



THESIS







OVERDUE FINES:  
25¢ per day per item

RETURNING LIBRARY MATERIALS:  
Place in book return to remove  
charge from circulation records

372 324

APR 13 1994

APR 13 1994

APR 13 1994

APR 13 1994

APR 13 1994

APR 13 1994

APR 13 1994

APR 13 1994

APR 13 1994

APR 13 1994

APR 13 1994

APR 13 1994

APR 13 1994

APR 13 1994

APR 13 1994

APR 13 1994

APR 13 1994

APR 13 1994

APR 13 1994

APR 13 1994

APR 13 1994

APR 13 1994

APR 13 1994

APR 13 1994

APR 13 1994

APR 13 1994

APR 13 1994

APR 13 1994

APR 13 1994

OCT 13 1995

HISTORIC SETTLEMENT AND RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION  
IN RURAL NEIGHBORHOODS OF JASPER COUNTY,  
MISSISSIPPI

by  
Marvel Lang

A Dissertation

submitted to  
Michigan State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Geography

-1979-



HISTORIC SETTLEMENT AND RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION  
IN RURAL NEIGHBORHOODS OF JASPER COUNTY,  
MISSISSIPPI

by  
Marvel Lang

Abstract

This study analyses the relationship between historic settlement patterns of blacks and whites in Jasper County, Mississippi, and the historic patterns of local neighborhood development, racial dominance and residential segregation in local neighborhoods in the county. The study is a prototype for the analysis of residential segregation in rural areas and is intended to generate some findings for further comparative research.

The following hypotheses are tested:

1. Local neighborhood boundaries are defined on the basis of racial characteristics of households rather than on the locational proximity of households.
2. A high level of residential segregation exists in the county between black and white households.



3. The present level of residential segregation and racial composition of the neighborhoods are related to the patterns of historic settlement of blacks and whites and not due to invasion-succession processes.
4. The high level of residential segregation is related also to the size of neighborhoods, the length of settlement, the distance and accessibility of the neighborhoods to the nearest trade center.
5. Significant differences exist between black-segregated and white-segregated neighborhoods in their size, length of settlement, distance and accessibility to the trade centers in the county.

The data used to reconstruct the historic patterns of settlement and local neighborhood development consisted of church-school records--Records of Land Grant Transactions and Manuscript Census Reports. These data were interpolated cartographically for several periods to show the location pattern, growth and development of local neighborhoods by racial characteristics in the county. The findings from these analyses indicate that historically the expansion and development of neighborhoods for both blacks and whites occurred mainly around those areas where they had initially settled or where their residential areas were initially established. Also, the racial dominance characteristics of the local neighborhoods remained unchanged for the most part. For these reasons the hypothesis that historic settlement of blacks and



whites was a major factor in determining the patterns of racial dominance and the level of residential segregation in the county presently rather than invasion and succession processes was accepted.

The level of residential segregation between black and white households in the county in 1977 was 74.6 percent, which is a high level of segregation. This level was determined by applying the Index of Segregation at the neighborhood level. The level of concentration of black households as indicated by the Gini Index was 54.5 percent.

Stepwise multiple regression analysis was used to test the relationship between the level of residential segregation in the neighborhoods as indicated by their racial overrepresentation or underrepresentation of the two racial groups, and the historical geographical variables of size of neighborhood in number of households, length of settlement of the neighborhoods in number of years, distance in miles from the neighborhoods to the nearest trade center, and accessibility of the neighborhoods to the nearest trade center in minutes of travel time. The results showed that the size of the neighborhoods was the only variable that had a positive significant relationship with the level of residential segregation in the neighborhoods, accounting for 75 percent of the variation in the dependent variable.



It was found that the patterns of initial settlement of blacks and whites in the county have been significant in determining their present patterns of residential location and dominance in the neighborhoods of Jasper County. This fact was proven by showing that those areas which the two groups presently dominate are centered on areas that were historically established as residential areas for them respectively during the initial stages of neighborhood development in the county.

The implications from the study are that further comparative research needs to be conducted in other rural areas and that similar findings in those areas could indicate that different processes are operative in rural areas than in urban areas in determining the patterns of residential segregation and residential location patterns for blacks and whites. For example, most research on residential segregation in urban areas of the United States has shown that the invasion-succession processes have been the main processes in determining the patterns of racial residential location. This study shows that the patterns of historic settlement and neighborhood development have been the main processes in determining the patterns of racial dominance and residential location for the two racial groups in this rural area. This fact might be true for other rural areas of America, especially the rural South.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge and express my appreciation to the many people who have played important roles in my graduate education. The most important one has been my dear wife, Mozelle, who has sacrificed, supported, encouraged and believed in me religiously. To the members of my advisory committee, Dr. Joe T. Darden, Dr. Stanley D. Brunn, Dr. Robert I. Wittick, Dr. James Zuiches and Dr. J. Allan Beegle, thanks for doing your jobs professionally and sincerely; especially Dr. Darden who has been a good friend, brother and advisor. Also, I acknowledge the help and generosity of the many people in Jasper County, Mississippi, and the various agencies of the county and state governments who were kind and patient in helping me find information that I may never have obtained otherwise.

# T A B L E O F C O N T E N T S

| CHAPTER                                                                                                    | PAGE |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| I. INTRODUCTION .....                                                                                      | 1    |
| The Concepts of Neighborhood and Community .....                                                           | 4    |
| Statement of the Problem .....                                                                             | 8    |
| Hypotheses .....                                                                                           | 16   |
| The Study Area .....                                                                                       | 17   |
| II. DATA AND METHODOLOGY .....                                                                             | 22   |
| Testing the Hypotheses .....                                                                               | 23   |
| The Cluster Method .....                                                                                   | 30   |
| The Segregation Index and Gini Index .....                                                                 | 31   |
| The Stepwise Multiple Correlation Analysis .....                                                           | 36   |
| Organization of the Study .....                                                                            | 37   |
| III. THE CONCEPTUAL AND METHODOLOGICAL BACKGROUND:<br>THE REVIEW OF LITERATURE .....                       | 39   |
| Empirical Research on the Delimitation,<br>Identification, and Recognition of<br>Rural Neighborhoods ..... | 42   |
| The Methodological Analysis of Residential<br>Segregation .....                                            | 44   |
| The Empirical Analysis of Residential<br>Segregation in Urban Areas .....                                  | 49   |

| CHAPTER                                                                                                                      | PAGE |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| The Empirical Analysis of Residential<br>Segregation in Rural Areas .....                                                    | 59   |
| Neighborhood Invasion and Succession in<br>Urban Areas .....                                                                 | 62   |
| Black Settlement in Rural Mississippi and<br>Other Rural Areas .....                                                         | 67   |
| Summary .....                                                                                                                | 75   |
| IV. HISTORIC SETTLEMENT, NEIGHBORHOOD DEVELOPMENT<br>AND RACIAL COMPOSITION OF RURAL NEIGHBORHOODS<br>IN JASPER COUNTY ..... | 77   |
| Introduction .....                                                                                                           | 77   |
| The Origin and Initial Settlement of Jasper<br>County .....                                                                  | 78   |
| Historic Settlement of Blacks in Jasper County ...                                                                           | 91   |
| Historic Aspects of Neighborhood Development .....                                                                           | 97   |
| The Present Racial Pattern of Neighborhoods .....                                                                            | 105  |
| The Recognition and Delineation of Local<br>Neighborhoods, 1977 .....                                                        | 107  |
| Racial Dominance and Racial Composition of<br>Neighborhoods .....                                                            | 111  |
| Summary .....                                                                                                                | 115  |
| V. FACTORS IN THE RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION AND<br>RACIAL COMPOSITION OF RURAL NEIGHBORHOODS .....                             | 119  |

| CHAPTER                                                                                                             | PAGE |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| Residential Segregation in Rural Neighborhoods:<br>The Example of Jasper County .....                               | 119  |
| Location, Length of Settlement, and Size of<br>Neighborhoods as Factors Related to<br>Residential Segregation ..... | 123  |
| Location, Length of Settlement and Size of<br>Neighborhoods as Factors Related to<br>Racial Composition .....       | 127  |
| Differences Between White-Segregated and<br>Black-Segregated Neighborhoods .....                                    | 129  |
| Summary .....                                                                                                       | 132  |
| VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS .....                                                                                   | 134  |
| APPENDICES .....                                                                                                    | 141  |
| Appendix A - Data on Neighborhoods in<br>Jasper County .....                                                        | 141  |
| Appendix B - Family Survey for Verifying<br>Neighborhood Boundaries .....                                           | 149  |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY .....                                                                                                  | 151  |

# LISTING OF TABLES

|                                                                                                                           | PAGE |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| 1. Test of Differences Between Size of Neighborhoods and Scattered Settlement Areas.....                                  | 26   |
| 2. Negro Household Heads Owning Land in Jasper County Civil Divisions, 1870.....                                          | 95   |
| 3. Neighborhoods by Race and Type in Jasper County.....                                                                   | 115  |
| 4. Summary of Stepwise Multiple Correlation for Black-Segregated Neighborhoods.....                                       | 125  |
| 5. Summary of Stepwise Multiple Correlation for White-Segregated Neighborhoods.....                                       | 125  |
| 6. Summary of Stepwise Multiple Correlation for Total Group of Neighborhoods.....                                         | 126  |
| 7. Summary of Stepwise Multiple Correlation on Percent Black Households in Neighborhoods.                                 | 129  |
| 8. Tests of Differences Between White-Segregated and Black-Segregated Neighborhoods on the Selected Set of Variables..... | 131  |

# LISTING OF FIGURES

|                                                                               | PAGE |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| 1. The Study Area: The Relative Location of Jasper County, Mississippi.....   | 18   |
| 2. The Road Network and Towns in Jasper County.....                           | 19   |
| 3. The Choctaw Cession of 1830.....                                           | 80   |
| 4. Small Town Origins in Jasper County, 1833-1860.....                        | 84   |
| 5. Sections in Jasper County Where Land Grants Were Issued, 1833-1860.....    | 86   |
| 6. Small Town Origins in Jasper County, 1870-1900.....                        | 88   |
| 7. Small Town Origins in Jasper County Since 1900.....                        | 89   |
| 8. Sections in Jasper County Where Land Grants Were Issued, 1833-1890.....    | 90   |
| 9. Locations of Initial Negro Land Ownership in Jasper County, 1868-1870..... | 96   |
| 10. Local Neighborhoods in Jasper County, 1875.....                           | 100  |
| 11. Local Neighborhoods in Jasper County, 1896.....                           | 102  |
| 12. Local Neighborhoods in Jasper County, 1927.....                           | 104  |
| 13. Neighborhoods by Racial Dominance in Jasper County, 1977.....             | 106  |
| 14. Local Neighborhoods in Jasper County, Mississippi, 1977.....              | 111  |
| 15. Neighborhoods by Racial Composition in Jasper County, 1977.....           | 113  |
| 16. Neighborhoods by Types in Jasper County, 1977.....                        | 116  |

|                                                                                    | PAGE |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| 17. Gini Index for Jasper County, 1977<br>(Concentration of Black Households)..... | 121  |
| 18. Residential Segregation in Local Neighborhoods<br>Jasper County, 1977.....     | 122  |



## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Residential segregation is a topic that has been a major focus of research in American urban areas during the past two decades. Evidence supporting this statement consists of a number of major studies that have been published on residential segregation in cities of America during this period.<sup>1/</sup> On the other hand, very little research has focused on residential segregation in rural America. The lack of interest in the problem of residential segregation in rural areas is not due to the fact that the magnitude of the problem does not warrant investigation. Rather, the lack of interest in rural areas may

---

<sup>1/</sup> Some examples of the studies include: Joe T. Darden, "The Residential Segregation of Blacks in Detroit, 1960-1970," The International Journal of Comparative Sociology, Vol. 27:1, 1976, pp. 84-91; Barrie Morgan, "The Segregation of Socio-Economic Groups in Urban Areas: A Comparative Analysis," Urban Studies, Vol. 12, 1975, pp. 47-60; Nathan Kantrowitz, Ethnic Segregation in the New York Metropolis, (New York: Praeger Publishing Co., 1973); Stanley Lieberson, Ethnic Patterns in American Cities, (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963); W. Clark Roof, "Residential Segregation of Blacks and Inequality in Southern Cities," Social Problems, Vol. 19, 1972; Karl Taeuber and Alma Taeuber, Negroes in Cities, (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1965); Wendell Bell and Ernest M. Willis, "The Segregation of Negroes in American Cities: A Comparative Analysis," Social and Economic Studies, Vol. 6, 1957, pp. 59-75.

be due to a series of events which have directed the interests of those concerned toward the American cities. For example, some of the events that have directed attention away from rural areas include; the rapid growth and expansion of metropolitan areas; the continuous decline in the numbers of rural population due to rural-to-urban migration; racial disturbances and riots in urban areas during the late 1960's; and the economic deterioration of the central cities in general.

A second reason for the lack of research concerning residential segregation in rural areas is inevitably related to the present status of the research methodology that is used prominently in the analysis of residential segregation. The prominent methodology for analyzing residential segregation between population groups requires data on the distribution of the groups which are based on discrete spatial units, i.e. census tracts, blocks, wards, etc. These data are used to derive an index of segregation which indicates the overall unevenness in the distribution of the two population groups in the area being studied. The problem in applying such a methodology to rural areas derives from the lack of such well-defined units. In some areas, i.e. the Midwest and Northeast, townships are used to enumerate population for census purposes in rural areas. In the rural South,

however, larger spatial units are used such as beats, and other political administrative districts. The loss of detail on the distribution of population that results from the use of these spatial units in census enumerations would alter the interpretation of residential segregation if the methodology were applied straightforwardly. It has been shown methodologically that the interpretation of the Index of Segregation is sensitive to the size of the spatial units on which it is derived. Duncan and Duncan, for example, found that the smaller the spatial units used to derive the Index of Segregation, the more meaningful was the results in terms of interpreting the overall unevenness in the distribution of the population groups being analyzed.<sup>2/</sup>

This study overcomes this methodological problem by applying the techniques of analysis of residential segregation to rural neighborhoods.<sup>a/</sup> Such neighborhoods are defined

---

<sup>2/</sup> See Otis D. Duncan and Beverly A. Duncan, "A Methodological Analysis of Segregation Indexes," American Sociological Review, Vol. 20, 1955, pp. 210-217; and Donald O. and Mary S. Cowgill, "An Index of Segregation Based on Block Statistics," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 16:6, 1951, pp. 825-831.

<sup>a/</sup> Rural "local neighborhoods" are discrete spatial units. They are called "local communities" or "locality groups" because they are only recognized by the local population and do not usually appear on general maps of the areas. The concept of "rural local neighborhood" is discussed further in the next section of this chapter and in Chapter II.

and delimited on the basis of their identification and recognition by the people within the rural area. Hence, this study considers three aspects of rural spatial and social organization:

- 1) The delineation and delimitation of rural local neighborhoods;
- 2) The analysis of the historic settlement processes and patterns of whites and blacks<sup>b/</sup> in one area and the relationship of these historic processes and patterns to the present patterns of settlements; and,
- 3) The analysis of residential segregation between blacks and whites in rural neighborhoods, and factors related to the spatial and historic character of the neighborhoods.

#### The Concepts of Neighborhood and Community in Rural Areas

The use of the rural neighborhood as the unit of analysis and investigation of rural residential segregation can be justified by its significance in the rural

---

<sup>b/</sup> Throughout this study the terms 'blacks', 'Negroes' and 'colored' are used interchangeably to refer to Americans of African descent.

social system, both historically and presently. In rural America, the end result of the settlement processes has been the development of rural neighborhoods and communities. The study of rural neighborhoods and rural communities as sociological and spatial entities has been a prominent theme in rural sociological research since the early 1900's.

Generally, the rural community has been defined sociologically as a system of neighborhoods and a form of associations and relationships within a spatial context linked to the centers by a distinct set of interactions and functions. Sanderson,<sup>3/</sup> for example, specifically defined the rural community as "a rural area within which the people have a common center of interest, usually a village, (or town), and within which they have a sense of common obligations and responsibilities." The rural neighborhood, as a subsystem and an intrinsic unit within the rural community has been appropriately defined by Loomis and Beegle<sup>4/</sup> as "a distinct area within

---

<sup>3/</sup> Dwight Sanderson, Locating Rural Communities, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, Cornell University Extension Service, Research Bulletin 413, 1939), p. 6.

<sup>4/</sup> Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, Rural Social Systems, (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), p. 187.

which people visit, borrow, exchange tools and equipment, and cooperate on an informal and interpersonal level in various ways, either through social institutions and organizations or through personal interaction."

Loomis and Beegle<sup>5/</sup> further stated that the typical rural neighborhood was frequently composed of fifteen or twenty families tributary to an open country church, a crossroad store, a cotton gin, a grain elevator, or a one-room school or any combination of such agencies. This definition does not preclude the existence of neighborhoods with larger numbers of families. Spatially, they inferred that rural neighborhoods may be separated or distinguished by such physical geographic barriers as valley, hollows, rivers, lakes, expanses of unsettled land, or the discontinuation of roads where the settlement pattern is intricately linked to the road network.

In an extension of this definition, Kolb and deSBrunner<sup>6/</sup> added that the rural neighborhood is composed of groups of families whose members know each other well and who recognize each other by their first names. These authors indicate that the neighborhood is the first group larger

---

<sup>5/</sup>  
Ibid.

<sup>6/</sup>  
John H. Kolb and Edmund deSBrunner, A Study of Rural Society, (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1952), p. 159.

than the family which has some social significance and which has some sense of local unity.

The rural neighborhood and rural community differ in several aspects. The rural community is relatively self-sufficient. That is, the rural community provides people with many of their basic needs. The rural neighborhood, on the other hand, may be totally dependent on a larger entity for its goods and services. The rural community is a prototype of the total society in that it is the smallest locality unit in which the characteristics of the total society are found. The rural community consists of a set of functional, economic and social relationships and interactions among its component population groups. The rural neighborhood may consist of and be defined by a set of primary social relationships. Both the rural neighborhood and rural community possess the characteristic of territoriality which gives the geographer a perspective from which to base his study of them as spatial units and as units in the spatial organization of the larger rural social system.<sup>7/</sup>

From these definitions two ideas become eminent in

---

<sup>7/</sup> Paul R. Hanna, et al., Geography in the Teaching of Social Studies, (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1966), pp. 80-91.

the recognition and identification of rural neighborhoods as social and spatial entities. First, there is a prominence of informal interpersonal interactions and relationships. Second, there is a distinct area or locality. Thus, rural neighborhoods are generally considered as small areas which are socially linked by highly developed primary level relationships among the families which they contain. Hence, it is from these definitions that the particular aspects of rural neighborhoods are derived which make them ideal as the spatial units on which to base an analysis of rural residential segregation. These definitions form the criteria for defining and delimiting the rural neighborhoods in this study.

#### Statement of the Problem

Residential segregation has been studied primarily as an urban phenomenon. As a result, the problems and disparities between racial groups that are related to residential segregation have also been portrayed mainly as urban geographic and urban social problems. Nevertheless, segregation is a social and geographic problem that has distinct and measureable attributes in rural areas also, particularly in the rural South. Two historic reasons may be accountable for these attributes, which are:

- 1) the patterns and problems associated with residential segregation in the rural South have persisted for a



longer period there than elsewhere in the United States without change; and 2) the processes and institutions that caused these patterns and resulted in their remaining unchanged are harder to alter because of their intrinsic roots in the social, economic and political systems of the South.

The problem of this study is to analyze several spatial and historic aspects of rural neighborhoods in Jasper County, Mississippi, and the ways these aspects relate to the present pattern and level of residential segregation between black and white households in the county. The spatial aspects include; 1) differences in the size of predominantly black and predominantly white neighborhoods in the county; 2) differences in the distance of predominantly black and predominantly white neighborhoods in the county; and 3) the relationships of these aspects to the levels of residential segregation in the neighborhoods. The historic aspects include; 1) the historic settlement patterns of blacks and whites in the county from its origin in 1833 to the present; 2) the development of rural neighborhoods as the end result of the settlement of the county; 3) changes in the residential location pattern of blacks and whites in neighborhood areas in the county since its initial settlement; and 4) differences in the number of

years of settlement of predominantly black and predominantly white neighborhoods.

This study seeks to answer the following questions:

- 1) What has been the basis of neighborhood identification in Jasper County historically and presently - is it race, social interaction, or locational proximity?
- 2) To what extent are black and white households segregated residentially in the county presently?
- 3) What is the relationship of the historic settlement patterns of blacks and whites in Jasper County to the present level of residential segregation and racial composition of neighborhoods?
- 4) How do other features important to the historic and geographic character of the neighborhoods such as size, length of settlement, distance to trade centers relate to the level of residential segregation between black and white households in Jasper County? and
- 5) How do white-segregated and black-segregated neighborhoods differ in terms of these features?

Several aspects of rural neighborhoods have been analyzed concerning their social organization, spatial and historic characteristics. For example, Kolb<sup>8/</sup> recognized at least four aspects of the sociological

---

<sup>8/</sup>  
Kolb, Emerging Rural Communities, p. 57.

characteristics of rural neighborhoods that can be measured and evaluated: 1) some indication of belonging, identification, and differentiation; 2) place reference or locality; 3) contacts through interpersonal relations; and 4) time reference, development stages and continuity. In addition to these aspects, a fifth dimension that is as important and is considered in this study is the racial aspect and racial predominance of families identifying themselves as belonging to distinct neighborhoods. The four aspects of rural neighborhoods identified by Kolb have been previously recognized by Sanderson<sup>9/</sup> as area, size, neighboring activities and recognition or identity.

Neighborhood social activities are a crucial aspect of the social organization of rural neighborhoods because they are the factors by which neighborhood bonds are recognized. Also, these activities usually provide the means through which interpersonal relations among neighborhood residents are conducted. In his study of Dane County, Wisconsin, Kolb<sup>10/</sup> identified seven factors which determined the primary or secondary bonds of neighborhood groups. These factors were: religion, education, economic, social,

---

<sup>9/</sup>  
Dwight Sanderson, Locating Rural Communities, p. 85.

<sup>10/</sup>  
John H. Kolb, Trends of Country Neighborhoods, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station, 1935).

nationality, topography and family ties in that respective order. These factors have remained the focus of the analysis of the social organization of rural neighborhoods.

The historical or continuity aspect of rural neighborhoods is another aspect of considerable importance in terms of the development and social organization of rural areas. This aspect represents the stability, growth, development, change and general temporal character of rural neighborhoods and communities. In this regard, Sanderson<sup>11/</sup> outlines six general trends that are recognized in American rural areas in the historic process of rural neighborhood and community development and continuity. These trends are stated as follows:

1. There is a decided tendency for neighborhoods to decrease in number and activity in older parts of the country (those areas that were settled earliest).
2. In some sections. . .there is a tendency for new neighborhoods to appear or old ones to become active again, but these are more the result of deliberate organization of certain interests or of voluntary associations, and are less dependent upon old bonds of locality, tradition, nationality, or religion.
3. Neighborhoods in the vicinity of villages

---

<sup>11/</sup>  
Dwight Sanderson, Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization, (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1972), p. 243.

and towns tend to disappear first, as their functions are absorbed in the rural community centering in the village. Those neighborhoods persist which are somewhat isolated from these centers.

4. The number of hamlet neighborhoods is increasing through the decline of villages, which have not been able to maintain the status of community centers.
5. In the environs of cities and large towns there is a tendency to form new semi-urban neighborhoods mostly as the result of the new settlement of city workers.
6. Neighborhoods are becoming more institutional or organizational groups than locality groups bound together by neighboring, and membership in the local organizations is not confined to people in the former immediate neighborhood but is scattered over a wider area. This is partly due to decrease in population and partly to better means of transportation.

The patterns and form of rural settlement, and rural spatial organization is a theme that has been a major focus of research by geographers and sociologists. In terms of the size and form of rural neighborhood settlements,<sup>12/</sup> Sanderson has stated:

Neighborhoods may be small or large geographically depending on the density of population and the general topography. Even in the early settlement not all farms were included in neighborhoods, and today increasingly a large proportion of farms in the older parts of the country have no neighborhood designation.

---

<sup>12/</sup>  
Ibid., p. 232.

This means that in the spatial structure and organization of rural areas are dispersed areas which are not part of the socially organized areas and can only be classified as "scattered settlement areas." In their analyses in previous research, sociologists have included these areas along with rural neighborhoods as spatial units.

The spatial form of rural settlement patterns has been the focus of research by sociologists for several years. Goldschmidt,<sup>13/</sup> for example, identified four forms of rural settlement in America which are still prominent. The forms (or patterns) that he identified are: 1) isolated holdings or scattered settlement; 2) crossroad settlement; 3) line or linear settlement along country roads; and 4) village or hamlet settlement (clusters in unincorporated places or agrarian people). Additionally, Lindstrom<sup>14/</sup> stated that in terms of function and interaction, a functional hierarchy can be derived based on the importance and level of social and economic interaction that occurs within the rural region between the residents in each of the four forms of settlement. He suggested the

---

<sup>13/</sup>W. R. Goldschmidt, "Some Evidence of the Future Patterns of Rural Settlement," Rural Sociology, Vol. 8:4, 1943, pp. 387-395.

