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INTRAURBAN MOBILITY AND ENVIRONMENTAL PERCEPTION IN A BLACK MIDDLE CLASS GHETTO: A CASE STUDY IN FLINT, MICHIGAN.

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INTRAURBAN MOBILITY AND ENVIRONMENTAL PERCEPTION IN A BLACK MIDDLE CLASS GHETTO: A CASE STUDY IN FLINT, MICHIGAN

By

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ABSTRACT

INTRAURBAN MOBILITY AND ENVIRONMENTAL PERCEPTION IN A BLACK MIDDLE CLASS GHETTO: A CASE STUDY IN FLINT, MICHIGAN

By

Walter C. Farrell, Jr.

The black middle class in America has recently begun to attract wide attention. This inquiry focuses on intraurban mobility and environmental perception in a black middle class ghetto in Flint, Michigan. Specifically the dissertation is an attempt to contrast prevailing theory in mobility and perception with the behavior of a middle income black group. The Lapeer-Oakwood Park neighborhood in the South End of Flint was selected because it was the first new middle class black community in the city. It was largely planned and built by Afro-Americans during a period of rigid residential segregation, in the 1950s.

Five major hypotheses, three concerning intraurban mobility and two examining environmental perception, were developed to test for differences among the neighborhood residents:

Hypothesis 1: There is no difference among Lapeer-Oakwood Park households (hereafter referred to as LOP households) with respect to prior residential location.

Hypothesis 2: No age difference (under thirty-five versus thirty-five and older) existed among LOP household heads at time of residence change.

Hypothesis 3: In terms of ownership status no differences exist among LOP households with respect to their prior residences.

Hypothesis 4: No difference exists among LOP household heads with respect to their perceiving the neighborhood as the best black residential area in Flint in the past twenty years.

Hypothesis 5: Among the LOP household heads there is no difference in the perception of their neighborhood as the best black residential area in Flint.

Survey questionnaires seeking data related to mobility and perception were developed and administered in the study area. Seventy-six of the 232 household heads in Lapeer-Oakwood Park were interviewed. These residents (a 33% sample) were randomly selected using lists obtained from the Flint Assessor's Office. Additional information about the neighborhood was acquired from older residents in the community and other knowledgeable residents in the city. The vertical files (on Afro-Americans) of the major Flint newspapers were also perused. The Chi-Square test of independence was used to test the data. A .05 level of confidence was established as the minimum criterion level for accepting differences as being significant.

The results of the five null hypotheses are given below:

1. There was a significant difference among the Lapeer-Oakwood Park (LOP) household heads with respect to distance moved to the current residence.
2. There was a significant age difference (under thirty-five and thirty-five and older) among LOP household heads at time of residence change.
3. There was no significant difference in terms of ownership status of prior residences among LOP households.
4. There was a significant difference among LOP household heads with respect to their perceiving the LOP neighborhood as the best black residential area in Flint in the last three decades.
5. There was no significant difference in the LOP household heads perception of their neighborhood as the best black residential area in Flint today.

It was also found that the majority of the sample population was born in the South and that housing cost and income in the study area were spatially differentiated.

The data indicate that the mobility behavior of a middle income black group is different in many respects from the larger population. The research revealed that most perception studies have focused on low income blacks; therefore, no comparisons could be made.

DEDICATION

To my wife, Paula, whose love and understanding sustained me; to my parents, Mr. and Mrs. Walter C. Farrell, Sr., especially to my father, the real scholar, whose high marks in the school of life made it possible for me to succeed in the university; and to my undergraduate mentors in Geography and Education, Dr. Theodore R. Speigner and Dr. T. J. Mayberry, who believed in me.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Dr. Lawrence Sommers, chairman of the doctoral committee, whose scholarly advice guided this thesis to completion. He has been most generous of his time throughout my graduate study and has continuously encouraged me.

To the other members of my doctoral committee, Dr. Stanley Brunn, Dr. Daniel Jacobson, and Dr. Dale Alam, I am appreciative for the generosity of their guidance and suggestions that were invaluable.

Additionally I would like to express my sincere appreciation to Mrs. Helen Groh who typed the many drafts of this thesis and to Dr. James Rust from whom I have learned much about university administration during the past academic year.

Walter C. Farrell, Jr.
Michigan State University
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Conceptual Basis

In recent years, much research has been conducted on the urban Afro-American.[1] The evolution of complex social and ethnic problems in the metropolitan arena has stimulated investigations in geography and the other social sciences. The primary research foci have been (1) the purported deviant and pathological black lifestyle,[2] (2) black migration to the city,[3] and (3) residential

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[1]The terms Afro-American, black, and Negro will be used interchangeably in this study to refer to Americans of African descent.

[2]See Edward C. Banfield, The Unheavenly City: The Nature and Future of Our Urban Crisis (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1970); Daniel P. Moynihan, "Employment, Income, and the Ordeal of the Negro Family," Daedalus 94 (Fall 1965):768-69; and U.S. Department of Labor, The Negro Family: The Case for National Action (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965).

[3]C. Horace Hamilton, "The Negro Leaves the South," Demography 1 (1964):278; Dorothy K. Newman, "The Negro's Journey to the City--Part I," Monthly Labor Review 88 (May 1965):18-34; Eunice Grier and George Grier, "The Negro Migration: II," Housing Yearbook (1962), pp. 17-20; Paul F. Coe, "Nonwhite Population Increases in Metropolitan Areas," Journal of the American Statistical Association 50

segregation.[4] The study of middle class black ghetto neighborhoods and their residents,[5] however, has been

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(June 1955):283-308; Idem, "The Non-white Population Surge to Our Cities," Land Economics 35 (August 1959):195-210; and Harold M. Rose, Social Processes in the City: Race and Urban Residential Choice (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Geographers, Commission on College Geography, Resource Paper No. 6, 1969), pp. 3-6.

[4]Charles S. Johnson, Patterns of Negro Segregation (New York: Harper and Row, 1943); Robert C. Weaver, The Negro Ghetto (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1948); St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, Black Metropolis (New York: Harper and Row, 1962); Robert E. Forman, Black Ghettos, White Ghettos, and Slums (Englewood, Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971), chapters 4, 5, 6; Harold M. Rose, "The Development of an Urban Subsystem: The Case of the Negro Ghetto," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 60 (1971):1-17; Ernest W. Burgess, "Residential Segregation in American Cities," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 140 (November 1928): 105-15; Karl E. Tauber, "The Effect of Income Redistribution on Racial Residential Segregation," Urban Affairs Quarterly 4 (September 1958):5-14; and Joe T. Darden, Afro-Americans in Pittsburgh: The Residential Segregation of a People (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Co., 1973).

[5]This is defined as a residential area in which at least 51 percent of the inhabitants have an annual family income of $14,000 or above and houses valued at $20,000 and above. These figures are based on the median income and housing values taken from the 1970 census data for Flint, Michigan. The income level is also based on the 1973 Bureau of Labor Statistics guideline for what is termed "Intermediate level" of family budgets. The bureau designated this level as $11,446 for an urban family of four. See "The Dream 1973: Blacks Move Painfully Toward Full Equality," The New York Times, 26 August 1973, p. 44. (The concept of black middle class will be discussed more fully in chapter II. Middle income is also used synomously with middle class in this study. Black middle class residents are those persons living in the aforementioned neighborhood.) Recently the CBS Evening News (June 15, 1974) reported that the U.S. Department of Labor now considers $12,600 the requirement for a moderate living standard for an urban family of four. This $1,200 increase since the Fall of 1973 is the result of inflation.

generally neglected as a specific research topic by social science scholars. Since the term "ghetto" most often conjures up images of squalid residential conditions when referring to blacks, the following definition advanced by Rose will be adhered to in this study:

> The term ghetto . . . simply refers to the territory which is occupied by black people in American cities and which has evolved out of a system of residential allocation permitting no freedom of choice. In this instance, the term itself does not connote quality of environment or social status, but simply refers to a residential enclave in which ultimately the only competitors for housing are members of a single race.[6]

Much middle class housing is also found in ghetto areas, forming what St. Clair Drake, a black sociologist, has labeled "gilded ghettos," but he does not feel that the overall character of the area is dictated by the presence of such housing.[7] In recent years, geographers, among others, have conducted urban research recognizing middle class black residential portions of the ghetto. Rose, in another study, has noted "that within segments of the ghetto or within individual ghetto clusters housing quality is high . . ." and "the younger city, with its prevalence of relatively new single family structures located in the path of ghetto expansion, is sometimes held up as a model

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[6]Harold M. Rose, The Black Ghetto: A Spatial Behavioral Perspective (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971), p. 5.

[7]St. Clair Drake, "The Social and Economic Status of the Negro in the United States," in Talcott Parsons and Kenneth B. Clark, eds., The Negro American (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967), p. 9.

black community, in terms of its physical quality."[8] Richard Morrill has primarily been concerned with the quasi-diffusionary process of the lower class Negro ghetto areas and the discriminatory patterns which maintain them. He concludes that the squalid conditions of this particular enclave will be improved as blacks achieve greater economic and political power.[9] Fredric Ritter, a geography professor, has written that "there are considerable portions of the ghetto with moderate to high land and building values," and he further surmises that interesting economic comparisons can be mapped when studying the geography of the Negro in the city.[10]

Geographers have also recently advanced methodological approaches to the study of urban Afro-Americans. Donaldson advocates the application of the prevailing geographic theories which describe, explain, and predict human spatial activity "to the life experience of black people." He reasons that "theories of migration, land use,

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[8]Harold M. Rose, "The Origin and Pattern of Development of Urban Black Social Areas," The Journal of Geography 68 (September 1969):331; Idem, "The Spatial Development of Black Residential Subsystems," Economic Geography 48 (January 1972):50-51.

[9]Richard L. Morrill, "The Negro Ghetto: Problems and Alternatives," Geographical Review 55 (1965):339-61; Idem, "The Persistence of the Black Ghetto As Spatial Separation," The Southeastern Geographer 11 (November 1971): 149-56.

[10]Frederic A. Ritter, "Toward a Geography of the Negro in the City," Journal of Geography 10 (March 1971): 154.

social areas and boundaries, diffusion, and environmental perception can all be used . . . and . . . these theories can be tested for relevance in meeting the needs of the local black community."[11] Gwendolyn Warren and William Bunge have applied geographic concepts and methods to the problems of Detroit Negroes with the aim of improving their overall life chances via education, politics, recreation, medical care, and economics.[12] Kohn suggests that the adaptation of geographic research to the problems of race and ethnic relations "is based on the desire of present day geographers to become more involved in the making of public policy relative to current significant social issues and change."[13] This idea is historically important in the geographic discipline.

Studies of Afro-Americans in urban areas are important as blacks are becoming increasingly urbanized.[14]

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[11]Fred Donaldson, "The Geography of Black America: Three Approaches," Journal of Geography 71 (October 1972): 415.

[12]Ibid., 415; and William Bunge, Gwendolyn Warren, et al., "A Report to the Parents of Detroit on School Decentralization," in Y. Colvard and S. Cozzens, eds., Field Notes (East Lansing: Department of Geography, Michigan State University, Discussion Paper No. 2, 1970), pp. 1-53.

[13]Clyde F. Kohn, "1960's: A Decade of Progress in Geographical Research and Instruction," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 60 (June 1970):215.

[14]The 1970 United States Census of Population showed more than 75 percent of black population living in urban areas. But at the turn of the century, more than

Cruse has proposed that aspects of black urbanization be viewed in a regional context in order that the effects of varying community conditions be understood as factors in black life-styles.[15] This idea is very much analogous to the emphasis on small area studies advocated by Barrows, Platt, and Sauer.[16] Where Cruse is attempting to construct a black cultural matrix from a series of regional inquiries, Barrows, Platt and Sauer sought to use small scale geographic explorations to lend insights into larger geographic regions. The foregoing analytic methods can likewise be used to assess the movement patterns of urban black middle class residents and their attitude toward their neighborhood environment.

The spatial perception and mobility of Negro Americans in their residential enclaves is commonly contrasted with those of the larger society. In most instances,

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73 percent of Negroes lived in rural areas. See also Rose, Social Processes in the City: Race and Urban Residential Choice, p. 3.

[15]Harold Cruse, "Harlem's Special Place in the 'Theory of Black Cities,'" Black World (May 1971), pp. 13-16.

[16]Gottfried Pfeffifer, Regional Geography in the United States Since the War: A Review of Trends in Theory and Method, translated by John Leighly (New York: American Geographical Society, 1938), p. 7; Robert S. Platt, "A Detail of Regional Geography: Ellison Bay Community as an Industrial Organism," Annal of the Association of American Geographers 18 (1928):81-126; and Idem, "Environmentalism Versus Geography," The American Journal of Sociology 53 (1948):358-59.

segregation is specifically considered the major factor which influences the behavior of Afro-Americans.[17] However, since segregation is historically axiomatic in American life, this study is based on the assumption (considered naive by many) that Afro-Americans have had some input into their own perceptual and action spaces. In the words of Ralph Ellison, a Negro novelist:

> Are American Negroes simply the creation of white men, or have they at least helped to create themselves out of what they found around them? Men have made a way of life in caves and upon cliffs, why cannot Negroes have made a life upon the horns of the white man's dilemma?[18]

Therefore, not all occurrences in the black ghetto are entirely the result of negative forces. It is further assumed in this study that middle class blacks are more likely to have greater mobility options and a broader perceptual range in their residential environments due to their economic level.

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[17]See Gunnar Myrdall, An American Dilemma the Negro Problem and Modern Democracy, Vols. I and II (New York: Harper and Row, 1944). Gilbert Osofsky, Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto 1890-1930 (New York: Harper and Row, 1963); W. E. B. Dubois, The Philadelphia Negro (Philadelphia: Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, 1899); and Sidney M. Wilhelm, Who Needs the Negro (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Co., 1971).

[18]Ralph Ellison, Shadow and Act (New York: Vintage Books, 1972), p. 350; see also James Baldwin, Notes of a Native Son (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), pp. 9-17; and for historical support regarding this assertion see John W. Blassingame, The Slave Community (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972).

Statement of the Problem

Flint, Michigan, has a middle income black residential community located in its southern sector (the Thread Lake Area, Figure 1). This area is delimited on the basis of census tracts having more than 50 percent black population in 1970. Within this community the Lapeer-Oakwood Park neighborhood is unique in that it was the first new middle class black housing area, built largely by Afro-Americans, during a period of rigid residential segregation in Flint, the 1950s. Negroes were also included in the planning of this neighborhood. Although black slum ghettos have received much attention in Flint and the nation as well, middle class black ghettos have been virtually neglected.

It was the overall objective of this study to analyze the spatial aspects of mobility and perception in a Flint black middle class ghetto. "Mobility" here referred to the movement processes of the community residents to their current place of residence, and "perception" referred to their evaluation of their residential environment. The specific research questions answered were: (1) Where did these residents live previously, and what are the factors contributing to their movement to their present locations? (2) What, if any, is the extent of economic variation within this middle class neighborhood or community? and (3) What is the nature of the difference--if any--between

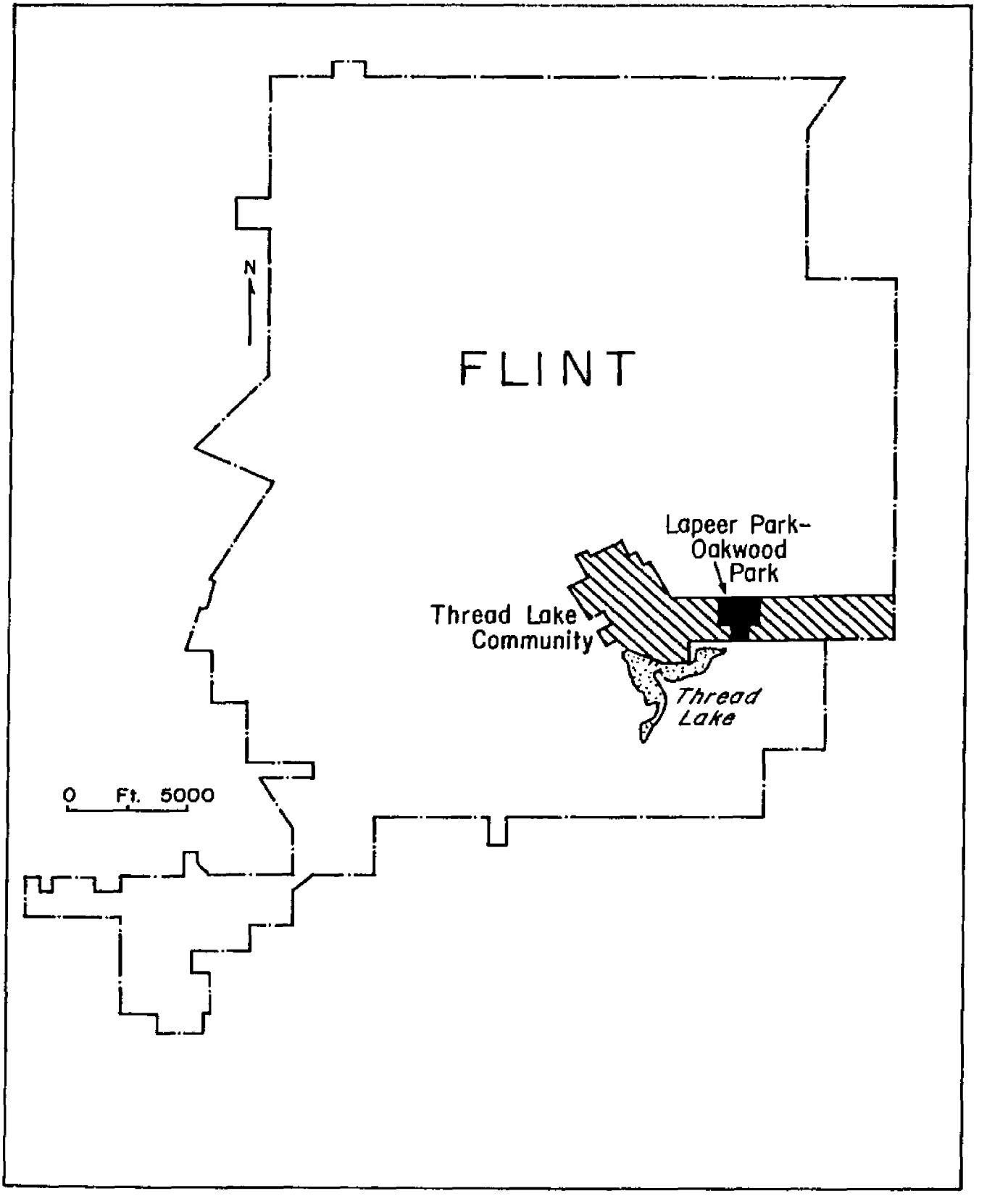

Fig. 1.1. Flint's black middle income Thread Lake community.

Source: Adapted from Lewis, 1965.

the homeowners' perception of their residential environment in the past as compared to their perception in 1973?

The overall purpose of this study was to apply the empirical inductive approach to selected aspects of an urban black middle class neighborhood. The three major objectives were as follows:

1. Determine residential mobility patterns in a black middle class ghetto;
2. Investigate the changing perception of these middle class black ghetto residents toward the character and quality of their environment; and
3. Provide further understanding of the diversity of the Afro-American community.

Organization of the Study

The remainder of the study is divided into four chapters. Chapter II includes a summary of the pertinent theory and research which provides the basis for the hypotheses to be tested. The methodology and procedures are described in chapter III. Detailed information is also given on the study area, the sampling process, the data sources, and the statistical and cartographical methods employed to answer the above questions. The results of the survey are analyzed and presented in chapter IV. Chapter V gives major findings and recommendations for subsequent research.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Although there have been many geographic investigations of intraurban mobility and environmental perception, none of these focus specifically upon the black urban middle class. Therefore, a survey of representative literature[1] in geography and other disciplines will be presented. Several general studies and four recent in-depth literature reviews of intraurban mobility as well as the relevant aspects of the perception research are provided. Literature concerning the attributes of the black middle class is also covered, as this is a much misunderstood social category.

Intraurban Mobility

Research interest in intracity residential mobility reached its zenith in the 1950s. Sidney Goldstein's[2] study

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[1]The writer has made these selections based upon his perusal of the literature.

[2]Sidney Goldstein, Patterns of Mobility 1910-1950: The Norristown Study (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1958).

validated the feasibility of using city directories as a data source. The information recorded therein has great utility as data for working persons can be extracted in a longitudinal fashion. However, the continuing classic in the residential mobility studies is the work of sociologist Peter Rossi.[3] He conducted an exhaustive investigation in Philadelphia, using interview techniques, which revealed that (a) renters are more mobile than owners and that renters who prefer to own are more mobile than those who prefer to rent, (b) younger household heads have a greater mobility rate, and (c) larger households are more disposed to residential change. His major conclusion was that the "major function of mobility is the process by which families adjust their housing to the housing needs that are generated by the shifts in family composition that accompany life cycle changes."[4] This single study is the most often quoted in the geographic literature on intraurban mobility to establish decision matrices. Nonetheless, Morgan has recently strongly criticized Rossi's selection of evidence in support of the overwhelming importance of the life-cycle in influencing changes of residence. He points out that Rossi employed no tests of statistical significance and

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[3]Peter H. Rossi, Why Families Move: A Study in the Social Psychology of Urban Mobility (Glencoe: Free Press, 1955).

