

LD
4381
.85
cop.1

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

SPATIAL CONSEQUENCES OF PUBLIC POLICY
ON THE EVOLUTION OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY;
A CASE STUDY OF OKLAHOMA CITY, 1889-1974

A THESIS

SPATIAL CONSEQUENCES OF PUBLIC POLICY
ON THE EVOLUTION OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY;
A CASE STUDY OF OKLAHOMA CITY, 1889-1974

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Martin W. Baker
R. L. Ham
By

EDWARD JACKSON PUGH

Norman, Oklahoma

Edward J. Pugh
November 1977

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
LIBRARY

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am greatly indebted to my thesis committee, Dr. Marvin Baker, Jr., Dr. Richard Nostrand, and Dr. Robert Hanham, for their sincere guidance and assistance. I am particularly grateful to the thesis committee chairman, Dr. Marvin Baker, Jr., for his generosity of time, patience, and understanding.

I wish to also express gratitude to the following individuals and groups which rendered invaluable assistance and cooperation; black senior citizens of various nursing homes and senior citizen centers in Oklahoma City, the Oklahoma Historical Society, the Oklahoma County Central Branch Library, the State Department of Libraries, the Oklahoma City Planning Department, the Oklahoma City Urban Renewal Authority, the Oklahoma City Housing Authority, the Oklahoma City Court Clerk's Office, the Oklahoma County Court Clerk's Office, the Progress Association for Economic Development, and the Neighborhood Services Organization.

The final and most appreciative thanks goes to my wife, Shirley, for her faith and encouragement, and her aid in the preparation of this thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
LIST OF TABLES	ix
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	x
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION AND ANALYTICAL APPROACH	1
Introduction	1
Objectives of Study	5
Justification	8
The General Study Area	11
The Analytical Approach	12
Location, Form, and Evolution	15
Aspatial Development	17
Ecological Structure	18
Synthesis	21
Chapter Outline	22
II. PROCESSES AND CONCEPTS	23
Introduction	23
The Urban System and Intra-Urban Differentiation	24
Models of Urban Space	26
The Urban Aspatial Social Structure	37
Urban Social Areas	40
The Ghetto System and Intra-Ghetto Differentiation	56
Background	56
Formation of Ghetto Social System	58
Ghetto Formation, Maintenance, and Evolution	61
Ghetto Location and Form in Urban Space	69
The Condition of the Black Ghetto	73
The Black Ghetto as a Differentiated Enclave	77
III. ORIGIN AND FORMATION OF BLACK RESIDENTIAL ENCLAVES IN OKLAHOMA CITY; 1889-1920	87
Introduction	87
Background to Oklahoma City Settlement	88
Early Introduction to Segregation	88
The Coming of Settlers	89
Origin of Black Residential Segregation, 1889-1900	90

Emancipation, Migration and a New Way of Life	90
Settlement of the Unassigned District of Oklahoma Territory	94
The Early Negro Condition	97
Early Economic Prosperity and Natural Catastrophe . .	98
The Beginnings of Discrimination	98
Catalysts for the Early Formation of Black Residential Areas	100
Early Black Economic Development	104
The Formation of Separate Black Residential Areas, 1900-1920	104
Economic Growth and Prosperity for Oklahoma City . .	104
Catalysts for Change in the Distribution of Negroes .	110
Black Economic Development in the Early Twentieth Century	112
Statehood and Unprecedented Growth	112
Prominence of the "Black Ghetto" and a Formation of New Black Residential Enclaves	116
Black Economic Development at Early Statehood	118
Continued Discrimination and Jim Crowism	121
Establishment of a Negro School System in Oklahoma City	125
World War I Era: Urbanization and Massive Migration of Blacks	127
Growth of Negro Residential Areas in Oklahoma City .	129
The Emergence of Black Business Districts	132
Summary	132

