Social organization was manifested through the maintenance of family values and social control which held together the black community (Wilson, 1987). Middle-class blacks provided economic stability to the black community, in that they were able (through their financial resources invested in the local economy) to deflect neighborhood poverty caused by economic dislocations (Wilson, 1987; Massey, 1990). In short, although all black classes were confined to restrictive covenants by way of discriminatory practices in the housing market, middle-class blacks served the black community through their occupations and their presence as role models for lower-class youths in particular, according to Wilson (1987).

However, the structural shifts in the U.S. economy during the 1970s (e.g., the suburbanization of employment, the closing of central city factories, and the mechanization of production), worsened the economic conditions of lower-class blacks, because they were left without meaningful jobs or the

skills necessary to undergo economic success in a post industrial society. More important, the implementation of civil rights legislation in housing and employment in the 1960s, and the increased number of blacks who attained secondary education and higher incomes during the same period contributed to the growth of the black middle-class. As a result, this black middle-class was able to spatially isolate itself from lower-class blacks who inhabited the core inner-city ghettos. This exodus left less advantaged blacks with no role models or job contacts, and it left inner-city ghettos without the social organization and economic stability they had during the 1940s and 1950s. Overall, the structural changes in the economy and the exodus of the middle-class blacks contributed to the worsening conditions of lower-class blacks who eventually grew into the urban underclass (Wilson, 1987).

Factors That Contribute to Class Segregation

Other than changes in housing legislation and the subsequent growth of the black middle-class, other factors may have contributed to changes in black class segregation over time as well. For example, households with high socioeconomic status (SES) might elect to live in neighborhoods with people of similar prestige and status, where social and job contacts are established, and certain values are reinforced (Reich, 1991). Guest (1977) refers to this form of segregation as “personalistic,” in that individual desires determine where a household lives. High-status families might also prefer to live in areas with higher quality and more spacious housing, better schools, more recreational facilities, and safer environments than found in inner-city neighborhoods where members of certain groups initially settled (Wilson, 1979). Guest (1977) refers to this type of segregation as “nonpersonalistic,” because such factors as family cycle, neighborhood amenities, and morphology of the city influence the extent to which classes live apart. In the end, high-status households live in better neighborhoods, while low-status households (who cannot afford housing packages and

nonresidential amenities found in high-status areas) are more likely to live in neighborhoods plagued by harsh social and economic conditions (Massey, 1990).

Racial discrimination [characterized as “personalistic segregation” by Guest (1977)] in the housing market might also contribute to varying levels of class segregation within racial groups. For instance, middle-class blacks are more likely to be steered to neighborhoods closer to lower-class blacks than middle-class whites are to lower-class whites (Massey and Denton, 1993). Consequently, the extent to which middle-class blacks are segregated from lower-class blacks is smaller than that among whites. Wilson (1987) mainly discussed racial discrimination as a factor that differentiated black and white social class segregation in the 1940s and 1950s, before the black middle-class “exodus.”

Overall, quality of a neighborhood, size of housing, quality of schools, recreational facilities, safety, and discrimination in the housing market influence the degree to which classes are segregated from each other in the urban landscape. These factors, in addition to changes in housing legislation and the growth of the black middle-class, could have also contributed to the changes in the spatial distribution of black population between the mid-1960s and the 1980s. Thus, Wilson’s (1987) inclusion of these factors could have strengthened his discussion of the changes in black class segregation. The fact remains that racial-status continues to be the strongest factor that differentiates black class segregation from that among whites.

In fact, research confirms that racial-status is a central reason black class segregation differs from that among whites, as well as other groups. Erbe (1975) concluded that middle-class blacks were likely to live in neighborhoods with many impoverished blacks, thus losing one of the benefits of status that accrues to prosperous whites. Similarly, 15 years later Massey and Eggers (1990) found that, because of their racial-status, the degree of class segregation among blacks was not as extensive during the 1970s as that among whites, Hispanics, and Asians.

Current Analysis

Central to this analysis is Wilson's claim that black suburbanization and class segregation increased between the mid-1960s and 1980 to a point where residential contact between black socioeconomic groups was minimal, and they were therefore isolated from one another. In testing Wilson's argument, this paper examines white class segregation as a reference to gauge the extent and change in black suburbanization and education segregation. Comparing black and white spatial inequality between 1960 and 1980 allows us to appreciate the degree of change blacks underwent. Although class divisions were well established in the black community during the 1940s and 1950s, middle-class blacks could not place as much spatial distance between themselves and lower-class blacks as could middle-class whites from lower-class whites (Frazier, 1957). Therefore, if changes in suburbanization and segregation among blacks and whites are of similar magnitude and in the same direction, then claims of a large change among blacks since the 1960s would be less plausible. Using segregation in 1960 as a baseline, allows us to evaluate the magnitude of changes in suburbanization and education segregation associated with the passage of antidiscrimination laws in housing during the 1960-1980 period. This broader time span provides a more complete temporal analysis than studies that only use the 1970 decade, and it places us at a point in time when, according to Wilson, the black community was more cohesive and socially organized.