[4]Ibid., p. 9.

selected poor control variables in the construction of relevant contingency tables.[5]

Simmons undertook research to assess residential changes in Toronto. The questions he posed were: Who moves? Why do they move? and Where do they move? He concluded that: (1) more lower income people moved than any other economic group and that the most significant age is the fifteen to twenty-five year old group, (2) life cycle changes are primary causes of intraurban mobility, and (3) moves are relatively short in distance and within familiar territory. He observed in his exhaustive literature review, that several studies have shown most moves to be within a census tract. He also noted that the expansion of Negro ghettos in northern cities acted as a catalyst to mobility.[6]

In 1971 Wheeler discussed the social interaction of urban residents and the elements which facilitate or restrict these social communications or interactions. Mobility, in this instance, is a subsidiary factor.[7] In the same year he published "The Spatial Interaction of

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[5]Barrie S. Morgan, "Why Families Move: A Re-examination," The Proffesional Geographer 25 (May 1973): 124-29.

[6]James W. Simmons, "Changing Residence in the City: A Review of Intraurban Mobility," Geographical Review 58 (October 1968), 622-51.

[7]James O. Wheeler, "Social Interaction and Urban Space," Journal of Geography 70 (April 1971):200-03.

Blacks in Metropolitan Areas" in which he dealt with the trip structure of blacks in a low-income ghetto in Lansing, Michigan. Mobility within the ghetto was found to be high whereas movement outside the area was found to be restricted with respect to residential choice, medical facilities, and workplace opportunities. He deduced that increased mobility options external to the ghetto would reduce crowding, a negative aspect of ghetto life.[8]

Deskins looked at Negro residential mobility in Detroit over a 128 year period, 1837-1965.[9] His objective was to give insights concerning the effects of residential segregation on the mobility patterns of blacks and whites from a historical perspective. His research revealed the following: (1) neighborhoods of the higher occupational groups of both races moved outward from the Central Business District over time, (2) whites with higher level skills had greater residential mobility than Negroes, and (3) the within group mobility was higher for those blacks and whites with greater incomes. Nevertheless, neighborhood inequality and social distance between racial groups remained constant through time. A major conclusion was

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[8]James O. Wheeler, "The Spatial Interaction of Blacks in Metropolitan Areas," Southeastern Geographer 11 (November 1971):101-12.

[9]Donald R. Deskins, Jr., Residential Mobility of Negroes in Detroit 1837-1965 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Department of Geography, University of Michigan, 1972).

that "Negroes have been residentially restricted to specific areas within the city."[10]

Rose, in a 1969 study, dealt with the residential separation and spatial clustering of racial and ethnic groups and particularly the urbanization and ghettoization of low income Afro-Americans.[11] He surmised that blacks and whites are "conditioned to respond to a dissimilar fashion in their attempts to secure housing."[12] Mobility behavior is linked to discrimination. Elsewhere he has noted that white and nonwhite moves within urban space are quite similar to interregional movement in the nation as a whole.[13] In each case the nonwhite moves are of shorter distance whereas the whites have a greater propensity to engage in long distance moves.

Data collected by Boyce in Seattle, Washington, for the years 1962-1967 were used to answer several questions concerning how and why people change residence.[14] In the

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[10]Ibid., p. 169.

[11]Harold M. Rose, Social Processes in the City: Race and Urban Residential Choice (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Geographers, Commission on College Geography, Resource Paper No. 6, 1969), p. 8.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Harold Rose, "The Development of an Urban Subsystem: The Case of the Negro Ghetto," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 60 (March 1970):3.

[14]Ronald R. Boyce, "Residential Mobility and Its Implications for Urban Spatial Change," in Larry S.

Negro areas it was found that the average length of a move was 1.2 miles and that over 33 percent of all moves were less than one half mile. Push factors such as an adverse environment were also shown to have great influence. Houses located along arterials (any street carrying over 5,000 vehicles daily) proved to have a considerably higher turnover rate versus non arterial houses. Other negative site features such as corner lots and blind alley houses also manifested high turnover rates. Moreover, the poorer people had the highest move frequency. In the inner city black areas, most movement was internal and movement out of this zone was shown to be highly restricted and funneled to nearby and newly forming Negro areas. But most other low and middle class residential neighborhoods showed greater dispersion of movement. However, the dominant type of move in both instances was to higher valued housing. It was concluded that the urban Afro-Americans' residential mobility patterns exhibited little similarity with those of the white population. These findings indicate a need for more thorough study before development of a model.

Review of Selected Mobility Studies

In 1964, Butler et al. conducted exploratory research which evaluated a series of measuring instruments that were used in determining the association between

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Bourne, ed., Internal Structure of the City (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 338-43.

residential mobility criteria and demographic and social psychological variables.[15] Data involved samples of urban and suburban residents of the city of Los Angeles. Guttman scaling, Chi-Square, and Fischer's exact probability test were used to analyze the data. The following hypotheses were proposed. It was assumed that full families (families consisting of head, spouse, and at least one child) would more likely be movers than all other family types and single person households. It was also expected that families with a head of household under thirty-five years of age would more likely be movers than households with heads thirty-five and older. With respect to the social-psychological measures, housing and neighborhood satisfaction were assumed to be related negatively to moving intentions, while social mobility commitment and neighborhood vocation perception were assumed to have a positive influence.

In contrasting urban and suburban areas, urbanites were more likely than suburbanites to be movers, to live in a single person household, to have a younger household head, and to be dissatisfied with the neighborhood of residences. No differences were found between the two with respect to full families and all other family types, housing satisfaction, social mobility commitment or social mobility and neighborhood location.

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[15]Edgar W. Butler, et al., "Demographic and Social Psychological Factors in Residential Mobility," Sociology and Social Research 48 (January 1964):39-54.

Attitudinal measures were used in the study to differentiate urban populations committed or not committed to residential mobility. The following tentative statements concerning mobility behavior were advanced:

1. Urban-suburban distinctions indicated that ecological as well as demographic and social-psychological variables need to be taken into account in explaining residential moves.

2. While family type was not an important differentiator of movers and non-movers, the age of the head of household distinguished movers from non-movers more frequently than other variables.

3. Findings concerning the relations of the environmental factor and residential mobility were mixed. The assumption that housing satisfaction would be negatively related to residential mobility was substantiated. Housing satisfaction appears to be as important as age of the household head in distinguishing movers from non-movers. Furthermore, housing satisfaction in conjunction with age, family type, neighborhood satisfaction, social mobility commitment and neighborhood location in this regard was important. The hypothesis that neighborhood satisfaction was related negatively to residential mobility was accepted for respondents from full families and those with high social mobility commitment. For others it was rejected. Environmental evaluations with respect to anticipated

residential mobility were directed more to housing units than to neighborhood.

4. Social mobility and neighborhood location perception were assumed to be positively related to residential mobility; this hypothesis for the most part was not substantiated. The findings of this pilot study suggest that some mobility determinants operate at the demographic, social-psychological and areal levels.[16]

The concept of place utility in an operational context was examined by Brown and Longbrake.[17] Their major objective was to construct and evaluate place utility functions which were based upon socio-economic and migration characteristics of areal units within Cedar Rapids, Iowa. A secondary objective was to identify major factors related to intraurban migration flows in an aggregate framework. Data for the residential mobility study were obtained from several sources: the 1960 United States Census block statistics, the 1964 Cedar Rapids Planning Commission Special Census, and the Cedar Rapids Traffic Survey conducted in 1964 by the State of Iowa Commission on Highways. Factor analysis and correlation regression methods were used for estimating the parameters of the place utilities

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[16]Ibid., p. 151.

[17]Lawrence A. Brown and David B. Longbrake, "Migration Flows in Intraurban Space: Place Utility Considerations," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 60 (June 1970):368-84.

functions. Place utility was considered a function of the household's experience or attainments at its present and past residential sites and its indirect background gained through associations, media, and other sources, all which serve to establish a set of expectations.[18] Nonetheless these aspirations are constrained by the household's ability to attain a particular type of residence with respect to income, social class, occupation, race, age, family size, and life cycle stage.

Before analyzing the data the neighborhoods of the study area were grouped by socio-economic types into six zones. Type I zones were comprised of middle life cycle, middle class family households, predominant ages 0-19 and 40-49 and a median income $6-$10,000; II: late life cycle, upper middle class households, predominant age 50 to 60 and over and income $10-$25,000; III: lower economic status households in sound, rented, two family dwelling units, predominant ages 20-29; IV: lower economic status households in unsound, rented, multi-family dwelling units; V: downtown commercial establishments with some high density residences and government and public buildings; and IV: newer peripherally located industrial area.

It was found that for all zone types, mobility rates were greatest in areas where the population had relatively low status occupations or earned relatively low

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[18]Ibid., pp. 369-70.

incomes in comparison to the norms for the area. Such economic status was generally associated with renters rather than owners. Consequently, type I and type II zones had highest mobility rates in those areas in which renters were predominant. Changes in family status also accounted for the high mobility levels in type II and type IV neighborhoods. Generally the findings related to environmental characteristics and the decision to seek a new residence suggest that relative mobility rates are highest in those residential areas having units of marginal quality (often multi-family) compared to the median rates for the area. Nonetheless, zones characterized by middle life cycle, middle class family households were found to be in greatest demand. It was concluded that the attributes of an individual block were more significant to the household's migration decision than the characteristics of a larger area such as a zone.

Brown and Longbrake also observed that migration friction between the neighborhood types was much less than expected. Factors identified as most important in guiding intraurban migration streams were aspirations of the household head with respect to housing and the spatial characteristics of the vacancy market. The latter has received little attention in geographic research.[19]

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[19]For a recent geographic perspective on the spatial contours of the housing market, see Frank A. Barrett, "The Search Behavior of Recent House Movers: A

Caprio used geographic concepts such as action space and place utility to explain the qualitative change in housing decay in owner occupied residential areas.[20] In a two dimensional owner occupied space (stay-move, and repair-don't repair) the relationship of housing satisfaction to qualitative change was a function of the perception of housing demand by the household, the socio-economic status of the household, the aspirations of the household, and the utility derived from the most recent dwelling.

Social obsolescence (social depreciation) was an active force in the qualitative change by owner-occupied residential areas. Its effect is noticeable in an area by (1) the growing physical deterioration, (2) the concomitant change in attitudes, and (3) the growing acceptability of inconsistent land use. Social and physical obsolescense may be seen at this rudimentary conceptual stage as complementing forces, each reinforcing the other.

The foregoing was illustrated by a case study of East Orange, New Jersey in 1970, where owners in white residential areas were interviewed in order to determine their relative housing satisfaction, in light of the

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Study of Intra-Urban Relocation in Toronto, Canada" (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1973), especially chapter 3.

[20]Raphael J. Caprio, "Place Utility, Social Obsolescence and Qualitative Housing Change," Proceedings of the Association of American Geographers 3 (1972):14-19.

population changes occurring in their communities. In general, residents were satisfied with their specified dwellings, the condition of the home, the site, and the relative location--all were considered acceptable. However, a growing lack of commitment to the area was due to fear caused by rise in crime, dissatisfaction with municipal services, and homeowners believing that blacks were receiving preferential treatment from lending institutions. As a result of these factors, two trends were manifested: few families intended to stay more than two years, and no owner was willing to make costly repairs.

Moore proposed research strategies for intraurban mobility which would give rise to a strong theoretical case.[21] He encouraged (1) the use of a more efficient sampling design, (2) replication of studies, and (3) a change in focus from the mover-oriented studies to the application of mover-stayer framework regarding the behavior of the total population. These methods would aid in understanding more fully the nature of processes at the aggregate level by increasing the attention focused on the structure of the decision making process at the individual level. In a later study, which substantially covered

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[21]Eric G. Moore, "The Nature of Intra-Urban Migration and Some Relevant Research Strategies," Proceedings of the Association of the American Geographers 1 (1969):113-16. Also see Lawrence A. Brown and Eric G. Moore, "The Intra-Urban Migration Process: A Perspective," in Larry S. Bourne, ed., Internal Structure of the City (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 200-15.

existing literature, he observed that the change in residences was a key factor in an individual adjusting his housing and neighborhood experience to meet his varying needs.[22] These revisions contribute to an understanding of the ways in which individual behavior is restricted in the larger metropolitan arena as residential mobility is an enduring characteristic of virtually all urban communities. He was primarily concerned with the process of individual residential mobility and the impact of large numbers of moves reflected in neighborhood change. The major emphasis was on the actual decision to acquire a new residence, the search for the new dwelling, and the incorporation of the aggregate moves into a model whereby questions concerning neighborhood composition and change could be answered (Figure 2.1).

Although the household[23] is the key component in mobility decisions, friends, real estate brokers, land developers, and lending institutions affect the result of each decision by constricting the range of attainable opportunities. This point has been omitted in most research. Additionally, to attempt to construct a "typical

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[22]Eric G. Moore, Residential Mobility in the City (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Geographers, Commission on College Geography, Resource Paper No. 13, 1972).

[23]Moore's interchangeable use of individual and household as the "basic decision-making unit" will be adhered to in this study unless otherwise stated. See Moore, Ibid., p. 3.

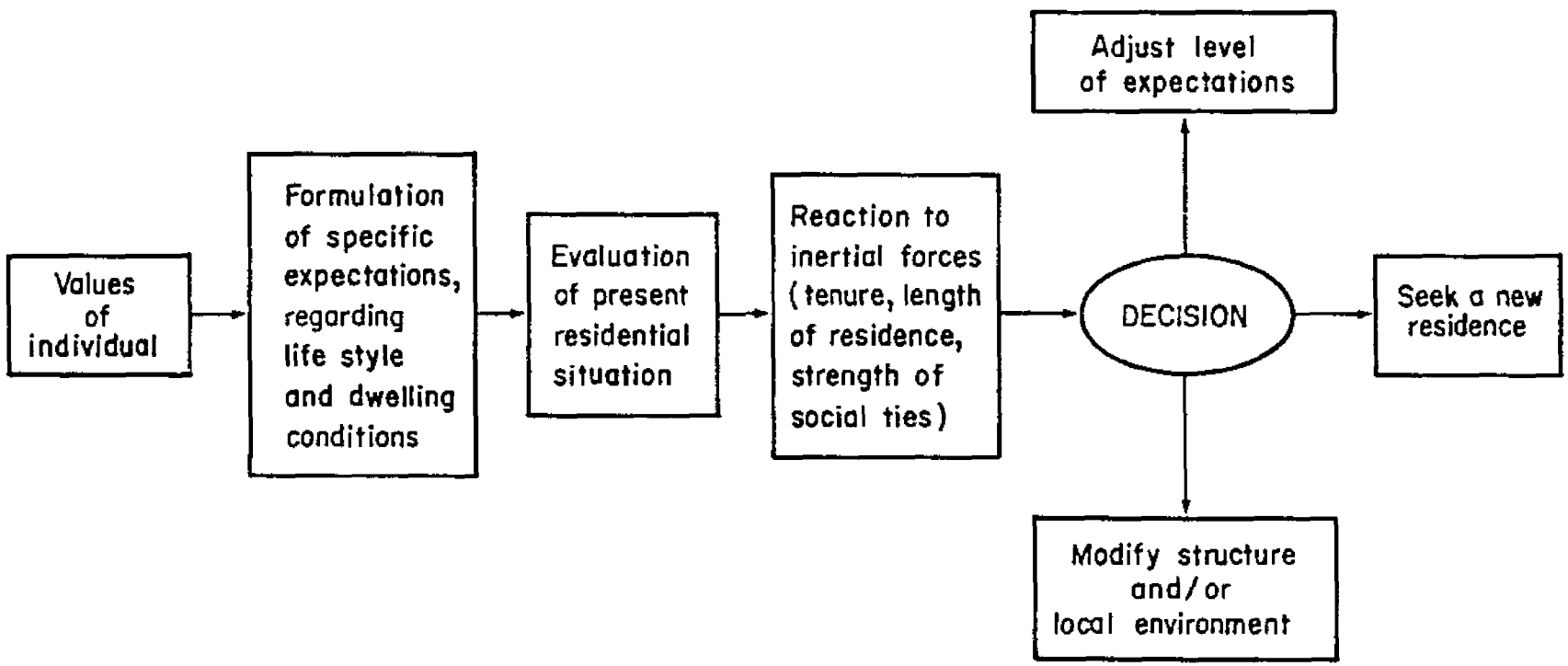

Fig. 2.1. Elements considered in decision-making process of voluntary movers.

Source: Moore, Residential Mobility in the City, p. 5.

experience" for intraurban moves would be fruitless as the operative conditions are too diverse.

Values are also quite important in the decision to seek a new residence. They include site and situational attributes of the dwelling. Wolpert has referred to these as place utility.[24] This decision is generally regarded as being motivated in four ways:

1. Household has no choice (i.e., eviction, urban renewal);
2. Situations arise which reduce valuation of present residence (i.e., marriage, divorce, death, long distance job changes, and increase or decrease in household's financial status);
3. Change in housing needs or deterioration of certain aspects of the dwelling environment; and
4. Awareness of more prestigious residences.

The first two are generally considered to be forced and are discounted in the discussion of the decision making process, and the latter do not necessarily guarantee a move.

Mobility studies, based on interviews, have reported that dwelling conditions, particularly living space, are the major source of dissatisfaction with present residence. There is too little space for a growing family or an older

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[24]Julian Wolpert, "Behavioral Aspects of the Decision to Migrate," in George J. Demko, Harold M. Rose, and George A. Schnell, eds., Population Geography: A Reader (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970), pp. 300-02.

family with too much space. However, this reaction appears to be a function of individual perception rather than an objective measure.

The general condition of the neighborhood has been found to be a major indicator of the desire to move. But housing costs, expressions of concern regarding stressful conditions and the impact of accessibility to work and amenities (i.e., shopping centers, playgrounds, schools, and medical facilities) appear to be weak determinants of residential mobility (Figure 2.2).

It is difficult to ascertain the influence of neighborhood composition on movement because of the sensitiveness of such an inquiry when interviewing. Oftentimes the respondents will rationalize decisions based on ethnic or racial prejudice by substituting factors such as better schools or the desire to live in a more private area. Nonetheless, models measuring the impact of black in-migration on residential mobility have been validated in neighborhoods whose racial make-up is rapidly changing.

Much of the literature on residential mobility has shown correlations between demographic variables and movement propensity, but one must be very careful in imputing casual linkages between these attributes. The basis of these high correlations may be biased by site and situational indices at the neighborhood, city, and county levels. Research indicated that renters have a higher desire to move than owners and that the duration of

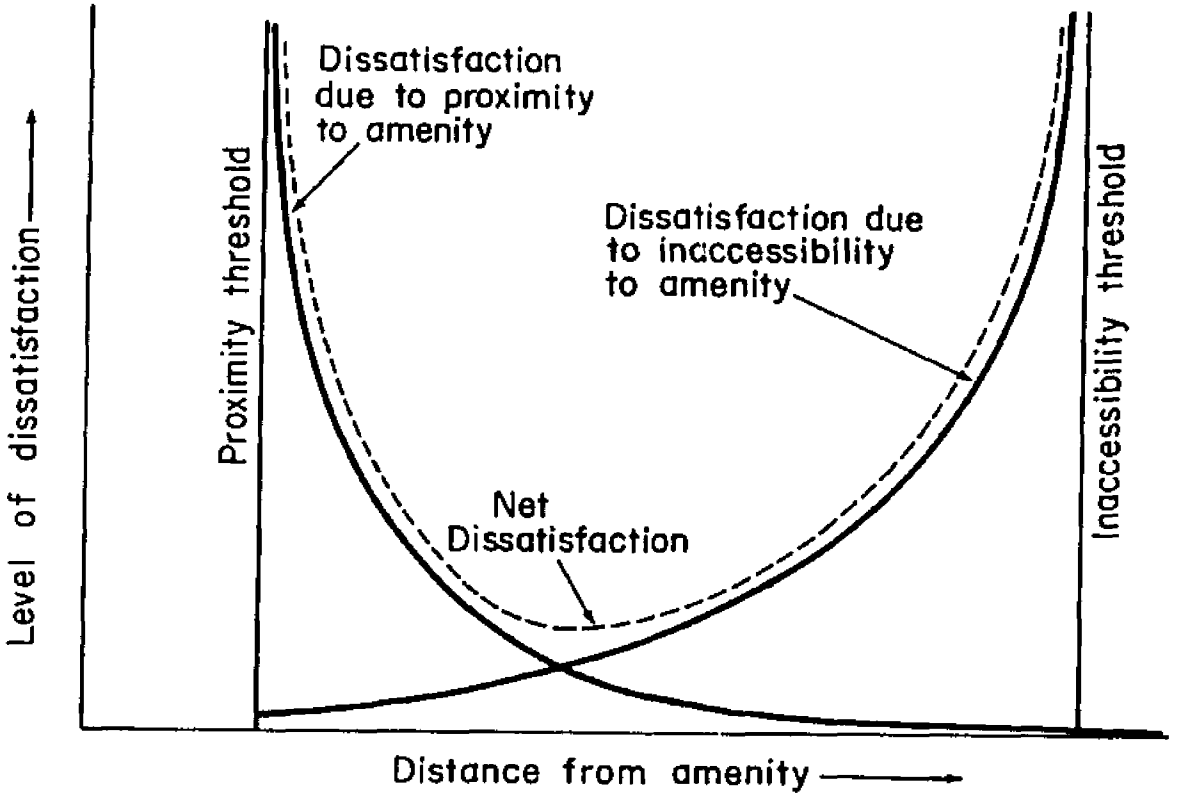

Fig. 2.2 Relation between locational dissatisfaction and accessibility to amenity.

Source: After Redding (1970) in Moore, Residential Mobility in the City, p. 8.

residence is also a factor in moving or not moving. The highest probability for moving is between the ages of twenty and thirty (Figure 2.3) and then the desire to move diminishes.