IV. URBAN APARTHEID: MATURATION OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY

1920-1950	142
Introduction	142
The Separate Black Community	142
Black Economic Development, 1920s	143
Black Population Growth and Residential Expansion, 1920s	144
Black Ghetto Expansion and the White Response	147
Additions to the Negro School System	149
The Negro Condition; Employment and Occupational Characteristics, 1930s	150
The Great Depression and the Roosevelt Era	155
The Governor's Segregation Line and the Restrictive Covenant	158
The Oil Boom and the Black Ghetto	161
Additions to the Negro School System, 1930s	163
Negro Population and Residential Areas, 1940	164
World War II, The New Deal, and the Negro	166
The Negro Condition; Employment and Occupational Characteristics, 1940	168
Negro Protest and Educational Inequality	170
Additions to the Negro School System, 1940s	172
The Negro Condition; Health and Housing	172

The Negro Condition; Recreation	175
The Establishment of a Black Economic and Social Institutional Base	178
Post World War II and the Early Truman Administration	183
Summary	184
V. RAPID GROWTH AND EXPANSION OF THE BLACK GHETTO IN OKLAHOMA CITY; 1950-1970s	189
Introduction	189
Growth and Expansion	189
Negro Population and Residential Areas, 1950	190
Beginning of a New Era in Race Relations	192
Concessions and Black Protest in Oklahoma City	197
The Negro Condition; Social and Economic Characteristics, 1950	199
Expansion of the Black Ghetto and Decline of the Smaller Black Enclaves, 1960	202
The Negro Condition; Social and Economic Characteristics, 1960	205
The Black Revolution	209
Black Protest in Oklahoma City	213
The Civil Rights' Act of 1964	215
Black Disenchantment, Ghetto Violence, and Dispair	216
End to War Abroad and Terrorism at Home	217
Changes in Policies of Racial Discrimination and Segregation in Oklahoma City	218
Urban Renewal and the Black Ghetto	220
Black Population Growth and Ghetto Sprawl	222
The Negro Condition; Social and Economic Characteristics, 1970	226
Black Economic Development in the 1970s	229
Summary	238
VI. QUANTITATIVE ECOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY IN OKLAHOMA CITY	244
Introduction	244
Factorial Ecology of the Black Community	245
Factorial Ecology; 1970	250
Factorial Ecologies; 1960 and 1970	255
Factorial Ecologies; 1940 to 1970	260
Summary	267
Subdimensional Analysis of Black Ecological Structure	269
Subdimensions of the Economic Ecological Condition	270
Subdimensions of the Family Ecological Condition	271
Subdimensions of the Household Ecological Condition	272
Subdimensional Summary	272
Subdimensional Association	273
Change Analysis of the Black Community Ecological Structure	283

Percentage Change Dimensions and Relative Status; 1940-1950	286
Percentage Change Dimensions and Relative Status; 1950-1960	293
Percentage Change Dimensions and Relative Status; 1960-1970	301
Percentage Change; 1940-1970	310
Relative Change and Status; 1940-1970	312
VII. BLACK COMMUNITY ECOLOGICAL STRUCTURE AND CHANGE:	
A SYNTHESIS	316
Introduction	316
The Prerequisite Condition for Black Urban Ecological Differentiation	317
Early Pattern of Differentiation	320
Spatial and Dimensional Maturation of Ecological Structure	328
Evidence of a Maturation Process	333
Outline of Quantitative Findings	334
The Factorial Ecology	338
Subdimensional Analysis	341
Subdimensional Association	350
Change Analysis	353
Indexes of Black Ecological Structure and Change	359
VIII. BLACK COMMUNITY LOCATION, FORMATION, AND EVOLUTION:	
A SYNTHESIS	367
Urbanization and Ghettoization	367
Initial Ghetto Formation and Location	372
Pattern of Ghetto Locational Development	375
The Housing Market; A Ghetto Supporting Mechanism	379
Diversity and Change; Internal Attributes of the Black Community	389
Models of the Locational and Social Spatial Aspects of the Origin and Evolution of the Black Community	391
Models of Black Residential Expansion in Oklahoma City	391
The Simplified Ghetto Model	399
Model of Black Community Spatial Evolution	409
IX. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	415
Summary	415
Conclusion	437
Final Discussion - Retrospect and Prospect	451
Appendices	
A. Factorial Ecologies; Rotated Factor Matrices	454
B. Subdimensional Analyses; Rotated Factor Matrices	462