<sup>14/</sup>David E. Lindstrom, American Rural Life: A Textbook of Sociology, (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1948), pp. 22-31.

following hierarchical structure in ascending order of importance: (a) isolated holdings, (b) crossroad settlements, (c) linear settlements, (d) hamlet or village, (e) the town and the regional city.

In this study, the historic or continuity aspect of rural local neighborhoods in Jasper County, Mississippi, is considered and analyzed in terms of the length of settlement of the neighborhoods in relationship to the degree of residential segregation between blacks and whites.

The studies cited above stress the significance of primary relationships in the identification of rural neighborhoods. However, change has occurred in the economic character of rural areas during the last two or three decades. Such changes have involved a decline in employment in agriculture and an increase in employment in other types of economic activities. It is reasonable to assume that the intensity of primary relationships between rural families has lessened due to this change. Nevertheless, the spatial form of rural communities that evolved during these earlier periods remains distinguishable in the rural landscape and the proximity of families in the areas makes it possible to define rural neighborhoods on the basis of proximity and continuity. With careful investigation, the spatial and sociological vestiges of this spatial organizational structure can be revealed.

This study considers the role of primary relationships in the identification and recognition of rural neighborhoods in Jasper County, especially in the delineation of the neighborhoods. Specifically, in the identification of rural neighborhoods as the initial task of this study, proximity of households, personal interactions and primary relations, and membership in rural organizations are prime factors taken into consideration.

### Hypotheses

Based on the research questions to be answered and the perspectives of rural neighborhoods discussed above from previous research, the following hypotheses are tested in this study relevant to the historic and social geographic aspects of rural neighborhoods in Jasper County, Mississippi.

1. Local neighborhood boundaries are presently defined on the basis of racial characteristics of households rather than on the locational proximity of households.
2. A high level of residential segregation exists presently in the county between black and white households.
3. The present level of residential segregation and racial composition of the neighborhoods are related to the patterns of historic settlement of blacks and whites and not due to the invasion-succession processes.
4. The high level of residential segregation





is directly related also to the size of neighborhoods, the length of settlement, the distance and accessibility of the neighborhoods to the nearest trade center.

5. Significant differences exist presently between black-segregated and white-segregated neighborhoods in their size, length of settlement, distance and accessibility to the trade centers in the county.

### The Study Area

Figure 1 (page 18) shows the relative location of Jasper County in the State and Figure 2 (page 19) shows the present pattern of roads and towns in the county.

Jasper County is approximately rectangular in shape and contains a land area of 683 square miles or 437,120 acres. It is located 60 miles southeast of Jackson, the State Capitol, and 131 miles north of Mobile, Alabama. It is bordered to the south by Jones County, where Laurel, a major trade and employment center of 25,000 for the area is located. To the north, Jasper County is bordered by Newton County; to the west by Smith County; and to the east by Clarke County.

Jasper County currently consists mainly of small rural communities. There is no place in the county with more than 2,500 people. The largest settlement, Bay Springs, has about 1,800 and is one of two towns which

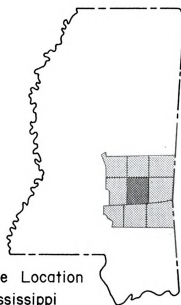
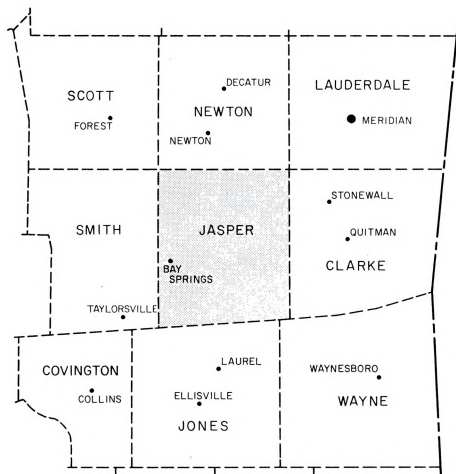
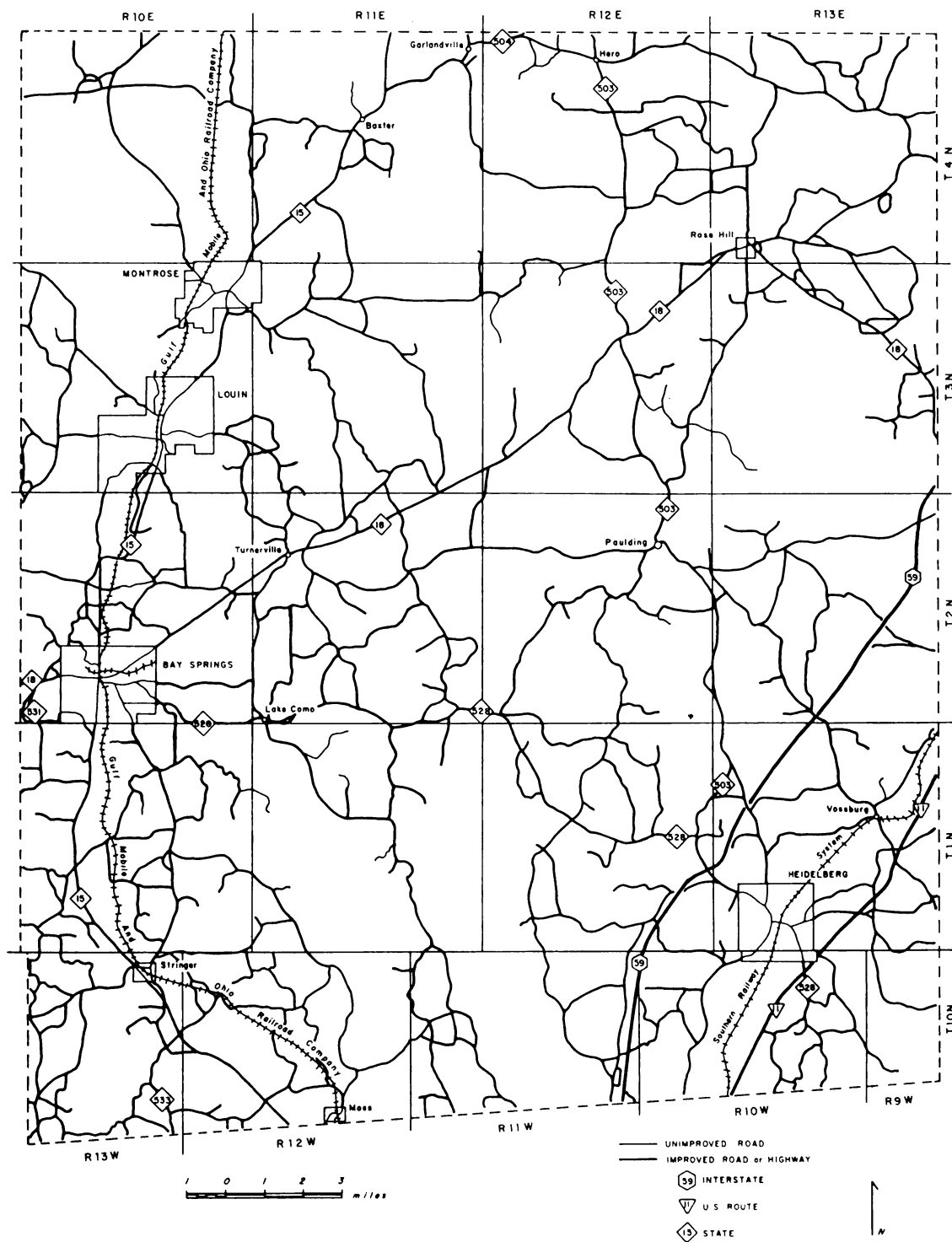


Figure 1. The Study Area: The Relative Location of Jasper County, Mississippi



Figure 2. The Road Network and Towns in Jasper County



provides services other than retail and commercial. The other settlement is Heidelberg which has a population of about 500. The remaining settlements have less than 500. Due to the absence of any urban center the rural neighborhoods play an important role in the social and economic structure of the county.

In terms of its economic characteristics, the population of Jasper County has been characterized historically by the U. S. Census as rural farming. Recently this character has been changing as agricultural employment declines. In 1970, the U. S. Census showed approximately 3,000 people employed in non-agricultural activities in the county and slightly over 1,000 employed in agricultural activities. Included in the non-agricultural activities were contract construction, transportation, communication and public utilities, wholesale and retail trade, and government activities. During the 1960-1970 period manufacturing employment led all others in employment gains with more than a 10 percent increase. As a result of this shift, the labor force and the population of Jasper County can be characterized increasingly as rural non-farm.

In 1970, the population of Jasper County was 54 percent white and 46 percent black. However, the demographic

profile of the two groups was dissimilar. For example, 58 percent of the black population was in the age category 0 to 24 while only 40 percent of the white population was in this category. Forty-eight percent of the total population was in the 0 to 24 age category. In the 25 to 44 age category were 16 percent of the black population and 24 percent of the white population; 20 percent of the total population was in this category. Sixteen percent of the black population, 23 percent of the white population, and 20 percent of the total population were between 45 and 64. The category over 65 included 10 percent of the black population, 14 percent of the white population, and 12 percent of the total population. These data reveal that a larger proportion of the black population was younger than the comparable white population. The total population of the county in 1970 was almost 16,000.

## CHAPTER II

### DATA AND METHODOLOGY

The data on which the analyses in this study are based were obtained from several sources and through field research by the author. Historical data on the origin, settlement, and development of Jasper County were obtained from published and unpublished sources in the county records and the State Archives of Mississippi. County Records of Deeds and Land Transactions for the period 1833 to 1932 were destroyed by fire in the County Courthouse at Paulding. Records of Land Grants in Jasper County were used to determine the patterns of early settlement in the county. These records were obtained from the State Archives Library in Jackson.

In order to recreate the historic patterns of predominantly black and white neighborhoods and trace their historic development within the county, county school records were used for several years for which they were available - 1875, 1896 and 1927. These records were obtained from the State Archives and the County Board of Education in Bay Springs. They were used because the church-schools that were developed historically were pri-



marily neighborhood-based. Schools were established only in those areas where sufficient black and white populations were found. This was the case until rural schools were consolidated with those in the larger settlements during the 1900's. The service areas of these church-schools as indicated on maps for previous years were used as the indicator of historic neighborhood boundaries.

Data on the present number of black and white households in the neighborhoods identified in 1977 were obtained by field observation, enumeration of households by race, delineation of neighborhood boundaries and family surveys (See Appendix 1) and interviews by the author during the summer of 1977. Also, local historians, county officials and neighborhood leaders were utilized in this phase of the data collection.

### Testing the Hypotheses

In order to test the hypotheses, the initial task was to delineate and delimit the current and historical local neighborhoods in the county. This was accomplished by using the Cluster Method discussed in a later section of this chapter as described by Loomis and Beegle.<sup>1/</sup> The Cluster Method of neighborhood delimitation was used

---

<sup>1/</sup>Loomis and Beegle, op. cit.

to test the first hypothesis that local neighborhood boundaries are defined mainly on the basis of race rather than on the basis of locational proximity. The race of the heads of households in the neighborhoods along with the total number of households were recorded once the neighborhoods were delimited. The hypothesis was accepted or rejected on the basis of (1) whether the majority of neighborhoods in the county were defined with households composed of one racial group, and (2) whether respondents interviewed in the process of delineating local neighborhoods defined neighborhood boundaries along racial lines rather than on the basis of proximity of households.

To test the second hypothesis, that a high level of residential segregation exists in Jasper County, the numbers of households by race were enumerated by field research in the identified neighborhoods. This involved both interviewing families and counting household units within the neighborhood areas. The Segregation Index and Gini Index (defined later) were used to determine the segregation of black and white households in the local neighborhoods and the scattered settlement areas where neighborhoods were not identified.<sup>2/</sup>

---

<sup>2/</sup> Joe T. Darden and Arthur S. Tabachneck, Segindex and Gini: Computer Programs to Calculate an Index of Segregation and Gini Index, (mimeographed), (Michigan State University, Department of Urban and Metropolitan Studies, 1977).

It has been argued methodologically<sup>3/</sup> that the derivation of the Segregation Index within an area should be based upon one spatial unit, i.e. census tracts, wards, or blocks. This argument has been based on the findings that the use of different units produces slightly different indexes which should not be used for temporal comparisons of the level of segregation for a city; nor should they be used for intercity comparisons. However, it has not been shown previously that indexes based on different spatial units are significantly different statistically. The main reason for basing the derivation of the index on a single spatial unit is because the sizes of wards, census tracts, and blocks are different in population and the Index of Segregation is sensitive to the size of the spatial unit used, i.e., the larger the spatial unit the smaller the index derived.

In this study, the derivation of the Index of Segregation is based on neighborhoods and scattered settlement areas. Such a combination of spatial units is justified because they are not significantly different in population size as measured by the number of households. This fact

---

<sup>3/</sup>See, O. D. Duncan and Beverly Duncan, "A Methodological Analysis of Segregation Indexes," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 20 (April, 1955), pp. 210-217 and Karl and Alma Taeuber, Negroes in Cities, (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1965).

has been established initially by using a t-test to determine if the means of the number of households in the 7 scattered settlement areas of Jasper County differed significantly from the means of the 111 rural neighborhoods identified. The results of the t-test are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1  
Test of Differences Between Size of Neighborhoods  
and Scattered Settlement Areas

| <u>Group</u>                  | <u>Number</u> | <u>Mean</u> | <u>Standard Deviation</u> | <u>t-value</u> | <u>Sign. t</u>    | <u>Degrees Freedom</u> |
|-------------------------------|---------------|-------------|---------------------------|----------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Neighborhoods              | 111           | 34          | 30                        | -.13           | .899 <sup>a</sup> | 3                      |
| 2. Scattered Settlement Areas | 7             | 36          | 57                        |                |                   |                        |

To test the third hypothesis that the high level of residential segregation in the county is related primarily to the patterns of historic settlement of blacks and whites, historic records of land grants were used to determine the areas where blacks and whites initially settled and purchased land and established neighborhoods. School records were used to determine where church-schools were initially

<sup>a/</sup>

No significant difference at level  $p = .05$ .

established to serve the two racial groups. Such records served as indicators of the location patterns of the initial neighborhoods in the county for the two racial groups. These areas were mapped for 1875, 1896, 1927, and 1977 to indicate the changes in the location patterns of blacks and whites over time. The hypothesis was accepted or rejected based on the changes in the residential location that have occurred between blacks and whites in the county as indicated by the maps.

To test the fourth hypothesis that the current high level of residential segregation in Jasper County is related to the size of neighborhoods, length of settlement, the distance of the neighborhoods to the nearest trade center, and the accessibility of the neighborhoods to the nearest trade center, a stepwise multiple regression analysis was used. The total number of households in the neighborhoods as enumerated by the author was used as the measure of the size of the neighborhoods. The length of settlement of the neighborhoods was measured as the number of years since the first land grant was issued as determined by the land grant records of the county. The distance from the neighborhoods and scattered settlement areas was measured as the median distance of households in the areas to nearest trade center. This was determined by choosing a point where half the households in the neighborhoods and

scattered settlement areas were in the direction of and half were in the direction away from the nearest trade center. Mileage from these points were measured by driving along the most direct routes of primary and secondary roads to the corporate limits of the trade centers. Accessibility or travel time to the nearest trade center was determined in a similar manner by recording travel time in minutes from the median points of the neighborhoods and scattered settlement areas to the corporate limits of the nearest trade centers. A stepwise multiple correlation analysis also was used to determine the relationships of these measures to the level of residential segregation in the local neighborhoods. In the correlation analysis, the percent racial deficit (defined later) is used as the dependent variable with distance, travel time, the number of households and the length of settlement in years as the independent variables. The data for the distance variable were transformed by taking the square root of each value in order to minimize the skewness in the distribution of the variable and to bring the distribution closer to normality. The distributions of the other variables used in the multiple correlation analysis were close enough to normality (as indicated by their skewness) that no transformations were necessary. Stepwise multiple correlation analysis was used also to

determine the extent to which percent black households in the neighborhoods varies with the same set of independent variables. For the former correlation analysis, the neighborhoods are divided into black and white groups: those where white households are overrepresented, or white-segregated neighborhoods; and, those where black households are overrepresented, or black-segregated neighborhoods. The neighborhoods are then considered as one group and a correlation analysis performed with the same set of variables. This is done to determine how the set of variables listed above relates to the level of residential segregation in all neighborhoods regardless of their racial composition or segregated character.

To test the fifth hypothesis that significant differences exist between the black-segregated and white-segregated neighborhoods in the county on the set of independent variables listed above, the t-test and the F-test were used. The t-test was used to determine if there were significant differences between the means of the two groups of neighborhoods on the set of independent variables and the F-test was used to determine if significant differences exist between the variances of the two groups of neighborhoods on the set of variables. The means of the two groups of neighborhoods for the set of variables may not be significantly different while the

variations within the two groups about the means of the variables may in fact be significantly different. For this reason, the F-test of differences between variances was used because it indicates whether such differences exist.

### The Cluster Method

The Cluster Method of neighborhood delimitation is used in this study both as the technique for neighborhood delimitation and to test the hypothesis that neighborhood boundaries are defined on the basis of race rather than on locational proximity of households. The application of the method allows for both tasks to be accomplished. Using the method, the delineation of the rural neighborhoods is accomplished through several steps of defining, checking, delineating, and verifying. Firstly, the researcher begins by asking various local officials, i.e. sheriffs, county agents, county supervisors, school superintendents, etc., who are familiar with the area to trace on a map the boundaries of all neighborhoods or local communities that they are familiar with in the study area, and to identify them by their locally recognized names. At the same time, the names of the most prominent families or leaders in the neighborhoods are asked to be identified. Secondly, the identified neighborhood leaders or



prominent families are contacted and asked to verify the delineations of the local officials by identifying the families by name, race<sup>b/</sup> and location that are considered to belong to the delineated neighborhood. Thirdly, when all neighborhoods have been delineated, the investigator gives special attention to overlapping areas by interviewing residents in those areas in question. The residents of those areas are asked a set of questions that will indicate the neighborhood to which they belong. For this study, the set of questions asked the residents in the overlapping areas were: 1) To which of the adjacent neighborhoods do you belong? 2) How many of the families in the two neighborhoods do you know by name? 3) If there are churches in the two neighborhoods, which one do you belong or attend most frequently? 4) In which neighborhood do you visit more frequently and have personal social relations with friends? Also, in those areas where black and white families had been identified as belonging to the same neighborhood, respondents in those areas were asked if they considered the residents of the opposite race as belonging to their neighborhoods.

#### The Segregation Index and Gini Index

The Segregation Index has been widely used and fre-

---

<sup>b/</sup> Race was not included in the original method as it was stated by Loomis and Beegle, op. cit.

quently discussed in social and economic research. The index can be used to measure the overall unevenness in the spatial distribution of two populations. When applied to two racial groups, the measure is used to determine the unevenness of the distributions of the two groups within an area. The formula for computing the Segregation Index can be stated as follows:

$$S = 1/2 \sum_{i=1}^k |X_i - Y_i|$$

Where k equals the number of subunits in the population, i.e. census tracts, blocks, or wards;  $X_i$  equals the percentage of the areas' black population in a given subunit;  $Y_i$  equals the percentage of the areas' white population in the same subunit; and S equals the Index of Segregation, or one-half the sum of the absolute differences of the black and white population in the area.

The value of the Segregation Index ranges from "0" indicating no segregation on the basis of race to "100" indicating total segregation. The value obtained for the Index may be interpreted as the minimum percentage of either race that would have to move from the subunits in which they are overrepresented to subunits in which they are underrepresented in order to bring about an even distribution or non-segregated distribution of the two population groups.

The computer routine cited above that is used in calculating the Segregation Index computes for each subunit in the area one-half the difference between the percentages of blacks and whites. The area in this study is the county and the subunits are the delineated neighborhoods and scattered settlement areas. Instead of total numbers of population by race in each subunit, the total number of black and white households were used as the variable for measuring the amount of residential segregation. Hence, the analysis is one of residential segregation between black and white households in Jasper County based on the local neighborhoods. The measure of one-half the difference between the percentage of blacks and whites in each subunit has been appropriately referred to as the "percent racial deficit," or the racial difference.<sup>4/</sup> This measure was calculated for each subunit or local neighborhood and indicates the internal variation in the degree of residential segregation throughout the total area. It also denotes the percentage of either race that would have to move into or out of a subunit to make the distribution of the two groups even.

A level of segregation over 50 percent, as indicated by the Index, is considered a high level of segregation.

---

<sup>4/</sup> Darden and Tabachneck, op. cit.

This level is chosen because it means that at least half the population of one group or the other would have to change its residential location within an area to bring about a non-segregated distribution pattern.

The Gini Index provides a means of studying the properties of frequency distributions by analyzing the cumulative value distribution of the data. The Index is also based on percentage value differences rather than absolute values. This feature facilitates comparison between data in different units of measurement. The Gini Index can be defined as the difference between a theoretical cumulative distribution of values and the actual distribution. If the theoretical distribution were assumed to be one of equality for two groups, then it could be represented graphically as a 45-degree line on a coordinate graph. The Gini Index represents the degree to which the actual cumulative distribution of values is disproportionate to this theoretical distribution. It may be expressed in geometric terms as a proportion of the total area under the diagonal or theoretical 45-degree line. The Index may also represent the degree of concentration. For example, the greater the area under the curve, the more highly concentrated the phenomenon, or the more unequal the distribution.<sup>5/</sup>

---

<sup>5/</sup>

Darden and Tabachneck, op. cit.

The value of the Gini Index, like the Segregation Index, has a range from "0" to "100" representing the two extremes of total equality to total inequality in the distributions respectively. The Gini Index is computed by the formula:

$$G_i = \sum_{i=1}^k X_{i-1} \sum_{i=1}^k Y_i - X_i Y_{i-1}$$

Where k is the number of subunits in the area,  $X_i$  is the cumulated percentage distribution of a particular group (blacks) over the spatial units of the area, and  $Y_i$  is the cumulated percentage distribution of the remainder of the population over the subunits with the units having first been ranked from high to low on the criteria being considered as  $X_i$ .

Although the Gini and Segregation Indexes are related, the two will not always be the same, nor will they always be in perfect rank correlation with each other. The Gini Index and its associated Lorenz Curve derived from it allows for visual interpretation of the cumulative relationship between the two variables with the overall arithmetic mean relationship. In geographical research, the Index of Segregation (commonly referred to as the Dissimilarity Index) and the Gini Coefficient and the associated Lorenz Curve have been used most widely in

the measurement and analysis of difference between areal associations and areal distributions. For example, in social geography these measures have been used to interpret areal associations between different social groups. In economic geography, their use has been to measure locational dissimilarity in industrial location and employment, and the localization of agricultural productivities in areas.<sup>6/</sup>

### The Stepwise Multiple Correlation Analysis

In addition to determining the nature of relationships between variables, correlation analysis allows one to determine the strength and significance of such relationships between sets of variables. Correlation analysis was used in this study to determine the nature of the relationship between a set of independent variables and the percent racial deficit in the neighborhoods. The percent racial deficit was used as an indicator of the internal variation of residential segregation among the neighborhoods in the county.

The relationships tested by correlation analysis were: 1) Whether linear relationships exist between the

---

<sup>6/</sup>See Peter J. Taylor, Quantitative Methods in Geography, (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1977), pp. 179-185, for further explanation on the applications of these techniques in geography research.

percent racial deficit and the set of independent variables named earlier; and 2) How much of the variation in the percent racial deficit is attributed to these variables. A stepwise multiple correlation was used because it allows variables to enter the linear regression equation based on their significance in the relationship to the dependent variable. It allows for an interpretation of the additional effect of a particular variable in the overall relationship of the set of variables when the other variables' effects are held constant. A similar analysis is computed using the percent of black households as the dependent variable with the same set of independent variables.

### Organization of the Study

The following chapter presents a discussion of the relevant literature from which the conceptual and methodological framework for this study is derived. The literature reviewed include neighborhood delineation and rural social organization, rural settlement, the methodological and empirical analysis of residential segregation in urban and rural areas, and black settlement in Mississippi and other rural areas.

Chapter IV emphasizes the historical development of local neighborhoods in the county. The discussion focuses

particularly on the development of racially distinct neighborhoods and the location patterns of predominantly black and white neighborhoods in the county. The concepts of neighborhood as they apply in Jasper County are also discussed in this chapter.