Moore concluded that non-whites have a greater desire to move than whites because they are more likely to reside in poor quality residences, to have large families, and to be recent arrivals in the urban area. It is clear that factors affecting residential mobility vary considerably from one household to another. Another major conclusion reached is that residential mobility is "embedded in the life histories of individuals and in the stability and change of urban neighborhoods; only in this context can mobility be fruitfully studied and interpreted."[25] The urban black population provides a dramatic example of constrained movement possibilities[26] although college students and large families of the other ethnic origin are similarly inhibited. Moore has suggested that a more

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[25]Moore, Residential Mobility in the City, p. 45.

[26]For additional perspectives on black intraurban mobility processes see W. A. V. Clark, "Patterns of Black Intraurban Mobility and Restricted Relocation Opportunities," in Harold M. Rose, ed., Perspectives in Geography 2 Geography of the Ghetto (Dekalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 1972), pp. 111-28; Stephen Gale and David Katzman, "Black Communities: A Program for Interdisciplinary Research," Idem, Geography of the Ghetto, pp. 59-88; and David R. Meyer, "Implications of Some Recommended Alternative Strategies for Black Residential Choice," Idem, Geography of the Ghetto, pp. 129-42.

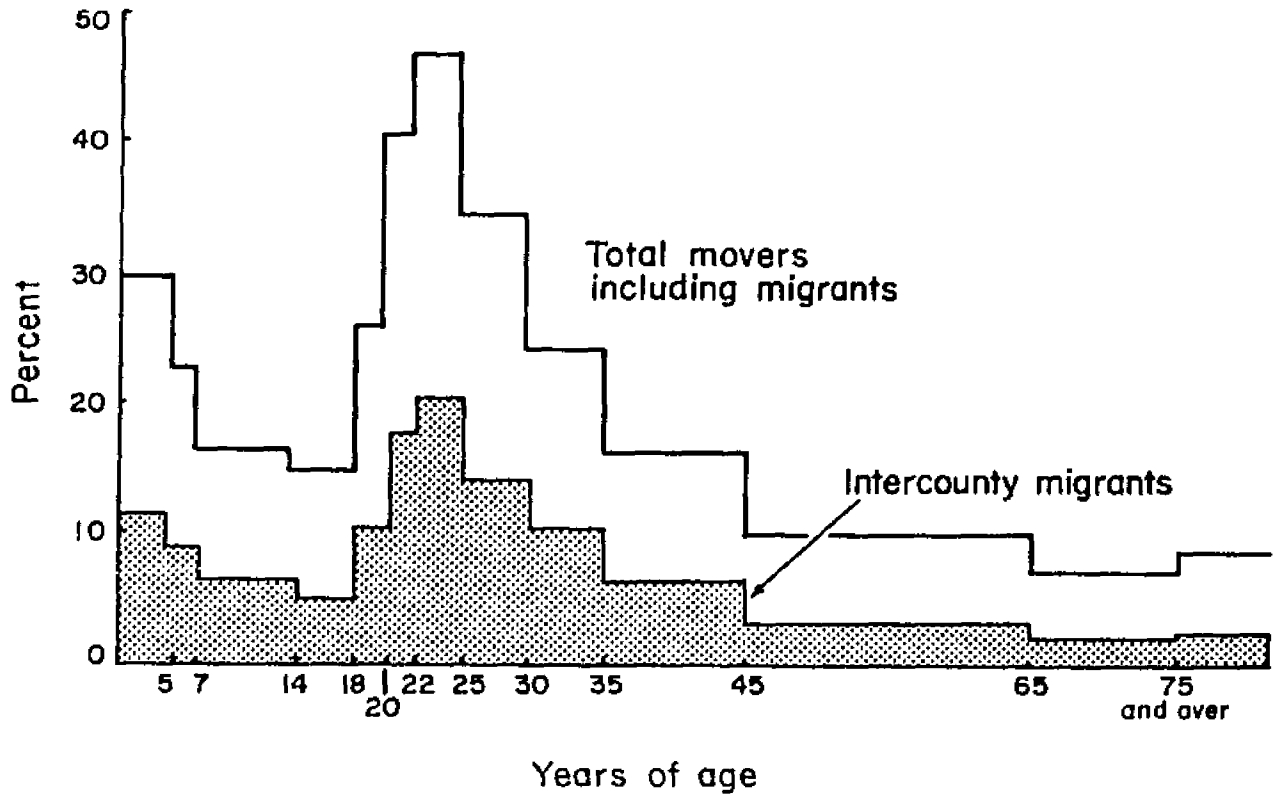

Fig. 2.3. Variation in population mobility by age for the United States 1967-68.

Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture (1969), in Moore, Residential Mobility in the City, p. 11.

critical analysis could be gained by selecting representative samples possessing similar demographic and housing attributes from these different groups. The environmental impact could then be assessed.

Environmental Perception

Geographers have also become very interested in environmental perception. Taaffe et al., in a 1970 methodological assessment of geography stated:

> Studies in environmental perception are concerned with efforts to understand how men structure in their own minds the world around them. Some studies give explicit attention to the ways in which men perceive elements of their natural environment and how they apprehend resources or natural hazards such as floods and droughts. Other studies treat man's views of landscapes, especially in urban areas, and his perceptions of differing spatial organizations and attitudes toward places, as shown in "mental maps."[27]

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[27]Edward J. Taaffe, ed., Geography (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1970); for additional work on perception by geographers, see Martin J. Bowden, "The Perception of the Western Interior of the United States, 1800-1870: A Problem in Historical Geography," Proceedings of the Association of American Geographers 1 (1969):16-21; C. Gregory Knight, "Ethnogeography and Change," Journal of Geography 70 (January 1971):47-53; Roy H. Merrens, "The Physical Environment of Early America: Images and Image Makers in Colonial South Carolina," Geographical Review 59 (October 1969):530-56; Charles F. Kovacik and Lawrence S. Rowland, "Images of Colonial Port Royal, South Carolina," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 63 (September 1973):331-40; and Yi-Fu Tuan, "Ambiguity in Attitudes Toward Environment," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 63 (December 1973):411-23.

Edward Hall, an anthropologist, took a very perceptive look at cultural uses and perceptions of space by different ethnic groups.[28] He observed that the Afro-Americans' perception of space differs from that of whites.

Saarinen discussed representative perception studies in geography and other social science disciplines.[29] In assessing this work, he found that its recency has resulted in a relatively unrefined methodology. White has studied the perception of natural hazards and the variety of behavioral responses while Lynch has been concerned with the public images of the cityscape.[30]

Darden in a study conducted in Pittsburgh in 1970, investigated the neighborhood perception of black ghetto youth using interview techniques.[31] He employed seven

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[28]Edward T. Hall, The Hidden Dimension (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1969).

[29]Thomas F. Saarinen, Perception of Environment (Washingtion, D.C.: Association of American Geographers, Commission on College Geography, Resource Paper No. 5, 1969); also see Thomas F. Saarinen, "Environmental Perception," in Ian R. Manner and Marvin Mikesell, eds., Perspectives on Environment (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Geographers, 1974), pp. 252-89.

[30]Saarinen, "Environmental Perception," p. 254.

[31]Joe T. Darden, "Environmental Perception by Ghetto Youth in Pittsburgh," The Pennsylvania Geographer 8 (April 1970):19-22; for other black perceptions of the slum ghetto see Yi-Fu Tuan, Tophilia A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes and Values (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1974), pp. 219-21; and Peter Gould and Rodney White, Mental Maps (Baltimore, Md.: Penguin Books, 1974), pp. 28-37.

statements ranging from an extreme negative to an extreme positive attitude in an effort to determine the aggregate attitudes. The sample consisted of 100 students drawn from a total of 154 seniors in a ghetto high school. The majority of the students expressed dissatisfaction with their community environment. It was concluded that spatial mobility was the "key to their future success in environmental adjustment."[32] Rose noted the role of black perception in determining what is a black ghetto residential area. He concluded that perception could be relevant only when the black residents had true freedom of choice in housing selection.[33]

Other research has revealed that neighborhood satisfaction may be less in some areas than others because of a high number of residents predisposed to being critical.[34] This is most often evidenced when these same persons were on the verge of relocation. Higher socio-economic status is also correlated with neighborhood satisfaction. This contentment mirrors the superiority of the facilities and services provided by such areas and a similarity in consciousness. Long term residents also

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[32]Darden, "Environmental Perception," p. 22.

[33]Harold M. Rose, The Black Ghetto (New York: McGraw-Hill Book), pp. 141-42.

[34]Suzanne Keller, The Urban Neighborhood: A Sociological Perspective (New York: Random House, 1968), pp. 114-15.

express greater attachment to a neighborhood. Additionally, neighborhood improvements may not have the positive effects assumed by those who stress their importance. Often the image of a residential area is a function of its social rather than physical climate. Consequently, the components of neighborhood satisfaction are as complex as indices of the black middle class.

The Black Middle Class

In 1936, W. Lloyd Warner, an eminent sociologist on American class patterns, published an article in the American Journal of Sociology on "American Class and Caste."[35] He contended that the American Negro, as a group, although possessing the three general class characteristics (upper, middle, and lower) operated within a caste paradigm due to social sanctions. The black class system was conscribed by race, and any class movement was within a segregated framework (see Figure 2.4). Additionally, the Negro upper class, in this model, although economically and educationally above the white lower class, was considered below it "if it ever came to an issue."[36] He concluded that the upper class Negroes "are always 'off balance' and

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[35]W. Lloyd Warner, "American Class and Caste," in Paul Barter and Basil Sansom, eds., Race and Social Difference (Baltimore, Md.: Penguin Books, 1972), pp. 364-67; for a detailed discussion of caste and class see Oliver C. Cox, Caste, Class and Race (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970).

[36]Warner, "American Class and Caste," p. 367.

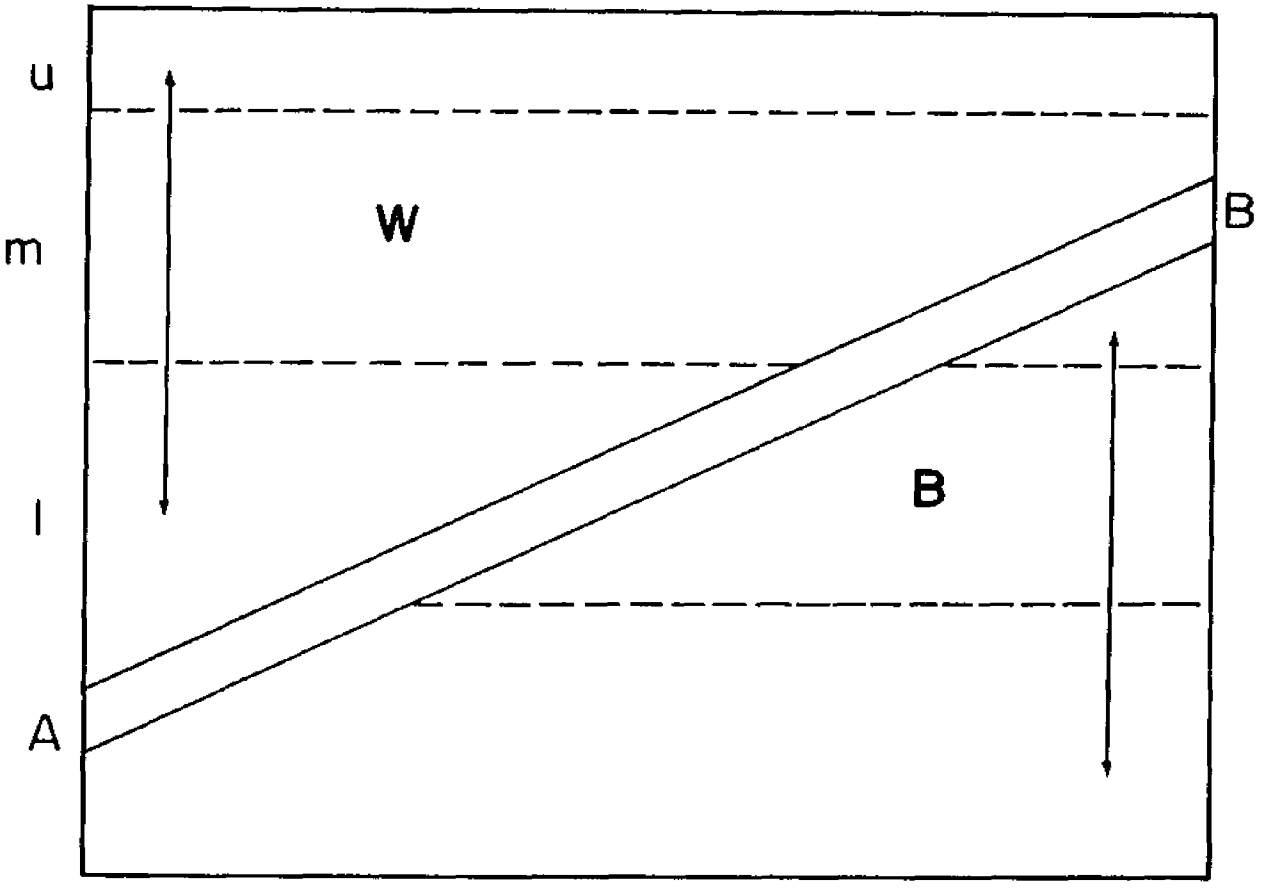

Fig. 2.4. The American caste system. The diagonal lines AB separate the lower Black Caste (B) from the upper White Caste (W) and the two broken lines in each segment separate the three general classes (upper, middle, and lower).

Source: Warner, "American Class and Caste," p. 365.

are constantly attempting to achieve an equilibrium which their society, except under extraordinary circumstances, does not provide for them."[37]

E. Franklin Frazier, a noted black sociologist, published the first and only major work on the black bourgeoisie in 1957.[38] He found that this social class was primarily constituted by those Negroes who derived their incomes from the services they performed as white collar employees. The principal occupations included in this group were school teachers, lawyers, preachers, dentists, physicians, college professors, entertainers, embalmers, funderal directors, social workers, and nurses and a smattering of workers in the technical occupations such as chemistry, engineering, and architecture. Frazier also considered the craftesmen, foremen, and kindred workers to be members of the lower rung of the black middle class. He observed that the relative size of the black bourgeoisie increased during the 1940s because the proportion of Negro workers in clerical and kindred occupations more than doubled. The education of this social class was found to be rooted in the "bourgeoisie ideals" of the northern missionaries and capitalists. He concluded that these blacks are "still beset by feelings of insecurity,

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[37]Ibid., p. 367.

[38]E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie (London: Collier Books, 1962).

frustration and guilt. As a consequence, the free and easy life which they appear to lead is a mask for their unhappy existence."[39]

Bennett, in a contemporary assessment of Black Bourgeoisie, says that the work is deficient in that a class consists of more than a cataloguing of occupations and incomes, and feels that:

> Class in the political sense, class in the sense of social structure and lines of conflict, is a concept related to collectivities with common organization, a common situation, and common interests defined by the ownership or nonownership of the means of production or "effective" property. Class, moreover, is a relationship and it assumes meaning in relationship to another class or classes.[40]

He concluded that Frazier does not come to grips with class in this respect and does not present us with genuine class determinants and interests.

More recently the black bouregoisie notion has attracted national attention regarding its constitution. Wattenburg and Scammon have suggested that a slender majority (52%) of Afro-Americans have reached middle class status.[41] Middle class blacks are defined as those earning $6,000 in the South and $8,000 elsewhere, who are engineers and teachers as well as bus drivers and painters. The

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[39]Ibid., p. 191.

[40]Lerone Bennett, "Black Bourgeoisie Revisited," Ebony (August 1973), p. 53.

[41]Ben J. Wattenburg and Richard W. Scrammon, "Black Progress and Liberal Rhetoric," Commentary (April 1973), pp. 35-44.

primary membership requirement is having enough to eat, a safe house, and adequate clothing. They concluded that civil rights leaders had elected to downplay this progress "in order to maintain moral and political pressure . . . on public opinion."[42]

This research particularly rankled members of the black academic community. Herrington Bryce, an economist, felt that Wattenburg and Scammon were trying to solve black economic problems by redefining the issues and exaggerating black economic success.[43] Agreeing that progress had been made, Bryce pointed out the continued inequities in occupations and the disproportionate degree of poverty among Afro-Americans, and that despite "all the gains, inequality remains the dominant characteristic of black white compassions."[44] Statistical revision were thought

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[42]Ibid., p. 43.

[43]Herrington J. Bryes, "Putting Black Economic Progress in Perspective," Ebony (August 1973), pp. 59-63; Idem, "Are Most Blacks in the Middle Class," The Black Scholar 5 (February 1971):32-36; for additional criticisms of Wattenburg and Scammon see Joe T. Darden, "Black Inequality and Conservative Strategy," in Edgar A. Shuler, et al., eds., Readings in Sociology, Fifth Edition (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1974), pp. 653-63; and Karl D. Gregory, "Brief Report on the State of the Black Economy" (paper presented at the Third National Symposium on the State of the Black Economy, sponsored by the Chicago Economic Development Corporation on May 10, 1973), pp. 1-14. For a reasoned argument against the concept of "middle class" see Richard Parker, The Myth of the Middle Class (New York: Harper and Row, 1972).

[44]Bryce, "Putting Black Economic Progress in Perspective," p. 62.

to be meaningless as long as blacks are victims of this inequality.

Ladner opines that the current black middle class has transcended Frazier's 1957 description.[45] She estimates that most of its members are at least high school graduates, have limited family size and have both husband and wife working. Nonetheless, the average economic foundation is not as secure as whites. A distinctive black middle class culture has not evolved because a large percentage of this group "is only one generation removed from the lower class."[46] Although there is a vacillation between white middle class and black culture values, the black middle class is undergoing change in its identity and political and social consciousness which distinguish it from its earlier counterpart which was deplored by Frazier.

The two traditional sets of criteria for defining the middle class are advanced by Hare.[47] They are the objective (level of education, occupation, income, and quality of residence) and the subjective (prestige, life style, and personal identity). He acknowledges that the upper and lower levels of the black bourgeoisie are

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[45]Joyce Ladner, "The Black Middle Class Defined," Ebony (August 1973), p. 44.

[46]Ibid., p. 44.

[47]Nathan Hare, "The Black Middle Class Defined," Ebony (August 1973), p. 45

dynamic. Like Wattenburg and Scammon he includes the bus driver as well as the physician. The white and black middle classes are also viewed as essentially unequal as the whites have greater wealth. He concludes that the standards for the black middle class keep changing and that many blacks who think they are middle class are really members of the lower class, but in a subjective sense "whatever class you thinketh you are in you are in."[48]

Jackson observes that the black middle class shares similarities "with all social classes and specific caste characteristics with all blacks in the United States."[49] She feels that the black bourgeoisie is comprised of three levels; lower-middle, middle-middle, and upper-middle class with respective overlapping salary ranges of $7-12,000, $9-18,000, and $12,28,000 for family heads. Education for the family head in the lower-middle extends from a high school diploma to less than a college degree. For the middle-middle it is at least completion of college with often one or two years beyond and for the upper middle family head it is completion of a graduate or professional degree. Although the foregoing is defined as a national aggregate, local and regional variations are acknowledged to exist. Twenty-eight per cent of all blacks are thought

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[48]Ibid., p. 45.

[49]Jacquelyn J. Jackson, "The Black Middle Class Defined," Ebony (August 1973), pp. 45-46.

to belong to the middle class. While agreeing with Hare regarding the traditional criteria sets for definition of the black bourgeoisie and the need to continuously redefine this social class, she does not include the blue collar and semi-skilled workers. Her research revealed that black wives at the middle-middle level are more likely to enter the labor force upon completion of their education and remain there until retirement. Also black middle class members place high value upon "achievement and talent, education and poverty." For the recent additions to this group, "residential location in a black or predominantly black (but 'good') area"[50] is also very desirable. The black middle class is found to differ from the white middle class "most significantly by membership in different racial castes"[51] and the greater psychological burden borne for being middle class. It was concluded that the black bourgeoisie is moving toward greater homogeneity and that more of its members are being born into the class.

Alvin Poussaint, a psychiatrist, reasons that the black middle class is made up of professionals and wage earners who have little control over the institutions that affect their lives thus engendering a marked degree of insecurity.[52] He implies that education is of greater

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[50]Ibid., p. 45.

[51]Ibid., p. 46.

[52]Alvin F. Poussaint, "The Black Middle Class Defined," Ebony (August 1973), pp. 46-48.

importance to this group than money as the black bourgeoisie is "preoccupied with showing that they are properly refined, knowledgeable individuals--not just money makers."[53] He also noted regional (North-South) and within group differences in their values and concurs with the United States Department of Labor's middle income level (approximately $11,000 for an urban family of four) as the economic standard for this social rank.

After criticizing the black middle class definition advanced by Wattenburg and Scammon, Vargus deduces that there is no way to define this social stratum as "culture and class are not fixed determinants."[54] She feels that black scholars would find that "certain behaviors of middle income people might be considered lower class and vice versa"[55] if they were ever able to conceptualize this social position; the behavior range of blacks is too varied for such amorphous classifications of lower and middle class.

Admitting that the term "middle class" is usually based on income level, values, and life style, Brown concurs with Vargus as to the inappropriateness of this label for Afro-Americans.[56] Like Warner, he feels that the caste

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[53]Ibid., p. 48.

[54]Ione D. Vargus, "The Black Middle Class Defined," Ebony (August 1973), p. 46.

[55]Ibid., p. 46.