C. Subdimensional Association Analyses; Canonical Factor Structure Matrices	471
D. Factorial Change Analyses; Rotated Factor Matrices	474
E. Relative Status and Change of Black Community Neighborhoods; 1940-1970	479
BIBLIOGRAPHY	486

1-1. Types and Methods of Quantitative Ecological Analysis	20
2-1. Shewsky Postulates	43
3-1. Negro Occupational Status in Oklahoma City, 1899	103
3-2. Black Business Profile for Oklahoma City, 1908	106
3-3. Black Business Profile for Oklahoma City, 1909	113
3-4. Black Business Profile for Oklahoma City, 1910	118
3-5. Black Business Profile for Oklahoma City, 1916	124
3-6. Black Business Profile for Oklahoma City, 1923	136
4-1. Black Business Profile for Oklahoma City, 1929	140
4-2. Negro Occupational Status in Oklahoma City and in Oklahoma, 1930	151
4-3. Negro Socio-Economic Status in Oklahoma City, 1930	154
4-4. Non-White Occupational Status in Oklahoma City, 1940	165
4-5. Negro Socio-Economic Status in Oklahoma City, 1950	177
4-6. Black Business Profile for Oklahoma City, 1961	181
5-1. Population Characteristics of the Black Community in Oklahoma City, 1940-1970	193
5-2. Non-White Occupational Status in Oklahoma City, 1964	200
5-3. Negro Socio-Economic Status in Oklahoma City, 1960	201
5-4. Non-White Occupational Status in Oklahoma City, 1960	208
5-5. Non-White Socio-Economic Status in Oklahoma City, 1960	207
5-6. Negro Occupational Status in Oklahoma City, 1970	221
5-7. Negro Socio-Economic Status in Oklahoma City, 1970	228
5-8. Black Business Profile for Oklahoma City, 1971	231
5-9. Black Business Profile for Oklahoma City, 1974	236
5-10. Population Profile for Negroes in Oklahoma City, 1950-1980	238
7-1. Trends in Societal Change and Black Economic Status	400
7-2. Trends in Societal Change and Black Family Status	401
7-3. Trends in Societal Change and the Black Housing Market	403

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	Page
1-1. Types and Methods of Quantitative Ecological Analysis . . .	20
2-1. Shevsky Postulates	43
3-1. Negro Occupational Status in Oklahoma City, 1899	105
3-2. Black Business Profile for Oklahoma City, 1899	106
3-3. Black Business Profile for Oklahoma City, 1904	113
3-4. Black Business Profile for Oklahoma City, 1910	119
3-5. Black Business Profile for Oklahoma City, 1916	134
3-6. Black Business Profile for Oklahoma City, 1920	136
4-1. Black Business Profile for Oklahoma City, 1923	146
4-2. Negro Occupational Status in Oklahoma City and in Oklahoma, 1930	151
4-3. Negro Socio-Economic Status in Oklahoma City, 1930	156
4-4. Non-White Occupational Status in Oklahoma City, 1940	169
4-5. Negro Socio-Economic Status in Oklahoma City, 1940	177
4-6. Black Business Profile for Oklahoma City, 1941	181
5-1. Population Characteristics of the Black Community in Oklahoma City, 1940-1970	193
5-2. Non-White Occupational Status in Oklahoma City, 1950	200
5-3. Negro Socio-Economic Status in Oklahoma City, 1950	201
5-4. Non-White Occupational Status in Oklahoma City, 1960	206
5-5. Non-White Socio-Economic Status in Oklahoma City, 1960	207
5-6. Negro Occupational Status in Oklahoma City, 1970	227
5-7. Negro Socio-Economic Status in Oklahoma City, 1970	228
5-8. Black Business Profile for Oklahoma City, 1971	231
5-9. Black Business Profile for Oklahoma City, 1974	234
5-10. Population Profile for Negroes in Oklahoma City, 1890-1980	239
7-1. Trends in Societal Change and Black Economic Status	360
7-2. Trends in Societal Change and Black Family Status	361
7-3. Trends in Societal Change and the Black Housing Market	363