Data and Methods

Data from the 1960 and 1980 census tract series of the U.S. Census of Population and Housing files (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1962, 1983) are utilized. The Atlanta, Chicago, Houston, and Philadelphia Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSAs) are analyzed because each had large black populations in 1980 of over 400,000, and each is located in a different geographical region. The unit of analysis is a census tract, which is a geographic unit with approximately 4,000 people. In order to ensure tract and county comparability over time, 1980 tracts were matched with

1970 tracts, and those of 1970 were matched with 1960. Also, counties that were not in particular SMSAs in 1960, but were in 1980, were added to the 1960 distribution to attain county consistency. Social status is measured based on levels of educational attainment of persons 25 years and older, because, according to Massey, Condran, and Denton (1987), blacks are more able to translate high levels of educational attainment than income into spatial mobility. The 1960 education categories are adjusted to approximate 1980 categories. Those categories include elementary: 0 to 4 years, 5 to 7 years, and 8 years; high school: 1 to 3 years, and 4 years; college: 1 to 3 years, and 4 years or more.

In order to fully test Wilson's social isolation thesis, the extent of black and white suburbanization, and the extent to which black and white education segregation changed over time are examined. The extent of suburbanization is measured in two phases. The first measures it as the percentage of black and white education classes that lived in the suburban rings in 1960 and 1980, and how their distributions changed over time. The second phase, called the index of net difference, measures suburbanization as the likelihood that highly educated blacks and whites live in the suburbs versus the central cities of each metropolitan area. This index is traditionally used in studies that measure inequality between socioeconomic categories (see Lieberman, 1975), however, in this study it is used to measure the degree of spatial advantage between the central city and suburban ring that is attained by highly educated blacks and whites. The index of net difference is defined as:

$$ND = 100 * (\sum Y_s CX_c - \sum X_c CY_s) \quad (1)$$

where Y_s and X_c are the proportions of black/white education groups in the suburban ring (s) and central city (c), and CY_s and CX_c are the cumulative proportions of black/white education groups in the suburban ring and central city of each SMSA, respectively. Index of net difference scores range from 100 to -100, where 100 means that the suburban ring is more likely to be inhabited by highly educated black or whites than the central city, and -100 means that the central city is more likely to

be inhabited by highly educated blacks or whites than the suburban ring. Since Wilson's (1987) hypothesis asserts that blacks moved out of central cities into suburbs between the mid 1960s and 1980, the 1980 extent and the 1960 to 1980 change net difference scores are discussed.

Finally, education segregation is measured by the index of dissimilarity (D), which measures the evenness of education groups across census tracts. This index is defined as:

$$D_{xy} = .5 * \sum |(x_i/X) - (y_i/Y)| \quad (2)$$

where x_i and y_i equal the tract-level education numbers, while X and Y are the city-wide totals. This symmetrical index ranges from zero (no segregation) to one (complete segregation), and it gives the proportion to which two classes would have to shift tracts in order to obtain an equal distribution of the two groups, which is no segregation. Since Wilson's hypothesis centers around the changing spatial distributions between middle- and lower-class blacks, black and white education segregation scores are analyzed comparing the residential separation between college graduates and above and every other education group.

Results

Black and White Suburbanization

Wilson (1987) claimed that changes in housing and employment legislation enabled middle-class blacks to move from the central cities to the suburbs. Thus, the first step in testing his thesis involves examining the extent of suburbanization, which has two components: 1) the percentage of suburbanization, and 2) the likelihood of living in the suburban ring rather than the central city.

The first component is examined in table 1, which presents the percentages of black and white educational attainment groups in the suburban rings of each metropolitan area for 1960, 1980, and changes between 1960 and 1980. These results suggest that suburbanization could have resulted from a number of possible outcomes: central city-to-suburban ring movement, natural increase in the

population sizes of educational attainment groups in the suburban ring , or intermetropolitan migration of highly educated groups from other SMSAs to any one of our four case study cities' suburban rings.

The 1960 columns for blacks and whites reveal that whites lived in the suburbs more than did blacks. The uneven 1960 distribution for blacks may be due to the fact that during this time their population consisted of more less educated than highly educated blacks, because of the lack of educational opportunities brought on by racism in society. This skewed distribution may also be a result of blacks living in nonmetropolitan areas, which in 1960 were defined as the suburban rings of each city. This phenomenon is more striking for blacks with zero to seven years of schooling completed in Atlanta (70.9 percent) and Houston (56.5 percent).

[Table 1 about here]

For 1980, the pattern is reversed: highly educated blacks were more suburbanized than less educated blacks in all four SMSAs. This is a finding we would expect given the changes in the educational and occupational structures that occurred during the late 1960s and 1970s, which enabled a growing black middle-class to increase in size in the suburbs, though not to the extent highly educated whites did. Black high school graduates were more suburbanized than the remaining groups in each SMSA: Atlanta (29.7 percent), Chicago (32.4 percent), Houston (20.4 percent), and Philadelphia (37.5 percent). This phenomenon also occurred among the white populations in each SMSA (see white section, 1980 column).

The findings in the change column are more pertinent to our testing of Wilson's argument which claims that middle-class blacks became more suburbanized over time. Within all metropolitan areas, highly educated blacks became more suburbanized than did less educated blacks (i.e., those with at least three years of high school completed and below) between 1960 and 1980. Blacks with four years of high school completed and beyond increased their suburban populations more in Atlanta (59.4 percent - this number is derived by adding together the values for HS 4, C 1-3, and C4+)

followed by Houston (43.0 percent), Philadelphia (42.6 percent), and Chicago (38.3 percent). A closer examination of intermetropolitan differences reveals that black college graduates in the south became more suburbanized over time (Houston-19.9 percent, and Atlanta-19.6 percent) than those in the north (Philadelphia-10.9 percent, and Chicago-8.6 percent). These findings suggest that highly educated blacks in the southern cities were more able to match their high-status with residence in the suburbs than were highly educated blacks in northern cities.