[56]Robert S. Brown, "The Black Middle Class Defined," Ebony (August 1973), p. 48.

position of blacks vis-a-vis whites generally--makes the black bourgeoisie a slippery concept as blacks on any economic level are susceptible to being unfairly harassed by the police and other agencies purely on the basis of color.[57] Nonetheless, many blacks consider themselves and their residential environments to be quite middle class.

Black Middle Class Ghettos

In order to gain a perspective on the study area the following long term black middle class neighborhoods are discussed briefly. Strivers row, a black middle class residential enclave in Harlem (New York City) typifies the urban lifestyle of the black bourgeoisie.[58] Located on both sides of 138th and 139th Streets between Seventh and Eighth Avenues and surrounded by some of the worst slums in America, it has steadfastly refused to succumb to urban defeat for more than fifty years. In March, 1967, it was officially designated as the St. Nicholas Historic District and declared a landmark by the New York City Landmark Preservation Commission. Originally constructed for upper

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[57]In 1911 Booker T. Washington, a well known member of the "black middle class" and the foremost national black leader was assaulted by a white laborer in New York City for supposedly peeping at a white woman through a keyhole. Although the accusation was never proved, the laborer was not convicted of assault. See Williard B. Gatewood, "Booker T. Washington and the Ulrick Affair," Journal of Negro History 61 (January 1970):29-44.

[58]Peter Bailey, "Striving Still in Harlem," Ebony (August 1973), pp. 89-96.

class whites, blacks yearning for social status purchased these properties and the residential complexion of central Harlem began changing in the 1900s.[59] This area became known by 1920, as Strivers' Row, "a trim, tree dotted, exclusive community of 'society' blacks."[60] Physicians, lawyers, and businessmen continue to reside in these homes as they did in the past. The earlier generation residents epitomized Frazier's notion of a haughty black bouregoisie--disdainful of their surrounding lower-class bretheren, but today's group is concerned about the "other" Harlem. These Afro-Americans were given a chance to share in the American Dream, which had always been the property of whites; they seized it and held on. Although open housing legislation has afforded blacks greater neighborhood selection, the Strivers Row Blacks have remained in this neighborhood because of tradition and moderate cost of housing.

On the other hand, "Mayfair Mansions" located in Washington, D.C., "the oldest, largest and once the most respectable 'black built' middle income housing area in the

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[59]For a detailed account of the racial residential change in Harlem in the early twentieth century see Gilbert Osofsky, Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto, 1890-1930 (New York: Harper Torchbooke, 1968); Roi Ottley and William Weatherby, The Negro in New York (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1967), especially Book Four; and James Weldon Johnson, Black Manhattan (New York: Atheneum, 1968).

[60]Peter Bailey, "Striving Still in Harlem," p. 89.

nation has fallen on hard times."[61] Constructed after World War II by the Spreading Gospel Church, it became a "promised land" for the black professionals who were barred from the quality neighborhoods in the nation's capital. Nevertheless, as segregation barriers were destroyed many of these middle class residents moved to newer apartments or trailed their white counterparts to the suburbs. As a result, the residential environment began to deteriorate--trees died, the apartments went unpainted and crime and vandalism from the nearby low income ghetto began serious encroachment. In an effort to forestall the community's demise, the inhabitants applied for federal assistance. In return they had to agree to accept a 50 percent occupancy of low and moderate income families. The older tenants feel that this stipulation will serve to further run down their already decaying environs. It is expected that these residential areas have characteristics similar to those found in the Flint black middle class neighborhood.

Summary

As indicated at the outset of this chapter, no study has focused specifically on the intraurban mobility and environmental perception of black middle class residents.

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[61] "Mr. Green's Complaint," Newsweek (May 22, 1972), p. 73; for additional information see "The New Black Bourgeoisie," The Black Scholar (January 1973). The entire issue examines various aspects of the black middle class; and Edwin Warner et al., "America's Rising Black Middle Class," Time (June 17, 1974), pp. 19-28.

Consequently, representative studies in these areas were surveyed, some which acknowledged the mobility and perceptual behavior of black Americans.

The general and in-depth reviews of the intraurban mobility literature revealed that life-cycle changes were important in the decision to seek a new residence. Most moves were of short distance, urbanites are more likely to be movers than suburbanites, renters moved more frequently than owners, renters who preferred to own are more mobile than those who prefer to rent. Also most people moved to higher quality housing; middle class areas were the most attractive neighborhoods for those relocating, and the majority of those changing residence were under thirty-five years of age. It was also acknowledged that the environment and the quest for social status contributed heavily to the decision to move. Major constraints on mobility behavior were found to be income and race. The latter had a particularly inhibiting effect on Afro-Americans as most moves in black areas were internal and movement out of the zone was shown to be highly restricted to nearby and newly forming Negro areas. The mobility patterns of blacks showed little similarities with those of the white population.

The literature on environmental perception yielded few studies concerned with the residential evaluation of blacks, although the black culture was conceded to be a factor in perception.

Studies on the black middle class provide the social background in which the intraurban mobility and environmental perception occur. This social grouping has many conflicting definitions--some of which are based on objective criteria (education, income, occupation, and quality of residence) and others based on subjective criteria (prestige, life style, and personal identity). Generally, the black middle class is based on a point of view which allows it to be defined by using diverse parameters. Background information of the study area and the research design will be provided in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

THE STUDY AREA AND METHOD

The basic objective of this study was to examine intraurban mobility and environmental perception in a black middle class ghetto located in Flint, Michigan. This chapter is divided into two parts. The first section is concerned with the growth of Flint's black population and attributes of the study area. The composition of the sample, the structuring of the hypotheses, the development of the instrument, the method used for collection of the data and the procedures used for analysis are presented in the second section.

Growth of the Afro-American Population in Flint, Michigan

There is published evidence that blacks have resided in Flint since 1874 although it is suspected that they arrived much earlier.[1] Primarily they came from the South in order to escape racial oppression and to secure the

[1]Melvin E. Banner, A Short Negro History of Flint (Flint, Mich.: Melvin E. Banner, 1964), p. 2.

opportunity to lead lives with dignity and respect.[2] The fewer than 300 Afro-Americans residing in the city in the early 1900s were agglomerated in the southeastern part of the city near Thread Lake. The black population increased to more than 5,000 persons between 1910 and 1930, as many continued to pour out of the southern United States seeking work in the burgeoning automobile industry.[3]

The period included the "Great Migration" of World War I which accelerated black migratory trends already in progress. The major factor was economic as southern agriculture, the vocation of most blacks, was ravaged by the boll weevil. At the same time northern industry was in great need of unskilled and semiskilled labor. Since European immigration was stopped by the war, many northern manufacturers encouraged the poor blacks to leave the South and oftentimes dispatched labor agents to actively recruit them.[4] Between 1914 and 1917 over 400,000 Southern blacks

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[2]During this era the racial injustices of the South were so harsh that Rayford Logan has termed the era as the "lowest ebb" of black life in America since slavery. Rayford Logan, The Betrayal of the Negro (New York: Collin McMillan Ltc., 1965); Banner, A Short Negro History, p. 1.

[3]Pierce F. Lewis, "Impact of Negro Migration on the Electoral Geography of Flint, Michigan, 1932-1962: A Cartographic Analysis," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 55 (March 1965):2-3.

[4]August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, From Plantation to Ghetto (New York: Hill and Wang, 1966).

moved north. The black press assisted in the recruitment by extrolling the justice and humanity found in northern cities.[5]

Blacks also continued to move north and to Flint throughout the depression years of the 1930s but at a slower rate. Nevertheless, the World War II economic boom again pulled large numbers of Negroes to Flint, Michigan, and the movement was given added impetus by President Roosevelt's order forbidding discrimination in defense industries. This action opened assembly line jobs to blacks for the first time. Flint's Afro-American population doubled in the 1940s and again in the 1950s. Most of this increase came via immigration.[6] In 1970 there were 54,237 blacks (28% of the population) living in the city (Figure 3.1).[7]

This large increase of the Flint Afro-American population produced economic and social changes and eventually led to a spatial division of the black community along these lines. Negroes in pre-industrial Flint were much better off than those who arrived in the early days of the automobile boom. Many of the latter, coming from the

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[5]Ottley and Weatherby, Negroes in New York, pp. 189-90.

[6]Lewis, "Impact of Negro Migration," pp. 3-6; and Meir and Rudwick, From Plantation to Ghetto, pp. 210-11.

[7]Lewis, "Impact of Negro Migration," p. 3; and U.S. Dept. of Commerce, 1970 Census of Population and Housing, Census Tracts, Flint, Michigan (Washington, D.C., 1972), p. 2.

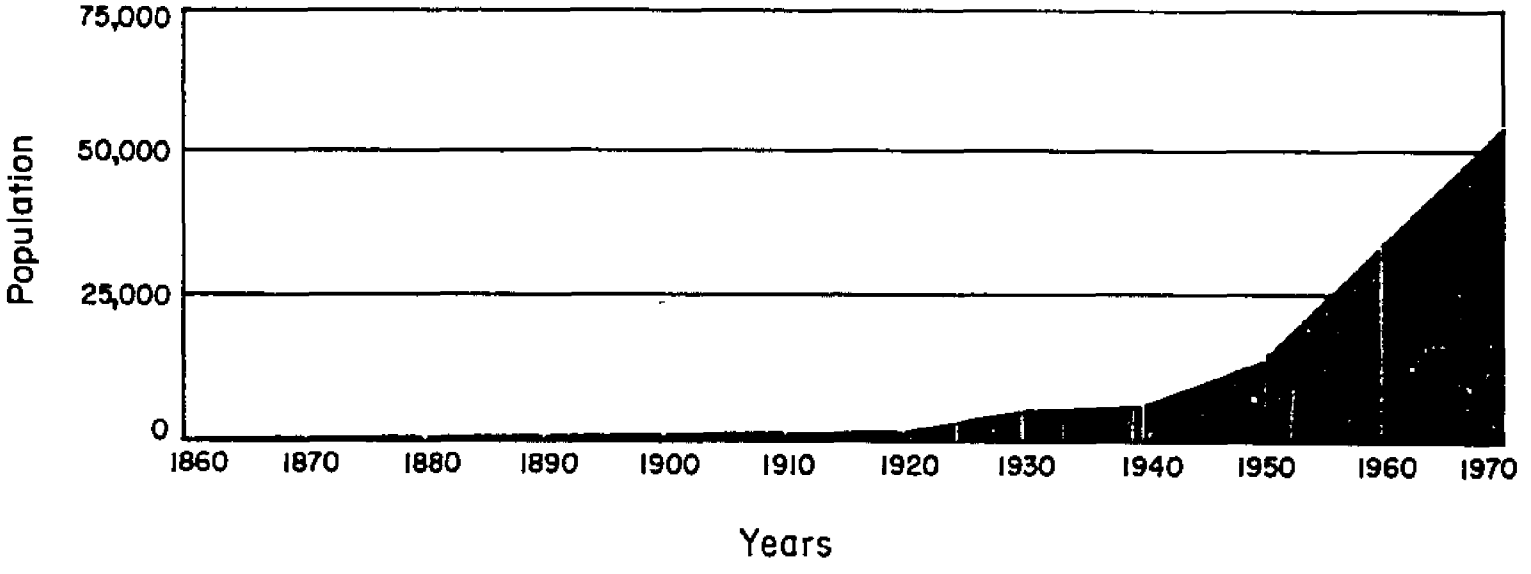

Fig. 3.1. Growth of Flint, Michigan's black population 1860-1970.

Source: After Lewis, 1965.

rural South, possessed minimal material goods and no financial assets. Moreover, their economic means were little improved as discriminatory policies in the automobile plants consigned them to the lowest paying employment.[8]

Thus the moderately priced living quarters in the established Negro community, Thread Lake, were often beyond the means of many newly arrived Afro-Americans. Consequently, most of these later arrivals secured housing in the squalid, but relatively inexpensive slums in the city's North end. The earliest concentrations were found adjacent to the Buick automobile plant.[9] By 1970, the Buick Neighborhood covered a much larger area (Figure 3.2). When the newcomer's income grew large enough, he had the option of moving to the economically and socially more prestigious Thread Lake community in the South end of the city.[10] Residents in this area were then and are still considered to be of a higher social class by the majority white and black populations of the city. The Afro-Americans of this

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[8]Lewis, "Impact of Negro Migration," p. 6; old time black Flint residents also provided this information and subsequent facts about the Afro-American population.

[9]Lewis shows cartographically these early concentrations. See Lewis, "Impact of Negro Migration," pp. 4-5.

[10]Lewis, "Impact of Negro Migration," pp. 6-7. Local open-housing legislation which was passed in 1968 expanded the residential option of Flint's black community. See Stanley D. Brunn and Wayne L. Hoffman, "The Spatial Response of Negroes and Whites Toward Open Housing: The Flint Referendum," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 60 (March 1970):18-36.

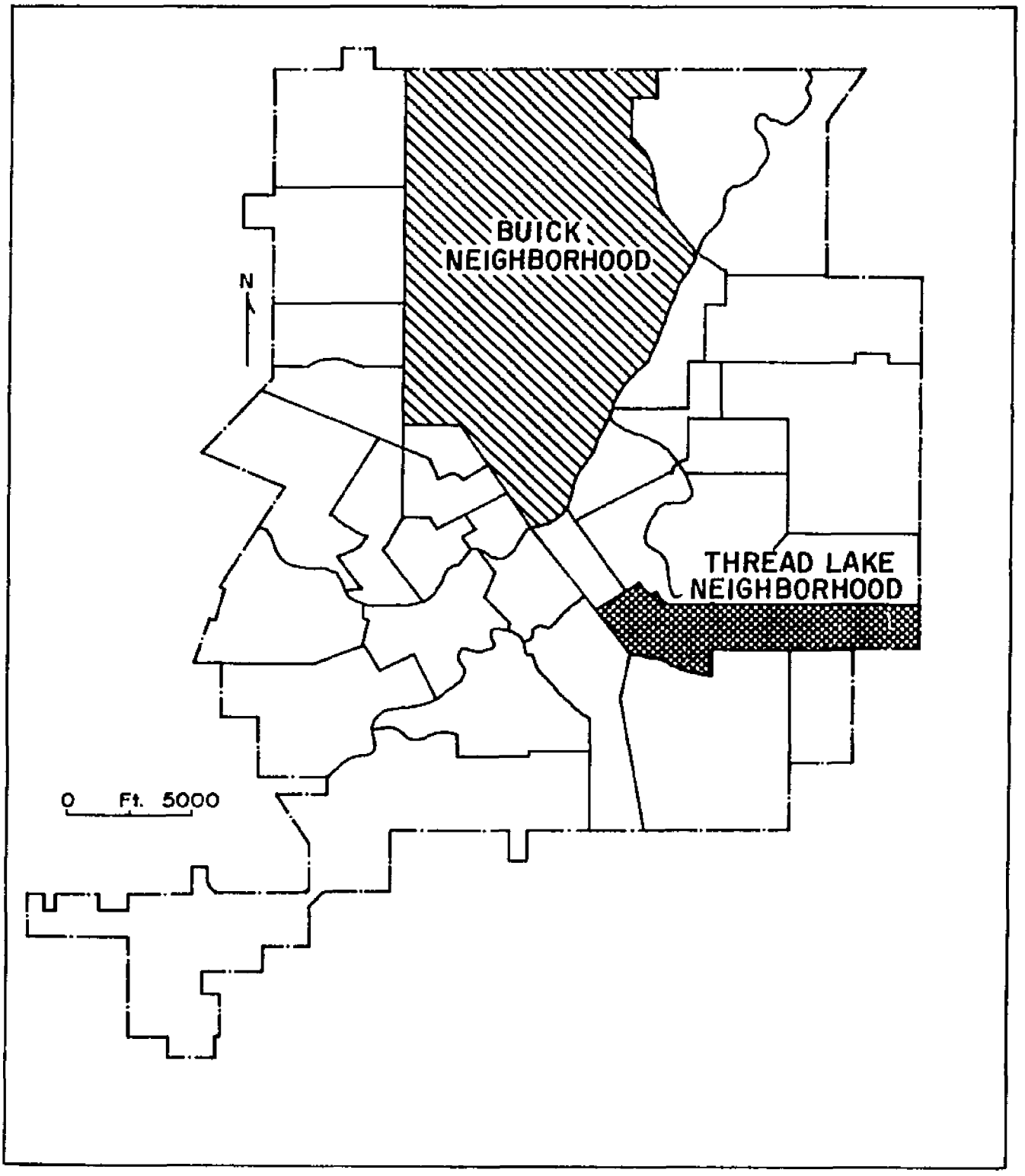

Fig. 3.2. Flint, Michigan's major black residential concentrations.

Source: Compiled from Flint, Michigan 1970 Census Tract Data.

residential area, especially those in the Lapeer-Oakwood Park environs, consider themselves the guardians of the black middle class tradition in Flint, Michigan.

Geographers have conducted political research on the black population in Flint, Michigan. Brunn and Hoffman found that distance from the black ghetto was not a significant factor in the difference between white and black voting behavior concerning a referendum on open housing.[11] Pierce Lewis showed cartographically, the correlation between black immigration and the shifting Republican urban voting patterns.[12] Both studies alluded to the middle class black residential community in Flint's southern sector.

Study Area

Prior to the 1950s, there was no new black middle class neighborhood in Flint, Michigan.[13] This was due to the agglomeration of Negroes in older housing and to the reluctance of whites to allow blacks free access to newly constructed subdivisions. This legally segregated

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[11]Brunn and Hoffman, "The Flint Referendum," pp. 18-36.

[12]Lewis, "Impact of Negro Migration," pp. 1-25.

[13]This information regarding the Flint black community in the study area was secured from interviews with the black realtor who developed much of the study area and from conversations with long terms residents of the neighborhood.

character of the housing market was to remain until the late 1960s. Nevertheless, as large numbers of Afro-Americans had migrated to Flint during the decade of the 1940s and had secured employment in the booming automobile industry, by 1950 many were quite desirous of new homes.

In 1949, a black dentist purchased ten lots on McPhail and Owen Streets in Lapeer Park from a white school teacher (Figure 3.3). The dentist had tried for several years to secure land on which to construct a new home outside of the black slum ghetto.[14] Unknown to him, the land which he purchased (as well as the rest of Lapeer Park) had been planned as a middle class community for white school teachers in the city. The area had been zoned for single family dwellings.

After it became known that a black had bought land in the community, the white realtor who controlled the bulk of the property (after failing in an attempt to repurchase the lots) decided to develop the neighborhood for middle class blacks, knowing that most whites would no longer have a desire to build homes there. A black realtor was then

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[14]In 1947 the dentist purchased a lot in a white area of Flint's southern sector from a white friend. His friend's wife was placed under such duress (she was threatened with dismissal from her job as an assistant principal in the Flint School system) that he decided to resell the lots to a white realtor who had badgered him to relinquish the property. The dentist also feared for his family's safety as whites in Flint had reacted violently against blacks who breached the social code during that time.

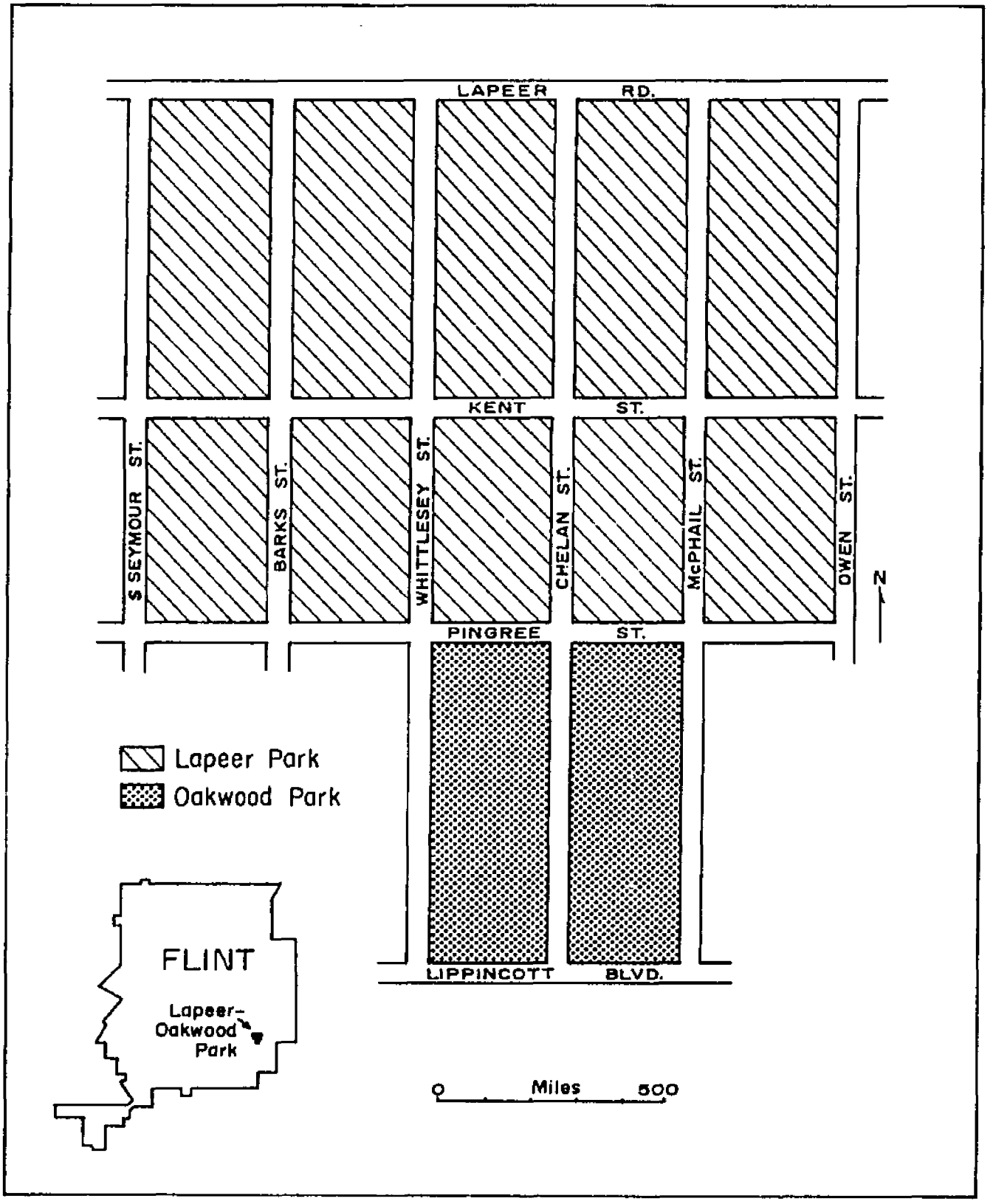

Fig. 3.3. Lapeer and Oakwood Park neighborhood in Flint, Michigan 1970.