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

FIGURE	Page
1-1. Study Area: Origin and Expansion of Black Residential Areas	13
1-2. Study Area: Black Census Tracts	14
2-1. Classical Urban Structural Models	27
2-2. Murdie's Urban Structural Model	35
3-1. Black Population Location and Distribution in Oklahoma City, 1890	96
3-2. Black Population Location and Distribution in Oklahoma City, 1899	103
3-3. Black Business Location and Distribution in Oklahoma City, 1899	107
3-4. Black Population Location and Distribution in Oklahoma City, 1903	111
3-5. Black Business Location and Distribution in Oklahoma City, 1905	114
3-6. Black Population Location and Distribution in Oklahoma City, 1910	117
3-7. Black Business Location and Distribution in Oklahoma City, 1910	120
3-8. Black Population Location and Distribution in Oklahoma City, 1920	130
3-9. Black Business Location and Distribution in Oklahoma City, 1916	133
3-10. Black Business Location and Distribution in Oklahoma City, 1920	135
4-1. Black Business Location and Distribution in Oklahoma City, 1923	145
4-2. Black Population Location and Distribution in Oklahoma City, 1930	148
4-3. Location of Oil and Gas Wells in Eastern Oklahoma City	162
4-4. Black Population Location and Distribution in Oklahoma City, 1940	165
4-5. Black Business Location and Distribution in Oklahoma City, 1941	180
5-1. Black Population Location and Distribution in Oklahoma City, 1950	191
5-2. Black Population Location and Distribution in Oklahoma City, 1960	203
5-3. Black Population Location and Distribution in Oklahoma City, 1970	223
5-4. Black Business Location and Distribution in Oklahoma City, 1974	233

FIGURE

Page

6-1.	Census Tracts; Oklahoma City	246
6-2.	Ghetto Sectors and Zones; Oklahoma City, 1970	247
6-3.	Ghetto Sectors and Zones; Oklahoma City, 1960	248
7-1.	Black Community Ecological Differentiation; 1910-1970	322
7-2.	Discriminant Classification of Black Residential Areas in 1940: Based on Ecological Dimensions	326
7-3.	Discriminant Classification of Black Residential Areas in 1950: Based on Ecological Dimensions	327
7-4.	Discriminant Classification of Black Residential Areas in 1960: Based on Ecological Dimensions	330
7-5.	Discriminant Classification of Black Residential Areas in 1970: Based on Ecological Dimensions	331
7-6.	Spatial Model of Black Urban Ghetto Ecological Structure	345
7-7.	Relative Status and Ecological Change of Ghetto Neighborhoods; 1940-1970 (Economic Status)	354
7-8.	Relative Status and Ecological Change of Ghetto Neighborhoods; 1940-1970 (Family Status)	355
8-1.	Black Urbanization and the Ghettoization Process	368
8-2.	Origin of Black Residential Areas; Oklahoma City	373
8-3.	Graphical Representation of Black Population Distribution in Oklahoma City, 1940-1970.	384
8-4.	Graphical Representation of White Population Distribution in Oklahoma City, 1940-1970.	385
8-5.	Model of Black Residential Expansion; Oklahoma City, 1889-1974.	392
8-6.	Black Residential Expansion Periods; Oklahoma City	398
8-7.	Simplified Ghetto Model	400
8-8.	Model of Black Community Spatial Evolution	410

SPATIAL CONSEQUENCES OF PUBLIC POLICY
ON THE EVOLUTION OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY;
A CASE STUDY OF OKLAHOMA CITY, 1889-1974

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND ANALYTICAL APPROACH

Introduction

Modern metropolitan centers and urban society in the United States are not only a cultural phenomenon of the twentieth century; they are the culmination of the past. At any point in time, the city's internal socio-spatial characteristics reflect a situation of the present which is largely dependent upon the past. What has gone on before in the formation and evolution of the socio-spatial structure of the city is not lost, but is engrained into its foundation; however altered through time. Often the magnitude and complexity of today's large North American metropolis overshadow the processes and events of the past, which intertwined together over time and space have evolved to a form with particular attributes characteristic of the contemporary modern city.

The internal structure of the city refers to the location, distribution, arrangement, and interrelationships between the social,

economic, and physical elements of the metropolis. This internal structure is not static as might be assumed from one point in time, but quite dynamic. Processes of change in the city and manifestations of that change are key elements for understanding the city as it presently is, as it has been, and as it may become.