Chapter V presents the analysis of residential segregation between black and white households and the results of the correlation and regression analyses. This chapter presents also the analyses of the differences between the white-segregated and black-segregated neighborhoods on the set of independent variables.

Finally, Chapter VI presents a summary of the findings and the conclusions of the study, states the significance of these findings to similar studies and suggests other studies.



### CHAPTER III

#### THE CONCEPTUAL AND METHODOLOGICAL BACKGROUND:

#### THE REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This study is interdisciplinary in scope, methodology, and conceptual framework. In terms of its geographical perspective, it follows the trend of historical-social-settlement geography. It relies heavily upon the work of rural sociologists for its methodological and conceptual background. The methodological framework of the analysis of residential segregation and historic settlement is found in the research of both geographers and sociologists.

The literature reviewed in this chapter comes from four research areas: 1) Methods and techniques of the delineation, recognition, and identification of rural neighborhoods; 2) The methodological and empirical analysis of residential segregation in urban and rural areas; 3) The conceptual and empirical analysis of invasion-succession processes in urban areas; and 4) The historic settlement of blacks in rural areas in general and in Mississippi particularly.

There are several reasons for reviewing literature

from these areas. The literature on the application of the methods of rural neighborhood delineation, recognition, and identification is reviewed to show the several approaches that have been used previously, the advantages and weaknesses of these approaches, and to give some background on the use of the method used in this study -- the Cluster Method. The literature on the methodological analysis of residential segregation is reviewed to give some background on the longstanding arguments for and against the use of the Segregation Index as a measure of residential segregation. Likewise, the review of literature on the empirical analysis of residential segregation is presented to show the approaches that have been used by previous researchers and, the types of analyses and the related variables that have been used to explain the causes and patterns of residential segregation.

The literature on the conceptual and empirical analysis of the invasion-succession processes is reviewed to establish the conceptual framework for considering these processes in relations to the analysis of residential segregation in this study and to indicate the findings of previous research on the operation of these processes in urban areas.

Finally, the literature on the historic settlement of

blacks in rural areas is presented to give an indication of the findings of previous studies on the patterns and processes of black settlement in rural areas and to show how this study relates to those findings. The emphasis in this section is on black settlement in Mississippi.

It has been mentioned in the introduction that rural America has been a neglected area as the focus of research in recent years. However, in the early 1900's considerable attention was given by sociologists to rural phenomena, especially rural social organization, rural communities, and rural spatial structure. In fact, much of the present research on rural social and spatial organization refers to the works of that period for its conceptual and methodological foundations. One of the earliest studies on the structure of rural social organization was that by C. J. Galpin<sup>1/</sup> in 1915, who investigated the social organization of rural communities in an area in Wisconsin.

During the next three decades, several sociologists

---

<sup>1/</sup>C. J. Galpin, The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community, Research Bulletin 34, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station, 1915).

followed Galpin and devoted considerable effort to establishing the importance of neighborhoods in the rural social systems.<sup>2/</sup> The racial factor did not receive attention in the identification of rural neighborhoods until Mayo and Bobbitt<sup>3/</sup> replicated the earlier study of Zimmerman and Taylor in Wake County, North Carolina. Mayo and Bobbitt found that the racially dominated neighborhoods, both whites and blacks, that had been recognized by the previous authors in 1922 had persisted in their same relative areas until 1948, with few changes taking place in the residential location patterns of blacks and whites in the county. Their findings suggested that race was a significant factor in the identification and continuation of rural neighborhoods.

Empirical Research on the Delimitation, Identification, and Recognition of Rural Neighborhoods

One of the main problems of conducting comparative

---

<sup>2/</sup> See for examples, Charles P. Loomis, The Growth of the Farm Family in Relation to its Activities, (Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina State College Agricultural Experiment Station, 1934), and, Carl C. Zimmerman and Carl C. Taylor, Rural Organization: A Study of Primary Groups in Wake County, North Carolina, Technical Bulletin 245, (Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina State College Agricultural Experiment Station, 1922).

<sup>3/</sup> Selz C. Mayo and Robert McD. Bobbitt, Rural Organization: A Restudy of Primary Groups in Wake County, North Carolina, (Raleigh, N.C.: North Carolina State University Agricultural Experiment Station, 1951).

research in rural areas has been the identification and delineation of spatial units that were comparable in size, structure, and character from one area to another. Communities, towns, counties, villages and neighborhoods are all examples of units that have been used at different times as the spatial units of rural research. Rural neighborhoods have been used less frequently than others in this group. It is probable that the reason for this has been that the neighborhood has no legal definition and is defined in terms of its occupants' perception, agreement, and recognition of neighboring activities and social and personal interactions.

Several techniques have been devised and tested to delimit rural neighborhoods based on the sociological relationships that delineate spatial areas in which they are contained. Sanders and Ensminger<sup>4/</sup> were among the first researchers to devise a methodology for the delimitation of rural neighborhoods. Their method, known as the Cluster Method, has remained prominent since it was first devised.

The Cluster Method has been shown comparatively to be a superior method of neighborhood delineation for several

---

<sup>4/</sup> Irwin T. Sanders and Douglas Ensminger, "Alabama Rural Communities: A Study of Chilton County, Alabama," Alabama College Quarterly Bulletin, Vol. 33:1, 1940, pp. 20-24.

reasons. For example, in their study of Chilton County, Alabama, Sanders and Ensminger<sup>5/</sup> found the method more exact for identifying rural neighborhoods than several other methods they compared. Hoffsommer<sup>6/</sup> used the method in Covington County, Mississippi to identify rural neighborhoods. His study also indicated that the rural church was the most prominent agent used for neighborhood identification and recognition. Kolb<sup>7/</sup> also used the Cluster Method in a study of rural neighborhoods in Dane County, Wisconsin. Kolb's main point was that proximity and propinquity do not necessarily mean close personal contact or personal interaction in the rural areas, especially since greater diversity of the rural economic system has lessened the necessity for intense personal relations that were needed in a totally agrarian system.

#### The Methodological Analysis of Residential Segregation

There has been a longstanding argument among scholars,

---

<sup>5/</sup> Sanders and Ensminger, Ibid.

<sup>6/</sup> Harold Hoffsommer and Herbert Pryor, "Neighborhoods and Communities in Covington County, Mississippi," BAE Bulletin, (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1941); and, Harold Hoffsommer, "The Relation of the Rural Church to the other Rural Organizations," Social Forces, Vol. 20:2, 1941, pp. 224-232.

<sup>7/</sup> John H. Kolb, Emerging Rural Communities: Group Relations in Rural Society, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959).

noteably sociologists, on the use of the Segregation Index to measure residential segregation. As a result, several measures have been proposed, analysed, and tested as means of measuring the degree of residential segregation. As early as 1949, Shevky and Williams<sup>8/</sup> proposed an Index of Isolation and group interaction ratio which was a probability model to estimate the probable interaction between the members of different groups. The chief advantage of this model, according to Bell,<sup>9/</sup> was that it provided a context for the direct interpretation of scores at all points along the continuum from "no segregation" to "complete segregation." The Shevky-Williams measure of group interaction was based on the respective numbers of the two groups in each census tract of a city or area, the total population of the two groups in the city, and the probabilities of interaction between individual members of the two groups based on their respective numbers. However, this measure was never widely used in the research on residential segregation.

---

<sup>8/</sup> Eshref Shevky and Marilyn Williams, The Social Areas of Los Angeles: Analysis and Typology, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949).

<sup>9/</sup> Wendell Bell, "A Probability Model for the Measurement of Ecological," Social Forces, Vol. 32, 1953, pp. 357-364.

Lee<sup>10/</sup> used centrophoric measures to analyse the residential segregation of black and white households in seven cities. In using these measures, he was concerned with determining the degree to which members of a sub-population (blacks) were unevenly distributed through the total population. With the centrophoric measures he was able to compare the spatial form of household distributions for the white and black populations in the cities. Again, this method has not been widely used in the residential segregation research.

In 1955, a contribution by the Duncans<sup>11/</sup> following their review of the works of several authors<sup>12/</sup> established the dissimilarity index (Segregation Index) as the prominent measure of residential segregation. Their study

---

<sup>10/</sup> Douglass E. Lee, Analysis and Description of Residential Segregation, M.A. Thesis, (Ithaca: Cornell University, Division of Urban Studies, 1966).

<sup>11/</sup> Otis D. and Beverly A. Duncan, "A Methodological Analysis of Segregation Indexes," American Sociological Review, Vol. 20, 1955, pp. 210-217.

<sup>12/</sup> See for examples, Julius A. Jahn, Calvin F. Schmid, and Clarence Schrag, "The Measurement of Ecological Segregation," American Sociological Review, Vol. 12, 1947, pp. 293-303; Julius A. Jahn, "The Measurement of Ecological Segregation: Derivation of an Index Based on the Criteria of Reproducibility," American Sociological Review, Vol. 15, 1950, pp. 100-104; Donald O. and Mary Cowgill, "An Index of Segregation Based on Block Statistics," American Sociological Review, Vol. 16:6, 1951, pp. 825-831; Otis D. and Beverly A. Duncan, Contributions to the Study of Segregation Indexes, Urban Analysis Report No. 4, (Chicago: Chicago Community Inventory, University of Chicago, 1953).



included the proposition that the Gini Index and Lorenz Curve could be used in conjunction with the dissimilarity index to graphically portray the extent of residential segregation. Since that time, the Segregation Index has been the prominent measure used in research on residential segregation.

The Segregation Index has been criticized as a measure of residential segregation in several instances. Its main criticisms and weaknesses were summarized recently by Cortese, Falk and Cohen.<sup>13/</sup> Their criticisms of the Segregation Index are listed below:

1. The expectation of evenness as the opposite of segregation is not as useful in most cases as the concept of randomness.
2. Dissimilarity or amount of segregation derived from the index is affected by differences in the proportion of the minority in the population, thus preventing inter-city comparisons.
3. Dissimilarity is affected by the size (number of population) of the areal units of analysis.
4. The present interpretation of dissimilarity of distribution as the proportion of non-whites who would have to change their tract of residence to make the distribution of the minority even throughout the city (according to the Duncans, 1955) is misleading since it does not include the concept of replacement of the relocated minority.

---

<sup>13/</sup> Charles F. Cortese, R. Frank Falk, and Jack K. Cohen, "Further Considerations on the Methodological Analysis of Segregation Indices," American Sociological Review, Vol. 41, 1976, pp. 630-637.

The problem of using different areal units within cities to derive the Segregation Index has been analysed recently by Roof and Van Valey.<sup>14/</sup> They state, "indexes calculated from blocks and tracts are not directly comparable. While the use of smaller areal units will undoubtedly increase the observable degree of racial homogeneity, even blocks may fail to show the maximum that actually exists." The main point of their argument was that the use of different spatial units will result in slightly different indexes for the same city. Such indexes should not be used for temporal comparison of the change in the level of segregation.

In this study, both neighborhoods and scattered settlement areas are considered as spatial units because there is no significant difference in their population sizes. Using these units to derive the Segregation Index does not constitute a methodological error.

The dissimilarity index, although it has been criticized, is still the most widely used analytical technique for measuring residential segregation. Concerning the selection and use of an index to measure the degree

---

<sup>14/</sup>Wade Clark Roof and Thomas L. Van Valey, "Measuring Residential Segregation in American Cities: Problems of Intercity Comparisons," Urban Affairs Quarterly, Vol. 11:4, 1976, pp. 453-468.

of segregation, Kantrowitz<sup>15/</sup> has made the observation that "all that can be said of the intellectual stature of the index is that it is as good as any and better than most."

This discussion on the methodological analysis of residential segregation, the use of the Segregation Index, and some of the arguments for and against its use has been presented to indicate some of the constraints of the measure. The two main constraints of the Segregation Index are: (1) its sensitivity to the size of the subunits used in its derivation, and (2) its sensitivity to the size of the minority population in the area being studied. In spite of these constraints and the arguments over the 'best method' of measuring residential segregation, the Segregation Index is used in this study because it has been shown to be an appropriate measure.

#### The Empirical Analysis of Residential Segregation in Urban Areas

In attempts to explain the causes of residential segregation in urban areas, several approaches have been pursued and several themes have been prominent in the literature. For example, some authors have followed the theme of inequality between blacks and whites and other

---

<sup>15/</sup>Kantrowitz, op. cit., pp. 13-14.

ethnic groups in socioeconomic status, i.e. education, income, housing values and occupation, as the causes of residential segregation. Others have pursued the theme of differences in assimilation rates of different groups and the historic aspects of cities as causes of residential segregation, i.e. age of cities and length of time the groups have been present in the city. Others have investigated residential segregation from an ecological perspective and have considered such factors as the size of cities, size of the black population, and black population growth rates as causes of residential segregation between blacks and whites. The literature reviewed in this section presents some of the perspectives and themes, and the findings of empirical studies on residential segregation in urban areas.

One of the earliest studies to investigate the problems of Negro residential segregation was conducted by Woofter<sup>16/</sup> and his associates in 1928. In that study, it was noted that although most cities contained areas of high Negro concentrations, few cities had areas which were completely segregated. Northern cities had higher levels of Negro concentration than southern cities.

---

<sup>16/</sup>T. J. Woofter and Associates, Negro Problems in Cities, (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1928).

Following Woofter, Burgess<sup>17/</sup> looked at the patterns of Negro segregation in several American cities. Burgess' study was concerned with the invasion-succession processes that the Negro concentration patterns seemed to follow. He noted that in relationship to other ethnic groups, Negroes were usually the most recent immigrant group in the succession process, occupying the space most recently vacated by the preceeding most recent group. Also, the succession of the various groups occurred along the main arteries of the cities conforming to the pattern of radial expansion. In most cities, Burgess observed that the Negro and other immigrant groups occupied and settled in the zone-in-transition as the primary areas of concentration. The zone-in-transition was that area of deteriorating residences adjacent to the CBD. Burgess' study was basically descriptive rather than analytical.

Karl and Alma Taeuber have presented the most comprehensive study of black residential segregation in the United States. They recognized that three approaches to the topic were useful.

One approach emphasizes the historical genesis of contemporary patterns and lingering residues of the past which

---

<sup>17/</sup>E. W. Burgess, "Residential Segregation in American Cities," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 140, 1928, pp. 105-115.

tend, if unrecognized, to obscure the present. A second approach considers the social behavior that may be regarded as the immediate cause of residential segregation, and focuses on the attitudes, motivations and actions of persons involved in building trading, and living in housing. A third approach views the social behavior of individuals within the context of the general sociological setting as well as broader aspects of social organization, such as demographic trends and urban land use patterns.<sup>18/</sup>

The results of the Taeubers' study pointed out several general conclusions related to the segregated status of Negroes in American cities: 1) A high level of residential segregation is universal in American cities regardless of region, or age of the cities; 2) The socioeconomic status of Negroes has little significance as a casual factor in residential segregation; 3) Until 1940 there was a continuous increase in the levels of residential segregation in most cities, but since 1940, the rate of increase has declined, although the levels of segregation have remained high; 4) Between 1940 and 1950 larger increases in residential segregation occurred in southern cities. By 1960 average levels were higher in the South; and 5) The processes of invasion-succession have been most

---

<sup>18/</sup>

Taeuber and Taeuber, op. cit., 1965, p. 15.

prevalent in maintaining residential segregation in American cities.<sup>19/</sup>

Liebertson<sup>20/</sup> investigated the patterns and processes of ethnic segregation in several American cities. His concern was with the assimilation of ethnic groups as a problem of human ecology and with segregation between and among several ethnic groups as these related to the historic factors of their settlement and assimilation into American society. In this sense, he employed such variables as the time of initial immigration and length of settlement, literacy levels, use of English as a second language, population growth rates and changes in occupational status to explain the degree of segregation and assimilation of the various ethnic groups in relations to the native-born white population. Liebertson found evidence of a process going on in the direction of assimilation of the immigrant groups in successive rates in accordance with their length of settlement in the cities. Except for the Negro, he showed that as the groups' socioeconomic status rose, their levels of segregation with the native whites declined. Also, the longer an immigrant group had been in the city,

---

<sup>19/</sup>  
Ibid.

<sup>20/</sup>  
Liebertson, op. cit.





the more assimilated the group was. The Negro was also an exception to this finding.

Kantrowitz<sup>21/</sup> investigated segregation among ethnic groups in New York City. His study showed that in New York, like most cities, a high level of segregation continues to exist between ethnic groups. Of more significance, however, was the conclusion that a change in economic status of the group does not necessarily predict changes in the level of segregation of the group from the white population. He showed for blacks that by increasing their income, does not lead to racial integration. On the other hand, increased income for some blacks may lead to higher levels of segregation between wealthier blacks and poorer blacks just as wealthier whites and poorer whites are highly segregated. Generally, the rich were residentially segregated from the poor irrespective of race or ethnicity. In particular, between blacks and whites, he showed that increases in income led to greater increases in segregation. He concluded that both ethnicity and race appear to override economic status among middle classes of equal income; and, the growth of the populations of the various groups had more influence on their level of segregation with whites than did their socioeconomic differences.

---

<sup>21/</sup>  
Kantrowitz, op. cit.

The theme of differential socioeconomic status between groups, especially between blacks and whites, has been a prominent theme in the analysis of the causes of residential segregation in cities. Some authors have determined the extent to which residential segregation can be related to differences in socioeconomic variables by using several techniques. Morgan,<sup>22/</sup> for example, investigated the segregation of socioeconomic groups in England and Wales. He concluded that as the proportion of managerial and professional workers increased in an area, the number and size of high quality areas increased. Hence, the proportion of managerial and professional workers exerts a strong influence on the residential segregation of socioeconomic groups in urban areas. An increase in the high status group seems to lead to greater residential segregation throughout the urban residential system, in that, skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled workers, also become more differentiated from each other.

Similarly, the influence of socioeconomic variables on the level of black residential segregation in southern cities has been analysed by Roof.<sup>23/</sup> He approached the subject from the view point that residential segregation in

---

<sup>22/</sup>  
Morgan, op. cit.

<sup>23/</sup>  
Roof, op. cit., 1972.

the South should increase theoretically as the social distance between the racial groups declined. He proposed that residential segregation should be positively related to black and white inequalities in education, occupation, and income. The correlation coefficients that were produced indicated that a low level of explanation of the variation was accounted for. However, he did not indicate how much of the variation in the level of segregation was accounted for nor whether the correlations were significant.

As an outgrowth of the differential socioeconomic status theme, several studies<sup>24/</sup> have considered the beliefs by whites that black entry into all-white areas lowered property values; and the inability of blacks to demand housing on equal basis with whites in terms of housing costs and rental rates. Laurenti<sup>25/</sup> proposed and tested some commonly held theories of race and property values that are prominent in real estate and financial fields. His findings indicated that during the period of his study the entry of minorities into previously all-white

---

<sup>24/</sup> See for examples; David McEntire, Residence and Race, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), Luigi Laurenti, Property Values and Race, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960).

<sup>25/</sup> Laurenti, ibid.

areas was more often associated with price improvement or stability rather than price weakening. A second and probably more significant finding was that there was no uniform pattern of nonwhite influence on property values. These findings were contrary to the commonly held beliefs.

Other studies have substantiated Laurenti's findings. Boston, Rigsby and Zald,<sup>26/</sup> for example, concluded that the most common finding is that in integrated neighborhoods, price equals or exceeds prices in similar all-white neighborhoods. In relationship to the levels of segregation between blacks and whites, Darden<sup>27/</sup> has tested the relationship between housing values and the levels of residential segregation in several instances using correlation analysis. The results of his study on Pittsburgh showed that segregation on the basis of housing and rent values was much lower than segregation on the basis of race. Thus, he showed that if black segregation in Pittsburgh was solely due to the distributions of low-value and high-value housing and low-rent and high-rent housing, the levels of residential segregation between blacks and whites would have been much lower than they actually were.

---

<sup>26/</sup> John Boston, Leo C. Rigsby and Mayer Zald, "The Impact of Race on Housing Markets: A Critical Review," Social Problems, Vol. 19, 1972, pp. 383-393.

<sup>27/</sup> Joe T. Darden, Afro-Americans in Pittsburgh: The Residential Segregation of a People, (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Co., 1973).

The influence of geographical and ecological variables on residential segregation have been considered in several studies. The main variables in this perspective have been population density and region. Bell and Willis<sup>28/</sup> approached the analysis of black residential segregation from a regional comparative perspective. Their aim was to determine the regional variations in the extent of black residential segregation in American cities and the relationship of these variations to particular aspects of the size, relative proportions and changes in the absolute and relative proportions of the Negro population. The results indicated that only the proportion of the total population represented by Negroes and the size of the Negro population in the cities within the different regions had any significant relationship to differentials in levels of residential segregation in the cities. Other variables included, size of the total population in metropolitan rings, population density, percent of employed labor force in manufacturing, age of the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, and total population growth rate from 1940 to 1950.

Considering the various themes and perspectives on the empirical analysis of residential segregation in the

---

<sup>28/</sup>

Bell and Willis, op. cit.

studies mentioned above, this study follows the historical and geographical approaches. It tests the influence of the differences in the length of settlement in neighborhoods by blacks and whites on the levels of residential segregation. Also, it analyses the influence of distance and accessibility and the size of the neighborhoods on the level of residential segregation. These are two factors that have not been considered previously in the analysis of residential segregation. Hence, this study hopefully will add new evidence to the empirical analysis of residential segregation.

#### The Empirical Analysis of Residential Segregation in Rural Areas

It was mentioned in the introduction that previous research on residential segregation of racial and ethnic groups in America has focused primarily on urban areas. To date, only one major study and one minor study have been concerned with residential segregation in rural areas.<sup>29/</sup> Therefore, the conceptual and methodological framework for studying residential segregation in the study area is based on an urban foundation.

---

<sup>29/</sup>

Janet K. Marantz, Karl E. Case, II, and Herman B. Leonard, Discrimination in Rural Housing, (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Co., 1976); and, Howard J. Sumka and Micheal A. Stegman, "Racial Segregation and Price Discrimination in Non-Metropolitan Rental Housing Markets," North Carolina Housing Market Study, Working Paper No. 14, October, 1974.

The study by Marantz et al. deserves particular attention here as it is closely related to the problem of this study. The objective of their study was to comparatively analyse the effects of discrimination in the housing market on the maintenance of residential segregation between whites and other minorities (blacks, Mexican Americans, and Native Americans) in six rural towns. The criterion for selecting the towns was the population size; all of the towns had less than 10,000 population. In order to depict a cross-sectional view of rural America, the towns selected were located in six states; Arkansas, Tennessee, Georgia, New Mexico, North Carolina, and South Dakota. In the four southern states, the authors focused on segregation of blacks. In New Mexico, the focus was on segregation of Mexican Americans, and in South Dakota, the focus was on the Sioux Indians. The methodology used by Marantz et al. is similar to the methodology proposed for this study. The analysis of the levels of segregation was based on delimited local neighborhoods which were defined on the basis of locational proximity and social interaction. The delineations of the local neighborhoods were made by family surveys and clustering of families with high levels of interaction and proximity into neighboring groups. The authors made two important findings:

First, segregation (in the six towns studied) is virtually complete; there

is no apparent violation of established black-white neighborhood boundaries. The plotted addresses revealed not a single case of a black family living in a white area or a white family living in a black area.

The second finding was that only a small fraction of the residential segregation in the rural southern towns was explained by income differentials. This finding is similar to findings of studies in urban areas wherein income differentials have explained little of the variation in levels of residential segregation between blacks and whites.

The findings of Marantz et al. are important to this study in terms of the hypotheses being tested. For example, their study found that neighborhood transition was not a process through which black or white neighborhoods expanded. Instead, "there had been almost no crossing of neighborhood boundaries by blacks. Therefore, no such phenomenon as transitional or grey neighborhoods has materialized."<sup>30/</sup> In other words, neighborhood development seems to have been a static process in terms of the racial characteristics of the area rather than a dynamic process. It can be expected that an area that has been occupied by one racial group during the initial settlement stages will probably remain such in rural areas.

---

<sup>30/</sup>

Marantz, et al., op. cit., p. 16.



Neighborhood Invasion and Succession  
in Urban Areas

The concepts of invasion and succession as processes that determine the residential location patterns of different population groups have been developed in conjunction with the concept of residential segregation. In developing these concepts, sociologists and planners have devoted a large volume of literature to the conceptual and empirical analysis of the invasion and succession processes within the framework of human ecology and the growth of urban areas as analysed by planners.

The processes of invasion and succession were initially defined sociologically by McKenzie.<sup>31/</sup> Although the two processes are frequently used in conjunction, they were initially defined separately. McKenzie stated that the structural growth of the community takes place in successional stages. Invasion implies the encroachment of an area of segregation upon another, usually an adjoining area. He identified two main classes of intra-community invasion; those resulting in change in the use of land and those which introduce change in type of occupant.<sup>32/</sup>

---

<sup>31/</sup>R. D. McKenzie, "The Ecological Approach to the Study of the Human Community," in Robert E. Park, et al., eds., The City, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), pp. 74-75.