Regarding comparisons between black and white changes, highly educated blacks increased their populations in the suburbs more so than did highly educated whites. The small 1960 to 1980 changes in white suburbanization might have occurred because whites had become largely suburbanized prior to 1960 (see the change column under the white section) more so than did blacks. Overall, the percentages for the black population are consistent with Wilson's claim that middle-class blacks became more suburbanized over time as a result of housing legislation and employment opportunities that enabled them to purchase homes in suburbs. As mentioned above, the percentage of blacks and whites living in the suburbs captures more than the possibility of movement from the central city to the suburban ring, which is central to Wilson's argument. For this reason, we now turn to our second phase in measuring the extent of suburbanization, the index of net difference, which specifically captures the central city-suburban dichotomy.

Table 2 presents the net difference scores for blacks and whites in each city for the 1980 and 1960 to 1980 periods. In 1980, within each SMSA, the suburban ring had a greater probability of being inhabited by highly educated blacks than the central city. More specifically, highly educated blacks in Atlanta and Houston had a greater chance of living in the suburbs (at 49.7 percent and 42 percent, respectively) than did blacks in Chicago (25.5 percent) and Philadelphia (18.1 percent). The change column shows that, over time, highly educated blacks in Atlanta and Houston had a greater chance of living in the suburbs (at 67 percent and 62.3 percent respectively) than blacks in Chicago

and Philadelphia (at 40.7 percent and 38.3 percent respectively). This means that the process of black suburbanization was more apparent in the two southern cities than in the northern ones. These findings are consistent with patterns of increased black suburbanization we saw in table 1.

[Table 2 about here]

The values for the white population show that highly educated whites had a greater chance of living in the suburbs than in the central cities of each metropolitan area in 1980, but greatest in Chicago, at 67.3 percent. Their change scores reveal that between 1960 and 1980, highly educated whites in Chicago and Philadelphia had a greater probability of living in the suburbs in 1960 than in 1980 (-18.7 and -20.4 percent respectively), whereas in the southern cities, they had a greater chance of living in the suburbs than central cities in 1980 than in 1960.

Overall, highly educated blacks displayed a greater probability of living in the suburbs than whites between 1960 and 1980. Blacks in Atlanta and Houston especially displayed a greater chance of living in the suburbs than in the central cities compared to whites. These indices reinforce those findings in table 1, in that highly educated blacks showed the greatest chance of suburbanization compared to whites. They also demonstrate that suburbanization occurred because groups moved from the central city to the suburbs, unlike the percentages found in table 1. In brief, support is found for Wilson's (1987) claim that highly educated blacks increased their population sizes in the suburbs more than less educated blacks as well as whites, between 1960 and 1980. However, the following question remains: how extensively did highly educated blacks segregate themselves from less educated blacks over time? This question is addressed below.

Levels and Trends in Education Segregation

This segment analyzes the final component of my evaluation of Wilson's social isolation thesis: the claim that middle-class blacks increased their residential distance from lower-class blacks. For this reason, segregation indices were computed comparing the residential distance between

college graduates and above and each remaining education group. Table 3 presents the extent of black and white spatial distance in 1980 and how they changed between 1960 and 1980. Education segregation, as measured by the index of dissimilarity, is evaluated at the central city and suburban ring levels. The discussion of these findings proceeds as follows. First, within each SMSA, central city and suburban segregation are compared first for blacks and then for whites. Second, black (and then white) education segregation is compared across SMSAs. Throughout the discussion of these findings, I will primarily focus on the segregation indices between extreme education groups (i.e., those with zero to seven years of schooling completed and college graduates and above). When necessary, I will discuss the segregation values between those with four or more years of college and other education classes.

[Table 3 about here]

Focusing on the Atlanta SMSA, black education segregation in 1980 between college graduates and those with at least four years of schooling completed is greater in the suburban ring (71.5 percent) than in the central city (56.8 percent). These values mean that in the suburbs, 71.5 percent of either black college graduates or those with at least four years of schooling completed would have to shift census tracts in order to attain complete residential integration or zero segregation, while in the central city, 56.8 percent of those same groups would have to shift tracts to eliminate segregation. According to Kantrowitz (1973), dissimilarity indices between 0 and 30 are low, those between 30 and 60 are moderate, and values 60 and above are considered high. By these standards, extreme black education groups were highly segregated from each other, but more so in the suburban ring than in the central city. Suburban black college graduates were also more segregated from other less educated blacks than in the central city (compare the first half of the 1980 columns under black education segregation). In addition, the average extent to which black college graduates were segregated from all other groups is greater in the suburban ring (51.4 percent) than

in the central city (44.4 percent). Regarding the 1960 to 1980 changes in black education segregation, black college graduates, on average, increased their residential distance from other groups in the suburbs (13.3 percent), while those in the central city decreased their distance (-1.8 percent).

While black college graduates were more segregated from other blacks in the suburbs than in the central city, white college graduates on average were more segregated in the central city (51.6 percent) than in the suburbs (30.3 percent). This pattern is reinforced by white extreme education segregation. Changes in white segregation reveal that the spatial distance between white college graduates and less educated whites was greatly reduced, more in the suburbs than in the central city (compare the central city and suburban ring change columns).