Characteristics of the internal structure of urban areas have been studied and described by numerous social scientists over the past century in the professional literature. Models, classical and contemporary, have been formulated by these scholars in order to describe and explain the internal structure of the city with respect to one or more of its attributes and the processes which affect those attributes. Most models have been highly generalized and simplified, and of a relatively static nature. Some contemporary scholars have attempted to formulate more dynamic models which focus on the aspect of change in these urban phenomena. The temporal aspect of the spatial change in these elements of the urban complex has been more than difficult for social scientists to model.

Certain stimuli, especially in the form of technological advancements in transportation and communications, social change and evolving public policies, have been major factors in changing the internal structure of the city. The importance of these catalysts of urban change can not be over-stressed. Each city has its own peculiar characteristics due partially to the eras in which it originated and evolved; each era in the historical development of the city influencing the city's internal structure. Not until the 1920s did the city's transportation network become dominated by the automobile. With the advent of this new

age in transportation technology a decentralization in the city's functions and a suburbanization of the city's population began. New patterns of land use, activities, and social characteristics began to evolve into the form observable in today's contemporary socio-spatial urban structure. Social change in urban society has been greatly influenced by an increasingly complex division of labor and change in ethnic and racial relations. Public policies have attempted to cope with technological and social changes in society, and in so doing have become major initiators of change, particularly at the local level.

Social science research has identified a residential differentiation of the metropolis in respect to several characteristics; social, economic, and ethnic/racial. One of the more obvious residential areas in the Anglo-American city is the black neighborhood. In towns and smaller cities outside of the South, black neighborhoods are generally small and are located in one section of town. In the larger cities and metropolises of the country, especially in the North and the West, large growing black urban ghettos have formed and expanded throughout much of the inner city and out into the suburbs. Usually several black residential areas are located about the larger cities, some being relatively small black neighborhoods and others huge expanding ghettos.

The "Black Ghetto" is a common urban subsystem of every major city in the United States.¹ It is a racially segregated residential

¹The Black Community as used in this paper refers to that territory of the urban housing market which is occupied by black families. In slight contrast, "Black Ghetto" refers to that black residential enclave of the Black Community which has grown substantially in black population and in area, and which displays social and economic dominance within the Black Community. In Oklahoma City only

enclave within the restrictive confines of the dominant white urban society. It is a functional subsystem which attempts to partially provide for the needs and demands of the black urban population: it is a refuge; it is a community.

The average white urban dweller, and often the media and scholars, perceive the Black Community (the black ghetto and the various other black residential enclaves) as relatively undifferentiated in its internal structure. Limited geographical and sociological research suggests that this stereotype of the Black Community is incorrect; that the Black Community is differentiated in respect to certain social, economic, and physical characteristics, possibly much as that exhibited by the White Community.

As does the metropolis, the internal structure of the Black Community has spatial and temporal dimensions. Catalysts of change affecting the Black Community have socio-spatial ramifications for the entire city. These ramifications have been most apparent during the last two decades; social, economic, political, and infrastructural.

An impressively large volume of social research has been published in the past two decades on the Negro in the United States by social scientists, economists, educators, social psychologists, and others. Only a very limited amount of research has been performed in analyzing the internal structure of the "Black Community," especially related to its spatio-temporal characteristics. No geographical or

one such ghetto exists; that being in the northeast quadrant of the city. The words black and white, referring respectively to Negro and Caucasian, will be used in this paper in the lower case except in the terms Black Ghetto, Black Community, and White Community.

sociological study known to this author has attempted to incorporate both the historical and social geography of a city's "Black Community" in order to analyze its socio-spatial evolution. Few prominent geographers other than Donald Deskins and Harold Rose, both blacks, have written and published consistently on the spatial aspects of black residential areas, although several others have added significantly to the general understanding of the Black Ghetto.² As of 1975, at least sixty-six geographical journal articles and fifty-four Ph.D. dissertations and Master's theses had focused on geographical perspectives of the American Black.