Source: City Assessor's Office, Flint, Michigan, 1970.

employed to sell additional land to black with appropriate financial means. When this news was diffused (primarily by word of mouth) to the ebony residents of the city, there were many requests for lots.

During this period (1951) the black dentist and four other blacks who had bought property in Lapeer Park met with the white realtor to reach an agreement to insure the middle class character of the area. Their major concern was the block between Kent Street and Lapeer Road on McPhail Street (see Figure 3.3). It was decided that no home in this block would be constructed on less than a 100' x 110' lot and that each house would be worth at least $25,000. It was also resolved that new residents would be recruited who indicated a willingness to keep up their property. However, as the community developed, homes were constructed on smaller lots (50 x 100 feet). Subsequently, several residences were built in the Lapeer Park neighborhood in the early fifties, and as it became saturated, the area south of it, Oakwood Park (Figure 3.3) was developed in the late fifties and early sixties. White lending institutions, which had previously granted Flint Negroes few large loans, began to supply the capital for this black housing development.

This Lapeer and Oakwood Park community acted as a magnet, drawing the upwardly mobile Afro-Americans most of whom were from Flint. However, the majority of these new residents came from Flint's South end as they were the more

prosperous of the city's blacks. Figure 3.4 shows that the predominantly black census tracts in the South end of Flint have the highest median incomes and housing value of black areas in the city. Lapeer and Oakwood Park are located in tract ten which is part of the Thread Lake Community.

In this analysis, Lapeer and Oakwood Park will be referred to (in most instances) as one black residential area. This is appropriate because the census data show that the housing, social and economic characteristics of the two neighborhoods are very similar. In this respect the neighborhood boundaries are considered artificial.

Housing Characteristics in the Study Area, 1970

The study area is within census tract ten and includes blocks 208-217 and 220-221.[15] In 1970 there were 232 single family dwellings and 799 residents, 99 percent of whom were black. The median value of the houses in these twelve blocks is $20,707 compared to $14,600 for Flint and $13,200 for the city's black areas. Renters in the area are virtually non-existent as 98 percent of the population are homeowners. Respective figures for Flint's total and Afro-American populations are 69 and 59 percent. The mean number of rooms in each house in the twelve

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[15]See the U.S. Department of Commerce, 1970 Census of Housing Block Statistics, Flint, Michigan (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 7.

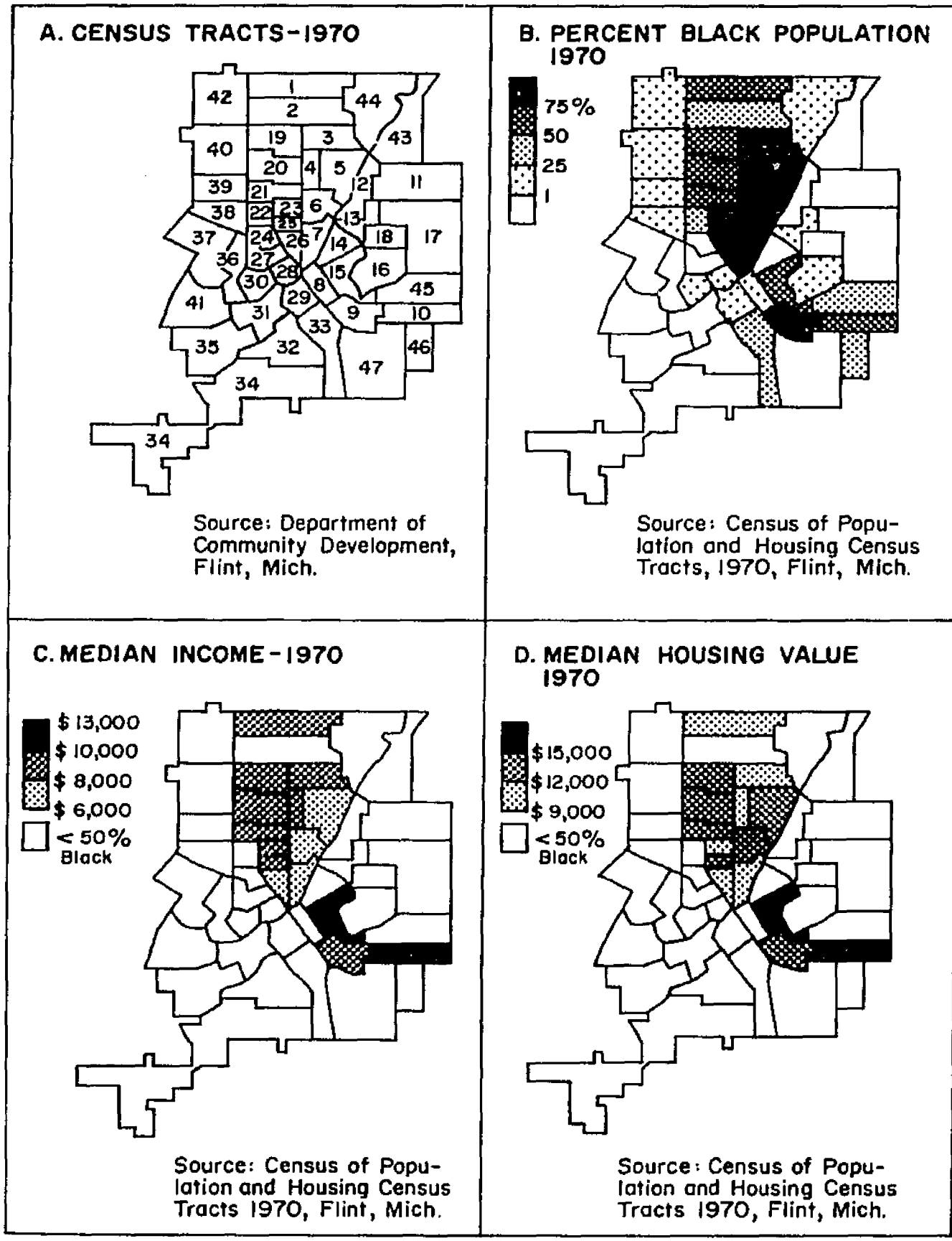

Fig. 3.4. Black population, income, and housing value by census tract in Flint, Michigan.

blocks is 5.7 (5.5 for the city); only two houses in the study area lack full plumbing facilities.

Socio-economic Characteristics in the Study Area, 1970

The vast majority (79%) of the households are of the conjugal type as compared to 82 percent for Flint and 58 percent for the city's larger black population.[16] Sixty percent of the residents, twenty-five years of age and older, have completed high school; the median years of schooling for the population is 12.3 years. Corresponding figures for the city are 49 percent and 11.8 years respectively. These figures for Flint's Afro-American population are 36 percent and 10.8 years. Ninety-eight percent of the male labor force in census tract ten is employed as is the case for 90 percent of the female labor force. Respective figures for Flint are 95 and 91 percent, and for the city's black population, they are 93 and 86 percent. In this combined work force, 43 percent are employed as professional, technical and kindred workers, managers and administrators, sales and clerical workers, craftesmen

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[16]The percentages for the social and economic characteristics are based on the total blocks in census tract ten as these data were not available on a block basis. See the U.S. Department of Commerce, 1970 Census of Population and Housing, Census Tracts, Flint, Michigan (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), pp. 34-36. Nonetheless, interviews with older residents and personal observation have led the writer to conclude that the resultant percentages in this section would be higher if they were available for the individual blocks in the study area.

and foremen and kindred workers compared to 71 percent for Flint and 29 percent for the city's Afro-American population. Consequently, many of the employed persons have "good paying jobs." The median family income is $12,883 compared to $10,161 for the city and $8,829 for Flint's Negroes. This compares favorably with the United States Department of Labor's recommended income of $12,600 for an urban family of four.

The foregoing statistics give strong evidence of a black middle class in the South end of Flint. The next section of this chapter is concerned with the design of the study.

Method

Instrument Employed

A questionnaire was developed to measure intraurban mobility and environmental perception of the neighborhood. To measure intraurban mobility, the following questions were constructed: "When did you first occupy this residence?" "Where did you live prior to moving to your current residence?" "At what stage of your life did you initially settle in Lapeer-Oakwood Park?" "What is it about this community that was basically responsible for your moving here?" and "Do you have any plans to move?" To document perception of the environment the following questions were developed: "Which of the following conditions best describe your community (crowded/uncrowded,

high crime/low crime and noisy/quiet)?" "Do you feel that the quality of this environment has decreased in the last five years?" "In your opinion, is your home in need of major physical maintenance?" "Which area of Flint do you consider to have better living conditions for Afro-Americans generally (North end, South end, or other)?" "Do you feel that this neighborhood is upper, middle, or lower class?" "In your opinion, during which of the following periods would you rate this community (Lapeer-Oakwood Park) the best black residential area in Flint, if any (1950s, 1960s, or 1970s)?" "Do you feel that this community is no longer the best residential area for Flint blacks?" and "How important were the following services in your moving into this community (shopping, postal, medical, fire, transportation, entertainment, etc.)?"

The preceding questions were devised by reviewing the pertinent social geography literature on intraurban mobility and environmental perception. Much insight was also gained from the instrument developed by Professor Harold Rose of the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee, who employed similar measures in his investigation of the residents of all black towns across the nation. Additional information relative to mobility and perception was obtained from those interviewed to give a better description of the community.

The questionnaire was pre-tested in a black middle class residential area in Lansing, Michigan. Black middle

class professionals on the Michigan State University campus were also interviewed. Needed revisions of the questionnaire were made, after which it was administered in the study area.

Sample

The population from which the sample was drawn consisted of 232 households in the Lapeer-Oakwood Park community. A total of seventy-six residences, a 33 percent sample, were randomly selected from this combined area (Figure 3.4). This was done by securing a block map of the study area from the Flint Assessor's office. Using the Assessor's records, each occupied dwelling in Lapeer-Oakwood Park was numbered. A random table was then employed to select the sample households.

Fifty-six of the dwellings were located within the official Lapeer Park boundary; this constituted 74 percent of the sample and 31 percent of the total number of occupied homes in Lapeer Park. Twenty of the households were located within the official Oakwood Park boundary; this represented 26 percent of the sample and 41 percent of the total number of occupied houses within Oakwood Park.

Data Collection

Background information about Flint and the study area was obtained during the Winter and Spring of 1973. Interviews were held with Mr. Connie Childress, a black realtor, who developed much of the area; Mr. Cornelius

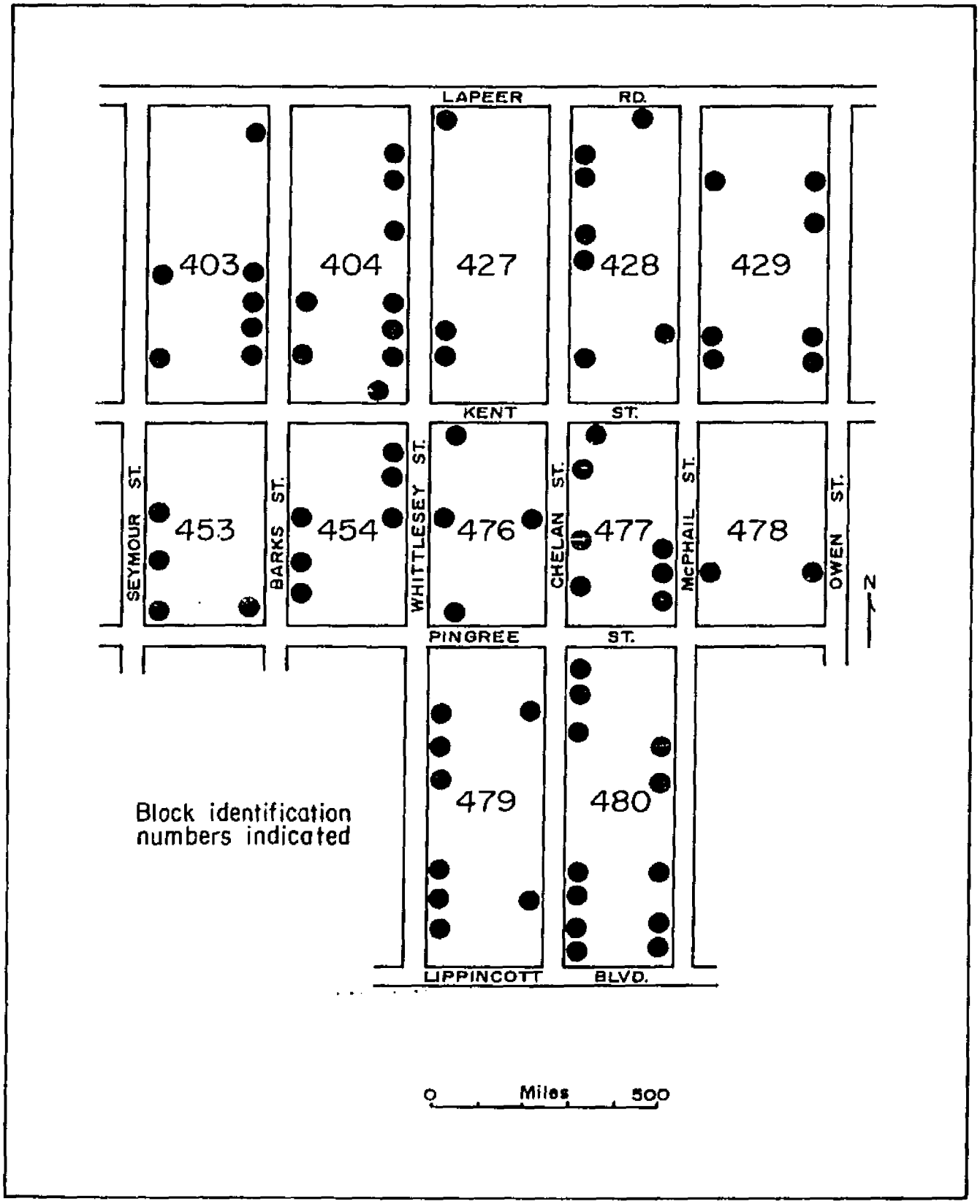

Fig. 3.5. Location of sample population in Lapeer and Oakwood Park.

Walker, a community development specialist with the City Planning Commission; staff members of the Flint Registry of Deeds and Assessor's Office; older residents of Flint's South end black community; and the vertical files of the Flint Journal and the Bronze Reporter, a black newspaper. Much information was also secured via the guise of what Kenneth Clark has called an involved observer.[17]

The questionnaire was administered during the last two weekends of July, 1973 and the first two weekends of August, 1973 in a door to door canvass of the sample population. Household heads (oftentimes accompanied by spouse) answered the questions. When a sample household head was not at home, the interviewer returned at a later time. There was one instance in which the interviewee refused cooperation, so an additional household was selected employing the random table.

Procedures

By August 15, 1973, all questionnaires had been administered. The data were then coded, and placed on an IBM Coding form. At this juncture the writer decided to extract all information from the code sheets for calculation by hand as the sample was fairly small. All computations were done by hand or with the assistance of a calculator. Since the interview data were of a non-parametrical nature

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[17]Kenneth Clark, Dark Ghetto (New York: Random House, 1965), p. iii.

the Chi-Square test of independence was used to test the hypotheses which were concerned with expected frequencies of observations. A .05 level of significance was used to reject or to accept the null hypotheses. Maps are also an important part of the analysis.

Hypotheses

In line with the purpose of this research to investigate intraurban mobility and environmental perception in a black middle class ghetto, the following hypotheses, stated in the null form, were developed. They are grouped under the two general headings of mobility and perception.

Intraurban Mobility:

1. There is no difference among Lapeer-Oakwood Park households (hereafter referred to as LOP households) with respect to prior residential location.
2. No age difference (under thirty-five versus thirty-five and older) existed among LOP household heads at time of residence change.
3. In terms of ownership status no differences exist among LOP households with respect to their prior residences.

Environmental Perception:

4. No difference exists among LOP household heads with respect to their perceiving the neighborhood as the

best black residential area in Flint in the past twenty years.

5. Among the LOP household heads there is no difference in the perception of their neighborhood as the best black residential area in Flint.

Summary

Questionnaires designed to examine intraurban mobility and environmental perception were administered to seventy-six selected residents of the Lapeer-Oakwood Park black middle class ghetto in Flint, Michigan, during July and August of 1973.

This chapter also presented the hypotheses advanced in this research project. The growth of Flint, Michigan's, black population, the attributes of the study area, the composition of the sample, the development of the instrument, the methods of data collection and the procedures used to analyze the data have also been presented. Research findings will be presented in the next section.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF INTRAURBAN MOBILITY AND ENVIRONMENTAL PERCEPTION

Considerable data concerning intraurban mobility and environmental perception in Flint, Michigan's, Lapeer-Oakwood Park Neighborhood was obtained for analysis. General background information of the sample population will first be given followed by an examination of the five hypotheses dealing with the two major headings: intraurban mobility and environmental perception.

Socio-economic Characteristics

All but eight of the seventy-six households in the Lapeer-Oakwood Park sample population (hereafter referred to as LOP) were headed by black males. One household was headed by a white female and the remainder by black females. Three inventory items give information concerning family size, age, and education of the husband and wife. Family size ranged from a high of eight to a low of two persons; the mean number of people per household was 3.6 with 75 percent having four or less (Figure 4.1). This

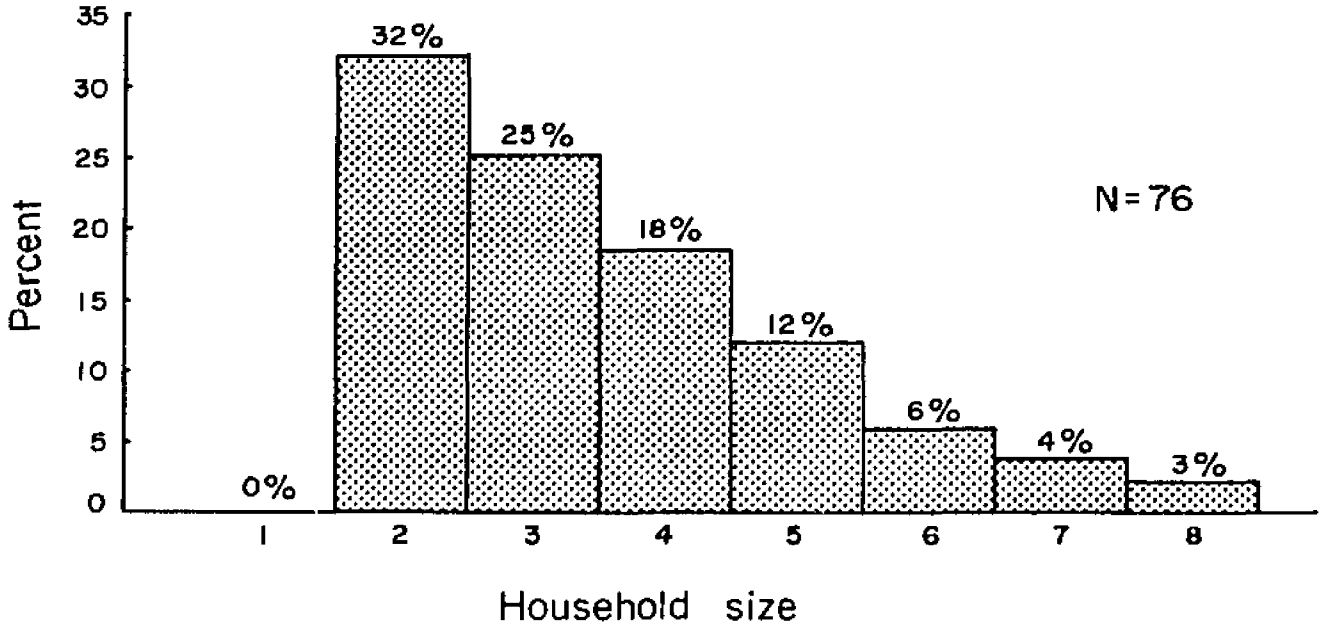

Fig. 4.1. Household size of LOP sample population.

is in agreement with the black middle class propensity for small families.[1]

Responses regarding age and education of the husbands and wives are presented in Figure 4.2. The median age for husbands is forty-seven while that for wives is forty-four. Sixty-eight of the seventy-six households had both conjugal members in residence; the eight others (all headed by females) were the result of death or divorce of the husband. Education of the husbands and wives were closely parallel. However, more husbands had attended and finished high school than wives. But more wives than husbands had attended college, had finished college and had completed a graduate degree. The smaller number of wives than husbands attending high school results from the fact that more wives went further in school as data acquired for the number of persons attending high school were not combined with the number who graduated. Each respondent appeared in only one of the six categories.