<sup>32/</sup>R. D. McKenzie, "The Scope of Human Ecology," in E. W. Burgess, ed., The Urban Community, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926), p. 179.

Burgess<sup>33/</sup> defined the process of invasion as the process of group displacement whereas succession is the process characterized by a complete change in population type between the first and last stages or a complete change in land use. Segregation, as an ecological process and the end result of the invasion-succession processes, was defined by Burgess as the grouping together into distinct areas of population groups, or the sorting and sifting of the different elements of the population in the growth of the city. He related the process of succession to the radial population movement from the center toward the periphery of the city which takes the form of successive waves of invasion. Four subprocesses in the course of succession were identified: 1) invasion - a gradual penetration; 2) reaction - resistance of the inhabitants; 3) influx - rapid arrival and abandonment of the old-time residents; and 4) climax - achievement of a new equilibrium of communal stability.<sup>34/</sup>

The Duncans<sup>35/</sup> referred to racial succession as a sub-

---

<sup>33/</sup>

E. W. Burgess, op. cit., p. 105.

<sup>34/</sup>

Ibid., p. 108.

<sup>35/</sup>

Otis D. and Beverly A. Duncan, The Negro Population of Chicago: A Study of Residential Succession, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 108.



type of residential succession which takes place when one racial group of population replaces another as residents of an area. For example, in the succession process of residential change from white to black, they stated that succession begins with the penetration by blacks of an area occupied by whites. When the number and proportion of Negroes in the area becomes significantly large, invasion has occurred. They showed that the processes were operative in the racial change of areas of Chicago from 1940 to 1950. Empirical tests of the invasion-succession processes on the residential character and racial change of neighborhoods in urban areas have shown that these processes have had significant effects in those areas. Several approaches have been taken by researchers in testing the effects of the invasion-succession processes. One approach has focused on the psychological attitudes of whites toward the invasion of their neighborhoods by blacks. Following this approach, Grodzins<sup>36/</sup> has shown that it is the future expectations about the racial composition of a neighborhood and not the current proportion of black population that caused whites to succeed from a neighborhood. Also, Wolf<sup>37/</sup>

---

<sup>36/</sup>M. Grodzins, "Metropolitan Segregation," Scientific American, Vol. 197, 1957, pp. 33-41.

<sup>37/</sup>E. P. Wolf, "The Tipping Point in Racially Changing Neighborhoods," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 29, 1963, pp. 69-85.



and Pryor<sup>38/</sup> have shown empirically, that distance between a block and the ghetto was a better predictor of the rate of racial change in a transition neighborhood than the percent blacks in the blocks of the neighborhood.

A second approach has focused on the economic and social consequences of the invasion-succession processes. Cressey<sup>39/</sup> has shown that community based organizations, such as churches and voluntary associations, dwindle in size and eventually succeed when faced with financial disaster or organizational failure. Similarly, St. Clair Drake<sup>40/</sup> showed that social, economic, and voluntary organizations in a racially changing community of Chicago were emerging as new black organizations instead of the adaptation of the preexisting organizations to the new residents.

A third approach to the analysis of the invasion-succession processes has focused on the causes and initial

---

<sup>38/</sup>F. L. Pryor, "An Empirical Note on the Tipping Point," Land Economics, Vol. 47, 1971, pp. 413-417.

<sup>39/</sup>P. F. Cressey, "Population Change in Chicago," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 44, 1938, pp. 59-69.

<sup>40/</sup>St. Clair Drake, Churches and Voluntary Associations in the Chicago Negro Community, (Chicago: Works Projects Administration, 1940).

conditions of neighborhood succession. Cressey<sup>41/</sup> stated that the initial sign of succession is when the established group no longer replaces itself as current residents. Weaver<sup>42/</sup> suggested that the succession process begins when the established group becomes upwardly mobile and begins to search elsewhere for accommodations more suited to their new status.

In an earlier study, Weaver<sup>43/</sup> showed that upward mobility of the invading group, urban renewal and slum clearance efforts, reduced the stock of housing units available, and forced residents into the market for newly developed units in other areas. Also, in-migration from rural areas to cities strains the supply of housing previously available to blacks and prompted their invasion into white areas.

Two points are clear from the literature on the invasion-succession processes; 1) they are operative in most urban areas; and 2) they have not been studied in a rural context. The reasons for this latter finding may be because

---

<sup>41/</sup>  
Cressey, op. cit.

<sup>42/</sup>  
R. C. Weaver, "Class, Race, and Urban Renewal,"  
Land Economics, Vol. 36, 1960, pp. 235-251.

<sup>43/</sup>  
R. C. Weaver, "Intergration in Public and Private  
Housing," Annals of the American Academy of Political and  
Social Science, Vol. 304, 1956, pp. 86-97.

rural areas have been traditionally losing population rather than experiencing in-migration. Furthermore, the socio-economic status of blacks and whites in rural areas remains relatively constant for longer periods of time. This study considers invasion-succession in Jasper County from two perspectives: (1) the replacement of one group in a neighborhood area by the other group historically; and (2) as a determinant of the present location pattern of predominantly segregated black and white neighborhoods in the county.

#### Black Settlement in Rural Mississippi and other Rural Areas

One aim of this study is to determine the influence of the historic development of neighborhoods as a settlement process on the present pattern of neighborhood locations and residential segregation in Jasper County. The literature on black settlement in rural areas indicated that there is a relationship between the historic settlement patterns of blacks in rural areas and their residential location patterns. Past studies have indicated that the progression of black settlement and black population growth in most areas in Mississippi can be categorized into four general stages: 1) slavery - prior to the Civil War when blacks lived in areas adjacent to their masters; 2) tenancy - the period



after the Emancipation when blacks were mainly tenants and sharecroppers, from circa 1865 to 1920; 3) occupation and expansion - the period following the first World War when blacks began to purchase land on a large scale and form neighborhoods; and 4) migration and decline - the period following the second World War. In determining these periods, several factors of the Negroes' social and economic status in the South were considered.

The settlement pattern prominent in the tenancy period has been appropriately described by E. Franklin Frazier<sup>44/</sup> as the "backyard pattern" especially in reference to urban areas of the South. This pattern accurately describes the tenancy period in southern rural areas as well. The period following World War I was also a period of peak black land ownership on a large scale in the South. This impetus for ownership was brought about by several federal programs which gave blacks the first opportunities to purchase land, establish residences and develop independent neighborhoods. Frazier also depicted the impact of slavery on black progression across the South during the pre-Civil War period. He stated that in 1803 when the United States purchased the Louisiana Territory, and with the termination of the War of 1812, many persons moved westward to the lower Mississippi

---

<sup>44/</sup>

E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro in the United States, (Toronto: The MacMillan Co., 1957), p. 237.

Valley from the Atlantic Seaboard taking with them many Negro slaves. The migrants contributed to the westward movement of the Cotton Belt. Subsequently, Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama became states in 1812, 1817, and 1819, respectively. Because the African slave trade officially ceased in 1808, the domestic slave trade became the principal means of securing slaves in the Cotton Kingdom. It is estimated that more than 100,000 slaves were brought into the United States between 1790 and 1808, and 250,000 to 300,000 slaves were smuggled in after 1808. With the end of the War of 1812, and the Indian Removal Act of 1830, the lower South grew rapidly. The total Negro slave population increased from 894,000 in 1800 to 2 million in 1830, and to nearly 4 million in 1869.<sup>45/</sup>

The prominence of the Negro in the growing and newly developing South was such that in many cases the Negro nearly equaled, if not outnumbered the whites during this period. The first Mississippi Census in 1820 had a total population of 75,000, of which 33,000 were Negroes.<sup>46/</sup>

---

<sup>45/</sup>  
Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>46/</sup>  
Richard L. Morrill and O. Fred Donaldson, "Geographical Perspectives on the History of Black America," in Robert T. Ernst and Lawrence Hugg, eds., Black America: Geographic Perspectives, (New York: Anchor Press, 1976), pp. 8-33.

In 1850, Negroes constituted a majority in South Carolina,  
Mississippi, and Louisiana.<sup>47/</sup>

Johnson<sup>48/</sup> made some important observations on the aspects of the black settlement process in the rural South during the height of the initial period of black land ownership in the region. His observations are important for understanding the residential patterns that evolved and remain highly visible in the region presently. He observed that "wherever there are Negroes in any appreciable number, in rural or urban areas, some form and degree of concentration of this population can be observed." The small towns in the South, showed a definite clustering of the Negro population. In the countryside, most often the white and Negro families were grouped separately. In the tenant system, it was common to find the white landowners' dwelling surrounded by those of Negro tenants. It was no violation of the principle of segregation if the house of the white planter, overseer, or commissary owner was surrounded by Negro dwellings. As Negroes became land owners instead of tenants, the degree of segregation increased. The problem of segregation arose only where black and white families of

---

<sup>47/</sup>Frederic Bancroft, Slave Trading in the Old South, (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1959), p. 275.

<sup>48/</sup>Charles S. Johnson, Patterns of Negro Segregation, (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1943), p. 8.

approximately the same economic class were introduced. Johnson further pointed out that practically all the Negro neighborhoods in the small towns were located on the edge of town. They were separated from one another by intervening white neighborhoods which had paved streets, street lights, water and sewerage connections which seldom reached the Negro residential areas. Unlike large urban areas, however, the areas of Negro residences in rural areas were not inherited from white residents who had moved out to better areas, but were originally developed as Negro residential areas or quarters.

Wharton<sup>49/</sup> identified the major historical areas of Negro settlement in Mississippi as follows: 1) The northwest area on the floodplains of the Mississippi and Yazoo Rivers; 2) The southwest area around the Port of Natchez; and 3) The northeast prairie or Black Belt area. In addition, the significance of the historic settlement pattern to the distribution of the black population in Mississippi was recently demonstrated by Lowry.<sup>50/</sup> He showed that those areas mentioned by Wharton as important historically for

---

<sup>49/</sup> Vernon L. Wharton, The Negro in Mississippi, 1865-1890, (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1965).

<sup>50/</sup> Mark Lowry, II, "Population and Race in Mississippi, 1940-1960," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 61:3, 1971, pp. 576-588.



black settlement in the state have remained so in terms of the distribution of the black population presently. The Yazoo Basin (Mississippi Delta area) still has the highest density and largest number of rural Negroes in the United States, while other areas noted by Wharton as important historically have remained as areas of high black population concentration. Although his level of analysis was the state, Lowry's study has important implications for some characteristic of the distribution of the two racial groups at smaller scales within the state. He indicated that there were local contrasts between urban and rural areas; where rural areas had highest percentages of Negroes, urban places had slightly lower percentages; where rural percentages were lowest in particular areas, urban percentages were slightly higher. Furthermore, each race was predominant in different areas of the state. During the 1940-1960 decades, the areas of most pronounced losses in percentages of Negroes were found around the larger urban places.

It is clear from the work of Wharton and Lowry, as well as others, that the settlement patterns and distribution patterns of blacks in southeastern states, especially Mississippi, results from the pre-Civil War period primarily, and the historical impact of the plantation-slavery system. However, in some other states the impetus for

black settlement is attributed more to social and economic discrimination toward blacks following the Civil War. For examples, Authur L. Tolson<sup>51/</sup> presented a historical account of the settlement and origin of black towns in the state of Oklahoma and its surrounding territories as a result of a mass emigration of free blacks from other southeastern states during the period immediately preceeding and following the Civil War. He stated that the main impetus for this settlement was to get away from the social and economic discrimination that was rampant during this period.

The settlement pattern and processes of blacks in rural Michigan have been viewed as an alternative to inner-city ghettos since Negro suburbanization is more restricted by social and economic factors. The emigration of blacks, especially from the Chicago area, to rural southwestern Michigan was one means of avoiding the streets of both these factors. Using a survey of black settlements in the areas, Wheeler and Brunn<sup>52/</sup> sought to document the origins and length of residence of the Negro population. It was established that Negro settlement in the area was not a response

---

<sup>51/</sup>Authur L. Tolson, The Black Oklahomans: A History, 1541-1972, (New Orleans: Edward Printing Company, 1974).

<sup>52/</sup>James O. Wheeler and Stanley D. Brunn, "Negro Migration into Rural Southwestern Michigan," Geographical Review, Vol. 58, 1968, pp. 214-230.

to better economic opportunities since job opportunities in the rural areas were severely lacking. This situation caused the Negro population to travel long distances for their place of residence to places of employment. A considerable portion of the Negro population in the areas was retired and had selected the rural North as an alternative to retirement in the South.

By taking a more in-depth look at the situation of Negroes in Cass County, Michigan, Wheeler and Brunn<sup>53/</sup> concentrated more on the historic and recent settlement patterns of Negroes in that county from 1845 to 1968. They described the settlement in Calvin Township as an "agricultural ghetto." The focus of the study, however, was on the changes in the area of Negro land ownership in relations to the social and economic changes in the population and in relations to the historic settlement pattern. Using a systematic methodology based on county records and plat maps, they were able to reconstruct the pattern of Negro landholdings in Calvin Township from 1872 to 1968 and analyze the changes in the pattern. Their conclusions were that the expansion and contraction of the Negro settlement area in the county centered around the historic

---

<sup>53/</sup>James O. Wheeler and Stanley D. Brunn, "An Agricultural Ghetto: Negroes in Cass County, Michigan, 1845-1968," Geographical Review, Vol. 59, 1969, pp. 317-329.



node - Calvin Township. Also, racial discrimination played a major role in determining the areal extent of the Negro settlement areas.

Similarly, this study will determine if the historic patterns of settlement of blacks in Jasper County have remained prominent as residential areas for blacks presently; or, to what extent their residential patterns have changed from their initial settlement areas.

### Summary

This literature review has showed that there are certain historic and geographic characteristics of rural neighborhoods as well as social activities and organizations that can be used in their identification, delineation, and analysis. It has also shown that rural neighborhoods play an important role in the social and spatial organization of rural areas since they are discrete and identifiable entities, and are continuous and persistent. Thus, they are ideal units for the study of residential segregation in a rural area such as Jasper County, Mississippi.

The literature on rural settlement forms, patterns and processes has indicated that there are distinct processes, forms and patterns of rural settlement that can be used to devise general principles relative to the develop-



ment of the overall character of rural areas. The rural neighborhood and community are the ultimate results of these forms, patterns and processes. This study from a historical and geographical perspective considers the development of rural neighborhoods as a historic settlement process and attempts to show how the rural neighborhood as a form of rural settlement can be used to analyze the spatial organization of a rural area.

The literature on the empirical analysis of residential segregation in urban areas has shown that a high level of residential segregation between blacks and whites is common in American cities. The invasion-succession processes have been prominent in determining the patterns of residential location and residential segregation in the cities. Few studies have been done on residential segregation in rural areas.

The literature on black settlement in rural areas shows that the location patterns of blacks in those areas have remained relatively constant. That is, their present location patterns in those areas are similar to their historic settlement.

All these aspects mentioned above, from the delineation of neighborhoods and neighborhood recognition, to the settlement and continuity of the patterns of location of blacks in rural areas, are aspects that are addressed in this study.

## CHAPTER IV

### HISTORIC SETTLEMENT, NEIGHBORHOOD DEVELOPMENT AND RACIAL COMPOSITION OF RURAL NEIGHBORHOODS IN JASPER COUNTY

#### Introduction

This chapter has two objectives: (1) to discuss the historic settlement processes and patterns in Jasper County from its origin as a legal entity in 1833 to the early 1900's; and (2) to relate the patterns of historic settlement to the development of neighborhoods and the present patterns of racial composition of neighborhoods in the county. The objectives are aimed at testing two hypotheses. The first hypothesis is that the invasion-succession processes have not been the major determinant of the present patterns of racial composition of neighborhoods in Jasper County. Instead, the racial composition of neighborhoods in the county is the result of the historically established, separate black and white neighborhood areas that were developed during the settlement of the county, these neighborhoods have remained intact and have expanded around those areas initially settled by the two racial groups. This hypothesis will be verified cartographically by examining the stability of

10. 11. 2020

11. 11. 2020

12. 11. 2020

13. 11. 2020

14. 11. 2020

the pattern of black and white dominated neighborhood areas thru time.

The second hypothesis tested is that current neighborhood boundaries are determined on the basis of a racial criterion that separates whites and blacks regardless of the locational proximity of households. This hypothesis is tested by using the Cluster Method of neighborhood delineation and identification, and by interviewing households. To sustain or reject the hypothesis it was necessary to show whether the majority of neighborhoods in the county do or do not consist of households which are composed totally of one racial group, and that black and white families recognize and identify only those families of their own racial group as belonging to their respective neighborhoods.

#### The Origin and Initial Settlement of Jasper County

The area which is presently Jasper County was originally part of the larger territory held and occupied by the Six Town Tribe of the Choctaw Indian Nation. The territory was ceded by the Choctaws via the Treaty of Dancing

Rabbit Creek<sup>a/</sup> on September 27, 1830. The area ceded by the treaty has become known historically as the Third Choctaw Cession.<sup>1/</sup> This cession officially made the area part of the territory of the state of Mississippi. The large territory (see Figure 3) which was yielded by the 1830 Choctaw Cession was divided into 18 counties by Legal Act of the state's legislature on December 13, 1833.<sup>2/</sup> Jasper County was one of the counties formed by this Act. The area ceded by the Choctaws in 1830 was the last area to be held by the Indians east of the Mississippi River; and, in accordance with the treaty they were removed to the area which is now Arkansas by 1833.<sup>3/</sup>

The earliest non-Indian settlement effort in Jasper County was undertaken prior to the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek. In 1825, a group of Irish missionaries led by a

---

<sup>a/</sup> Dancing Rabbit Creek is located in the area of Noxubee County in the northeast central portion of Mississippi. The Treaty was officially signed at the Choctaw Council Grounds located between the prongs of the Creek. See H. S. Halbert, "The Story of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit," Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society, Volume VI, 1902, pp. 373-402.

<sup>1/</sup> Dunbar Rowland, The History of Mississippi, Volume II, (Chicago: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1925), p. 624.

<sup>2/</sup> Rowland, Ibid., p. 624.

<sup>3/</sup> Ibid.

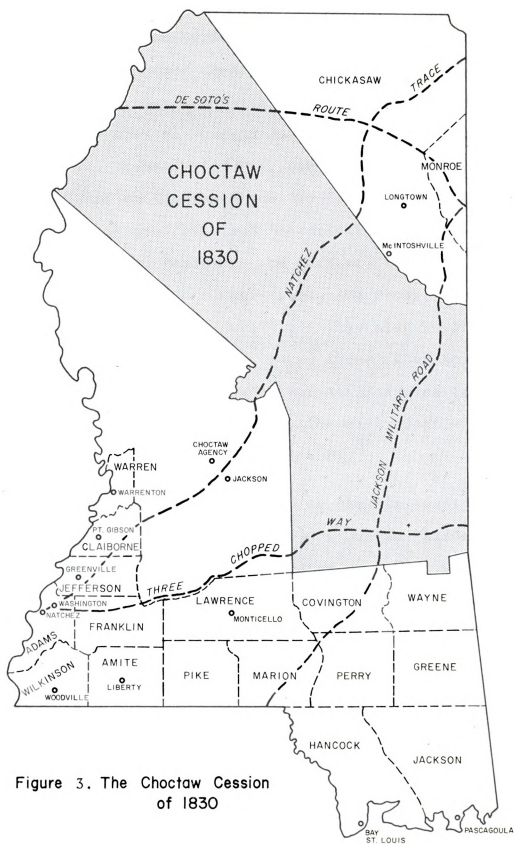


Figure 3. The Choctaw Cession of 1830



gentleman named Bardwell established the Six Towns Mission Station in Jasper County near the site where the village of Paulding was later established. Brown<sup>4/</sup> found evidence that the mission station was situated in the area of Section 15, Township 3 North, Range 12 East, which means that its location was approximately at the same site as the settlement presently and historically known as Missionary, just north of Paulding. He further stated that the missionaries erected a comfortable log house, two stories high, which was used as a dwelling. They also built a schoolhouse and a church, and two or three other houses for different purposes. However, the missionaries left the area in the later part of 1833 or the early part of 1834 and the mission station was discontinued.<sup>5/</sup>

Prior to the settlement of the Six Towns Mission Station, French traders from New Orleans had established trading posts along trade routes in Jasper County in Choctaw villages in the areas where the villages of Garlandville and Paulding were later established after the Indians ceded the territory.<sup>6/</sup>

---

<sup>4/</sup>  
A. J. Brown, "Choctaw Mission Station in Jasper County," Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society, Volume VII, 1903, pp. 344-345.

<sup>5/</sup>  
Ibid.

<sup>6/</sup>  
Rowland, op. cit., p. 624.

After the removal of the Choctaws in 1833, Jasper County began to be settled rapidly by emigrants from the older Atlantic Seaboard states and the southern part of Mississippi. Their initial settlement efforts focused on those areas where Choctaw villages had been established previously. The first permanent white settlement to be established in the county was situated at the village of Garlandville, which became the oldest town in the county after its origin as a white settlement in 1833.<sup>7/</sup>

#### The Spread of Settlement in Jasper County

Historically, the spread and development of population settlement in Jasper County was accomplished by three processes: (1) the settlement and development of small village trade centers; (2) the settlement of farmsteads on the countryside around the villages; and (3) the development and organization of rural neighborhoods and locality group areas. During its early development, village trade centers were the primary settlement process in Jasper County, followed by farmsteads. In the development of these villages, usually a group of merchants, craftsmen and artisans would cluster in an area which was easily accessible, build their homes and shops, and begin to practice their trades and businesses. These villages were initially established

---

<sup>7/</sup>  
Ibid.

to provide the essential goods and services that were necessary to the pioneering farmers who came later to establish their farmsteads on the surrounding countryside. In most instances, the initial village settlements were established around some central economic function such as a grist mill, general store, or lumber mill and stage coach depot. Complimentary establishments such as hotels, taverns and blacksmith shops were the other functions that were usually present during the initial settlement of the villages in the county.<sup>8/</sup>

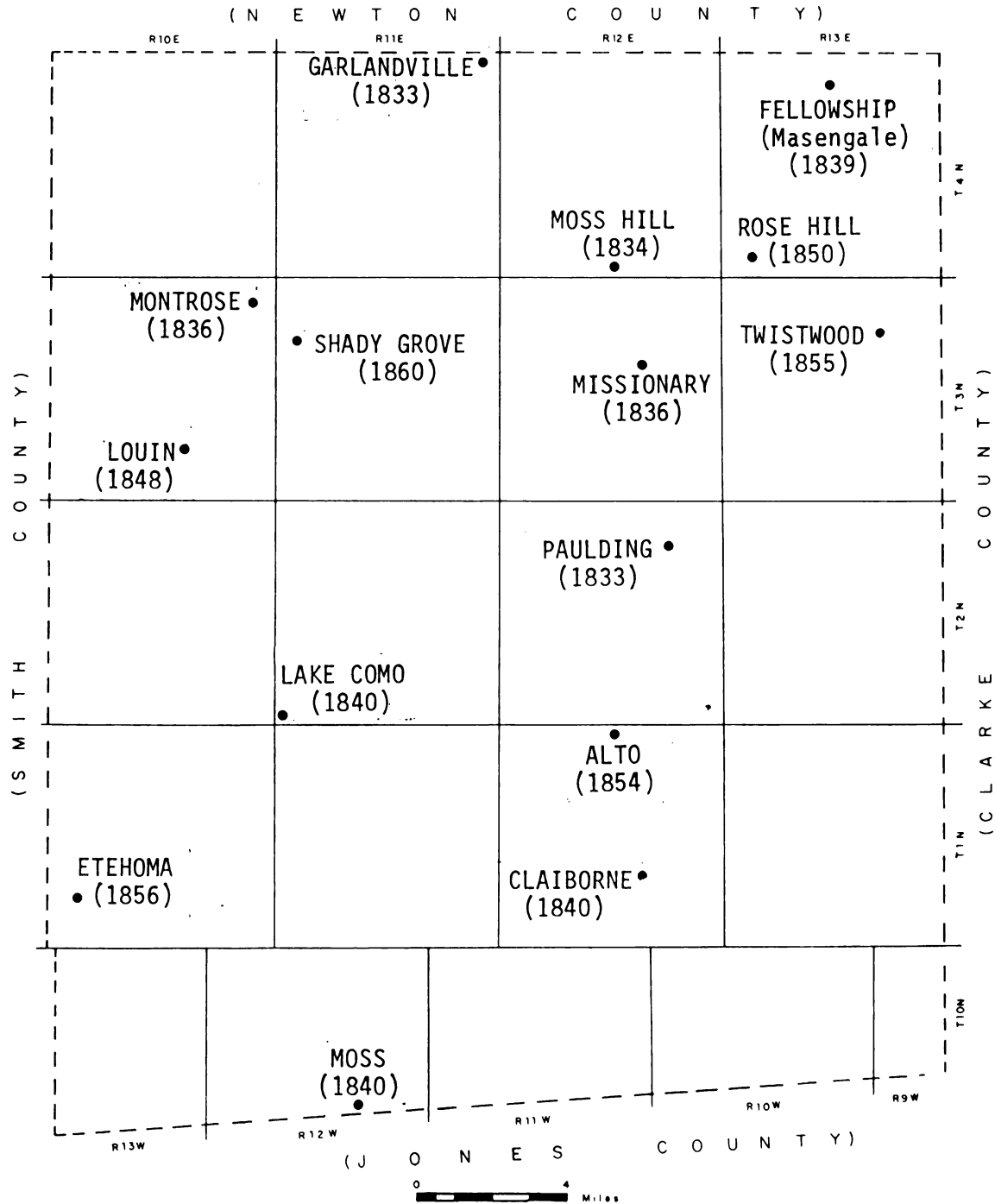
Since village settlement preceded the settlement of the countryside in most areas of Jasper County, the spread of initial settlement in Jasper County can be indicated temporally and spatially by dating and mapping the initial settlement of villages; and by dating and mapping the spread of farmstead settlement on the countryside surrounding the villages. During the initial period of settlement in Jasper County, 1833 to 1860, a series of village trade centers were settled and developed along the French and Indian trade routes that had been laid out prior to the official organization of the county. The dates of the settlement of these villages and their relative location in the county are shown in Figure 4.