Objectives of Study

The primary goal of this study is to determine the locational and social spatial aspects of the origin and evolution of the Black Community in Oklahoma City by investigating the social spatio-temporal characteristics of the various black residential enclaves which make up the total Black Community of the city. Emphasis is placed on the analysis of the principal phenomenon, the Black Ghetto. The research objectives oriented toward achieving this goal, and their appropriate supportive objectives are listed below:

Objective #1. To determine the location and form of black residential areas.

Supportive Objectives #1. To determine the origin of black residential areas.

²John S. Adams, Brian Berry, Stephen Birdsall, Charles Christian, Shane Davies, George Davis, O. Fred Donaldson, Daniel Georges, John Fraser Hart, John Hiltner, Mark Lowry, David Meyer, Richard Morrill, Allen Pred, Edward Price, Philip Rees, Curtis Roseman, Ralph Sanders, Allen Tower, James Wheeler.

- #2. To determine the growth and decline of black residential areas.
- #3. To determine the locational evolution of the overall Black Community.
- #4. To determine the influence that public policy decisions have had on the locational evolution of the Black Community.

Objective #2. To determine the aspatial development of the Black Community.

- Supportive Objectives
- #1. To determine the social and economic condition of the Black Community.
 - #2. To determine race relations.
 - #3. To determine the influence of related public policy.

Objective #3. To determine ecological structure and change in the Black Community.

- Supportive Objectives
- #1. To determine the factorial ecology of the Black Community.
 - #2. To determine the sub-dimensional structure of the Black Community ecological condition.
 - #3. To determine the associations of black ecological sub-dimensional structure.
 - #4. To determine the change in the ecological structure of the Black Community.
 - #5. To determine the influence of related public policy.

A synthesis of the findings in these analyses attempt to describe and explain the characteristics of the socio-spatial evolution

of the Black Community: the location, formation, maintenance, and evolution of black residential enclaves and the coexistent dynamic ecological structure.

In the determination of the location and form of black residential areas, several questions are specifically addressed. Where did black residential enclaves originate? Which black residential areas expanded or declined, and in what manner did expansion or decline occur? In total, where was there expansion, decline, or stability and what were the spatial aspects of the overall Black Community at certain given times and over time? What public policies had an affect on the locational evolution of the Black Community and what policies influenced containment, expansion, or stability? With respect to all these questions, when, why, how, and under what conditions did the Black Community evolve?

As to the determination of the aspatial development of the Black Community several further answers to questions were pursued. What were the social and economic conditions of the Black Community and what was the race relations situation at given times and over time? What public policies influenced the social and economic conditions of the Black Community and race relations? As to all of these when, why, how, and under what circumstances did the Black Community evolve?

In determining ecological structure and change in the Black Community the following questions are addressed. What are the socio-economic characteristics of the black neighborhoods which make-up the city's Black Community and how are these black neighborhoods differentiated as to these socio-economic characteristics? What are the sub-dimensions of the various black ecological conditions and how are the

city's black neighborhoods differentiated as to these sub-dimensions? Are there associations between these subdimensions, and, if so, are these associations spatially manifested? What type of change occurs over time in the ecological structure of the Black Community and how is it spatially manifested? What public policies have influenced ecological structure and change in the Black Community? When, how, and under what conditions did the Black Community evolve?

Justification

In the past half a century, and especially during the last two decades, the black population of cities across the country has increased significantly. This black population has tended to continue to concentrate in the central city and in some suburban areas adjacent to the older black central city neighborhoods. Resultant social and residential segregation of blacks supported the continuance of a pluralistic urban society approaching the characteristics of an urban apartheid with blacks relegated to a rigidly subordinate position in society. With an increase of blacks in absolute number and in the percentage of the total population of the central city, there has been a definite decline in the white population in the central city and suburban areas of black in-migration. This urban population change in metropolises throughout the country has had and will continue to have profound effects upon the social, economic, and political structure of the city. Population changeover, especially racial changeover, in the central city and the suburbs is generally accompanied by changes in the social and economic characteristics of those areas. How this change has manifested itself from a perspective of socio-spatial variation within

the Black Community is a subject of this study.