Data concerning occupations were also obtained from the survey. The major occupational categories of husbands and wives is presented in Table 4.1.

More wives than husbands held professional and technical occupations; this figure coincides with the higher educational level of the wives as indicated in Figure 4.2.

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[1]C.B.S. Documentary, "Four Portraits in Black," May 4, 1974; and Ladner, "Black Middle Class," p. 44.

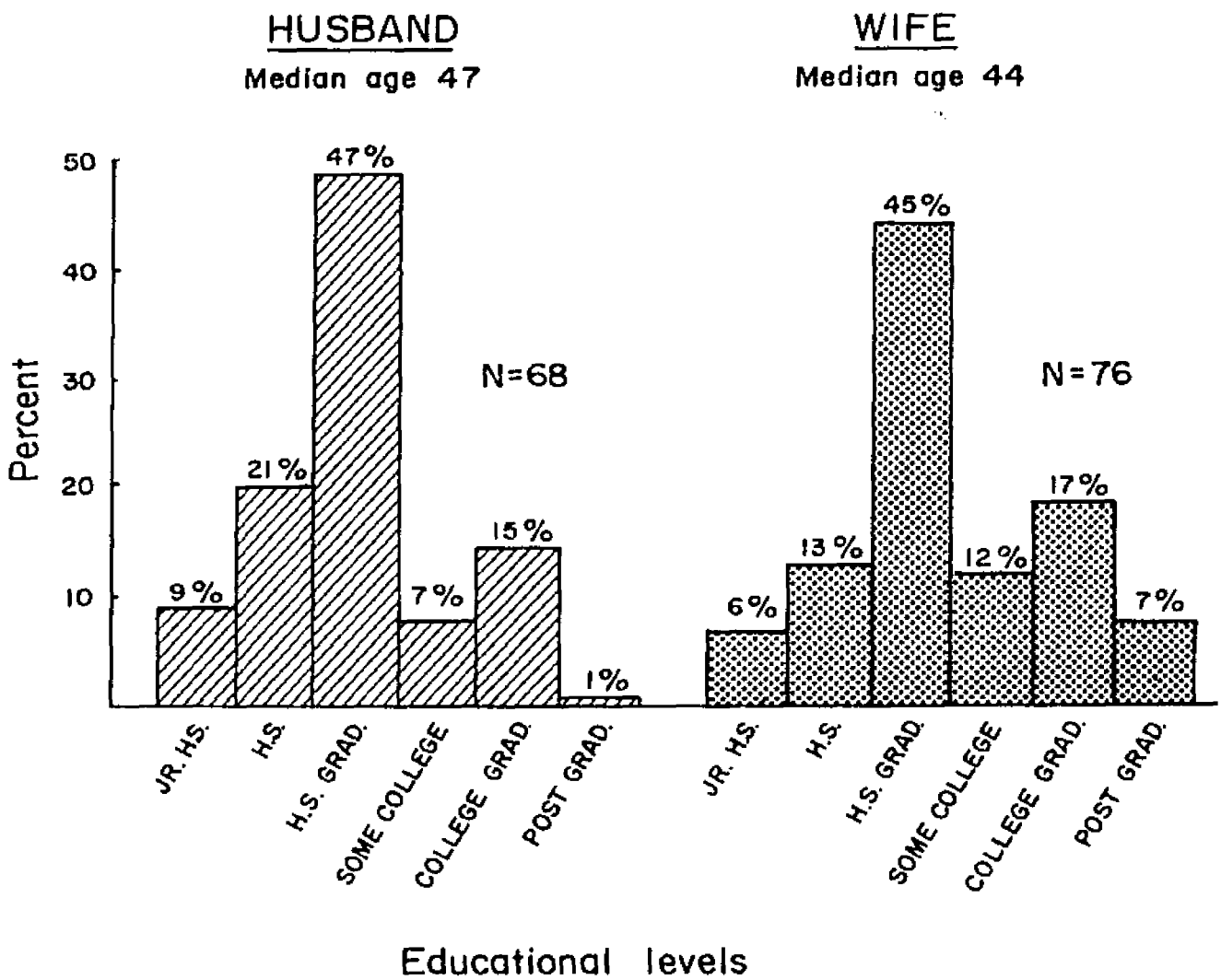

Fig. 4.2. Educational attainment of husbands and wives in LOP sample population.

Table 4.1.--Occupations of Husbands and Wives in LOP Sample Population.

	Husband	Wife
Operative (manual worker, minimal skill)	39 (57%)	11 (20%)
Professional and Technical	17 (25%)	27 (49%)
Service Worker	2 (3%)	6 (11%)
Retirees	9 (13%)	9 (16%)
Clerical		2 (4%)
Other	1 (2%)	
	68 (100%)	55 (100%)

Of the sixty-eight conjugal households both husband and wife were employed in thirty-nine (57%) cases. This supports Jackson's research which revealed that most wives in black middle income families held jobs.[2] Additionally, seven of the husbands (10%) and three of the wives (4%) held second jobs. A recent television documentary reported that a number of black middle class households were comprised of one member (in most instances the husband) who held a second job.[3]

[2]Jackson, "Black Middle Class," p. 45; and Ladner, "Black Middle Class," p. 44.

[3]C.B.S. Documentary; Jackson, "Black Middle Class," p. 44; Ladner, "Black Middle Class," p. 44.

The literature indicated that members of the black middle class earn at least $8,000 annually[4] while the United States Department of Labor's most recent figures reflect that $12,600 is needed for a family of four to be classed in the intermediate income range. The data in this study lend support to these figures as fifty-three (70%) of the sample households earned more than $14,000 yearly and sixty-five (86%) of the respondents earned more than $8,000. Fifty-three (69%) of the homes were valued at $21,000 or more whereas seventy-four were worth more than $15,000 compared to a median housing value of $14,600 for the city of Flint.[5] Figure 4.3 shows the percentage of the sample households earning less than $8,000 to more than $20,000 in each block of the LOP community. The block bordered by Kent, Whittlesey, Pingree and Chelan streets has the highest income, and at least 50 percent of the sample households in each block earn more than $20,000 per year. Figure 4.4, which shows the mean housing value of the sample population by blocks, also includes the

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[4]C.B.S. Documentary; Wattenburg and Scammon, "Black Progress," p. 36; Darden, "Black Inequality," p. 656; Poussaint, "Black Middle Class," p. 47; and Warner et al., "Rising Black Middle Class," p. 19.

[5]The data also support the black middle class operational definition advanced by the writer (51% of the households earn at least $14,000 yearly and 51% of the homes are valued at $20,000 and above in the sample population).

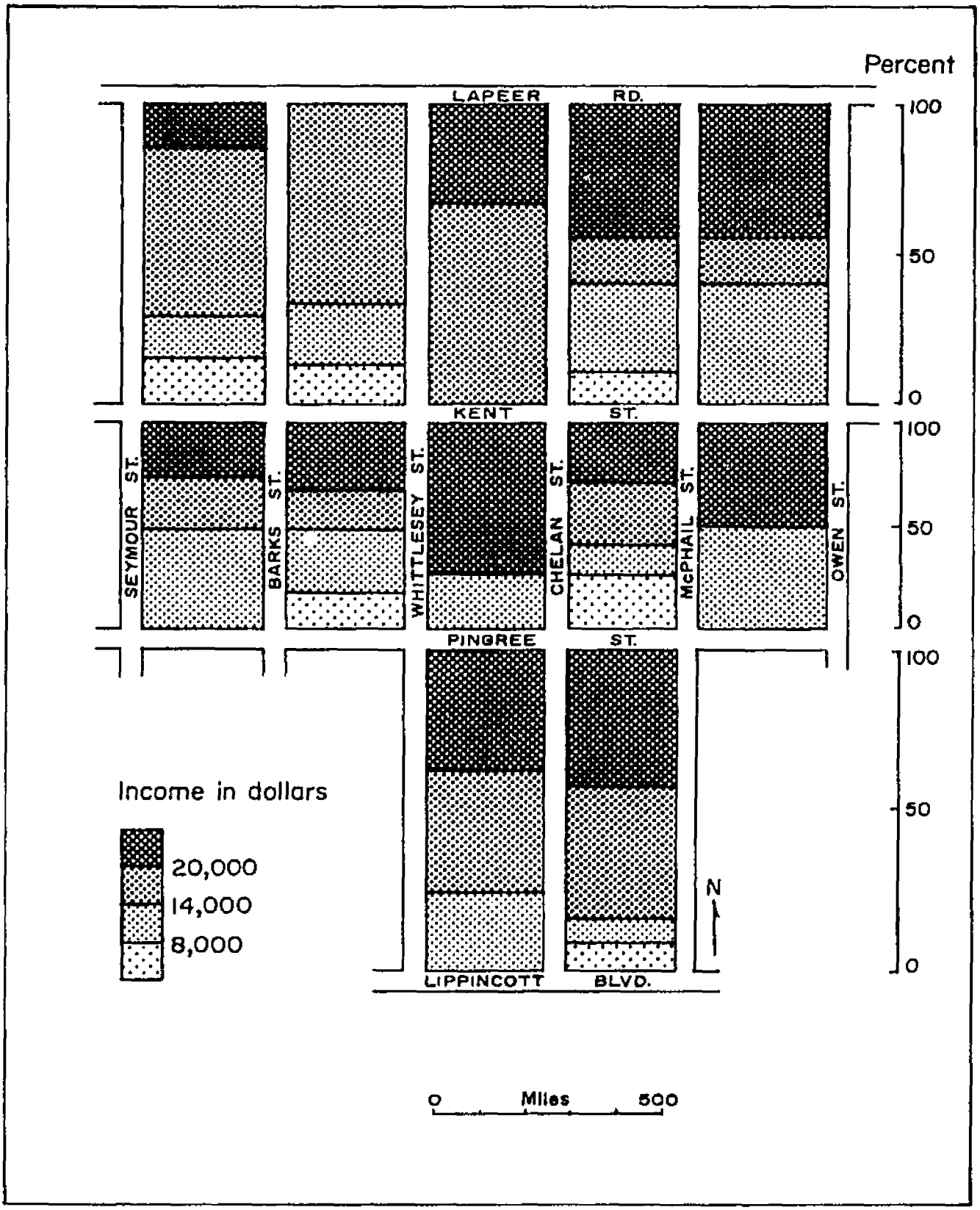

Fig. 4.3. Income distribution of LOP sample households by percentage of each block.

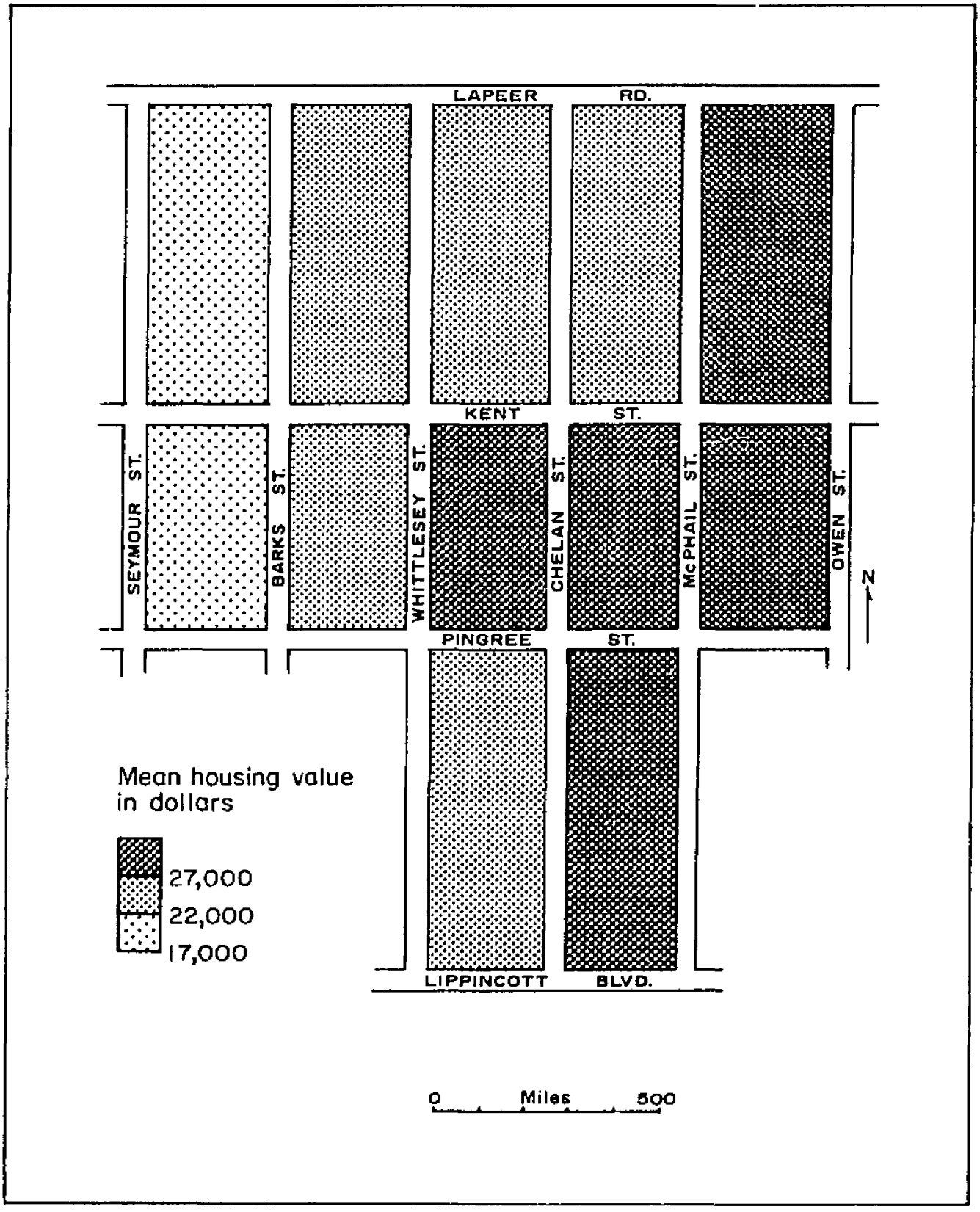

Fig. 4.4. Mean housing value of the LOP sample residents by block.

aforementioned block as one having the highest valued housing in the neighborhood. Although the writer recognizes that the sample households in each of the blocks may not give an exact picture of the income and housing value distribution within the study area, his field research led him to believe that these figures closely parallel reality.

Intraurban Mobility Analysis

Hypothesis I:

H_o There is no difference among Lapeer-Oakwood Park households (hereafter referred to as LOP households) with respect to distance moved to their current residential location.

H_1 Most LOP households moved a short distance (from within the South end Flint black community) to their current residence.

The inventory item that requested prior residential location was used to determine distance moved and area of previous residence. Nonetheless, the writer did not deem it necessary to measure the exact linear distance as Flint has (and has had since the 1930s) its black population spatially concentrated in its northern and southern sectors (Figure 3.2).[6] Prior to 1968 Flint Afro-Americans had limited housing options.[7] Much previous research by

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[6]Pierce Lewis has shown these Flint, Michigan black population concentrations cartographically from 1934-1960. See Lewis, "Impact of Negro Migration," pp. 4-5.

[7]Ibid., pp. 2-7; and Brunn and Hoffman, "The Flint Referendum," pp. 18-36.

geographers and others has revealed that black residential mobility is spatially restricted and is funneled to adjacent or newly forming Negro areas.[8] Since the black housing areas in Flint are spatially identifiable in the North and South end, an indication of prior residence in one or the other can be displayed cartographically. Distance can then be approximated at an aggregate level as those respondents acknowledging prior residence in the North end would have moved a greater distance to their current residences than those who lived previously in the South end. Exact distance would be of little importance as the mobility literature has conclusively shown that most intra-urban moves, especially those of blacks, are of short distance.[9]

Prior residential location of the LOP sample households is given in Figure 4.5. Forty-seven (62%) of the seventy-six households in the sample population had previously lived in the South end compared to twenty-two

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[8]Boyce, "Residential Mobility and its Implications," pp. 338-43; Clark, "Patterns of Black Intraurban Mobility," pp. 113-27; Deskins, Negroes in Detroit, p. 169; Meyer, "Black Residential Choice," p. 133; Darden, Afro-Americans in Pittsburgh, pp. 41-57; and Gale and Katzman, "Black Communities," p. 77.

[9]Simmons, "A Review of Intraurban Mobility," pp. 622-51; Rose, "Social Processes," pp. 5-9; Deskins, Negroes in Detroit, p. 169; Moore, Residential Mobility in the City, pp. 5-15; Boyce, "Residential Mobility and its Implications," pp. 338-43; and Clark, "Patterns of Black Intraurban Mobility," p. 116.

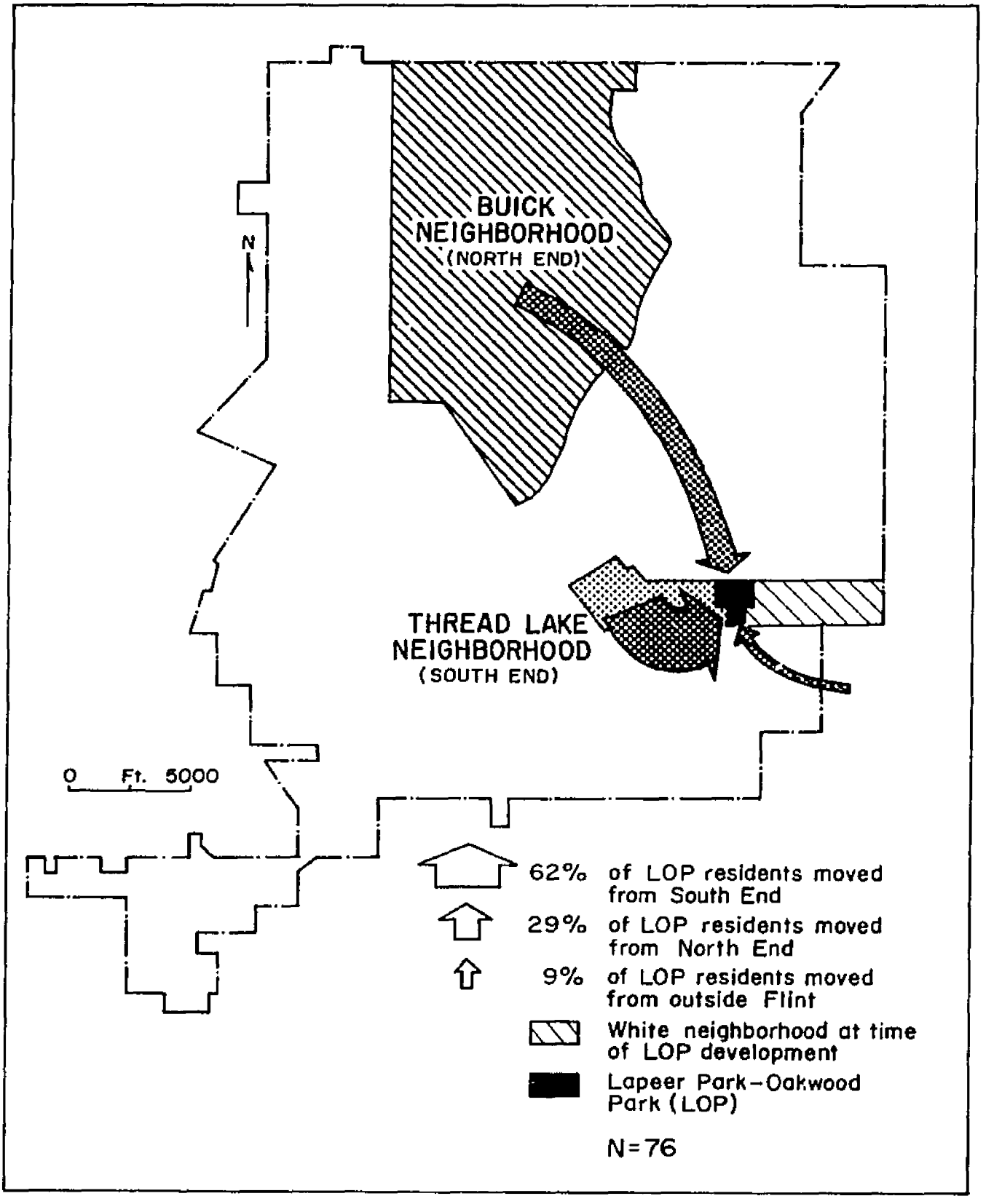

Fig. 4.5. Residential mobility of sample households in LOP neighborhood.

(29%) who lived in the North end. As indicated elsewhere in this study (Figure 3.4c), the more affluent Flint Negroes have always resided in the southern portion of the city. Therefore, logically it would follow that these blacks would have been the first to move into the LOP neighborhood as they were of better financial means. Furthermore, this was the only new middle class residential area available to them in the 1950s and early 1960s. Seven (9%) of the seventy-six respondents moved into the LOP community from outside of Flint. Three of these seven (interurban movers) migrated from northern cities (East Lansing, Michigan; Detroit, Michigan; and New York City), three came from the states of the South (Arkansas, Kentucky, and Louisana), and one moved from another part of Genesee County into Flint.

The difference in distance moved was statistically significant at the .001 level. Therefore the null hypothesis was rejected and the research hypothesis was accepted as the evidence suggested that most LOP households formerly lived in the South end black community.