The Chicago panel reveals that the 1980 extent to which black college graduates were segregated from every other black education group was slightly greater in the suburban ring than in the central city (compare the pairwise indices in the 1980 central city and suburban ring columns and the corresponding average values). On average, 46.9 percent of either college graduates or all education groups would have to shift tracts in the suburbs to eliminate segregation, while 43.3 percent of those same groups would have to change residence in the central city, in order to attain residential integration. Although black college graduates were more segregated from others in the suburbs than in the central city, segregation values are considered high in both places. Considering the changes in black education segregation in Chicago, the spatial distance between college graduates and other groups declined in the suburbs (14.5 percent) and slightly increased in the central city (3.4 percent).

Regarding white Chicagoans, the average 1980 extent of education segregation was greater in the central city (41.9 percent) than in the suburban ring (36.8 percent), a pattern opposite that of blacks. While the average white education segregation between college graduates and other groups

substantially declined in the central city (35.6 percent) and suburban ring (22.6 percent), it declined more in the central city.

Within the Houston SMSA, we see that the average extent of black education segregation was greater in the suburban ring (65.2 percent) than in the central city (43.0 percent). For the most part, black college graduates in the suburban ring were highly segregated from the remaining groups, while in the central city they were moderately segregated from each other. For instance, black college graduates in the suburbs were segregated from blacks with 5 to 7 years of schooling by an index of 70.1, while college graduates in the central city were segregated from blacks with 5 to 7 years of schooling by an index of 54.3. The change columns show that black education segregation increased between 1960 and 1980.

White education groups lived closer to each other in the suburban ring of Houston (29.1) than they did in the central city (48.4), as shown in the average row in the white section. White college graduates were moderately to highly segregated from less educated whites in the central city, while in the suburban ring their segregation indices were in the low to moderate range. The change sections reveal that, on average, white education segregation slightly declined in the suburban ring (7.5 percent) and central city (0.3 percent).

The values for the Philadelphia SMSA show that the average 1980 extent of black education segregation was slightly greater in the suburban ring (42.9 percent) than in the central city (39.1 percent). Like blacks in Chicago, the disparity between suburban and central city segregation was not great. An examination of the change scores for the black population reveal that, on average, education segregation barely increased in the central city and slightly decreased in the suburban ring.

On average, white education segregation was greater in the central city of Philadelphia (54.8) than it was in the suburban ring (37.4). Like the situation in the other cities, white college graduates lived in closer residential propinquity to other groups in the suburbs than in the central city. Not only

was central city education segregation among whites more extensive than that in the suburban ring, but it also increased by 14.3 percentage points between 1960 and 1980 in the central city and it slightly decreased over time in the suburban ring by 5.5 percentage points.

Within each metropolitan area, an interracial pattern emerged: white central city education segregation was greater than black central city education segregation, and black suburban ring segregation was greater than that among whites. Additionally, 1960 to 1980 changes in central city segregation were greatest for blacks (3.05, derived by taking a pooled average of change scores for blacks in all SMSAs) than for whites (-4.98), whereas changes in suburban segregation were greater for blacks (3.55) than for whites (-11.95). These values suggest that, over time, black college graduates were able to increase the residential distance between themselves and other blacks in the central city and suburban ring more so than were white college graduates from other white education groups in the central city and suburban ring.

Intermetropolitan differences emerged among the black population. Figure 1 presents the 1980 and 1960 to 1980 changes in mean education segregation among blacks. Panel A shows that the 1980 extent of central city education segregation was similar across cities; however, it was greatest in Atlanta, at 44.4 percent. The greatest change in spatial separation occurred in Houston, at 10 percentage points. Panel B compares black suburban segregation across each city. The extent to which black college graduates were segregated from other blacks was greatest in the two southern SMSAs. Moreover, Atlanta and Houston experienced increases in suburban segregation, while Chicago and Philadelphia underwent declines in the spatial separation between college graduates and other blacks. These results suggest that there was more spatial mobility among the black population in suburban rings of the southern SMSAs than in the northern cities.

[Figure 1 about here]

Figure 2 compares the mean extent and change in education separation among whites across all cities. Overall, white central city segregation was moderate in all cities, but greatest in Atlanta and Philadelphia (see panel A). Interestingly, the greatest changes in the segregation between white college graduates and other whites took place in Chicago (-35.6 percent) and Philadelphia (14.3 percent). The substantial decline in Chicago may be due to the gentrification process that occurred in the central city, which enabled middle-class whites to move closer to lower-class whites thereby decreasing the segregation between themselves (Nelson, 1988). Panel B reveals that although white college graduates were moderately segregated from other education groups in all cities, they were more segregated in northern cities than in the south. The segregated nature of northern cities might contribute to this regional difference, in that the north is characterized by more spatial and social

[Figure 2 about here]

inequality than the south (Massey and Eggers, 1993), which are likely to influence highly educated whites to place more distance between themselves other whites than in the south. Finally, regarding changes in white suburban education segregation, there were declines in all metropolitan areas, but they were greater in Chicago (22.6 percent) than the remaining cities.