---

8/

Ibid.

Figure 4. Small Town Origins in Jasper County, 1833-1860





Subsequent to the settlement of these villages, the spread of settlement was extended by the establishment of farmsteads surrounding the villages. Land Grant Records<sup>9/</sup> for Jasper County were used to determine the spread of farmstead settlement in the county. These records indicated the locations<sup>b/</sup> of land grants that were issued to individual settlers and the dates of issuance. Figure 5 shows the areas (by section) of the county where farmsteads had been established during the period 1833 to 1860, according to the Land Grant Records. It can be seen from the map that farmsteads were being settled in those areas surrounding the villages that had been established during this period.

This process of intermixed village settlement and farmstead settlement continued in Jasper County until the county was completely occupied by the end of the 1800's. For example, there were three distinguishable periods of village settlement in Jasper County: (1) the initial period of village settlement from 1833 to 1860; (2) the Post-Civil War period from 1870 to 1900; and (3) the period of village settlement after 1900. The second period was initiated mainly by the advent of rail road

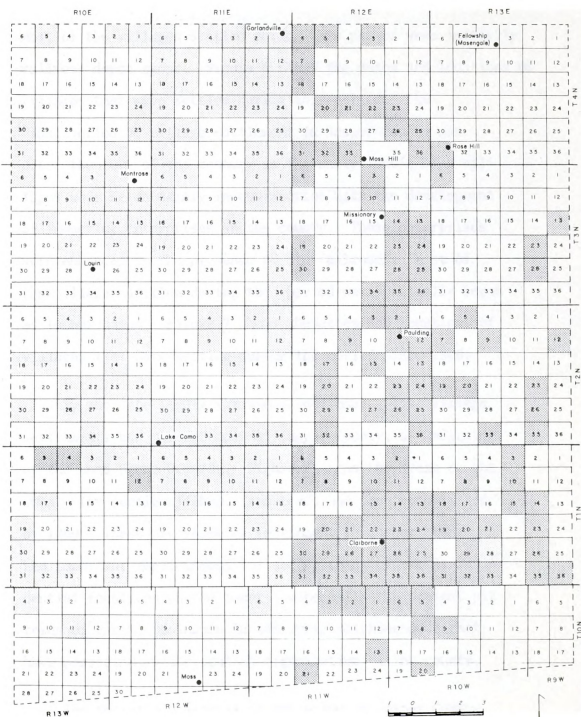
---

<sup>9/</sup>Land Grant Records of Jasper County, (Mimeographed) State Archives Library, Jackson, Mississippi. This was the only data that could be found relevant to farmstead settlement in the county. Records of deeds and land transactions were destroyed by fire in the county courthouse in 1932.

<sup>b/</sup>Locations of land grants were indicated in the records by section, township and range only.



Figure 5. Sections in Jasper County where Land Grants were Issued, 1833-1860



1833-1840

1841-1860

Source: "Records of land grants for Jasper county, Mississippi", Dept of Archives, Jackson, Mississippi.



development in the county and the westward migration of population from the older Atlantic Seaboard states following the War. Most of the villages settled during this period were initially railroad depot stops. Figure 6 shows the dates and locations of villages that were settled during this period. The final period of village settlement in Jasper County was after the turn of the century in the early 1900's when villages were begun mainly in conjunction with the development of lumbering enterprises in the county. These enterprises were enhanced by the presence of the railroads. Most of the villages settled during this period were initially begun as lumber camps. Figure 7 shows the dates and locations of villages that were settled during the period since 1900.

By the late 1800's farmstead settlement, like village settlements had covered most of Jasper County, as indicated by the Land Grant Records. Figure 8 shows the areas of the county (by sections) where farmsteads had been established by 1900. These processes of settlement in Jasper County had important implications for the patterns of racial residential locations in the county, especially the present patterns of racial dominance in the rural neighborhoods that have persisted in the spatial organization of the county.

The social and spatial organization of Jasper County

1011

1012

1013

Level

1014

1015

1016

1017

1018

1019

Figure 6. Small Town Origins in Jasper County, 1870-1900

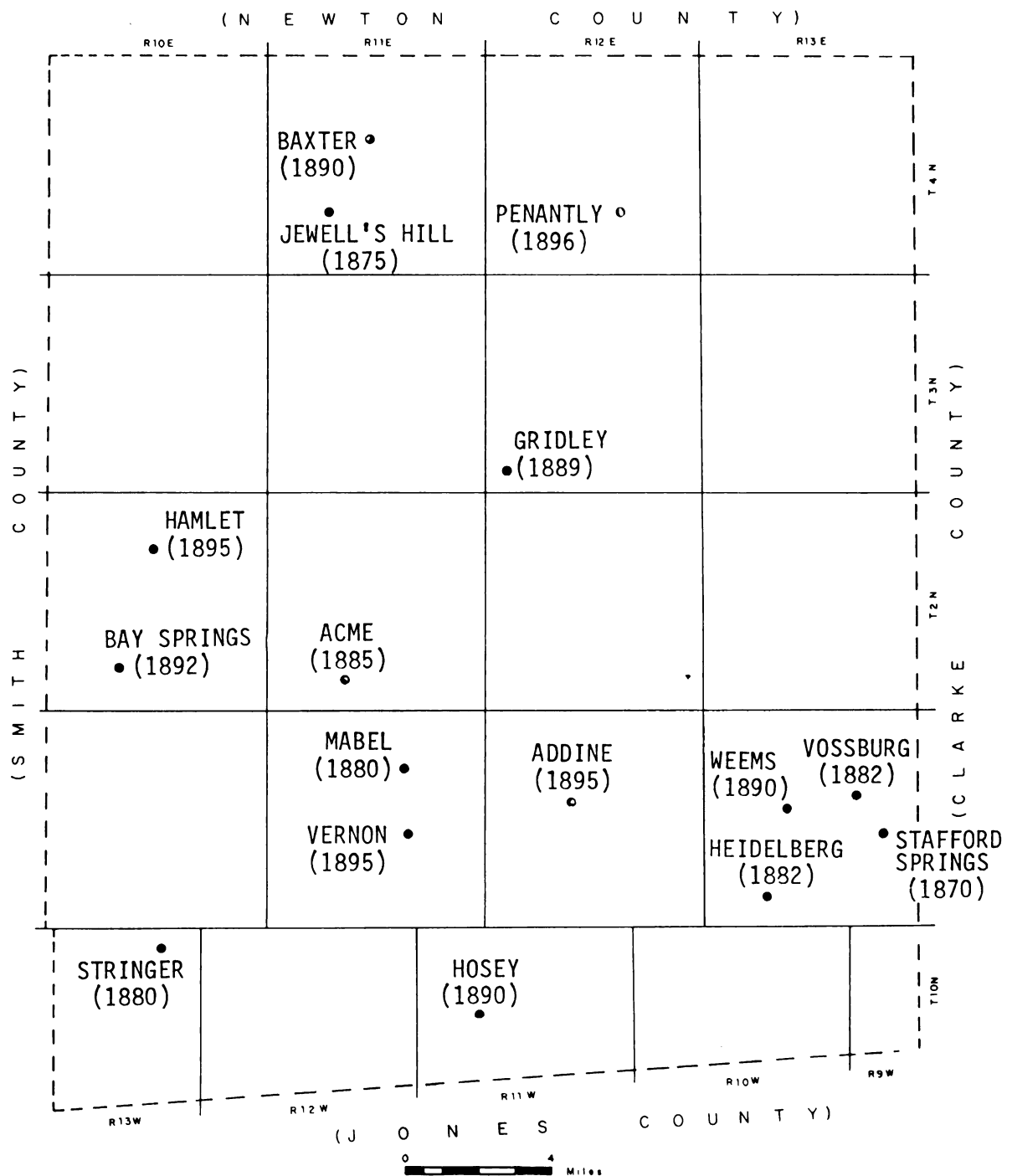




Figure 7. Small Town Origins in Jasper County Since 1900

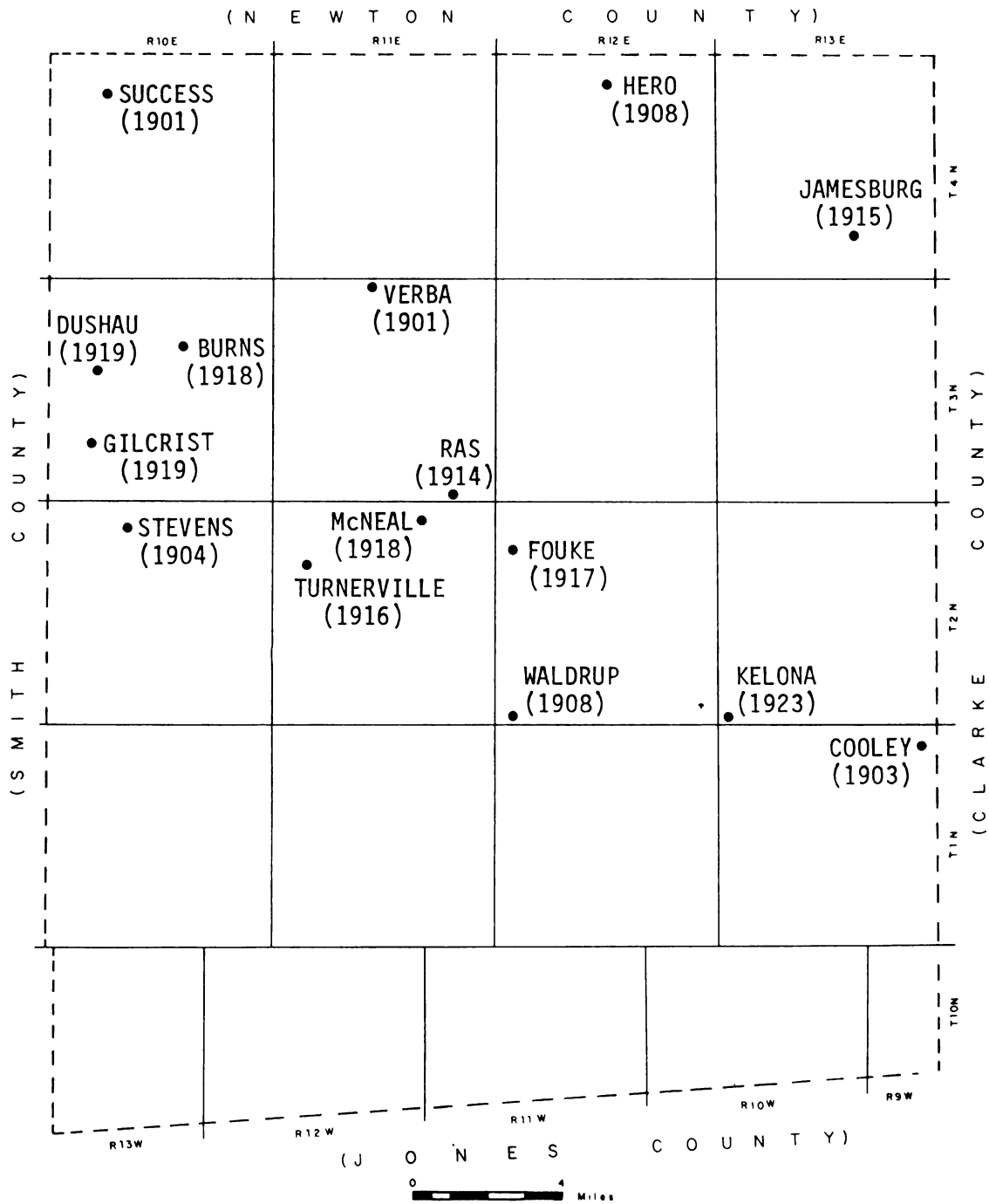
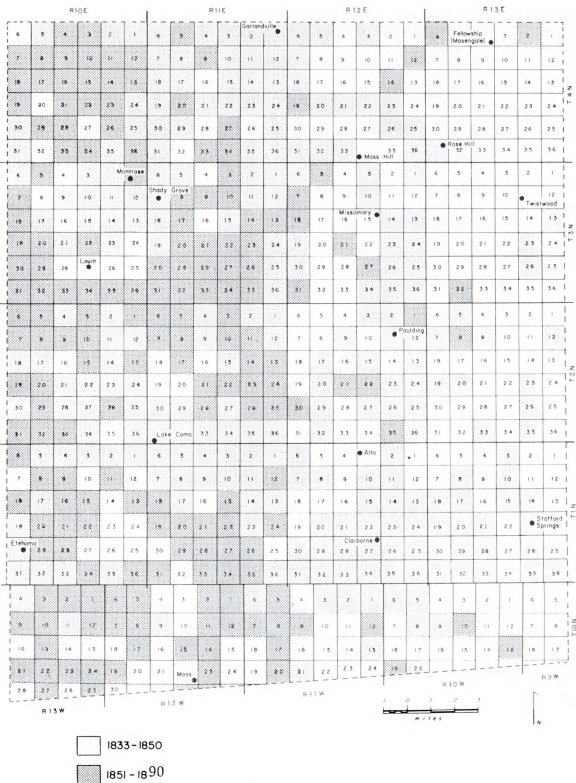




Figure 8. Sections in Jasper County where Land Grants were Issued, 1833-18' 90



Source: "Records of land grants for Jasper county, Mississippi", Dept. of Archives, Jackson, Mississippi.





into rural neighborhood areas represents the final process of settlement development in the county. Neighborhood areas in the county were first centered around the village settlements where merchants and shopkeepers were clustered into the small areas of the village boundaries in close proximity. On the countryside, neighborhood areas began to be recognized when rural churches were established as the basic social institution that brought people together in a formal social organization. The initial thrust in neighborhood organization in Jasper County came about after the Civil War when the free Negroes in the county began to acquire land and to establish separate residential areas. Hence, it is necessary to examine the initial land acquisition and settlement patterns of free blacks in the county in relationship to the development of neighborhood areas in order to describe the patterns of neighborhood development and the patterns of racial dominance in neighborhoods that resulted from the historic settlement processes in the county.

#### Historic Settlement of Blacks in Jasper County

Blacks came to Jasper County as slaves in 1836.<sup>10/</sup> Most blacks remained slaves until after the Civil War. In 1840, there were two free blacks and in 1860, only five free

---

<sup>10/</sup> Works Project Administration, Papers on Jasper County, "History of Agriculture", (Mimeographed), State Archives Library, Jackson, Mississippi (undated).

1000000000

1000000000

1000000000

1000000000

1000000000

1000000000

blacks were listed in the Census of Jasper County. On the other hand, 4,549 blacks were listed as slaves in 1860.<sup>11/</sup>

Black settlement<sup>c/</sup> did not become a significant factor until around 1870. Prior to this time, the traditional plantation system of residence had prevailed wherein the slaves occupied cabins specifically built for that purpose adjacent to the other main buildings on the farmsteads of whites. This system of residences was extensive in Jasper County prior to the Civil War. This is indicated by the relatively large percentage (41%) of slaves in the total population, and by the distribution of slaves in the white households as indicated by the Manuscript Census for 1860.<sup>12/</sup>

After the Civil War, many of the former slaves either migrated to other areas or stayed on at the old plantation homesteads of their former masters to become tenants or sharecroppers as was the case throughout most of the South.

---

<sup>11/</sup>U. S. Census Office, 5th, Census of Population, 1840, (Washington, D. C.: Department of State, 1841), and 7th, Census of Population, 1860.

<sup>c/</sup>Settlement here is considered as initial land ownership.

<sup>12/</sup>Copies of the Manuscript Census of Jasper County, 1860 and 1870, were obtained on Microfilm through the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Mormon), Genealogical Library, East Lansing, Michigan.

Hence, their impact on the residential pattern went relatively unnoticed as few became landowners immediately. When blacks did become landowners, their initial purchases were small. However, these holdings formed the core of the black residential areas that were to develop in the county during the late 1800's and early 1900's.

Since some form of settlement had occurred throughout most of the county by the beginning of the Civil War, (either village clusters or farmsteads) this meant that when free Negroes entered the land market following the Civil War they were restricted in terms of where they could start settlements in two ways: (1) they were restricted as to where they could purchase land by the social system; and, (2) they were restricted by where land was available to be purchased. It will be seen in the following sections of this chapter that these restrictions relegated the Negroes' initial settlements in the county to areas on the periphery of white settlement areas, which predominated the villages and the areas adjacent to the village settlements.

Several processes were involved in the Negroes' efforts to obtain land and establish residential areas within Jasper County. In some instances, the Negroes purchased the land outright through such programs as the Federal Land Bank or the homestead programs. In other instances, their

former masters and now tenant lords granted them a small holding after several years of work in lieu of pay or as an enticement for the Negroes to remain as workers.

By 1870 the Negroes' settlements in Jasper County were part of the cultural landscape inasmuch as they had acquired land, established separate residential areas and had begun to organize social institutions, especially churches. The Manuscript Census of 1870 recorded household by race and property ownership. A check of the names and race of household heads against the Records of Land Grants in the State Archives revealed the Negro landowners and their locations in the county at that time. Table 2 indicates the number of Negro landowners in each political division of the county in 1870 as indicated by those records. Unfortunately, because the land transactions of the county were destroyed it is impossible to determine the exact size of these holdings.

TABLE 2  
Negro Household Heads Owning Land in  
Jasper County Civil Divisions, 1870<sup>d/</sup>

| Civil Divisions  | Total Number<br>Negro Households | Negro Households<br>Owning Land |
|------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Center Beat 1    | 19                               | 3                               |
| Paulding Village | 32                               | 14                              |
| Northeast Beat 2 | 4                                | 4                               |
| Northwest Beat 3 | 1                                | 1                               |
| Southeast Beat 4 | 4                                | 4                               |
| Southwest Beat 5 | 2                                | 2                               |
| TOTALS:          | 62                               | 28                              |

The data above are not indicative of the total Negro population residing in Jasper County in 1870 and should not be mistaken as such. It must be remembered that this period was one of transition for the Negro population. It was the period when family and household formations were just beginning among the former Negro slaves.

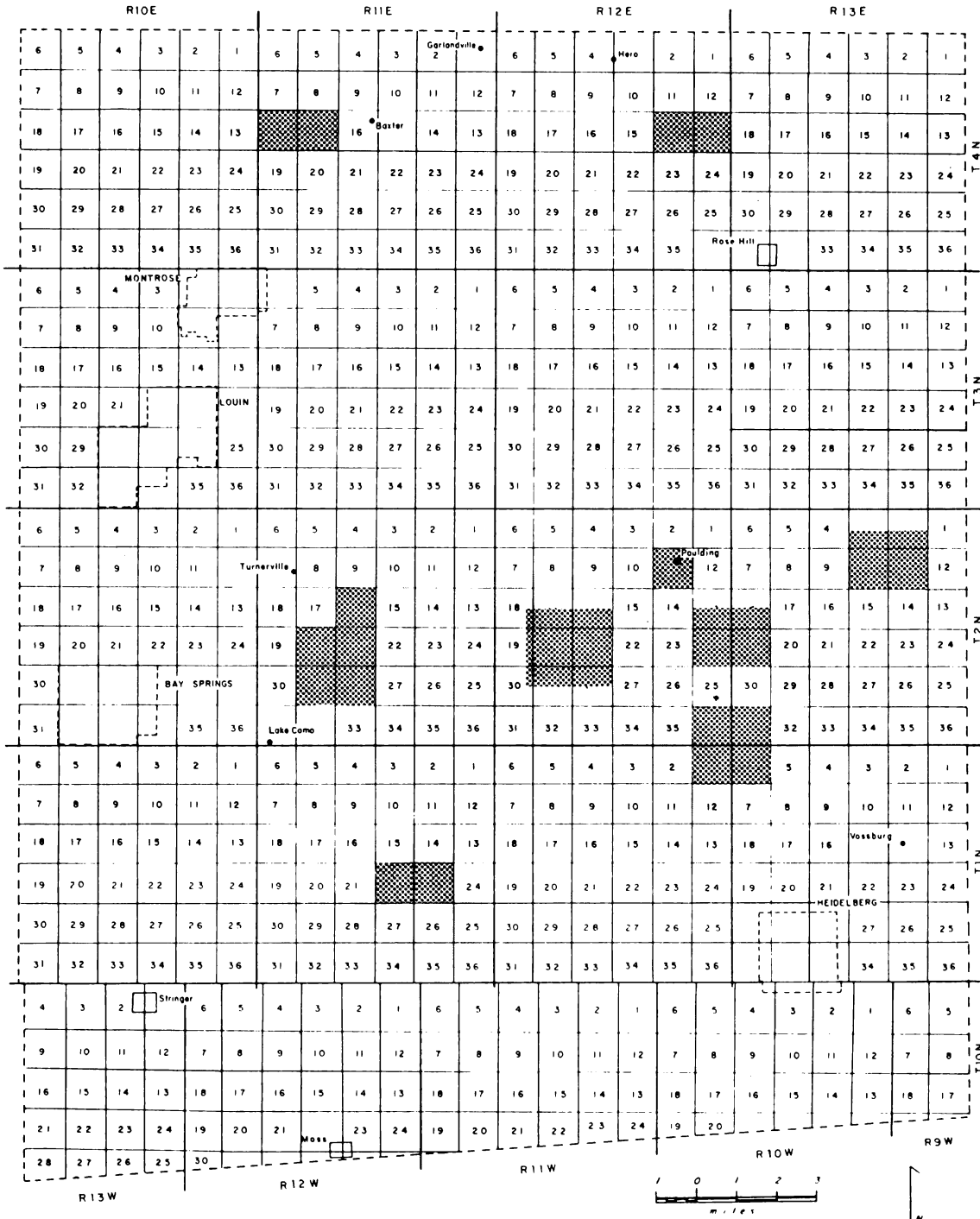
Figure 9 shows the areas of the first Negro landowners' locations. It will be seen later that these areas are core areas of the present local black neighborhoods in the county.

---

<sup>d/</sup>  
Source: National Archives Microfilm Publication,  
9th. Census Manuscript Report, 1870, Mississippi.



Figure 9. Locations of Initial Negro Land Ownership in Jasper County, 1868-1870





It should be noted also, that the Negro settlement areas (using initial land ownership as the indication of initial settlement) were situated in those areas where the slave plantation system had been prominent in the county. Although no records exist to indicate precisely, it can be assumed, that in these same areas, other Negroes in the population were either tenants or sharecroppers. For certain, the Manuscript Census indicates large numbers of Negroes in the population in 1870 who were listed among white households as sons, daughters, servants, laborers, cooks, and by several other classifications.

#### Historic Aspects of Neighborhood Development

After the Civil War, neighborhoods were established along racial lines as a means of establishing and maintaining social and residential segregation between whites and blacks in Jasper County in accordance with the social system which required racial separation. However, most blacks were tenants and sharecroppers for a long period after the war. In those areas where the tenant-sharecropper system prevailed blacks and whites generally occupied residences in the same general areas. Nevertheless, black tenants and sharecroppers were relegated to separate areas in the farm neighborhoods which were formed and termed "Negro Quarters." These quarters were a group of tenant houses on the proper-

ties of the landlords which were usually separated from the landlords' residential quarters. The same situation was prevalent in the villages and towns after the Civil War. When the free Negroes began to settle around the villages and towns, special areas separate from the white residential areas were set aside as Negro residential areas in the villages.