Seventy-five of the seventy-six household heads had previously resided in an urban environment, and fifty-four (71%) had attained young adulthood therein; the remaining twenty-two (29%) were reared in a rural environment. Fifty-eight (76%) of the household heads were born in the South (Figure 4.6) compared to eighteen born in the North. Thus a large majority of the LOP community had urban

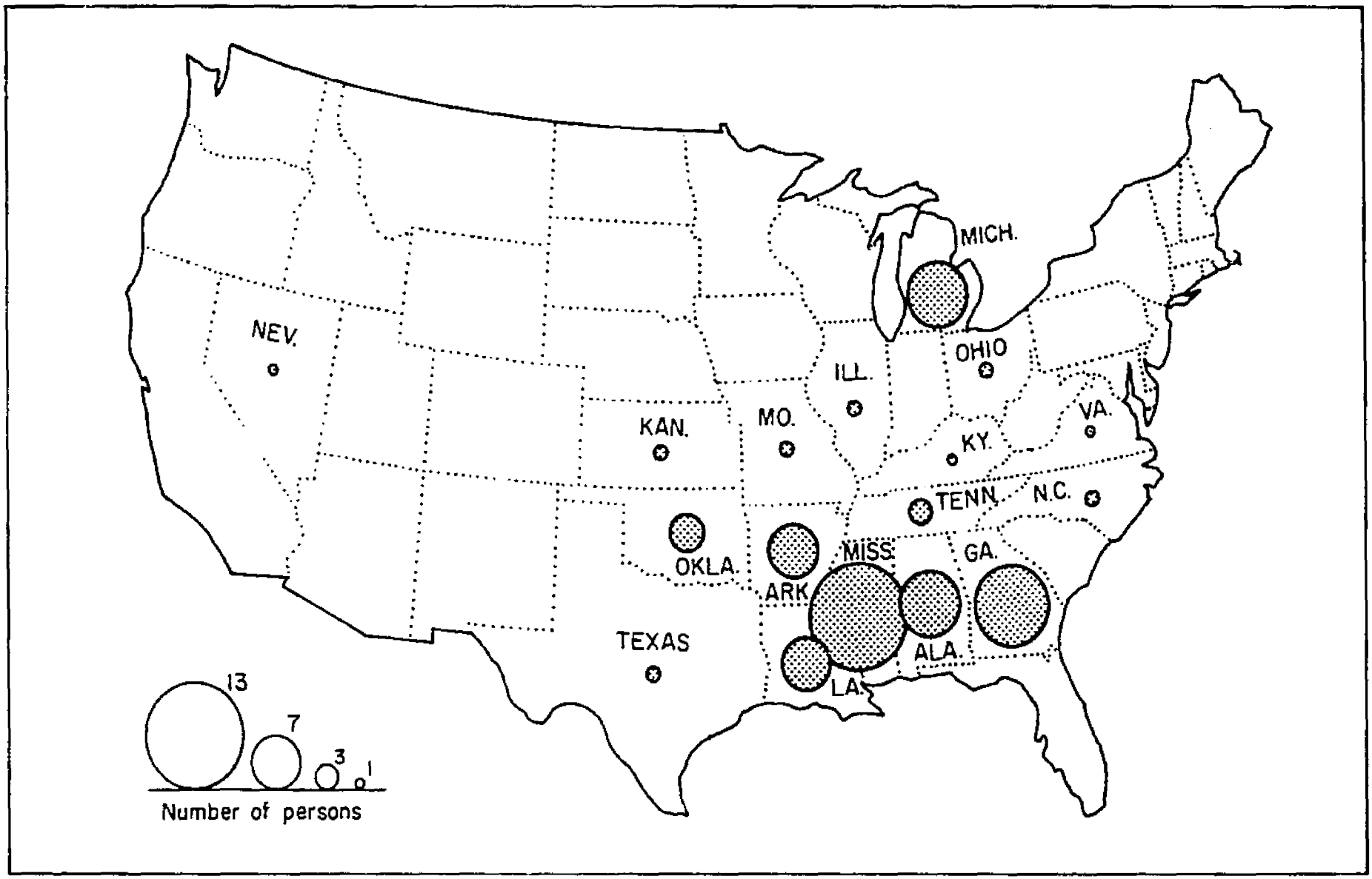

Fig. 4.6. Birthplace by state of LOP sample household heads.

living experience prior to moving into their current neighborhood. Moreover, most LOP residents were born in the South. This indicates a stepwise migration process as these residents moved from the South to Flint (into the North or South end) and then to the LOP neighborhood. This finding contradicts other research which reported that ". . . the chance for a northern born black to move . . . for upward social class changes were greater than those of southern born Negroes."[10]

Seventy of the seventy-six respondents had no plans to move to another neighborhood. With respect to the six who planned to seek other housing, five wanted to relocate because they desired better housing and one was moving because he wanted less room. Mobility literature has revealed that the desire to move is oftentimes the result of increased affluence for the former and of a change in life cycle for the latter.[11]

Hypothesis II:

H_o No age difference (under thirty-five and thirty-five and older) existed among LOP household heads at time of residence change.

H_1 Most LOP household heads were under thirty-five when they moved to their current residence.

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[10]Gale and Katzman, "Black Communities," pp. 77-78.

[11]Rossi, "Why Families Move," p. 9; Simmons, "A Review of Intraurban Mobility," pp. 622-35; and Moore, Residential Mobility in the City, p. 17.

The survey question regarding age at time of initial LOP settlement was used to test this hypothesis. Fifty-five (72%) were over thirty-five when they moved to their current residence. The difference was statistically significant at the .001 level. Accordingly, the null and research hypotheses were rejected. The data revealed that the majority of the household heads were over thirty-five years of age when they moved to the LOP neighborhood. This disputes earlier research which concluded that most intra-urban movers were under thirty-five years of age.[12] It must be noted, however, that middle class movers were combined with all other movers in the aforementioned research. It has already been documented that race is a factor in intraurban mobility.[13] Therefore, the higher age in the study population could be attributed to the segregated character of the Flint housing market. It may have prevented most LOP households from realizing their residential aspirations at an age earlier than thirty-five or they did not acquire the necessary capital until after their thirty-fifth birthday. Nonetheless, Darden's investigation in Pittsburgh revealed that housing cost was not a statistically significant factor in the inability of

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[12]Butler, et al., "Factors in Residential Mobility," pp. 39-54; and Simmons, "A Review of Intraurban Mobility," pp. 622-51.

[13]See footnote seven, chapter IV.

blacks to secure housing.[14] Although this finding was of interest and important in studying black residential mobility, it was not the purpose of this study to investigate the effects of discrimination on housing availability and acquisition.

The time of initial occupancy and length of residential occupation are illustrated in Figures 4.7 and 4.8. Fifty-seven households (75%) moved into the LOP residential area prior to the passage of the 1968 open housing legislation. Sixty-eight (89%) had moved in by 1970 when the open housing legislation had been in effect only two years. It has been well documented that open housing laws were much abused when first passed and this abuse still continues in many cities today.[15] Therefore, it seems logical to assume that this legislation would have had relatively little initial effect on the housing choices of the vast majority of LOP residents. Brown and Longbrake have reported that place utility considerations are related to several characteristics, one of which is race.[16] Due to the time period under discussion, blacks desiring to

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[14]Darden, Afro-Americans in Pittsburgh, pp. 29-57; also see Rose, Social Processes, p. 20; and William H. Brown, "Access to Housing: The Role of the Real Estate Industry," Economic Geography 48 (January 1972):66-78.

[15]Darden, Afro-Americans in Pittsburgh, pp. 43-49; and William H. Brown, "Access to Housing," pp. 66-78.

[16]Brown and Longbrake, "Migration Flows," p. 370.

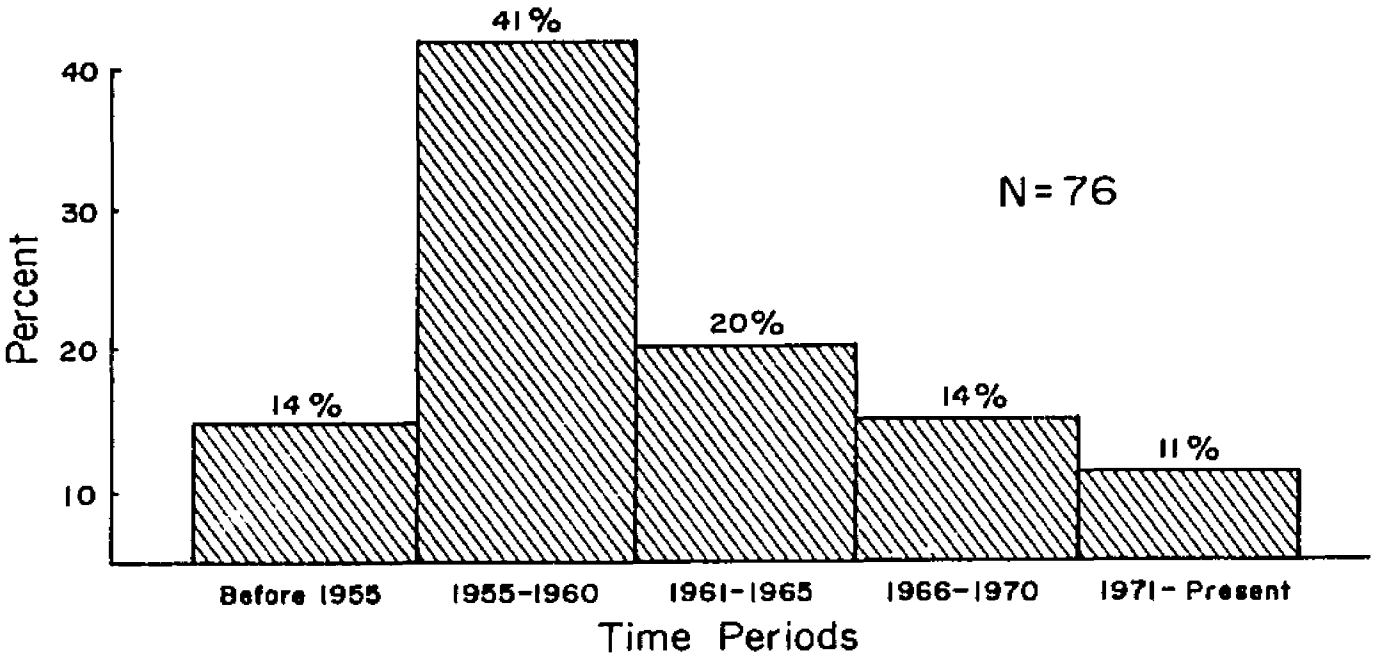

Fig. 4.7. Period of first occupancy of LOP sample households.

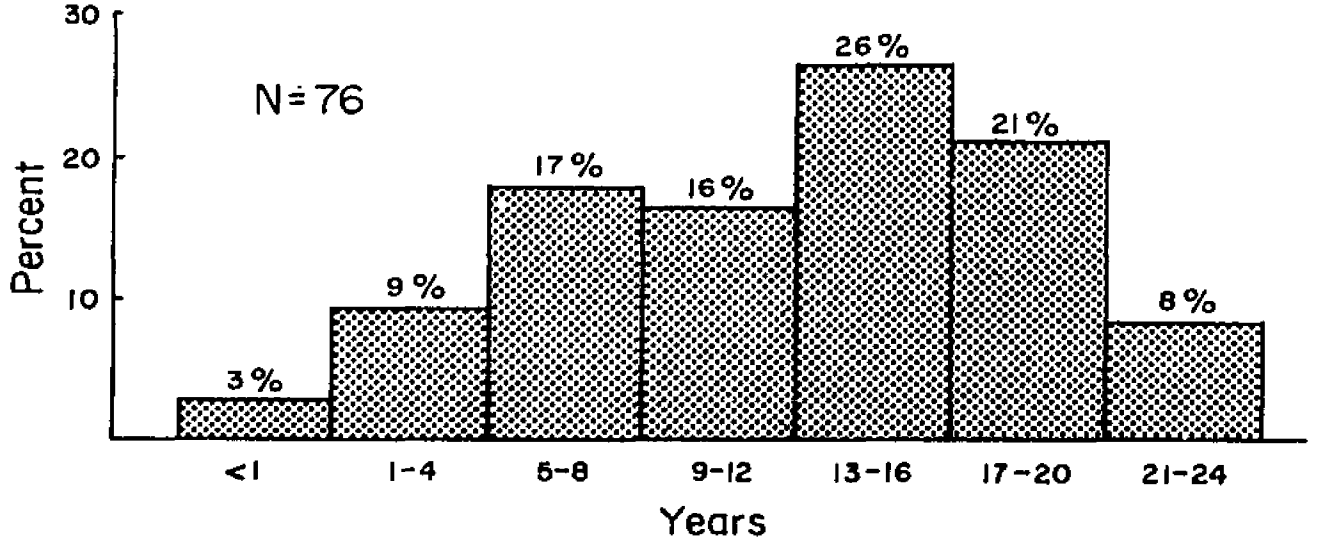

Fig. 4.8. Length of residence of LOP sample households.

secure new dwellings in the LOP community more likely exercised residential aspirations within a segregated rather than an open housing market. Forty-two (55%) of the households have lived in the LOP residential from thirteen to twenty-four years and only nine (12%) for less than five. Expanding housing options in greater Flint and increased black affluence[17] in all probability account for this turnover as few homes were constructed in the area after 1965.

Hypothesis III:

H_o In terms of ownership status no difference exists among LOP households with respect to their prior residences.

H_1 Most LOP residents rented rather than owned their most recent previous residence.

This hypothesis was tested by analyzing the responses to the question concerning previous ownership status. The literature has shown that renters are more mobile than owners and that renters who prefer to own are more mobile than those who prefer to rent.[18] Forty (53%) of the seventy-six households were owners prior to moving

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[17]Much has been written and reported on the increased ability of blacks to secure quality housing in recent years. See Edwin Warner, "America's Rising Black Middle Class," pp. 19-28; footnote 1, chapter 4; and "Minorities Better Off in Michigan," Lansing State Journal, 4 July 1973, p. B-1.

[18]Rossi, Why Families Move, p. 9; Moore, Residential Mobility in the City, pp. 6-15.

while thirty-six (47%) were renters. Although a larger percentage of the households were owners the difference was not statistically significant. The null hypothesis was accepted and the research hypothesis was rejected. This inconsistency with the prevailing literature may be attributed to the middle class character of the LOP community as blacks with higher incomes were the only ones eligible to purchase homes in the area. Previous research on ownership included all socio-economic classes. Moreover, these LOP owners most likely purchased a dwelling earlier due to restraints on place utility based on race. Data for hypothesis two above has already shown that the LOP residents were older at time of initial occupance (in LOP neighborhood) than those usually engaging in intraurban moves.

Analysis of the survey data revealed that seventy-three of the seventy-six LOP household heads were owners. The reasons given for moving to the LOP community were grouped into seven categories (table 4.2). They are divided between those who previously rented or owned their dwellings. The desire for better neighborhood conditions (reasons one through three) accounted for sixty-five (86%) of the total moves. (Figure 4.9 gives representative photographs of the low quality housing from which these sample residents moved.) This finding coincides with previous investigations on intraurban mobility which concluded that urbanites are most likely to move because

Table 4.2.--Analysis of Reasons for Moving to LOP Neighborhood.

	Reasons for Moving to LOP							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Prior Status	Wanted to Purchase Home in Nicer Neighbor-hood	Wanted to Build (Blacks) Could Build Here)	Only New Black Res. Area Avail-able in Flint	Need more Room (Family Get-ting Larger)	Only Place Could Get Financed	Work Oppor-tunity Nearby	Urban Renewal	Total
Renter	18 (50%)	1 (3%)	11 (30%)	3 (8%)	1 (3%)	2 (6%)	. .	36 (100%)
Owner	14 (35%)	7 (18%)	14 (35%)	2 (5%)	1 (2%)	. .	2 (5%)	40 (100%)
Total	32 (42%)	8 (10%)	25 (33%)	5 (6%)	1 (2%)	2 (3%)	2 (3%)	76 (100%)

Fig. 4.9. Examples of low quality housing previously occupied by LOP sample households.

Fig. 4.9 (Continued)

of neighborhood dissatisfaction.[19] Life cycle changes contributed very little to the mobility decision as only five of the movers gave them as a reason. Since the LOP household heads were older at time of settlement, their family size was probably stable in most instances. Reasons two through five (see table 4.2) could be implicit indicators of a restricted housing market as they appear to have been the only options for new housing. It has been indicated above that the Flint housing market was rigidly segregated during the initial development of the LOP residential area. Furthermore, this was the first new black residential area in which the city's financial institutions provided blacks with loans for housing construction.[20]

Environmental Perception Analysis

Hypothesis IV:

H_o No difference exists among LOP household heads with respect to their perceiving the LOP neighborhood as the best black residential area in Flint in the past twenty years.

H_1 Most LOP household heads perceived the LOP neighborhood to be the best black residential area in Flint in the 1950s and 1960s rather than the 1970s.

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[19]Butler, et al., "Factors in Residential Mobility," pp. 39-54; and Moore, Residential Mobility in the City, pp. 10-20.

[20]Interview with Connie Childress, black realtor, who sold much of the land in the LOP neighborhood, February, 1973.

The discussion of the study area (in chapter III) revealed that Flint blacks sought housing in a restricted market until the late 1960s. Hypothesis IV is based on the assumption that LOP household heads would have differed, over time, in the perception of their residential environment as the best black neighborhood in Flint. It is believed that the greater residential opportunities after 1968 would have brought about such a difference. Although Rose has concluded that black residential perception can only be appropriate when Afro-Americans have true freedom of choice in their neighborhood selection,[21] this hypothesis is predicated on the notion that the expansion of black residential choices in Flint was large enough to cause perceptual change. The survey results are presented in table 4.3. Almost two-thirds (63%) of the seventy-six household heads selected the 1960s as the period during which they felt the LOP neighborhood environment was the best black residential area in Flint. This was also the decade in which the community was completely developed.[22] Responses regarding the 1950s and 1960s were collapsed in computing the Chi-Square statistic. This was done because

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[21]Rose, The Black Ghetto, pp. 141-42.

[22]The LOP community was under initial construction during all of the 1950s. Furthermore thirty-four (45%) of of the seventy-six respondents moved into the neighborhood after 1960. This most likely accounts for the selection of the 1960s as the decade in which LOP was perceived to be the best black residential area in the city.

Table 4.3.--LOP Household Head Perception of LOP Neighborhood From 1950-1970.

Neighborhood Perception	LOP Residents
Best Black Flint Community in 1950s	19 (25%)
Best Black Flint Community in 1960s	48 (63%)
Best Black Flint Community in 1970s	7 (9%)
No Data	2 (3%)

Chi Square 48.6486; 1 degree of freedom; significant at .001

"No Data" not used in computation of χ^2.

the open housing ordinance was not passed until 1968. Therefore, it is felt that its impact in the late 1960s would have been minimal. Inasmuch as the difference between the combined 1950s and 1960s responses compared to the 1970s was statistically significant at the .001 level the null hypothesis was rejected and the research hypothesis was accepted. The evidence suggests that LOP residents felt that theirs was the best black residential environment in Flint in the 1950s and 1960s.

Hypothesis V:

H_o Among the LOP household heads there is no difference in the perception of their neighborhood as the best black residential area in Flint.

H_1 Most LOP household heads do not feel that the LOP community is the best in Flint today.

This hypothesis was formulated to further evaluate change in perception of the neighborhood environment. It is also based on the assumption that expanded residential options for Flint Afro-Americans would result in the LOP neighborhood environment no longer being perceived as the best black housing community in Flint today. Forty-four (58%) of the seventy-six respondents felt that their neighborhood was no longer the best in Flint while thirty-two (42%) felt it still was. However, the difference was not statistically significant. Thus the null hypothesis was accepted and the research hypothesis was rejected. Thirty-one of the forty-four negative respondents felt that blacks had more expensive and newer homes in other black residential areas while thirteen observed that blacks had better living conditions elsewhere. Thirteen of the thirty-two household heads who felt that the LOP neighborhood was the best in Flint indicated that its living conditions were equal to or better than those in all other black Flint residential communities while nineteen observed that it was the best for no specific reason.[23] Figure 4.10 shows housing in the LOP neighborhood. Logically it would appear that fifth hypothesis would have been rejected as the data for the fourth revealed that a large number of

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[23]If these nineteen (seemingly unsure respondents) had been collapsed with the forty-four negative responses, the difference would have been statistically significant and the research hypothesis would have been accepted.