This final component of my test of Wilson's (1987) thesis, that middle-class blacks substantially increased the residential distance between themselves and lower-class blacks over time, provides support for his claim. Black education segregation substantially increased between 1960 and 1980, particularly in the suburban rings of the southern metropolitan areas. Black college graduates were able to place more residential distance between themselves and other blacks than were white college graduates from other whites during the period under study, especially in the suburbs.

Summary and Conclusions

In the context of evaluating Wilson's (1987) social isolation thesis, we have addressed two questions: (1) Did highly educated blacks become more suburbanized over time?, and (2) Did highly educated blacks increase their spatial distance from less educated blacks?

The first question involved two measurements of suburbanization. The first procedure, which captured the percentage of groups in the suburbs, found that highly educated blacks increased their population sizes in the suburban rings of each metropolitan area, as Wilson (1987) claimed. Suburbanization of high-status blacks was especially high for those in Atlanta and Houston. Since whites were highly suburbanized prior to the 1960 decade, black suburbanization increased more than did white suburbanization between 1960 and 1980.

The second component of suburbanization also found support for Wilson's thesis, in that highly educated blacks had a greater chance of living in the suburbs than in the central cities in 1980 and between 1960 and 1980. They were more suburbanized than highly educated whites as well. This segment of the analysis provided an extension to the first question, in that we learned that the process of suburbanization was due to residential movement of blacks and whites from the central cities rather than natural increase of populations, or intermetropolitan migration into the suburbs of these case study cities.

Finally, concerning the second question, support again is found for Wilson's (1987) social isolation hypothesis, in that highly educated blacks substantially increased the spatial distance between themselves and less educated blacks, as shown by trends in education segregation. In addition, black college graduates and above increased their residential distance from other black education groups more than did white college graduates and beyond, especially in the southern suburbs. For this reason, more support is found for Wilson's argument in the suburban rings of the southern SMSAs

than in the northern ones, where all blacks were likely to face more segregated environments and restrictions to residential movement (Massey and Denton, 1993).

These findings suggest that with the passage of antidiscrimination laws and the elimination of barriers in the housing market, blacks whose resources enabled them to live elsewhere in the central city or the suburban ring did so. Extensive black suburban class segregation indices (especially in the two Southern SMSAs) mean that highly educated blacks were able to live far from less educated blacks, and suburban blacks with some college and beyond were more spatially isolated from other blacks than they were in central cities. However, in Chicago and Philadelphia, blacks lived in closer proximity to each other in the central cities and suburban rings than in Atlanta and Houston. The ecological nature of these two older, northern cities (which are highly segregated by race) may heavily influence where black social classes live in relation to each other. In addition, the high black-white segregation these cities face (see Massey and Denton, 1993; Farley and Frey, 1994) might have affected the extent to which high-status blacks were able to place residential distance between themselves and lower-status blacks. For example, if northern blacks were confronted with fewer housing opportunities, brought on mainly by racial discrimination, then high-status blacks are likely to face barriers in their attempts to spatially segregate themselves from low-status blacks as well. By contrast, if southern blacks experience greater opportunities in the housing market, then high-status blacks are likely to move into more exclusive areas than other blacks, thereby isolating themselves from low-status blacks more so than in the north.

While overall support was found for Wilson's (1987) thesis, his study should have included regional comparisons in black social-status segregation. He might have perhaps found, as this study did, that high-status blacks in the south were able to place more distance between themselves and low-status blacks than in the north. Instead, his focus was mainly on the city of Chicago and other

northern urban areas that were hit hardest by structural changes in the U.S. economy over the past thirty years.

Whereas we understand that black education segregation increased because high-status blacks were able over time to translate their status into movement away from low-status blacks, we must also understand why white education segregation largely decreased across SMSAs. This decline may be associated with less educated whites moving into neighborhoods closer to more educated whites between 1960 and 1980. This decrease might also be related to the process of gentrification that has taken place over time, whereby high-status whites have moved back into the central cities closer to low-status whites (Nelson, 1988). This reduction in white segregation (primarily in Chicago and Houston, where Hispanics in 1980 were highly represented) might also be associated with the changing size and growth of white Hispanics (Bean and Tienda, 1987). Hispanic class segregation levels might have declined over time, which would in turn result in a decline in white education segregation. Finally, this decline may be related to a diversity of white ethnic groups who have moved closer to other white ethnics in the suburbs of all four cities, and in the central city of Chicago. Clearly, this issue is worth further study.

This paper not only finds support for Wilson's (1987) social isolation hypothesis, but it also contributes to the social isolation debate in the following ways. The inclusion of 1960 census data enabled us to learn that, although the black community before the mid-1960s was less spatially segregated by social class (Frazier, 1957; Wilson, 1987), over time its high-status blacks have been able to assert their class in a spatial manner by moving out of central cities into the suburbs and hence increasing their residential distance from low-status blacks. Substantial increases in black education segregation mean that although racial-status still influences where high-status blacks live, it has become less important than in the 1940s and 1950s in determining the extent to which they segregate themselves from less educated blacks.

In the final analysis, to better understand changes in black spatial inequality, we could compare them with socioeconomic segregation within the Hispanic and Asian populations in multiethnic metropolitan areas. Including such groups would enable us to understand the extent to which antidiscrimination laws in housing have and have not benefitted the higher-status segments of all minority groups. This approach would enable us to extend a test of Wilson's (1987) social isolation thesis to include other groups.