At the close of the Civil War when Negroes in Jasper County began to acquire land and become farmers on their own, local neighborhood development in the countryside began to take place rapidly, both for whites and for the Negroes, as both groups began to cluster in areas nearer others of their own race. The first neighborhoods for the Negroes were developed in those areas where there had been considerable Negro populations during the slave period and in those areas where the initial Negro land purchases were made. (see Figures 9 and 10.)

By the 1890's, a distinct pattern of neighborhood development had begun and local neighborhoods were becoming recognizable. While there are no records available to indicate the total population of these areas, a determination can be made of their racial character and location pattern. One such source is the county school records<sup>13/</sup>

---

<sup>13/</sup>

WPA Papers on Jasper County, "Education".

which indicate the location of schools in the county and the racial characteristics of the populations attending the schools. Since schools were generally located in each neighborhood, the locations of schools historically provides the best indication of the major neighborhood areas. Churches were usually the main social institution in the neighborhoods and were also the first to be established when the neighborhoods were being developed. Hence, the records of the church-schools are used to establish the pattern of initial neighborhood development. School buildings were erected in the villages for whites prior to the Civil War. However, after the Civil War, schooling for Negroes was held in the local Negro churches if sizable populations were found in the towns and villages. Otherwise, Negro children from the villages attended school in the closest neighborhood church.<sup>14/</sup>

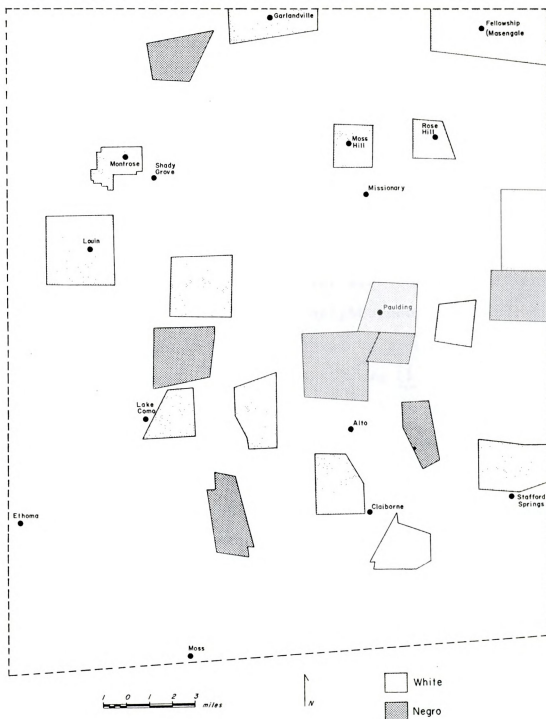
Figure 10 is based on school records of the county found in the State Archives. It shows the location of black and white neighborhoods that had been established and had become recognizable in 1875. This supports the proposition that the schools were established in those areas where the two population groups were dominant. Some of the white schools and neighborhoods were established prior

---

<sup>14/</sup>  
Ibid.



Figure 10. Local Neighborhoods in Jasper County, 1875



Source: Maps of school service areas and records of schools in Jasper county, found in State Archives, Jackson, Mississippi, W.P.A. papers on Jasper county, "Education in Jasper county" unbound manuscripts.



to the Civil War. The first black school was established  
in 1868.<sup>15/</sup>

The pattern in Figure 10 shows the beginning of a separate, yet dispersed location pattern of Negro neighborhoods. This pattern is probably indicative of the economic ties of the black population as tenants and sharecroppers during this period which required their being located in proximity to the white population, but separately located residentially.

Similar data were found for 1896 on the location of church-schools for the local neighborhoods. Again, this information has been interpolated to neighborhood locations for that year and is mapped in Figure 11. The location pattern of white and black neighborhoods indicate that a considerable amount of expansion had taken place between 1875 and 1896. A comparison of Figures 10 and 11 shows that areal expansion for both groups occurred primarily around the areas where previous neighborhoods had been formed. During this period 8 additional Negro neighborhoods had been formed while 22 additional white neighborhoods were formed. The total neighborhoods in 1896 were 15 and 37 for Negroes and whites respectively.

---

<sup>15/</sup>  
Ibid.





Figure 11. Local Neighborhoods in Jasper County, 1896



Source: Maps of school service areas and records of schools in Jasper county, found in State Archives, Jackson, Mississippi, W.P.A. papers on Jasper county, 'Education in Jasper county' unbound manuscripts.



Although the delimited neighborhoods are shown in Figures 10 and 11, the population was distributed in other areas of the county also at these times. Indeed there were scattered and isolated farmsteads outside these areas. However, in the case of schools, these areas indicate the main local neighborhoods.

Data for 1927 again show the progression of neighborhood development in Jasper County as indicated by church-schools and their service areas. The schools at this time were essentially neighborhood schools which were centrally located to population concentrations for Negroes and whites as indicated by the students enrolled according to the school records. By race and number of students at this time, neighborhoods had become recognized throughout most of the county. Figure 12 shows the location pattern of white and black neighborhoods in 1927. By comparing Figures 11 and 12, it is indicated that areal expansion for both whites and Negroes had occurred mainly around those areas that had been previously occupied by the respective groups. Figure 12 also indicates that considerable black neighborhood formations and expansion had taken place in the southwestern and northeastern sections of the county. This pattern follows the trend of settlement discussed previously wherein the southwestern section was the latest area to be settled. Hence, more land was available for Blacks to purchase.



Figure 12. Local Neighborhoods in Jasper County, 1927



Source: Maps of school service areas and records of schools in Jasper county found in State Archives, Jackson, Mississippi, W.P.A. papers on Jasper county, "Education in Jasper county" unbound manuscripts.



Closer observation and comparison of the maps further show that little change occurred in residential location patterns between the two groups. For the most part, whites continued to occupy those areas where they had previously been predominant, and the same was true for blacks. Again, this is indicated by the church-school records. Three exceptions to this fact are found in the areas east of Garlandville, the area east of Baxter, and the Ethoma area. In each case, blacks succeeded whites in the areas.

#### The Present Racial Pattern of Neighborhoods

This section describes the present neighborhood location pattern for blacks and whites to determine if residential locations for the two racial groups have remained stable; or, if neighborhood succession has occurred since 1927.

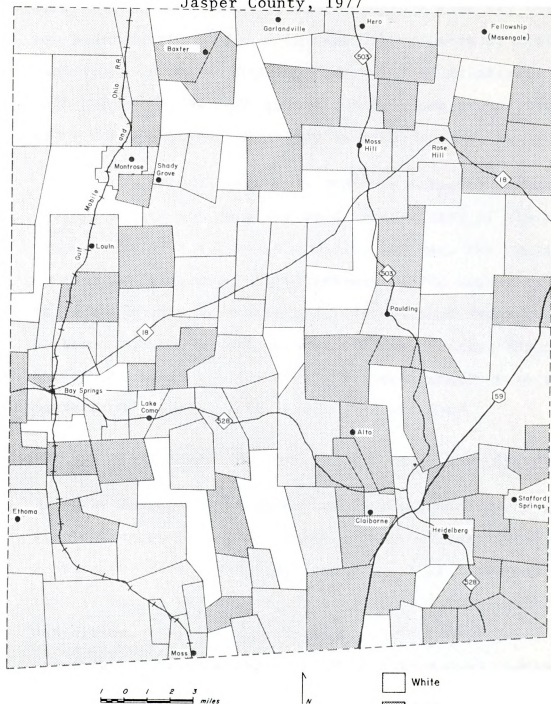
Figure 13 shows (by racial dominance) black and white neighborhoods in Jasper County in 1977. By comparison with Figure 12, which shows the neighborhoods by racial dominance in 1927, it can be seen that the pattern of racial residential location as indicated by racial dominance in neighborhood areas has remained stable for the period between 1927-1977. It is apparent that blacks and whites have remained dominant in those areas where they were previously dominant and where their initial settlement and neighborhood develop-





Figure 13. Neighborhoods by Racial Dominance in

Jasper County, 1977



Source: Determined by author using cluster method and family interviews: summer, 1977



ment, and expansion took place. What this figure shows is that neighborhood invasion and succession have not been prevalent in the county. Instead, the pattern of residential location for both groups has remained relatively stable with expansion for both groups taking place around those areas where they had initially located.

The hypothesis tested is that the invasion-succession processes have not been the major determinant of the racial composition of rural neighborhoods; instead, the racial composition of present neighborhoods in the county is found to be the result of historically established separate neighborhoods for blacks and whites. In other words, the present pattern of black and white neighborhoods continue to reflect patterns of historic settlement in the county.

#### The Recognition and Delineation of Local Neighborhoods, 1977

The concept of neighborhood is still considered a viable concept in Jasper County. Although most local residents refer to their neighborhoods as local communities, this is due to custom and tradition rather than technical definition. Certainly these areas fit the definition and criteria for neighborhoods. The Cluster Method combined with extensive interviewing was used to test the hypothesis that neighborhood boundaries are determined on the basis of racial criterion that separates blacks from whites regard-



less of the locational proximity. In applying the Cluster Method, several persons<sup>e/</sup> were contacted initially who had been identified as local historians and local officials knowledgeable of the county's areas. With their help, the author was able to identify population clusters and delineate the readily recognized neighborhoods. Other neighborhoods which were not readily recognized as such were identified by more extensive investigation and surveying following the Cluster Method.

The second step in the process was to verify the existence of neighborhoods that had been identified and to identify those areas in the county that fit the criteria of neighborhoods but were not identified. This phase was carried out by interviewing people in those areas where neighborhood boundaries had not been identified or where overlapping areas were identified by the local officials and local historians who were initially contacted. According to the respondents interviewed and the local officials

---

<sup>e/</sup>Four of the people who were helpful in the initial stages of this research were: Mr. W. G. Horn, Town Clerk in the City Hall at Bay Springs; Mr. James Caves, County Extension Agent; Mr. W. C. Walker, Director of the Farmers Home Administration Office in Bay Springs; Mr. Willie Green, Principal at Heidelberg High School; and the author's father, Mr. Otha Lang, Sr., who was a building contractor for many years and has built houses in just about every area of the county. He was also very helpful in accompanying me on observations and pointing out areas that I may never have found alone.

10/10/2010

10/10/2010

10/10/2010

questioned, race has been found to have little significance in the recognition of local neighborhood boundaries. A total of ninety-five residents were interviewed in the following areas where overlapping boundaries occurred in the initial delineations: North Heidelberg-Heidelberg (25 respondents - 15 whites and 10 blacks); West Lake Como-East Lake Como (15 respondents - 10 whites and 5 blacks); Vernon Blue Ridge-Lower Blue Ridge (18 respondents - 10 whites and 8 blacks); Vossburg-St. Peters (8 respondents - 4 whites and 4 blacks); Rose Hill-South Rose Hill (14 respondents - all whites); Stevens-Phalti (15 respondents - 10 whites and 5 blacks). Of these ninety-five respondents interviewed, only 10 whites failed to identify black families as belonging to their neighborhoods where the blacks in the same area had stated that they considered themselves as belonging to the neighborhood. Eight of the black respondents were uncertain about their neighborhood in terms of social interactions, but could identify the neighborhood name and families. Nevertheless, it is clear that local neighborhoods are identified primarily on the basis of locational proximity rather than race. In most cases little social interaction takes place on an informal level between the two racial groups. Nevertheless, this does not deter their identifying with each other in locality groupings. The hypothesis that race rather than locational proximity is the main determinant of neighborhood boundaries is rejected.





In some areas of the county, the southwestern section in particular, present neighborhoods could not be identified. Although there was evidence that neighborhoods had previously existed based on earlier records of church-school locations. They were no longer recognized as such because the population concentrations in these areas had declined. These areas have been referred to as scattered settlement areas.

Figure 14 shows the neighborhoods by name that were recognized in Jasper County during the Summer of 1977, as indicated by those persons interviewed in different areas of the county as well as the local officials and historians. It should be noted that the boundaries have been adjusted geometrically <sup>f/</sup> for clarity but include the areas where households were identified as belonging to distinct neighborhoods. Scattered settlement areas where no recognized neighborhoods were found are also indicated on the map as such. Seven such areas were found in the county. One hundred eleven neighborhoods were identified and delimited in the county during the Summer of 1977.

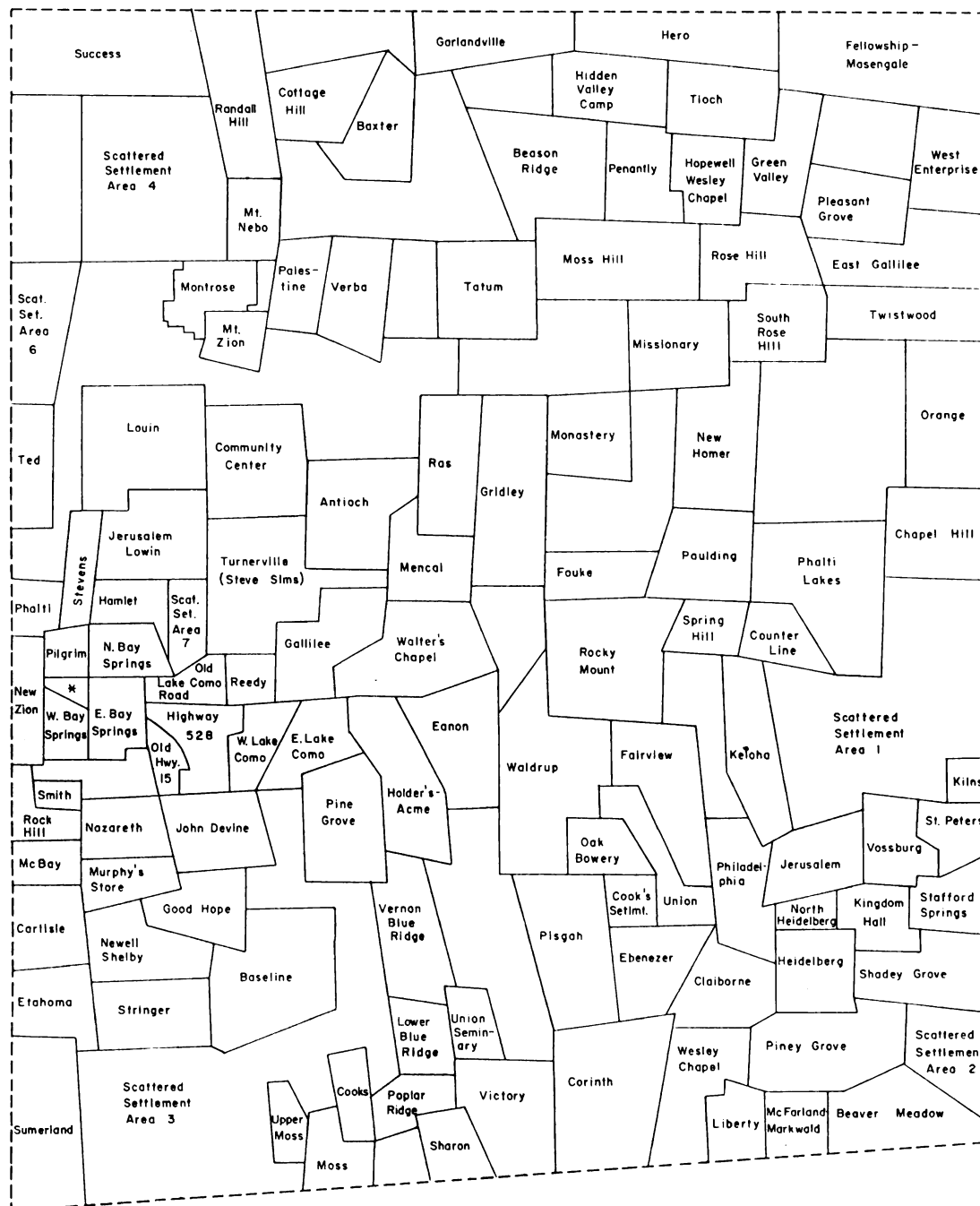
---

<sup>f/</sup> In mapping the delineated neighborhoods, boundaries were drawn to enclose the total areas of households identified as belonging to the same neighborhood. In doing so, boundaries were adjusted to follow section lines, roads or straight-line boundaries where possible to delimit the neighborhood areas without overlapping and distorting the size of neighborhoods.

1000  
1000  
1000

1000  
1000  
1000

Figure 14. Local Neighborhoods in Jasper County Mississippi, 1977



\* Bay Springs Quarters

Unlabeled areas are empty spaces

Source: Determined by author using cluster method and family interviews: summer, 1977



## Racial Dominance and Racial Composition of Rural Neighborhoods

Forty-one (41) of the neighborhoods identified in Jasper County are predominantly black and seventy (70) are predominantly white. (See Figure 14.) Forty-nine (49) are completely segregated racially; seventeen (17) are totally black and thirty-two (32) are totally white. The forty-nine completely segregated neighborhoods constitute 45 percent of the total. Sixty-two neighborhoods are racially mixed (55 percent). Of these 62, forty-two have white majorities, eighteen have a 30 to 70 percent black/white ratio; eighteen have 11 to 89 percent black/white ratio; and, 13 have 10 to 90 percent black/white ratio in the number of households. Twenty of the sixty-two racially mixed neighborhoods have Black majorities. Of these 20, all but one are more than 70 percent black. Figure 14 shows those neighborhoods in Jasper County that are totally segregated racially, and indicates the racial groups occupying the areas.

Predominantly white neighborhoods tend to be slightly larger in terms of the number of households than predominantly black neighborhoods. The average size of white neighborhoods is 33 households and the average size of the black neighborhoods is 31 households. This difference in size for white and black segregated neighborhoods will be tested for significance in the following chapter.

1. age  
2. sex  
3. race  
4. education  
5. occupation  
6. income  
7. religion  
8. marital status  
9. family size  
10. social class  
11. political affiliation  
12. ethnic background  
13. geographical location  
14. time of day  
15. season of the year  
16. weather conditions  
17. day of the week  
18. month of the year  
19. year of the study  
20. country of origin

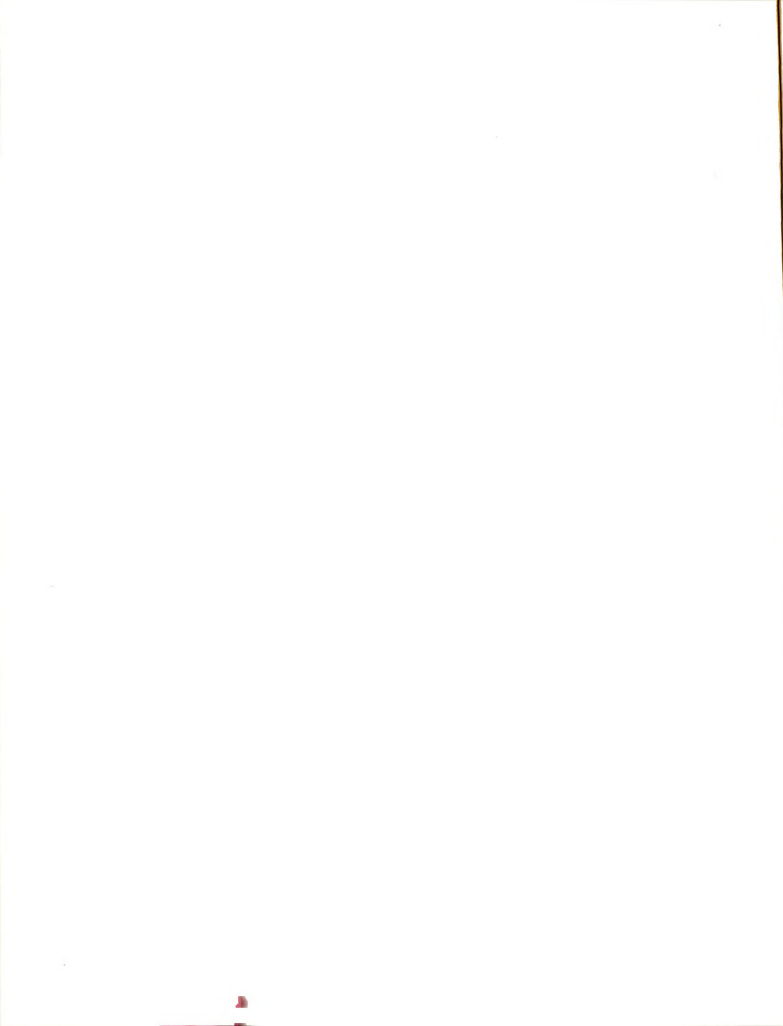
[illegible]

Unlabeled areas are empty spaces

 White

 Black

☐ Racially Mixed, Scattered Settlements  
and unorganized areas





## Types of Neighborhoods in Jasper County

Local neighborhoods in Jasper County can be categorized into three types: 1) Church centered neighborhoods - those which are centered around a rural country church which might also have served as a school before the schools were consolidated and relocated to the towns; 2) Relic town neighborhoods - those which are situated in areas where small towns or villages once were formed but no longer exist, although a small country story may or may not be present in the area; and 3) Small town neighborhoods - those that are located in the small towns in the county. Since the small towns are not large enough to be considered as urban areas, they are included in the definition and delineation of rural neighborhoods. Table 3 shows the number of neighborhoods by type and racial dominance according to the three categories named above. Figure 15 shows the neighborhoods by type in Jasper County according to these categories.



TABLE 3  
Neighborhoods by Race<sup>g/</sup>  
 and Type in Jasper County

| Type                 | Number<br>Predominantly<br>Black | Number<br>Predominantly<br>White |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Church-centered      | 36                               | 20                               |
| Relic town           | 2                                | 24                               |
| Small town           | 2                                | 15                               |
| Others <sup>h/</sup> | 1                                | 11                               |
| TOTALS:              | <u>41</u>                        | <u>70</u>                        |

### Summary

This chapter has shown that historically human settlement, the spatial organization and development of Jasper County have been brought about by three main processes: (1) village trade center settlement and development; (2) farmstead settlement on the countryside surrounding these villages; and (3) by the social organization of the popu-

---

<sup>g/</sup>Over 50 percent households of one race determines the racial dominance.

<sup>h/</sup>Others include crossroads, recreation, country store, and extended families. Figure      shows the neighborhoods by types in Jasper County for the three main types and also indicates those that are of other types.

UNIT

NO.

DATE

TIME

NAME

NO.

DATE

TIME

NAME

NO.

DATE

TIME

NAME

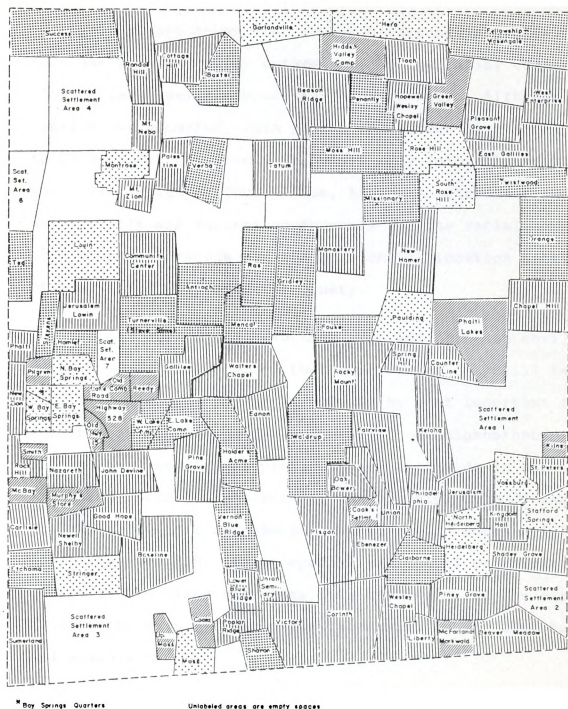
NO.

DATE

TIME

NAME

Figure 16. Neighborhoods by Types in Jasper County, 1977





lation into identifiable locality groups and neighborhood areas.

It has been shown that invasion-succession processes have not been the major determinant of the racial composition of rural neighborhoods in Jasper County. Although expansion has occurred, both blacks and whites have continued to be dominant in those areas where they initially settled and formed neighborhoods. Thus, historic settlement and not invasion and succession accounts for the racial composition of neighborhoods and the residential location patterns of blacks and whites in the county.

It has been shown also that race has been and continues to be a significant factor in the processes of social interaction in the county, but it is not the most important factor in the recognition and delineation of neighborhood boundaries. Locational proximity of households is the most important factor in the recognition of neighborhoods and the delineation of neighborhood boundaries. Local neighborhoods are important in the spatial and social organization of the county since they have been the basis for the establishment of the main social institutions such as the churches and schools.

The entry of blacks into the land acquisition arena in Jasper County was an important factor in determining

1941

1942

U

Van



the patterns of racial dominance in the rural neighborhoods, and the patterns of residential location for the two racial groups in the county. The foregoing discussion showed that black dominated neighborhoods have developed mainly around those areas where blacks initially purchased land after the Civil War. White dominated neighborhoods have dominated the small towns and villages since they were mainly responsible for their initial settlement and development. Therefore, a considerably large proportion of the white dominated neighborhoods in the county are of the relic town and small town types.