Few geographic and sociological studies have specifically analyzed socio-spatial patterns of black residential differentiation or the relationship between public policy decisions and spatial form, particularly in respect to racially segregated residential areas. No geographic research known to this author has thoroughly analyzed the spectrum of components of the Black Community for any one city as pursued in this study. Much of the geographical and sociological concepts which form the foundation for understanding the phenomena of the Black Community is piecemeal with little attempt to comprehensively analyze basic phenomena within the setting of an optimal urban laboratory such as Oklahoma City. The findings to be derived from such a research orientation are prerequisites for effectively understanding social spatio-temporal processes which influence the evolution of the Black Community and the greater metropolis. It is the contention of this study that this more comprehensive approach to analysis will result in a greater elucidation of the Black Community in urban America.

The three primary objectives that are pursued, here, in order to achieve this more thorough understanding of the locational and socio-spatial aspects of the Black Community follow a logical approach to the analysis of its various components and to the synthesis of the findings of those analyses. Both qualitative and quantitative approaches to this analysis are employed; qualitative primarily for the first two objectives, and quantitative for the third.

As is apparent from the outline of objectives a common underlying supportive objective for each is the investigation and determination of public policy which has influenced the locational and socio-

spatial aspects of the Black Community; black urbanization, black enclave location and formation, social and residential segregation, differential growth of black enclaves, black economic condition, black business structure, black ecological diversity, and change.

Public policy is a common denominator for the conditions blacks have experienced. These public policies, official acts of judgement by government, which are relevant to the urban black population and or the ghetto land use system, after implementation and enforcement, appear to be instrumental in influencing a resultant change in the location and distribution of the black population and the patterning of socio-economic infrastructural characteristics of the Black Community.

Public policy decisions can be initiatives of change or stalwarts of the status quo depending, of course, upon their intended function. In the evolution of the Black Community both have been effective in influencing the urban black experience. As Charles Lindblom in his book, The Policy-Making Process, says, "Policy making is an extremely complex analytical and political process to which there is no beginning or end, and the boundaries of which are most uncertain."³ "Somehow a complex set of forces that we call policy making, all taken together, produces effects called policies."⁴ The determination of these policies in this study may serve to further elucidate phenomena associated with black urbanization.

³Charles Lindblom, The Policy-Making Process (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1968).

⁴Ibid.

Not until the last few years have the locational and social spatial aspects of the Black Community received much attention by geographers. Further investigation of Black Community evolution is needed to more fully understand the circumstances under which it evolved and the resultant manifestations of those circumstances. It is the intent of this study to further extend and improve on our knowledge of this deserving subject for research in the field of geography.

The General Study Area

The study area for this research could have been any selected Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area with a significant black population. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, has been selected by this author for this study primarily because of its proximity, the author's familiarity with its environs, its medium size population, and its moderate-size black population, and due to preliminary research which indicates Oklahoma City and its Black Community would make a satisfactory study area.

Oklahoma City was first settled in 1889 in a rush on lands formerly reserved for Indian Territory. The Census of 1890 showed a population for the city to be some 4,151. Most of the settlers were white men who planned to bring their families to this new land of opportunity. Blacks also came to homestead and begin a new life in a land not heaped in a history of black ethnic persecution. Only some 278 blacks had settled in Oklahoma City by 1890.

Representing 7% of the Oklahoma City population in 1890 the majority of black families homesteaded about the central city with its dusty dirt streets, tents, and woodframe street front stores. After only a few years black families began to concentrate in certain

residential areas of the city. With no precedent this was the beginning of what would continue to be a reinforced complex of residential segregation. Classical forces which were at work toward this end were self imposed (voluntary) segregation, and community social (involuntary) segregation which restricted black household location in this newly settled frontier community.

A number of catalysts for land use change just before the turn of the century resulted in housing availability northeast of the central business district. Blacks began to migrate to this area in ever increasing numbers from other parts of the city, from rural areas of Oklahoma and from the South between 1896 and 1910. Opportunities for employment, accessibility to jobs, goods and services and better housing prompted this migration which initiated the beginnings of the formation of Oklahoma City's present "Black Ghetto." From 1900 to 1970 black population grew from 1,219 or 12% to over 50,000 or 14%. Black population as a percentage of the total city has fluctuated over this same time period from 8% to 14%. Along with this increase in black population has developed a greatly expanded ghetto. This growth has been influenced by public policy; a factor in altering the social and physical structure of Oklahoma City's Black Community. A map of the study area and its component black residential areas and a map of the dominantly black census tracts in 1970 are shown in Figures 1-1 and 1-2, respectively.