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Table 1. Percentage of Blacks and Whites living in Suburbs of Four U.S. Cities, 1960-1980

Education Level	Blacks			Whites		
	1960	1980	Change	1960	1980	Change
<i>Atlanta</i>						
0-4	37.3	4.1	-33.7	7.8	2.3	-5.5
5-7	33.6	7.6	-26.0	18.1	6.5	-11.6
8	8.1	4.2	-3.9	9.0	4.5	-4.5
HS 1-3	11.6	16.0	4.4	19.6	16.6	-3.0
HS 4	6.5	29.7	23.2	24.9	30.9	6.0
C 1-3	1.1	17.7	16.6	11.0	18.2	7.2
C 4+	1.2	20.8	19.6	9.5	21.0	11.5
<i>Chicago</i>						
0-4	13.2	4.3	-8.9	6.1	1.5	-4.6
5-7	19.7	6.6	-13.1	8.9	3.0	-5.9
8	18.0	6.3	-11.7	19.1	6.9	-12.2
HS 1-3	24.1	19.6	-4.5	20.5	12.1	-8.4
HS 4	15.9	32.4	16.5	22.7	35.8	13.1
C 1-3	6.3	19.5	13.2	11.8	18.3	6.5
C 4+	2.8	11.4	8.6	10.8	22.3	11.5
<i>Houston</i>						
0-4	31.2	7.4	-23.8	9.4	2.6	-6.8
5-7	25.3	10.4	-14.9	16.9	5.4	-11.5
8	9.9	4.9	-5.0	11.4	4.1	-7.3
HS 1-3	16.5	17.4	0.9	14.9	15.3	0.4
HS 4	9.6	20.4	10.8	26.1	31.9	5.8
C 1-3	3.5	15.8	12.3	11.3	19.7	8.4
C 4+	3.8	23.7	19.9	10.0	21.0	11.0
<i>Philadelphia</i>						
0-4	14.9	2.7	-12.2	5.3	1.4	-3.9
5-7	22.8	6.8	-16.0	14.3	4.4	-9.9
8	15.9	7.0	-8.9	19.4	6.4	-13.0
HS 1-3	24.2	18.6	-5.6	9.9	14.1	4.2
HS 4	15.6	37.5	21.9	10.1	38.9	28.8
C 1-3	3.6	13.4	9.8	10.6	14.0	3.4
C 4+	3.1	14.0	10.9	30.4	20.9	-9.5

Source: 1960 and 1980 U.S. Census of Population and Housing

Table 2. Net Difference Scores for the Black and White Populations in Four U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 1980 and 1960 to 1980 Change

Metropolitan Area	Blacks		Whites	
	1980	Change	1980	Change
Atlanta	49.7	67.0	33.6	10.7
Chicago	25.5	40.7	67.3	-18.7
Houston	42.0	62.3	32.0	4.1
Philadelphia	18.1	38.3	54.6	-20.4

Table 3. Residential dissimilarity within the Black and White populations between college graduates and above and each remaining education group in the central cities and suburban rings of four U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 1980 and 1960 to 1980 change

Education Levels	Black Education Segregation				White Education Segregation			
	CC		SUB		CC		SUB	
	1980	Change	1980	Change	1980	Change	1980	Change
<i>Atlanta</i>								
0-4	56.8	-4.7	71.5	37.1	64.3	-3.3	41.4	-18.8
5-7	53.2	-1.1	69.6	33.7	62.3	-1.9	37.4	-18.2
8	52.0	2.3	64.4	26.2	55.8	-1.6	36.8	-12.8
HS 1-3	48.0	-3.0	55.0	14.9	56.9	3.3	31.1	-14.0
HS 4	35.5	-3.0	32.4	-6.2	45.5	7.8	22.9	-6.6
C 1-3	21.0	-1.3	15.2	-26.0	24.5	5.8	12.3	-3.0
Average	44.4	-1.8	51.4	13.3	51.6	1.7	30.3	-12.2
<i>Chicago</i>								
0-4	54.8	2.6	57.6	-11.0	52.4	-45.0	49.6	-32.7
5-7	51.2	4.2	54.5	-14.2	53.2	-36.3	50.3	-29.7
8	47.9	4.6	52.2	-15.1	45.4	-41.2	42.4	-20.1
HS 1-3	44.9	4.5	48.5	-18.0	44.5	-36.1	36.5	-15.5
HS 4	35.7	3.9	39.1	-18.0	34.2	-36.2	26.0	-16.7
C 1-3	25.2	0.3	29.6	-10.5	21.7	-19.0	15.9	-21.1
Average	43.3	3.4	46.9	-14.5	41.9	-35.6	36.8	-22.6
<i>Houston</i>								
0-4	56.5	14.0	67.6	15.2	69.7	-1.2	32.6	-19.9
5-7	54.3	15.7	70.1	21.9	65.1	2.0	35.8	-10.6
8	50.0	13.3	68.1	24.1	58.1	2.8	35.7	-5.2
HS 1-3	44.2	11.1	66.4	20.1	51.3	2.1	34.7	-4.6
HS 4	33.1	6.8	59.9	19.7	29.4	-5.0	23.1	-3.8
C 1-3	19.9	-1.2	59.0	32.6	16.9	-2.4	12.9	-0.7
Average	43.0	10.0	65.2	22.3	48.4	-0.3	29.1	-7.5
<i>Philadelphia</i>								
0-4	52.1	-1.4	55.3	-4.3	67.0	11.5	49.7	-12.3
5-7	46.5	-0.3	51.6	-5.2	63.6	11.1	48.0	-1.2
8	44.1	2.2	48.2	-3.9	61.2	16.7	43.2	-1.3
HS 1-3	40.3	1.8	42.6	-8.7	60.6	17.1	39.1	-0.8
HS 4	29.6	-0.6	31.6	-11.8	51.5	21.3	27.4	-8.8
C 1-3	21.7	1.8	28.1	-7.6	24.9	8.3	17.1	-8.6
Average	39.1	0.6	42.9	-6.9	54.8	14.3	37.4	-5.5