Three main categories of neighborhoods were found in the county: Church-centered neighborhoods in the countryside; Relic town neighborhoods; and, small town neighborhoods. In addition, a considerable number of predominantly white neighborhoods were found which were centered around recreational facilities, crossroads, and country stores. Black neighborhoods are mainly church-centered while a considerable number of white neighborhoods are of the relic town type. This finding indicates that whites were dominant in the areas most accessible to the small towns historically.

## CHAPTER V

### FACTORS IN THE RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION AND RACIAL COMPOSITION OF RURAL NEIGHBORHOODS

The objectives of this chapter are: 1) to determine the level of current residential segregation between black and white households in Jasper County; 2) to determine whether significant differences exist between black-segregated and white-segregated neighborhoods in their distance and accessibility to the nearest trade center, size, and length of settlement; and, 3) to determine whether internal residential segregation by neighborhoods vary with distance, accessibility to the nearest trade center, size and length of settlement.

#### Residential Segregation in Rural Neighborhoods: The Example of Jasper County

A total of 3,613 households were enumerated in the neighborhoods and unorganized areas of the County by the author in 1977. Of this total, 1,364 were black and 2,249 were white. The U. S. Census listed 3,993 families living in the County in 1970. The level of residential segregation in Jasper County in 1977 was 74.6 percent based on a segregation index using neighborhoods as the unit of analysis. Thus,



it can be concluded that a high level (greater than 50 percent) of residential segregation exists between black and white households in the neighborhoods in the county. This figure is based on the distribution of black and white households among the 111 neighborhoods and 7 scattered settlement areas. According to their residential segregation characteristics, two types of neighborhoods were found:

- 1) black-segregated neighborhoods - those wherein black households are overrepresented and
- 2) white-segregated neighborhoods - those wherein white households are overrepresented with respect to their representation in the entire county. There are 48 neighborhoods of the former type and 63 of the latter type. The degree of black concentration is 54.5 percent as indicated by the Gini Index (Figure 16). It is apparent that the distribution pattern of black-segregated and white-segregated neighborhoods are different (Figure 17). The areas in and around the small towns are predominated by white-segregated neighborhoods. Also, these neighborhoods have higher percent racial deficits than the average for all neighborhoods. It appears that the small towns on the average are more segregated than the rural neighborhoods and that the level of segregation increases directly with the size of the neighborhoods. However, this relationship will be tested statistically in a later section.

It can be

percent

and white

This figure

households

element

observers

(1) black-ay

household

percentage

represent

active

type

central

(figure

of

system

4 to 10

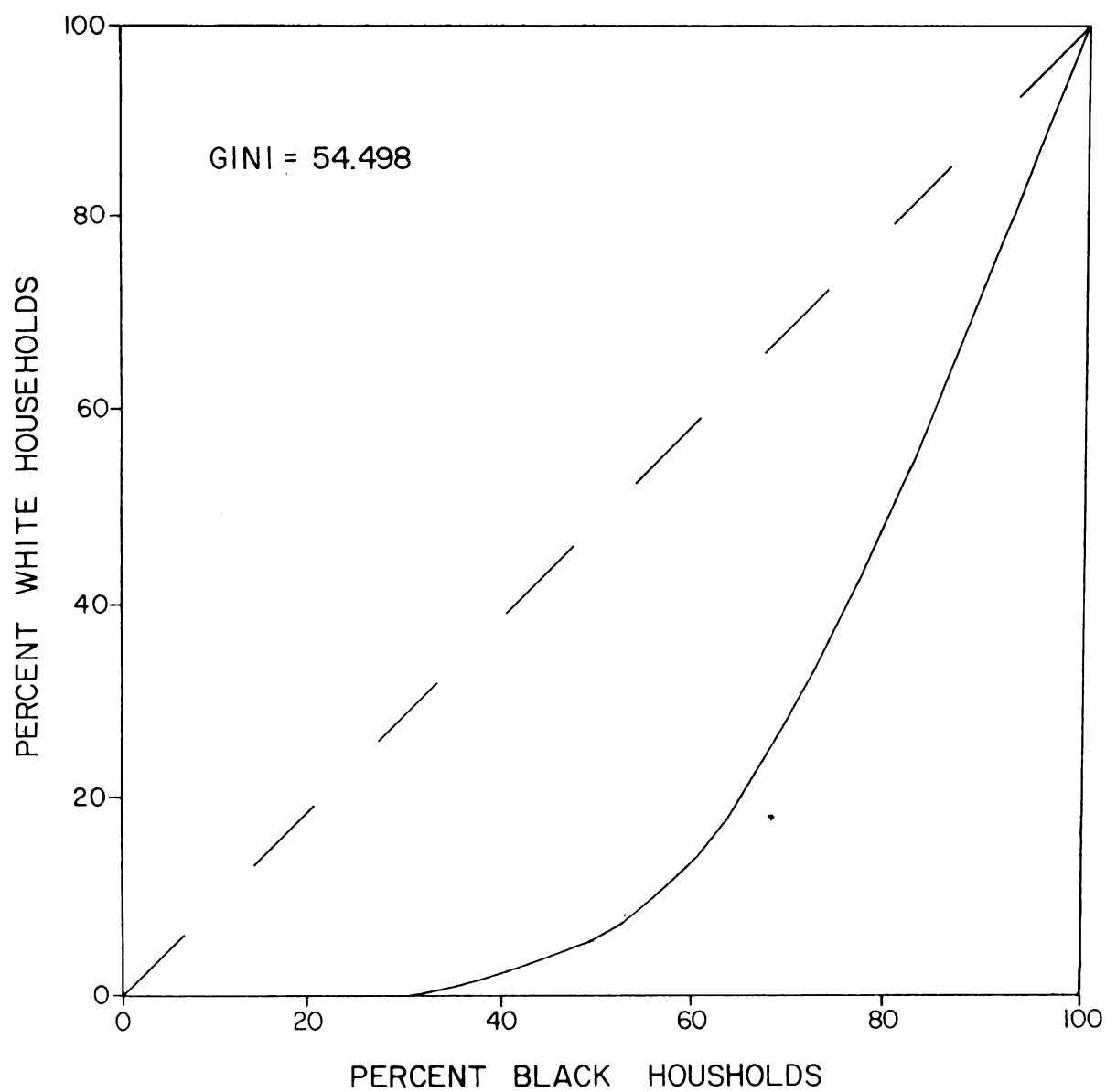


Figure 17. Gini Index for Jasper County, 1977  
(concentrations of black households)



Figure 18. Residential Segregation in Local Neighborhoods  
Jasper County, 1977







Location, Length of Settlement, and Size  
of Neighborhoods as Factors Related to  
Residential Segregation

It was hypothesized earlier in this study, that the level of residential segregation in the rural neighborhoods is directly related to the distance and accessibility of the neighborhoods to the nearest trade center. The level of segregation is also related to the size and length of settlement of the neighborhoods. The assumption underlying this hypothesis was that black families entered the land market historically later than whites. It would be expected that black segregated neighborhoods would be located further than white neighborhoods from the trade centers and would be younger and smaller than the whites neighborhoods.

To test the relationship of these variables to the level of residential segregation, the neighborhoods were first divided into groups, i.e. white-segregated and black-segregated neighborhoods. A multiple correlation analysis was performed on both groups with the percent racial deficit for each neighborhood as the dependent variable. Second, a multiple regression analysis was performed on the total neighborhoods. By dividing the neighborhoods into two groups by racial representation allows an assessment of how these variables affect the level of segregation among each racial group.

The regression model used was stepwise in each case, and was designed so that variables entered into the regression equation in succeeding steps depending on the added amount of variation in the dependent variable that was explained. The results of the stepwise multiple regression analyses for the black-segregated and white-segregated neighborhoods are shown in Tables 4 and 5 (pages 125 and 125). A comparison of the two tables indicates that for both groups of neighborhoods, the size of the neighborhoods is the only variable that correlates significantly ( $p = .001$  level) with the percent racial deficit. Also, this is the only variable that has a positive relationship with the percent racial deficits in the two groups of neighborhoods. The other three variables have negative relationships and add no significant explanation to the variation in the percent racial deficits. Thus, for both white-segregated and black-segregated neighborhoods, the larger the neighborhood becomes in terms of the total number of households, the more segregated the neighborhood becomes. Such a pattern coincides with the traditional social system of racial separation in the South. This has been the trend historically.

Another interesting result from the statistical analysis is the amount of total variation explained by the set of variables for the two groups of neighborhoods. For the



TABLE 4

Summary of Stepwise Multiple Correlation for  
Black-Segregated Neighborhoods

| Variable                      | Step | r    | Multiple<br>R | R <sup>2</sup> | R <sup>2</sup><br>Change | Sig. <sup>a</sup><br>r | Sig. <sup>a</sup><br>R |
|-------------------------------|------|------|---------------|----------------|--------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| Size <sup>b</sup>             | 1    | .86  | . 86          | .74            | . 74                     | .000 <sup>1</sup>      | .000 <sup>1</sup>      |
| Years<br>Settled <sup>c</sup> | 2    | -.18 | .861          | .74            | .007                     | .264                   | .000 <sup>1</sup>      |
| Tratime <sup>d</sup>          | 3    | -.16 | .862          | .74            | .001                     | .704                   | .000 <sup>1</sup>      |
| Distance <sup>e</sup>         | 4    | -.16 | .872          | .76            | .018                     | .067                   | .000 <sup>1</sup>      |

TABLE 5

Summary of Stepwise Multiple Correlation for  
White-Segregated Neighborhoods

| Variable         | Step | r    | Multiple<br>R | R <sup>2</sup> | R <sup>2</sup><br>Change | Sig. <sup>a</sup><br>r | Sig. <sup>a</sup><br>R |
|------------------|------|------|---------------|----------------|--------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| Size             | 1    | .95  | . 95          | .908           | .908                     | .000 <sup>1</sup>      | .000 <sup>1</sup>      |
| Distance         | 2    | -.24 | .953          | .909           | .001                     | .391                   | .000 <sup>1</sup>      |
| Years<br>Settled | 3    | -.06 | .954          | .910           | .001                     | .446                   | .000 <sup>1</sup>      |

<sup>a</sup>Significance level for r and R.

<sup>a</sup>Total number of households in neighborhood.

<sup>b</sup>Number of years since initial settlement.

<sup>c</sup>Travel time from neighborhood to nearest trade center (median).

<sup>d</sup>Distance of neighborhood to nearest trade center (median).

<sup>1</sup>Significant at the .001 level of confidence.



black-segregated neighborhoods, 76 percent of the total variation in the percent racial deficit is explained by the set of variables. For the white-segregated neighborhoods, 91 percent of the variation in the percent racial deficit is explained. In both cases, the greater portion of the explained variation is accounted for by the total number of households in the neighborhood. This is the only variable which significantly correlates with the percent racial deficit.

For purposes of comparison, the results of a stepwise multiple correlation analysis for all neighborhoods are presented in Table 6.

TABLE 6  
Summary of Stepwise Multiple Correlation  
for Total Group of Neighborhoods

| Variable         | Step | r     | Multiple<br>R | R <sup>2</sup> | R <sup>2</sup><br>Change | Sig.<br>r         | Sig.<br>r         |
|------------------|------|-------|---------------|----------------|--------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Size             | 1    | .866  | .866          | . 75           | . 75                     | .000 <sup>1</sup> | .000 <sup>1</sup> |
| Years<br>Settled | 2    | -.100 | .868          | .753           | .003                     | .181              | .000 <sup>1</sup> |
| Distance         | 3    | -.207 | .868          | .754           | .001                     | .764              | .000 <sup>1</sup> |

<sup>1/</sup>Significant at the .001 level of confidence.

Black - 1950

White - 1950

Black - 1950

White - 1950

Black - 1950

White - 1950

Black - 1950

White - 1950

Black - 1950

White - 1950

Black - 1950

White - 1950

Black - 1950

White - 1950

Black - 1950

White - 1950

Black - 1950

White - 1950

Black - 1950

White - 1950

Black - 1950

White - 1950

Black - 1950

White - 1950

Black - 1950

White - 1950

Black - 1950

White - 1950

Black - 1950



For all neighborhoods, the total number of households is the only variable that correlated positively and significantly. This one variable explained 75 percent of the variation in the percent racial deficits among neighborhoods. Age or length of settlement and the distance to the nearest trade center added no significant explanation and were negatively correlated. Travel time to the nearest trade center was not entered into the regression equation because it contributed so little to the explanation in the variation in the percent racial deficit for the entire group of neighborhoods.

This analysis disproves the hypothesis that the level of residential segregation in the neighborhoods is directly related to the distance and travel time of the neighborhoods to the nearest trade center and the age or length of settlement of the neighborhoods. However, the size of the neighborhoods in terms of the total number of households is directly related to the percent racial deficit or the unevenness of the distribution of black and white households among the neighborhoods in the county.

#### Location, Length of Settlement and Size of Neighborhoods as Factors Related to Racial Composition

The effect of the same set of independent variables on the racial composition of neighborhoods is assessed in

Expenditure

Expenditure

Expenditure

Expenditure

Expenditure

Expenditure

this section. It is assumed that black settlement occurred later than white settlement. If this were the case, then it would be expected that black households would be located on the average at greater distances from the trade centers than white households since the small town settlement preceded local neighborhood development. Indeed black land ownership as pointed out above began after the Civil War which was considerably later than the earliest land ownership in the county. Following this assumption, it would be expected that the percentage of black households in the neighborhoods would increase as the distance of the neighborhood to the nearest trade center increased. To test this assumption a stepwise multiple correlation analysis was computed with the percent black households in the neighborhoods as the dependent variable; and distance, accessibility to the nearest trade center, total number of households and the number of years the neighborhood had been settled as the independent variables. Table 7 gives a summary of the results of the analysis.



TABLE 7

Summary of Stepwise Multiple Correlation on  
Percent Black Households in Neighborhoods

| Variable | Step | r     | Multiple<br>R | R <sup>2</sup> | R <sup>2</sup><br>Change | Sig.<br>r | Sig.<br>R |
|----------|------|-------|---------------|----------------|--------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| Distance | 1    | .058  | .058          | .003           | .003                     | .531      | .531      |
| Size     | 2    | -.057 | .070          | .004           | .001                     | .670      | .751      |
| Settled  | 3    | -.043 | .081          | .006           | .002                     | .664      | .859      |

From the above analysis it can be seen that there is little relationship between the racial composition of neighborhoods and the independent variables. There is no significant relationship between the distance of the neighborhoods from the nearest trade center and the percent black households in the neighborhoods. Nor is there a relationship between the percent black households in the neighborhood and size or age of the neighborhood. The hypothesis is rejected.

Differences Between White-Segregated and Black-Segregated Neighborhoods

Correlation analysis has indicated that the factors related to the variations in the level of segregation within white-segregated neighborhoods do not differ from the factors related to the variation in the level of segregation in the

Library

Section

Available

Classification

Notes

Section

Text

Box

Item

Book

Box

Item

Box

Item

Box

Section

Text

Box

Item

Box

black-segregated neighborhoods. How different, then, are the two groups of neighborhoods? To test this final hypothesis that there are significant differences between white-segregated and black-segregated neighborhoods, a t-test and F-test<sup>2/</sup> were used to determine if significant differences exist between the means and the variances of the two sample groups for the set of variables in Table 8 which shows the results of the two tests.

It is determined from the tests on differences between the means and variances for the two groups that the only significant differences occur between the variances of the two groups on the total number of households (size) in the neighborhoods and the variances on the number of years the neighborhoods have been settled. What this infers is that although the average number of years the neighborhoods have been settled and the average number of households in the neighborhoods do not differ significantly, the deviations from these averages within the two groups differ significantly. On this basis, it can be inferred that there is little difference between the groups of white-segregated

---

<sup>2/</sup>  
Dr. Eileen Thompson in the Department of Psychology, Michigan State University, is indebted for her assistance, and for pointing out that the F-test could be used in lieu of the Analysis of Variance for this analysis since the results for only two groups are the same for the F-ratios produced by both analyses.





TABLE 8

Tests of Differences Between White-  
Segregated and Black-Segregated Neighborhoods  
on the Selected Set of Variables

| Variable         | Group  | Cases | Mean             | St. Dev. <sup>a</sup> | F-value | Sig.<br>F | t<br>value | Sig.<br>t | D.F. <sup>b</sup> |
|------------------|--------|-------|------------------|-----------------------|---------|-----------|------------|-----------|-------------------|
| Size             | whites | 67    | 36               | 38.3                  | 3.65    | .001*     | .80        | .423      | 116               |
|                  | blacks | 51    | 31               | 20.1                  |         |           |            |           |                   |
| Travel<br>time   | whites | 67    | 5.7 <sup>c</sup> | 3.76                  | 1.04    | .894      | -.78       | .438      | 116               |
|                  | blacks | 51    | 6.2              | 3.69                  |         |           |            |           |                   |
| Distance         | whites | 67    | 3.9 <sup>d</sup> | 2.69                  | 1.29    | .348      | -.02       | .981      | 116               |
|                  | blacks | 51    | 3.9              | 2.37                  |         |           |            |           |                   |
| Years<br>settled | whites | 67    | 94               | 28                    | 2.64    | .001*     | .48        | .630      | 116               |
|                  | blacks | 51    | 92               | 17                    |         |           |            |           |                   |

\*/  
Significant at the .001 level.

a/  
Standard Deviation.

b/  
Degrees of freedom.

c/  
Travel time in minutes.

d/  
Distance in miles.



and black-segregated neighborhoods on these spatial and historic characteristics. Thus, the hypothesis is rejected.

### Summary

The analysis in this chapter has shown that a high level of residential segregation exists between white and black households in the neighborhoods in Jasper County. Also, the Gini Index of concentration indicated a high level of concentration of black households in the county.

Further, it was found that the level of racial deficit was higher in the neighborhoods in and around the small towns in the county. The racial deficit tended to vary directly and significantly with the total number of households in the neighborhoods. Using the total number of households in the neighborhoods as a measure of the size of the neighborhoods, it can be inferred that the degree of racial deficit varies directly with the size of the neighborhoods. The length of settlement of the neighborhoods, distance and travel time (accessibility) of the neighborhoods to the nearest trade center were not statistically related to the percent racial deficit in the neighborhoods. A similar analysis on the racial composition of the neighborhoods showed that none of these variables are related to the racial composition of the neighborhoods. Again, it

and the

historic

city

Sumner

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

must be inferred that the historic settlement patterns of the two racial groups accounts for the racial composition of the neighborhoods presently.

It was also demonstrated that there are no significant differences between black-segregated and white-segregated neighborhoods in terms of their distance and accessibility to the nearest trade centers, size, and length of settlement. However, it was found that significant differences do occur between the variances of the two groups on the total number of households and the length of settlement.



## CHAPTER VI

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The objectives of this study were to determine: (1) the significance of race and locational proximity on neighborhood identification and delineation; (2) the extent that black and white households were segregated residentially in the neighborhoods of Jasper County, Mississippi; (3) the process responsible for the racial composition of neighborhoods in Jasper County; (4) the influence of the length of settlement, size of neighborhoods, distance and travel time of the neighborhoods to the nearest trade centers on the extent of residential segregation; and (5) if significant differences exist between black-segregated and white-segregated neighborhoods on these factors.

The following hypotheses were tested:

1. Local neighborhood boundaries are defined on the basis of racial characteristics of households rather than on the locational proximity of households.
2. A high level of residential segregation exists in the county between black and white households.
3. The present level of residential segregation and racial composition of the neighborhoods are related to the patterns of historic settlement of blacks and whites





and not due to the invasion-succession processes.

4. The high level of residential segregation is related also to the size of neighborhoods, the length of settlement, the distance and accessibility of the neighborhoods to the nearest trade centers.
5. Significant differences exist between black-segregated and white-segregated neighborhoods in their size, length of settlement, distance and accessibility to the trade centers in the county.

Contrary to the stated hypothesis, it was found that locational proximity rather than racial characteristics of households was the main factor in the recognition of neighborhoods in the county. This finding substantiates the hypothesis that the historic settlement patterns of the two races in the county have a definite relationship to their present residential location patterns. This finding parallels that by Mayo and Bobbitt<sup>1/</sup> on rural counties of North Carolina, which showed that blacks and whites tended to maintain their relative locations and residential patterns once they has been established. This finding may lead to the inference that residential location patterns and spatial mobility processes are less dynamic in rural areas than they are in urban areas for both blacks and whites. There is more residential stability of racial groups in rural areas than in urban areas.

---

<sup>1/</sup> Mayo and Bobbitt, Rural Organization, pp. 21.

The local neighborhoods in Jasper County play an important role in the county's social and spatial organization. This was indicated by the recognition and delineation of the local neighborhoods by the county's residents.

The local neighborhoods in Jasper County were found to be of three main types: 1) Church-centered neighborhoods; 2) Relic Town neighborhoods; and 3) Small Town neighborhoods. Most of the neighborhoods in the county can be classified as belonging to these three categories. However, a few neighborhoods were found which could be called recreational and extended family neighborhoods.

A high level of residential segregation was found to exist between white and black households in the county. Using the Index of Segregation and the Gini Index, the level of segregation derived was 74.6 and 54.5 percent respectively.

Historic settlement of the county was traced from its beginning in 1833 to the present by using historic records and published and unpublished accounts of the history of the county. The settlement processes and patterns of blacks and whites were documented and analyzed. This analysis showed that the residential location patterns of blacks and whites have remained relatively stable over the years. That is, white neighborhoods and black



neighborhoods have remained located in those areas where the two groups initially settled and began developing their neighborhoods. The expansion of neighborhoods and the development of new neighborhoods historically have continued to occur around those areas that have been identified as either predominantly black or predominantly white.<sup>2/</sup> This finding is consistent with that of Wheeler and Brunn<sup>2/</sup> in southwest Michigan. This study in Mississippi shows that black settlement in the rural areas was concentrated around those areas where their initial settlement took place; and that historically they remained in those areas. This might be the case wherever blacks are found in rural areas of the United States, especially in the South. However, further comparative research is needed on this topic.

Early settlement in Jasper County was mainly in small village clusters. Hence, the development of small towns was an important phase of the settlement process in the county. From these small towns, peripheral settlement took place in the form of farmstead settlement and development. Local neighborhood development took place once a clustering of farmsteads had been developed outside the small towns.

The percent racial deficit, or the percent of under-

---

<sup>2/</sup>Wheeler and Brunn, op. cit.

neighborhood

the two

neighborhoods

developed

around

the

this

in

that

around

the

this

at

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

representation of a racial group in the neighborhoods was used as a measure of the internal variation of the degree of residential segregation in the county. This measure is represented by the difference between the percent of black households in the neighborhoods as a percent of the total black households in the county and the percent of white households in the neighborhoods as a percent of the total white households in the county divided by two. It was found that the highest internal segregation was found in the small town neighborhoods which were white-segregated in most cases. These were also the larger neighborhoods.

A stepwise multiple correlation analysis was used to measure the influence of four historical-geographical variables on the degree of internal variation in the level of residential segregation in the black-segregated neighborhoods, the white-segregated neighborhoods, and black and white neighborhoods combined. These historical geographical variables were: 1) size; 2) length of settlement; 3) distance to nearest trade center; and 4) accessibility to nearest trade center. From these analyses, it was found that the only variable that has a significant positive relationship with the degree of internal residential segregation between black and white households is the total number of households (size) in the local neighborhoods. This indicates that the larger the neighborhoods, the



higher the racial deficits. Because of the historical social system that has traditionally fostered segregation between the races in the South, this finding indicates that as long as the population is small, whites and blacks are more tolerable of living in the same areas. But, as the population increases, there has been more of a tendency to segregate residentially.

The other variables in the stepwise multiple regression all had negative correlations with the degree of residential segregation and were not significant. The size of the neighborhoods explained 74 percent of the variation in the percent racial deficit in the black-segregated neighborhoods, 90 percent in the white-segregated neighborhoods, and 75 percent in the total group of neighborhoods. In a similar analysis it was shown that the same set of variables had no influence on the percent of black households in the neighborhoods.

A t test and F test were used to test for differences between the means and variances of the white-segregated neighborhoods and the black-segregated neighborhoods on the set of variables named above. The results of these tests indicated that there was no significant differences between the means of the two groups on the variables.

The findings of this study are consistent with those





of Zimmerman and Taylor<sup>3/</sup> in terms of the patterns of the spatial arrangement of the neighborhoods in Jasper County. Zimmerman and Taylor showed that there was no distinctly recognizable pattern in the spatial arrangement of neighborhoods by race in terms of their proximity to the trade center in Wake County, North Carolina. Instead, they found an intermixed pattern of black and white neighborhoods in the county. This study has shown that in Jasper County, white and black neighborhoods are clustered in those areas where initial settlement and neighborhood development began for the two racial groups respectively. Also it was shown statistically that there are not significant differences in the location of the black and white neighborhoods in terms of their proximity to the trade centers.