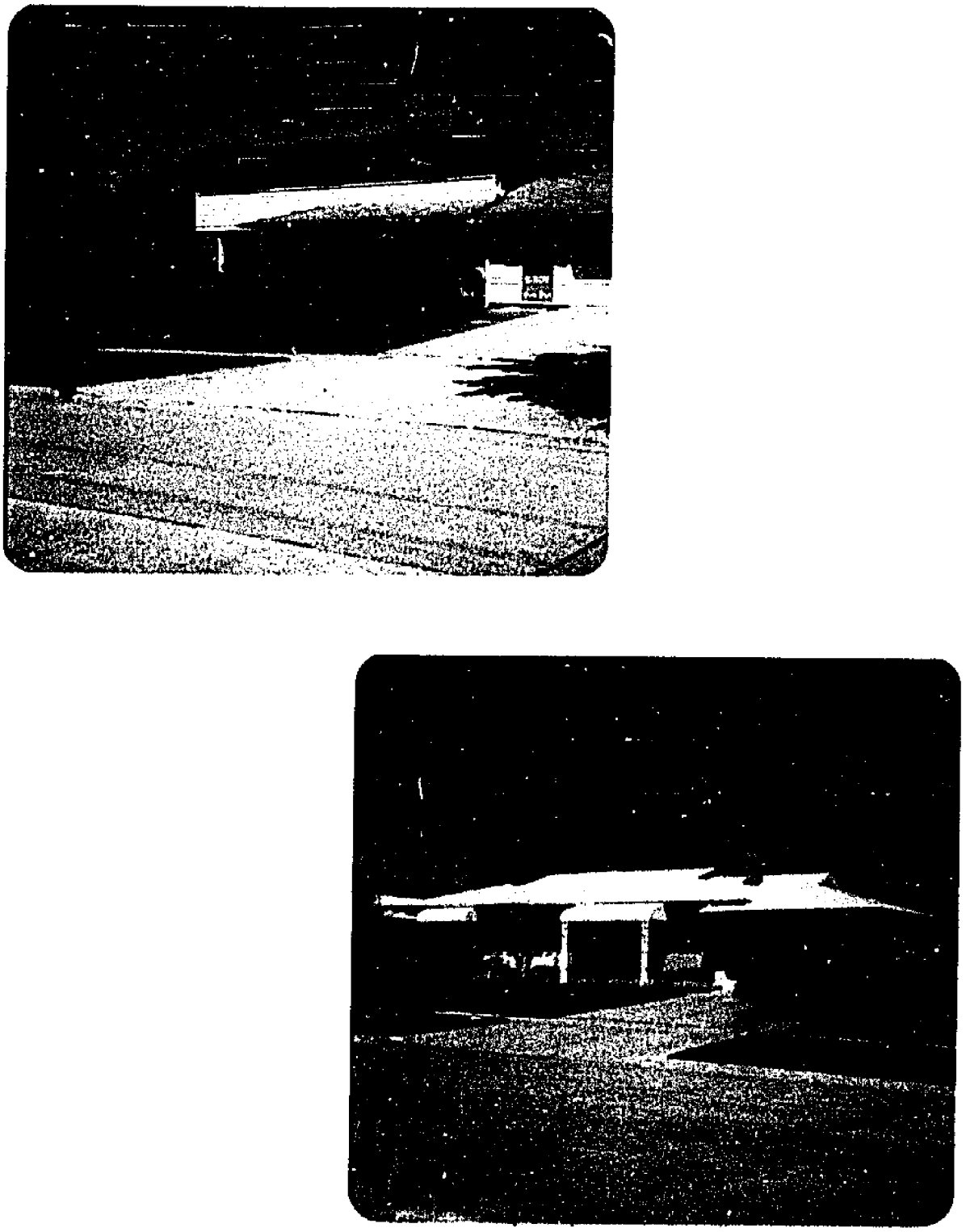

Fig. 4.10. Housing in LOP neighborhood.

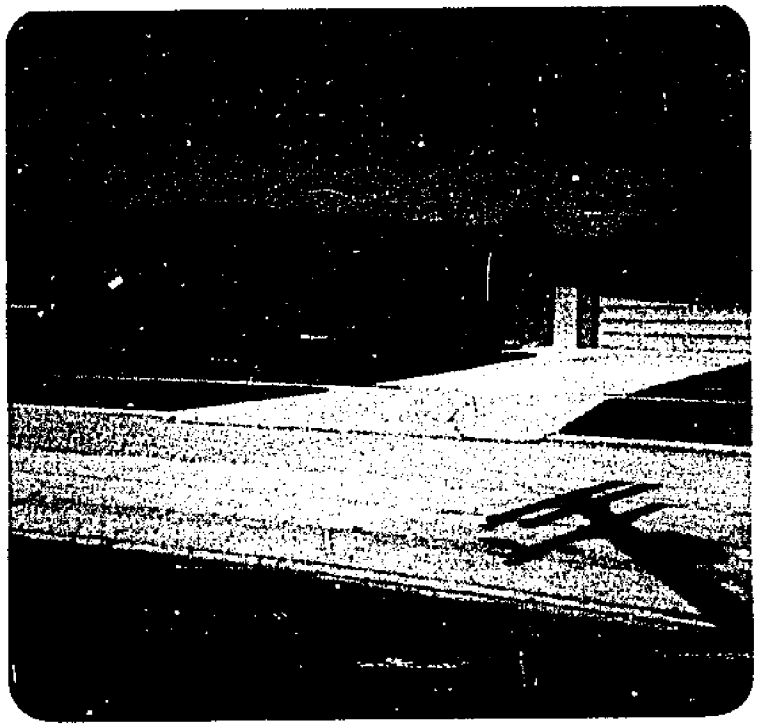

Fig. 4.10 (Continued)

LOP residents felt that their neighborhood was not the best now. However, this contradiction may be attributed to the strong traditions associated with this--the first new black middle class community in Flint.

Household attitudes toward the LOP residential area are illustrated in Figure 4.11. A mean of seventy-two of the seventy-six respondents felt that the environment was good (uncrowded, low crime, and quiet) while only four exhibited a negative feeling (crowded, high crime, and noisy). Twenty-nine (38%) of the seventy-six household heads perceived their neighborhood to be of worse quality than it was five years ago, while forty-seven (62%) discerned that environmental conditions had not changed. Seventy-four of the respondents indicated that their homes did not need any major repair. One person thought that major repairs were needed but did not plan to make them while another felt that major repairs were needed and did plan to make them. These data show that the overall physical and social characteristics of the community were good.

Seventy-four of the seventy-six households perceived the South end of Flint to offer the best living conditions for Afro-Americans, and seventy-five classified the neighborhood as middle or upper class. One household head, a civil rights activist, concluded that blacks have no class because the larger society developed the criteria for their social rank.

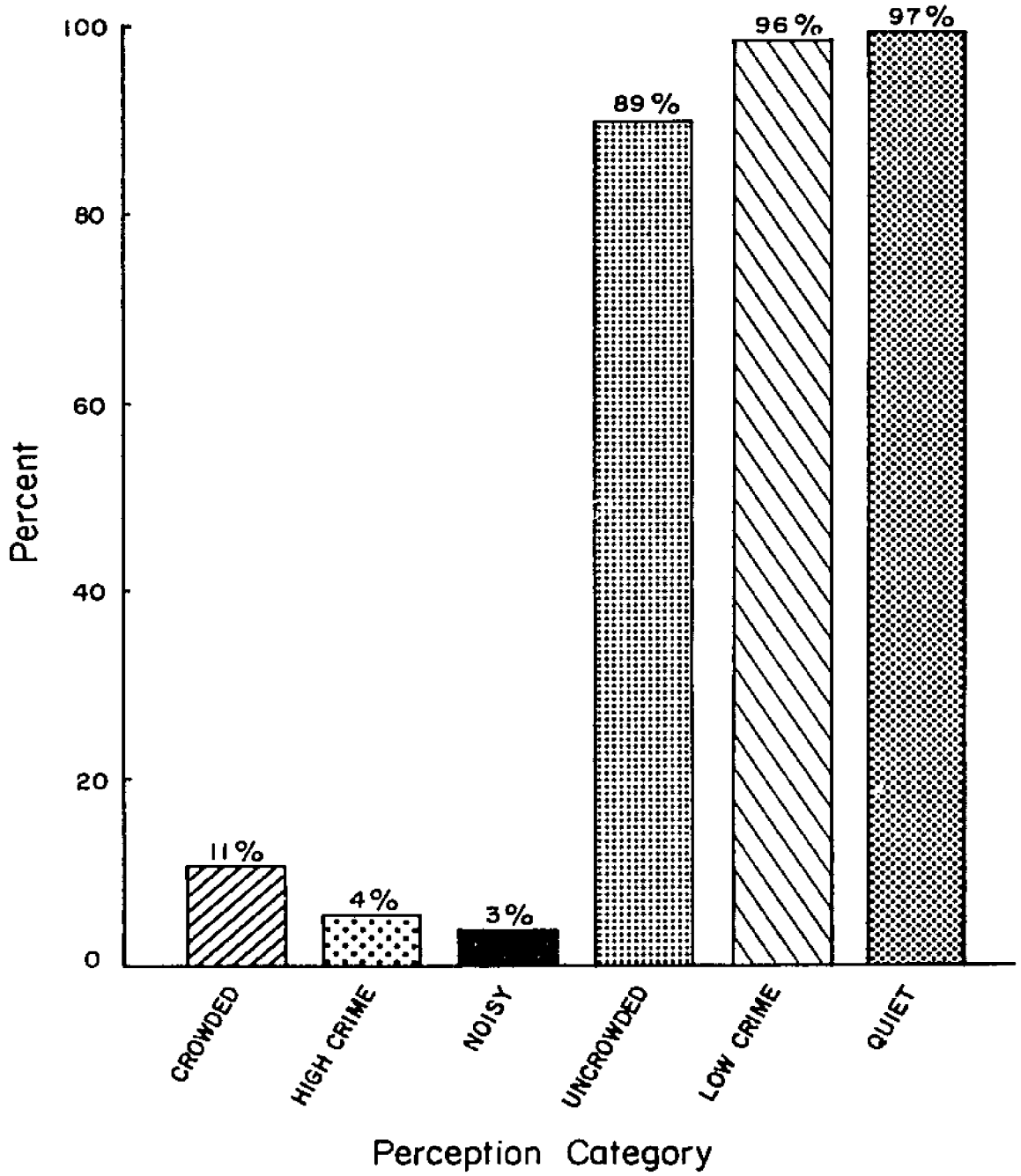

Fig. 4.11. LOP sample household heads' perception of their neighborhood environment.

Summary

The hypotheses have served as basis to analyze the data collected on intraurban mobility and environmental perception of the LOP sample household heads. Each of the hypotheses, three concerning intraurban mobility and two concerning environmental perception, was stated in the null and research forms. The data was analyzed and the hypotheses confirmed by using a Chi-Square analysis with the .05 significance level.

The results of the five hypotheses are as follows:

Intraurban Mobility:

a. There was a significant difference among the LOP household heads with respect to distance moved to the current residence.
b. There was a significant age difference (under thirty-five and thirty-five and older) among LOP household heads at time of residence change.
c. There was no significant difference in terms of ownership status of prior residences among LOP households.

Environmental Perception:

d. There was a significant difference among LOP household heads with respect to their perceiving the LOP neighborhood as the best black residential area in Flint in the last three decades.

e. There was no significant difference in the LOP household heads perception of their neighborhood as the best black residential area in Flint today.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Much geographic research has been conducted concerning urban Afro-Americans but none has focused on urban middle class black neighborhoods. As the number of these residential areas has increased in recent years, their investigation may give important insight into the diversity of black communities. Moreover, the recent advent of open housing may have resulted in a disperation of Afro-American settlement and an expansion of black perceptual options. In this research a black middle class neighborhood was defined as a residential area in which 51 percent of the households earned at least $14,000 and had dwellings valued at $20,000 or above.

This study investigated the intraurban mobility and environmental perception in a black middle class ghetto (an area in which the only competitors for housing are members of a single ethnic group) in Flint, Michigan. The Lapeer-Oakwood Park (LOP) neighborhood was selected because it was the oldest new black middle class residential area in the city, and it was developed prior to the

passage of open housing legislation. "Mobility" referred to the movement processes of the LOP residents to their current dwelling, and "perception" referred to their evaluation of their residential environment. The guiding research questions were: (1) Where did these residents live previously, and what were the factors contributing to their movement to their present locations? (2) What, if any, was the extent of economic variation within this middle class neighborhood or community? and (3) What is the nature of the difference--if any--between the household head's perception of his residential environment in the past as compared to 1973?

A survey questionnaire was developed to obtain information on intraurban mobility and environmental perception; it was then administered to a randomly sampled population in the study area. Five hypotheses were also developed, three concerning intraurban mobility and two related to environmental perception, and tested by a Chi-Square analysis with .05 significant level. A summary of the five hypotheses follows:

Intraurban Mobility:

1. Most LOP households moved a short distance (from within the South end Flint black community) to their current residence.

It was found that the LOP households mobility patterns closely conformed to the existing research on

intraurban mobility especially as it relates to blacks. Exact linear distance was not measured as the overwhelming spatial agglomeration of blacks in the northern and southern sectors of Flint made it cartographically apparent that the distance from the former was farther than the latter from the study area. Furthermore, the more prosperous of the Flint Afro-American population have always resided in the southern part of the city. As the study area was of a middle class character it would logically follow that the southern section of the city. This hypothesis was accepted.

This hypothesis was accepted.

2. Most LOP household heads were under thirty-five when they moved to their current residence.

Data regarding age at time of residence change showed that the majority of the LOP household heads were over thirty-five when they moved to their current residences. The literature revealed that black residential segregation was rigid prior to the late 1960s, and lending institutions were reluctant to furnish housing loans to Afro-Americans. The segregated character of the Flint housing market prior to 1968 probably prevented most black households from attaining new homes before age thirty-five or they may have been unable to secure the necessary capital. The factor of discrimination looms large behind both possibilities. This hypothesis was rejected.

3. Most LOP residents rented rather than owned their most recent previous residence.

The literature has shown that renters are generally more mobile than owners and that those renters who desire to own are generally more mobile than those renters who desire to rent. However, a larger percentage of the study area residents were owners rather than renters before moving to the LOP neighborhood, but the difference was not statistically significant. This contradiction of the prevailing literature (including all socio-economic classes) may be attributed to the middle class character of the community. Inasmuch as higher income blacks were the only eligible residents they more than likely had already purchased homes as the field research indicated that the desire of blacks for new dwellings was manifested long before the opportunity became available. Data in the preceding hypothesis has already indicated that the LOP residents were older at time of movement to the LOP community than those normally engaging in intraurban moves. This hypothesis was rejected.

Environmental Perception:

4. Most LOP household heads perceived the LOP neighborhood to be the best black residential in Flint in the 1950s and 1960s rather than the 1970s.

The LOP residential area was the first new black middle class neighborhood in Flint and remained so until

the advent of open housing legislation. Therefore, it was assumed that the residents perception of their environment as the best in Flint would have changed because of expanded residential opportunities after 1968. The survey results indicated that most residents felt that LOP was the best community in the decade of the 1950s and 1960s rather than the 1970s. This hypothesis was accepted.

5. Most LOP household heads do not feel that the LOP community is the best in Flint today.

This hypothesis was constructed to test environmental perception of the LOP neighborhood against the other black residential areas in Flint today. It was again felt that the expanded residential opportunities would result in the respondents not perceiving their residential environment as the best among other black neighborhood environments in Flint. A larger number (44 or 58%) of the seventy-six household heads felt that it was no longer the best black community but the difference was not statistically significant. However, of the thirty-two (42%) who felt that LOP was still the best black neighborhood, nineteen could give no reason. If their unsure responses had been collapsed with the negative ones the difference would have been statistically significant. Nonetheless, this inconsistency with respect to hypothesis IV may be related to the middle class tradition associated with this, the first new black middle class community in Flint.

The research findings contradicated the mobility literature in the following categories: (1) life cycle change was not a major factor in the decision to move, (2) southern born blacks had a higher frequency than northern born blacks of moving for upward social mobility, (3) there was no significant difference between the mobility patterns of owners and renters, and (4) most residents were over thirty-five at the time of residence change. The study area data concurred with the mobility literature in that (1) most moves were of short distance, (2) most people moved to higher quality housing, (3) a major constraint on mobility behavior was race, and (4) most blacks move within the ghetto area. The literature concerning environmental perception yielded no data relative to the perception hypotheses.

Based on the analysis of this black middle class neighborhood, the following recommendations for future research seem justified:

1. There is a need for the shopping and work trip behavior of black middle class residents.
2. The political behavior of the black bourgeoisie in the urban arena is an important research topic.
3. Regional differences in black middle class neighborhoods require close scrutiny.
4. More attention needs to be given to the impact of black middle class communities on black life in the city.

The findings of this study may not necessarily be applicable to all black middle class neighborhoods as locational variations may cause considerable difference. However, this research presents another dimension to the existing literature on intraurban mobility and environmental perception, and provides further documentation of the character of urban migrational patterns.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX

SURVEY INSTRUMENT

I am conducting a survey for my doctoral dissertation in geography at Michigan State University. Its purpose is to determine the perception and mobility patterns of Lapeer-Oakwood Park residents. I am interested in asking you some questions about this and yourself. All information will be held in the strictest confidence.

GENERAL

1. Are you the head of the household?

   (a) yes ___ (b) no ___

   If not, what relationship are you to head of household?

   _____
   (relationship)

2. How many individuals live in this household?

   (a) 1 (b) 2 (c) 3 (d) 4 (e) 5 (f) 6 (g) 7 (h) 8

3. Indicate age and highest grade completed by husband and wife.

	Age	Highest grade completed
(a) Husband		
(b) Wife		

4. Are both husband and wife gainfully employed on a full-time basis?

   (a) yes ___ (b) no ___

   If no, which is not employed? _____

5. What is the primary occupation of the husband and wife?

	Husband	Wife
(a) Operative	_____	_____
(b) Professional & Technical	_____	_____
(c) Service Worker	_____	_____
(d) Retirees	_____	_____
(e) Student	_____	_____
(f) Clerical	_____	_____
(g) Other	_____	_____

6. Does either the husband or the wife hold a second job?

(a) yes ___ (b) no ___

If yes, which one? _____

MOBILITY

I would now like to ask you some questions in regard to your movement patterns.

7. When did you first occupy this residence?

(a) before 1955 ____ (d) 1966-1970 ____

(b) 1955-1960 ____ (e) 1970-present ____

(c) 1961-1965 ____

8. Do you own or rent this residence?

(a) own ___ (b) rent ___

9. Did you own or rent your most recent previous residence?

(a) own ___ (b) rent ___

10. Where did you live prior to moving to your current residence?

(a) Outside of Flint _____
street address and city

(b) North End Flint _____
street address

(c) South End Flint _____
street address

11. Give birthplace of husband and wife if other than Flint.

	Place of Birth
(a) Husband	_____
(b) Wife	_____

12. How long have you resided in this community?

(a) less than 1 year ___ (b) 1 year ___

(c) 2 years_ (d) 3 years_ (e) 4 years_ (o) 14 years_ (t) 19 years_

(f) 5 years_ (g) 6 years_ (h) 7 years_ (p) 15 years_ (u) 20 years_

(i) 8 years_ (j) 9 years_ (k) 10 years_ (q) 16 years_ (v) 21 years_

(l) 11 years_ (m) 12 years_ (n) 13 years_ (r) 17 years_ (w) 22 years_

(s) 18 years_ (x) 23 years and above _

13. At what stage of your life did you initially settle in Lapeer-Oakwood Park?

(a) Adolescent-teenage (1-17 years) _____

(b) Young adult (18-35) _____

(c) Mature adult (36-54) _____

(d) Older Adult (older than 54) _____

14. What is it about this community that was basically responsible for your moving here? _____

_____

_____

15. Identify the nature of the community of immediate prior settlement:

    (a) Urban _____

    (b) Rural _____

    (c) Suburban _____

16. Would you describe the environment in which you attained young adulthood as

    (a) Urban _____

    (b) Rural _____

    (c) Suburban _____

17. Do you have any plans to move?

    yes ___ no ___

    If yes, why? _____

    _____

PERCEPTION

I would now like to ask you some questions concerning your perception of your residential environment.

18. Which of the following conditions best describe your community?

    (a) crowded _____ uncrowded _____

    (b) high crime _____ low crime _____

    (c) noisy _____ quiet _____

19. Do you feel that the transportation network (streets and expressways) connects your community with downtown Flint and the shopping malls?

    (a) yes ___ (b) no ___

    If yes, are the services adequate for your purposes?

    (a) yes ___ (b) no ___

20. Do you use public transportation?

(a) yes ___ (b) no ___

If yes, are the services adequate for your purposes?

(a) yes ___ (b) no ___

21. Do you feel that the quality of this environment has decreased in the last five years? (crowding, noise, crime, etc.)

(a) yes ___ (b) no ___

22. In your opinion, is your home in need of major physical maintenance (ex., painting, plumbing, yardwork, roofing)?

(a) yes ___ (b) no ___

If yes, do you plan to repair those? _____

When _____

23. Which area of Flint do you consider to have better living conditions for Afro-Americans generally?

(a) North end _____

(b) South end _____

(c) Other _____

24. Do you feel that this neighborhood is:

(a) upper class _____

(b) middle class _____

(c) lower class _____

(d) other (specify) _____

25. In your opinion, during which of the following periods would you rate this community (Lapeer-Oakwood Park) the best black residential area in Flint, if any?

(a) 1950s ____

(b) 1960s ____

(c) 1970s ___

Why? _____

If not any of these periods, why? _____

_____

26. Do you feel that this community is no longer the best residential area for Flint blacks?

(a) yes ___ (b) no ___

If yes, why? _____

_____

If no, why? _____

_____

27. Do you feel that housing opportunities have increased since the passing of open-housing legislation in Flint?

(a) yes ___ (b) no ___

If yes, why? _____

_____

If no, why? _____

_____

28. What is the total taxable income of the employed person or persons in this household (husband and/or wife)?

(a) less than $8,000 (b) $8,000-$13,999

(c) $14,000-$19,999 (d) $20,000 and above

29. How important were the following services in your moving into this community? (shopping, postal, medical, fire, transportation, entertainment, etc.)

    (a) of no importance _____

    (b) of moderate importance _____

    (c) of great importance _____

30. How important would the aforementioned services (in no. 32) or the lack thereof be in your decision to move from this community, if you decided to do so?

    (a) of no importance _____

    (b) of moderate importance _____

    (c) of great importance _____

31. What is the current value of your home? _____