Note: CC=Central City; SUB=Suburban Ring

FIGURE 1. MEAN BLACK SEGREGATION, 1980 AND 1960 TO 1980 CHANGE

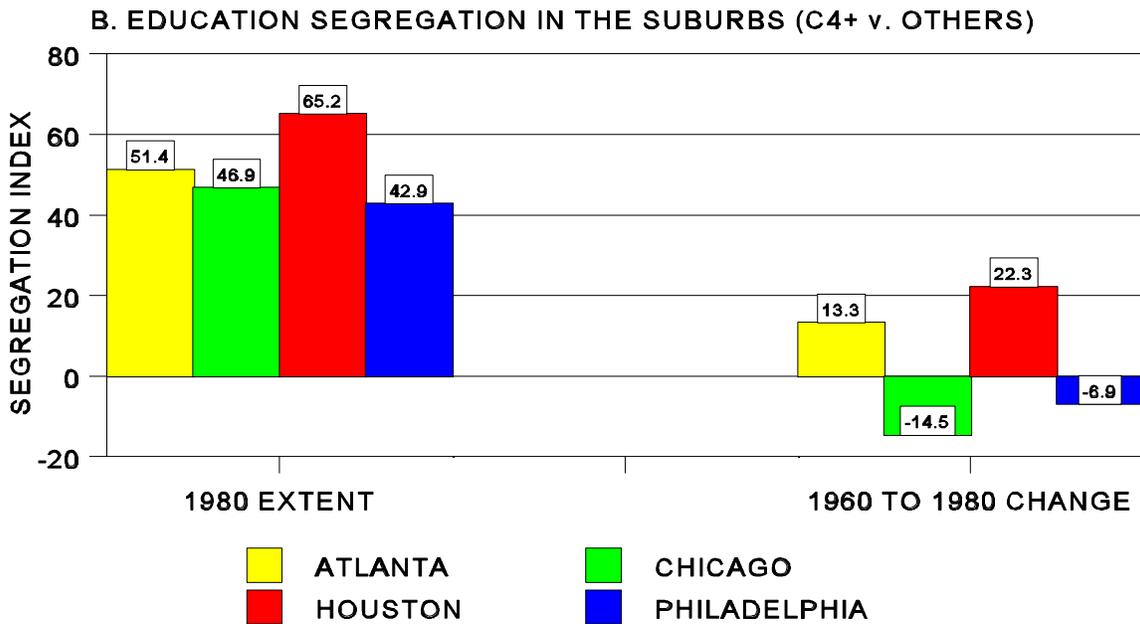
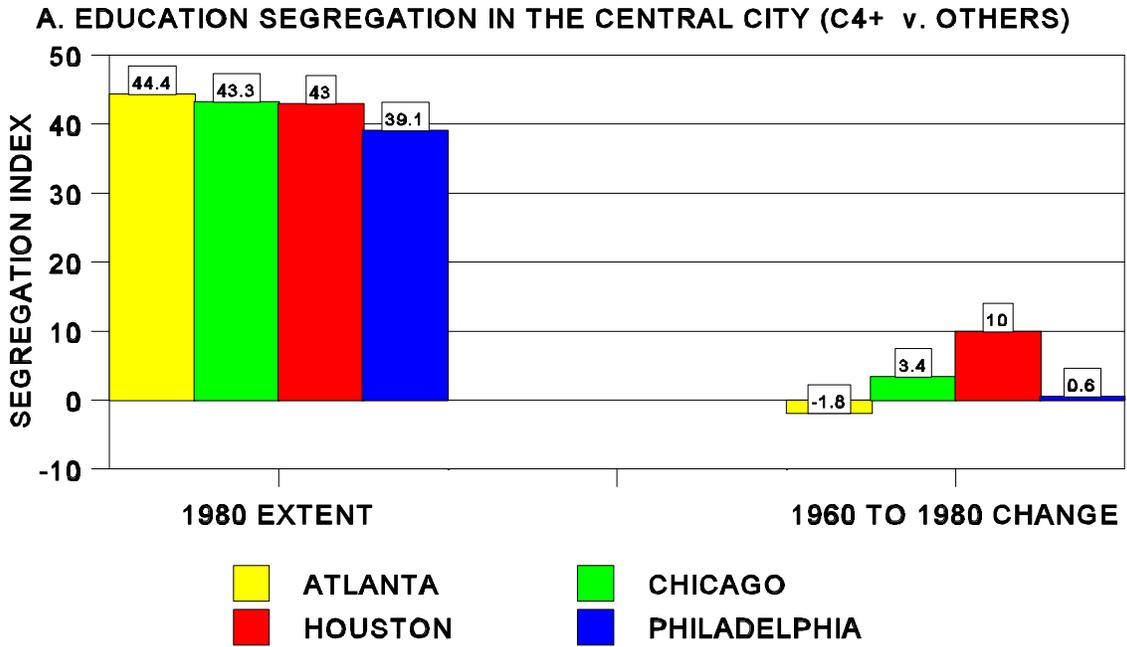
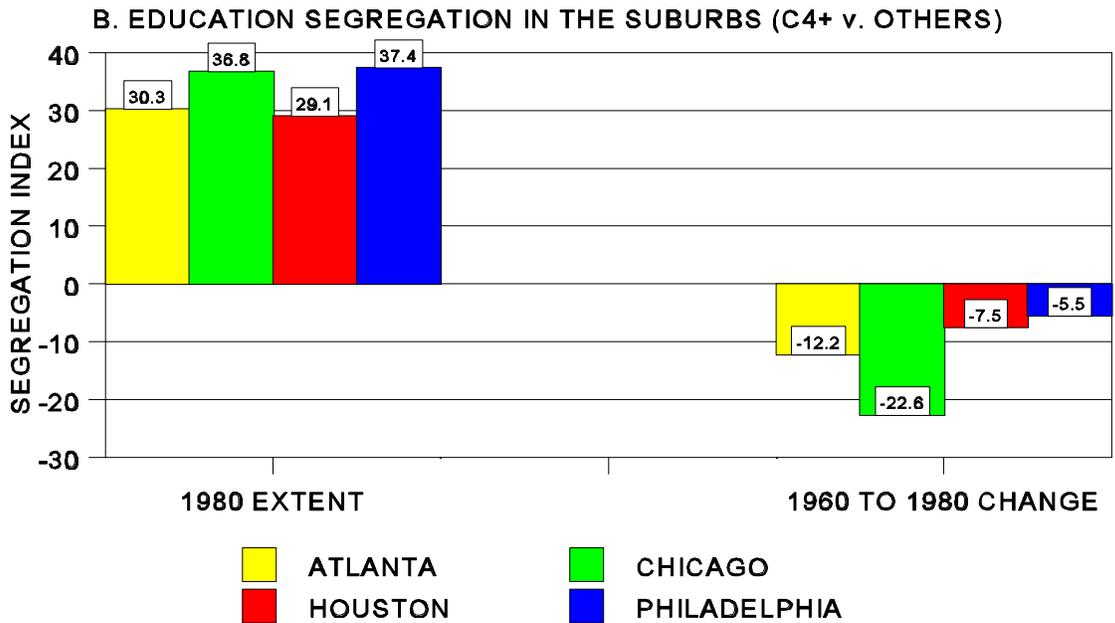
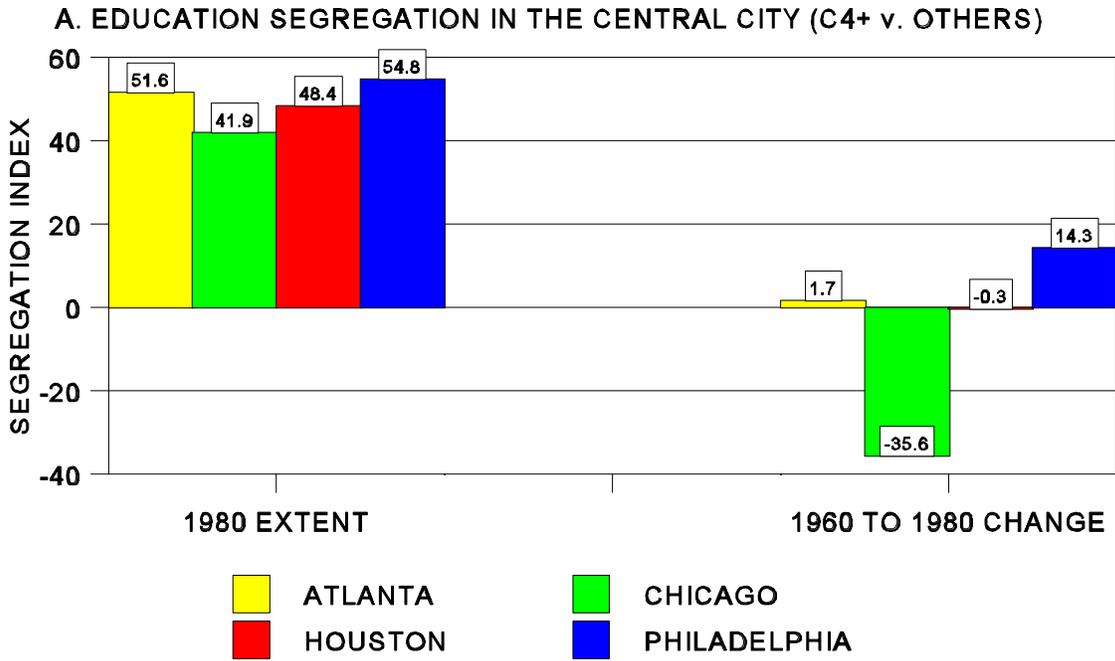


FIGURE 2. MEAN WHITE SEGREGATION, 1980 AND 1960 TO 1980 CHANGE



Center for Demography and Ecology
University of Wisconsin
1180 Observatory Drive Rm. 4412
Madison, WI 53706-1393
U.S.A.
608/262-2182
FAX 608/262-8400
email: sims@ssc.wisc.edu