---

<sup>3/</sup> Zimmerman and Taylor, Rural Organization, op.. cit.

of Lincoln

April 19

Lincoln

Received

of the

of the

of the

of the

of the

of the

of the

of the

of the

of the

## APPENDIX A



# APPENDIX A

## Data on Neighborhoods in Jasper County

| <u>Name</u>          | <u>Total<br/>Households</u> | <u>Number<br/>Black<br/>Households</u> | <u>Number<br/>White<br/>Households</u> | <u>Years<br/>Settled</u> | <u>Distance<br/>to Nearest<br/>Trade<br/>Center</u> | <u>Travel<br/>Time<br/>to Nearest<br/>Trade<br/>Center</u> |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| Antioch              | 35                          | 0                                      | 35                                     | 122                      | 8                                                   | 12                                                         |
| Baseline             | 45                          | 20                                     | 25                                     | 66                       | 2                                                   | 4                                                          |
| East Bay Springs     | 210                         | 5                                      | 205                                    | 86                       | 0                                                   | 0                                                          |
| West Bay Springs     | 170                         | 3                                      | 167                                    | 86                       | 0                                                   | 0                                                          |
| Bay Springs Quarters | 125                         | 125                                    | 0                                      | 82                       | 1                                                   | 2                                                          |
| North Bay Springs    | 28                          | 0                                      | 28                                     | 86                       | 3                                                   | 5                                                          |
| Baxter               | 26                          | 20                                     | 6                                      | 88                       | 6                                                   | 8                                                          |
| Beason Ridge         | 18                          | 18                                     | 0                                      | 80                       | 8                                                   | 12                                                         |
| Carlisle             | 21                          | 0                                      | 21                                     | 88                       | 6                                                   | 8                                                          |
| Chapel Hill          | 14                          | 10                                     | 4                                      | 110                      | 4                                                   | 5                                                          |
| Claiborne            | 18                          | 0                                      | 18                                     | 138                      | 3                                                   | 5                                                          |
| Corinth              | 48                          | 38                                     | 12                                     | 100                      | 7                                                   | 12                                                         |
| Cottage Hill         | 23                          | 23                                     | 0                                      | 110                      | 6-5                                                 | 9                                                          |



| <u>Name</u>          | <u>Total<br/>Households</u> | <u>Number<br/>Black<br/>Households</u> | <u>Number<br/>White<br/>Households</u> | <u>Years<br/>Settled</u> | <u>Distance<br/>to Nearest<br/>Trade<br/>Center</u> | <u>Travel<br/>Time<br/>to Nearest<br/>Trade<br/>Center</u> |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| Counterline          | 16                          | 16                                     | 0                                      | 66                       | 2                                                   | 3                                                          |
| Cooks                | 35                          | 10                                     | 25                                     | 70                       | 1.5                                                 | 3                                                          |
| Community Center     | 72                          | 60                                     | 12                                     | 63                       | 4                                                   | 6                                                          |
| Cooks Settlement     | 19                          | 19                                     | 0                                      | 95                       | 6                                                   | 8                                                          |
| East Gallilee        | 33                          | 30                                     | 3                                      | 100                      | 2.5                                                 | 3                                                          |
| Etahoma              | 65                          | 0                                      | 65                                     | 68                       | 3                                                   | 5                                                          |
| Enanon               | 32                          | 0                                      | 32                                     | 124                      | 10                                                  | 15                                                         |
| Ebenezer             | 30                          | 20                                     | 10                                     | 105                      | 4                                                   | 6                                                          |
| Fellowship-Masengale | 77                          | 4                                      | 73                                     | 139                      | 6                                                   | 9                                                          |
| Fouke                | 7                           | 0                                      | 7                                      | 61                       | 1.5                                                 | 2                                                          |
| Fairview             | 46                          | 36                                     | 10                                     | 91                       | 6                                                   | 9                                                          |
| Garlandville         | 35                          | 5                                      | 30                                     | 145                      | 9                                                   | 12                                                         |
| Gridley              | 15                          | 0                                      | 15                                     | 89                       | 8                                                   | 15                                                         |
| Gallilee (Antioch)   | 15                          | 15                                     | 0                                      | 110                      | 8                                                   | 12                                                         |
| Green Valley         | 15                          | 0                                      | 15                                     | 53                       | 2                                                   | 3                                                          |





| <u>Name</u>            | <u>Total<br/>Households</u> | <u>Number<br/>Black<br/>Households</u> | <u>Number<br/>White<br/>Households</u> | <u>Years<br/>Settled</u> | <u>Distance<br/>to Nearest<br/>Trade<br/>Center</u> | <u>Travel<br/>Time<br/>to Nearest<br/>Trade<br/>Center</u> |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| Good Hope (Moss)       | 41                          | 1                                      | 40                                     | 76                       | 4                                                   | 5                                                          |
| Heidelberg             | 175                         | 25                                     | 170                                    | 95                       | 0                                                   | 0                                                          |
| Hero                   | 31                          | 12                                     | 19                                     | 70                       | 8                                                   | 15                                                         |
| Hamlet                 | 32                          | 0                                      | 32                                     | 83                       | 3                                                   | 4                                                          |
| Hopewell-Wesley Chapel | 32                          | 29                                     | 3                                      | 93                       | 4                                                   | 10                                                         |
| Holders-Acme           | 21                          | 0                                      | 21                                     | 93                       | 8                                                   | 10                                                         |
| John Devine            | 35                          | 30                                     | 5                                      | 80                       | 6                                                   | 10                                                         |
| Jerusalem (Louin)      | 8                           | 8                                      | 0                                      | 95                       | 1.5                                                 | 2                                                          |
| Jerusalem (Heidelberg) | 15                          | 15                                     | 0                                      | 69                       | 3                                                   | 5                                                          |
| Kelona                 | 22                          | 22                                     | 0                                      | 55                       | 5                                                   | 9                                                          |
| Kilns                  | 19                          | 12                                     | 7                                      | 101                      | 1.5                                                 | 2                                                          |
| Kingdom Hall           | 10                          | 10                                     | 0                                      | 91                       | 1                                                   | 2                                                          |
| East Lake Como         | 13                          | 2                                      | 11                                     | 138                      | 6                                                   | 9                                                          |
| West Lake Como         | 35                          | 11                                     | 24                                     | 138                      | 5                                                   | 7                                                          |
| Liberty                | 16                          | 0                                      | 16                                     | 93                       | 5                                                   | 7                                                          |



| <u>Name</u>        | <u>Total<br/>Households</u> | <u>Number<br/>Black<br/>Households</u> | <u>Number<br/>White<br/>Households</u> | <u>Years<br/>Settled</u> | <u>Distance<br/>to Nearest<br/>Trade<br/>Center</u> | <u>Travel<br/>Time<br/>to Nearest<br/>Trade<br/>Center</u> |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| Lower Blue Ridge   | 19                          | 5                                      | 14                                     | 83                       | 4                                                   | 7                                                          |
| Louin              | 45                          | 3                                      | 42                                     | 130                      | 0                                                   | 0                                                          |
| Old Lake Como Road | 15                          | 0                                      | 15                                     | 78                       | 3                                                   | 4                                                          |
| Mount Zion         | 30                          | 20                                     | 10                                     | 95                       | 1                                                   | 2                                                          |
| Montrose           | 25                          | 0                                      | 25                                     | 145                      | 0                                                   | 0                                                          |
| Mount Nebo         | 33                          | 23                                     | 10                                     | 80                       | 3                                                   | 4                                                          |
| McBay              | 21                          | 0                                      | 21                                     | 85                       | 4                                                   | 5                                                          |
| Murphy's Store     | 45                          | 0                                      | 45                                     | 80                       | 6                                                   | 7                                                          |
| McNeal             | 18                          | 0                                      | 18                                     | 60                       | 9                                                   | 12                                                         |
| Monastery          | 6                           | 2                                      | 4                                      | 145                      | 6                                                   | 8                                                          |
| Moss Hill          | 18                          | 5                                      | 13                                     | 144                      | 6                                                   | 8                                                          |
| Missionary         | 7                           | 0                                      | 7                                      | 142                      | 4                                                   | 6                                                          |
| Mossville          | 31                          | 0                                      | 31                                     | 138                      | 0                                                   | 0                                                          |
| Upper Moss         | 15                          | 0                                      | 15                                     | 125                      | 1                                                   | 3                                                          |
| McFarland-Markwald | 15                          | 12                                     | 3                                      | 98                       | 4                                                   | 6                                                          |





Control  
List  
to present  
List

Control  
List  
to present  
List

Control  
List

Control  
List  
to present  
List

Control  
List  
to present  
List

Control  
List  
to present  
List

| <u>Name</u>              | <u>Total<br/>Households</u> | <u>Number<br/>Black<br/>Households</u> | <u>Number<br/>White<br/>Households</u> | <u>Years<br/>Settled</u> | <u>Distance<br/>to Nearest<br/>Trade<br/>Center</u> | <u>Travel<br/>Time<br/>to Nearest<br/>Trade<br/>Center</u> |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| Piney Grove (Heidelberg) | 75                          | 75                                     | 0                                      | 96                       | 1                                                   | 2                                                          |
| Piney Grove (Lake Como)  | 27                          | 11                                     | 16                                     | 138                      | 7                                                   | 12                                                         |
| Philadelphia             | 45                          | 15                                     | 30                                     | 95                       | 2                                                   | 3                                                          |
| Pleasant Grove           | 37                          | 30                                     | 7                                      | 85                       | 1                                                   | 2                                                          |
| Ras                      | 26                          | 0                                      | 26                                     | 64                       | 11                                                  | 14                                                         |
| Rose Hill                | 32                          | 5                                      | 27                                     | 128                      | 0                                                   | 0                                                          |
| South Rose Hill          | 18                          | 3                                      | 15                                     | 128                      | 1                                                   | 2                                                          |
| Randall Hill             | 7                           | 0                                      | 7                                      | 98                       | 4                                                   | 6                                                          |
| Reedy                    | 15                          | 10                                     | 5                                      | 98                       | 5                                                   | 8                                                          |
| Rocky Mount              | 36                          | 36                                     | 0                                      | 110                      | 3                                                   | 5                                                          |
| Rock Hill                | 33                          | 32                                     | 1                                      | 70                       | 4                                                   | 6                                                          |
| Stevens                  | 11                          | 0                                      | 11                                     | 74                       | 3                                                   | 4                                                          |
| Stringer                 | 70                          | 10                                     | 60                                     | 98                       | 0                                                   | 0                                                          |
| Smith                    | 9                           | 0                                      | 9                                      | 60                       | 2                                                   | 3                                                          |
| Sumerland                | 75                          | 10                                     | 65                                     | 95                       | 5                                                   | 9                                                          |



2000

| <u>Name</u>      | <u>Total<br/>Households</u> | <u>Number<br/>Black<br/>Households</u> | <u>Number<br/>White<br/>Households</u> | <u>Years<br/>Settled</u> | <u>Distance<br/>to Nearest<br/>Trade<br/>Center</u> | <u>Travel<br/>Time<br/>to Nearest<br/>Trade<br/>Center</u> |
|------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| Shady Grove      | 52                          | 42                                     | 10                                     | 91                       | 2                                                   | 3                                                          |
| Stafford Springs | 46                          | 5                                      | 41                                     | 108                      | 5                                                   | 8                                                          |
| Saint Peters     | 32                          | 29                                     | 3                                      | 100                      | 1                                                   | 2                                                          |
| Spring Hill      | 10                          | 10                                     | 0                                      | 110                      | 1                                                   | 2                                                          |
| Success          | 24                          | 0                                      | 24                                     | 77                       | 6                                                   | 9                                                          |
| Sharon           | 34                          | 3                                      | 31                                     | 88                       | 2                                                   | 3                                                          |
| Ted              | 15                          | 0                                      | 15                                     | 59                       | 4                                                   | 5                                                          |
| Turnerville      | 55                          | 0                                      | 55                                     | 62                       | 6                                                   | 8                                                          |
| Tatum            | 15                          | 15                                     | 0                                      | 96                       | 7                                                   | 9                                                          |
| Twistwood        | 53                          | 35                                     | 18                                     | 123                      | 4                                                   | 5                                                          |
| Tioch            | 24                          | 15                                     | 9                                      | 88                       | 4                                                   | 6                                                          |
| Union            | 20                          | 20                                     | 0                                      | 91                       | 6                                                   | 8                                                          |
| Union Seminary   | 9                           | 1                                      | 8                                      | 85                       | 5                                                   | 9                                                          |
| Vossburg         | 29                          | 3                                      | 26                                     | 96                       | 0                                                   | 0                                                          |
| Victory          | 35                          | 5                                      | 30                                     | 87                       | 4                                                   | 6                                                          |



| <u>Name</u>       | <u>Total<br/>Households</u> | <u>Number<br/>Black<br/>Households</u> | <u>Number<br/>White<br/>Households</u> | <u>Years<br/>Settled</u> | <u>Distance<br/>to Nearest<br/>Trade<br/>Center</u> | <u>Travel<br/>Time<br/>to Nearest<br/>Trade<br/>Center</u> |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| Verba             | 17                          | 0                                      | 17                                     | 77                       | 3                                                   | 5                                                          |
| Wesley Chapel     | 44                          | 30                                     | 14                                     | 70                       | 4                                                   | 7                                                          |
| Waldrup           | 30                          | 5                                      | 25                                     | 91                       | 9                                                   | 12                                                         |
| West Enterprise   | 35                          | 35                                     | 0                                      | 75                       | 4                                                   | 6                                                          |
| Walters Chapel    | 16                          | 0                                      | 16                                     | 85                       | 9                                                   | 14                                                         |
| Vernon-Blue Ridge | 20                          | 12                                     | 8                                      | 83                       | 10                                                  | 16                                                         |

Length  
1700

Distance  
to point  
to point  
1700

Point  
1700

Point  
1700

Point  
1700

## APPENDIX B



APPENDIX B

Family Survey for Verifying  
Neighborhood Boundaries

This survey is aimed at determining which of the following two neighborhoods you belong to or have the greatest interactions with. Please answer all questions correctly.

Neighborhoods in question: 1. \_\_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_\_

1. To which of these two neighborhoods do you consider your household belongs? \_\_\_\_\_

2. How many families do you know by name in each of the neighborhoods?

1. \_\_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_\_

3. How many families can you identify as living in each of these neighborhoods?

1. \_\_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_\_

4. How often do you visit or associate with persons or families in each of the neighborhoods?

1. \_\_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_\_

EXAMPLES: once a week, twice a week, etc.

5. If you and your family belong to a church, in which of





these neighborhoods is that church located?

1. \_\_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_\_

6. How long have you lived at this residence?

\_\_\_\_\_ years

7. How many members are there in your household?

\_\_\_\_\_

8. If any members of your family belong to any social clubs or neighborhood organizations, in which of these neighborhoods is that club or organization based?

1. \_\_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_\_

9. Please identify the boundaries of your neighborhood by describing its location.

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_



## BIBLIOGRAPHY



## B I B L I O G R A P H Y

### Articles

- Bell, Wendell, "A Probability Model for the Measurement of Ecological Segregation," Social Forces, Vol. 32:4, 1954, pp. 357-364.
- Bell, Wendell and Willis, Ernest M., "The Segregation of Negroes in American Cities: A Comparative Analysis," Social and Economic Studies, Vol. 6:1, 1957, pp. 59-75.
- Boston, John, et al., "The Impact of Race on Housing Markets: A Critical Review," Social Problems, Vol. 19:3, 1972, pp. 382-393.
- Burgess, E. W., "Residential Segregation in American Cities," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 140:1, 1928, pp. 105-115.
- Cortese, Charles F., et al., "Further Considerations on the Methodological Analysis of Segregation Indices," American Sociological Review, Vol. 41:4, 1976, pp. 630-637.
- Cowgill, Donald O. and Mary S., "An Index of Segregation Based on Block Statistics," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 16:6, 1951, pp. 825-831.
- Cressey, P. F., "Population Change in Chicago," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 44:1, 1938, pp. 59-69.
- Darden, Joe T., "The Residential Segregation of Blacks in Detroit, 1960-1970," The International Journal of Comparative Sociology, Vol. 27:1, 1976, pp. 84-91.
- Duncan, Otis D. and Beverly A., "A Methodological Analysis of Segregation Indexes," American Sociological Review, Vol. 20:2, 1955, pp. 210-217.
- Goldschmidt, W. R., "Some Evidence of the Future Patterns of Rural Settlement," Rural Sociology, Vol. 8:4, 1943, pp. 387-395.



- Grodzins, M., "Metropolitan Segregation," Scientific American, Vol. 197:4, 1957, pp. 33-41.
- Hoffsommer, Harold, "The Relation of the Rural Church to the Other Rural Organizations," Social Forces, Vol. 20:2, 1941, pp. 224-232.
- Hoffsommer, Harold and Pryor, Herbert, "Neighborhoods and Communities in Covington County, Mississippi," BAE Bulletin, 1941, pp. 14-21.
- Jahn, Julius A., et al., "The Measurement of Ecological Segregation," American Sociological Review, Vol. 12:1, 1947, pp. 293-303.
- Jahn, Julius A., "The Measurement of Ecological Segregation: Derivation of an Index Based on the Criteria of Reproducibility," American Sociological Review, Vol. 15:1, 1950, pp. 100-105.
- Lowry, Mark, II, "Population and Race in Mississippi, 1940-1960," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 61:3, 1971, pp. 576-588.
- Morgan, Barrie, "The Segregation of Socio-Economic Groups in Urban Areas: A Comparative Analysis," Urban Studies, Vol. 12:1, 1975, pp. 47-60.
- Pryor, F. L., "An Empirical Note on the Tipping Point," Land Economics, Vol. 47:3, 1971, pp. 413-417.
- Roof, W. Clark, "Residential Segregation of Blacks and Inequality in Southern Cities," Social Problems, Vol. 19:3, 1972, pp. 393-407.
- Sanders, Irwin T. and Ensminger, Douglas, "Alabama Rural Communities: A Study of Chilton County, Alabama," Alabama College Quarterly Bulletin, Vol. 33:1, 1940, pp. 20-24.
- Taeuber, Karl and Alma, "A Practitioner's Perspective on the Index of Dissimilarity," American Sociological Review, Vol. 41:5, 1976, pp. 884-889.
- Van Valey, Thomas L. and Roof, Wade Clark, "Measuring Residential Segregation in American Cities: Problems of Intercity Comparisons," Urban Affairs Quarterly, Vol. 11:4, 1976, pp. 453-468.
- Weaver, R. C., "Class, Race, and Urban Renewal," Land



Economics, Vol. 36:2, 1960, pp. 235-251.

Weaver, R. C., "Integration in Public and Private Housing," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 304:1, pp. 86-97.

Wheeler, James O. and Brunn, Stanley D., "Negro Migration into Rural Southwest Michigan," Geographical Review, Vol. 58:2, 1968, pp. 214-230.

Wheeler, James O. and Brunn, Stanley D., "An Agricultural Ghetto: Negroes in Cass County, Michigan, 1845-1968," Geographical Review, Vol. 59:3, 1969, pp. 317-329.

Wolf, E. P., "The Tipping Point in Racially Changing Neighborhoods," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 29:1, 1963, pp. 69-85.

#### Books

Bancroft, Frederic. Slave Trading in the Old South. New York: Fredericak Ungar Publishing Company, 1959.

Burgess, E. W. (ed). The Urban Community. Chicago: University of Chicago, Press, 1926.

Burgess, E. W., et al., (eds). The City. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925.

Darden, Joe T. Afro-Americans in Pittsburgh: The Residential Segregation of A People. Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath Company, 1973.

Duncan, Otis D. and Beverly A. The Negro Population of Chicago. University of Chicago Press, 1957.

Ernst, Robert T. and Hugg, Lawrence (eds). Black America: Geographic Perspectives. New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1976.

Frazier, E. Franklin. The Negro in the United States. Toronto: The MacMillan Company, 1957.

Hanna, Paul R., et al. Geography in the Teaching of Social Studies. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1966.

Johnson, Charles S. Patterns of Negro Segregation. New York: Prentice-Hall, Incorporated, 1943.

- Kantrowitz, Nathan. Ethnic Segregation in the New York Metropolis. New York: Praeger Publishing Company, 1973.
- Kolb, John H. and deSbrunner, Edmund. A Study of Rural Society. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1973.
- Kolb, John H. Emerging Rural Communities: Group Relations in Rural Society. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959.
- Laurenti, Luigi. Property Values and Race. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960.
- Lee, Douglass E. Analysis and Description of Residential Segregation. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966.
- Lieberson, Stanley. Ethnic Patterns in American Cities. New York: The Press of Glencoe, 1963.
- Lindstrom, David E. American Rural Life: A Textbook of Sociology. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948.
- Loomis, Charles P. and Beegle, J. Allan. Rural Social Systems. New York: Prentice-Hall, Incorporated, 1950.
- Marantz, Janet, et al. Discrimination in Rural Housing. Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath Company, 1976.
- McEntire, David. Residence and Race. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960.
- McLemore, Richard. A History of Mississippi, Vol. 1. Hattiesburg: University and College Press of Mississippi, 1973.
- Sanderson, Dwight. Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Incorporated, 1942.
- Shevky, Eshref and Williams, Marilyn. The Social Areas of Los Angeles: Analysis and Typology. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949.
- Taeuber, Karl and Alma. Negroes in Cities. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965.
- Taylor, Peter J. Quantitative Methods in Geography. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1977.

Tolson, Author L. The Black Oklahomans: A History, 1541-1972. New Orleans: Edwards Printing Company, 1974.

Wharton, Vernon L. The Negro in Mississippi, 1865-1890. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1965.

Woofter, T. J. and Associates. Negro Problems in Cities. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1928.

### Monographs and Reports

Bowman, Isiah. The Pioneer Fringe. New York: American Geographical Society, 1931.

Darden, Joe T. and Tabachneck, Arthur S. Segindex and Gini: Computer Programs to Calculate the Index of Segregation and the Gini Index. (Mimeographed) Department of Urban and Metropolitan Studies, Michigan State University, 1977.

Drake, St. Clair. Churches and Voluntary Association in the Chicago Negro Community. Chicago: Works Project Administration, 1940.

Duncan, Otis D. and Beverly A. Contributions to the Study of Segregation Indexes. Chicago: Chicago Community Inventory, University of Chicago Press, 1953.

Galpin, C. J. The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community. Research Bulletin 34. Madison: University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station, 1915.

Jasper County Rural Areas Development Association. Jasper County Development Plan (OEDP). Bay Springs, Mississippi, 1967.

Kolb, John H. Trends of Country Neighborhoods. Madison: University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station, 1935.

Loomis, Charles P. The Growth of the Farm Family in Relations to its Activities. Raleigh, N. C.: North Carolina State College Agricultural Experiment Station, 1934.

Mayo, Selz C. and Bobbitt, Robert. Rural Organization: A Restudy of Primary Groups in Wake County, North Carolina. Raleigh, N. C.: North Carolina Agricultural

ture Experiment Station, 1934.

Sanderson, Dwight. Locating Rural Communities. Ithaca: Cornell University Extension Service, 1939.

Sumka, Howard J. and Stegmen, Micheal A. Racial Segregation and Price Discrimination in Non-Metropolitan Rental Housing Markets. North Carolina Housing Market Study, Working Paper, 1974.

U. S. National Archives Microfilm Publication, 9th. Census Manuscript Report, 1870, Mississippi. Washington, D. C.: National Archives.

U. S. Census Office, 5th. Census of Population, 1840, Washington, D. C.: Department of State, 1841.

U. S. Census Office, 7th. Census of Population, 1860, Washington, D. C.: Department of State, 1861.

Zimmerman, Carl C. and Taylor, Carl C. Rural Organization: A Study of Primary Groups in Wake County, North Carolina. Raleigh, N. C.: North Carolina State College Agricultural Experiment Station, 1922.

#### Interviews

Mr. James Caves, County Extension Agent, Bay Springs, Mississippi, at his office, July 6, 1977.

Mr. Willie Green, Principal, Heidelberg High School, Heidelberg, Mississippi, at his office, July 12, 1977.

Mr. W. G. Horn, Town Clerk, Bay Springs City Hall, at his office, July 1, 1977.

Mr. W. C. Walker, Director, Farmers Home Administration, Bay Springs, Mississippi, at his office, July 8, 1977.

#### Other Sources

Works Project Administration, Papers on Jasper County. (Mimeographed) State Department of Archives Library, Jackson, Mississippi, undated.

Jasper County Superintendent of Education Office, Jasper

County Schools Records, Bay Springs, Mississippi.

Theses

Lee, Douglas E. Analysis and Description of Residential Segregation. M.A. thesis. Cornell University, Division of Urban Studies, Ithaca, New York, 1966.



MICHIGAN STATE UNIV. LIBRARIES



31293100647860