The Analytical Approach

The fundamental methods employed in this study are historical, analysis through time, and geographical analysis over space; historical

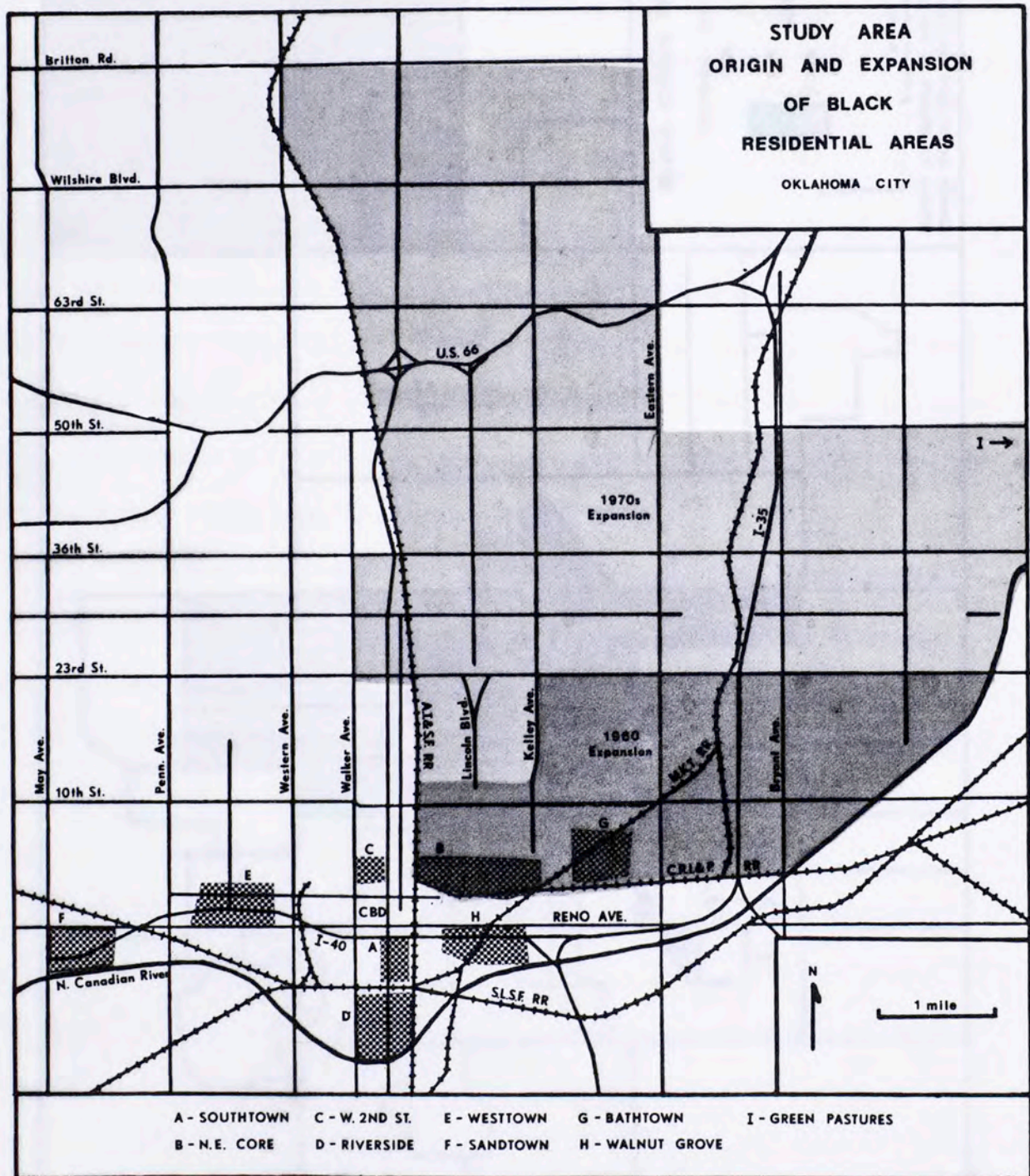


FIGURE 1-1

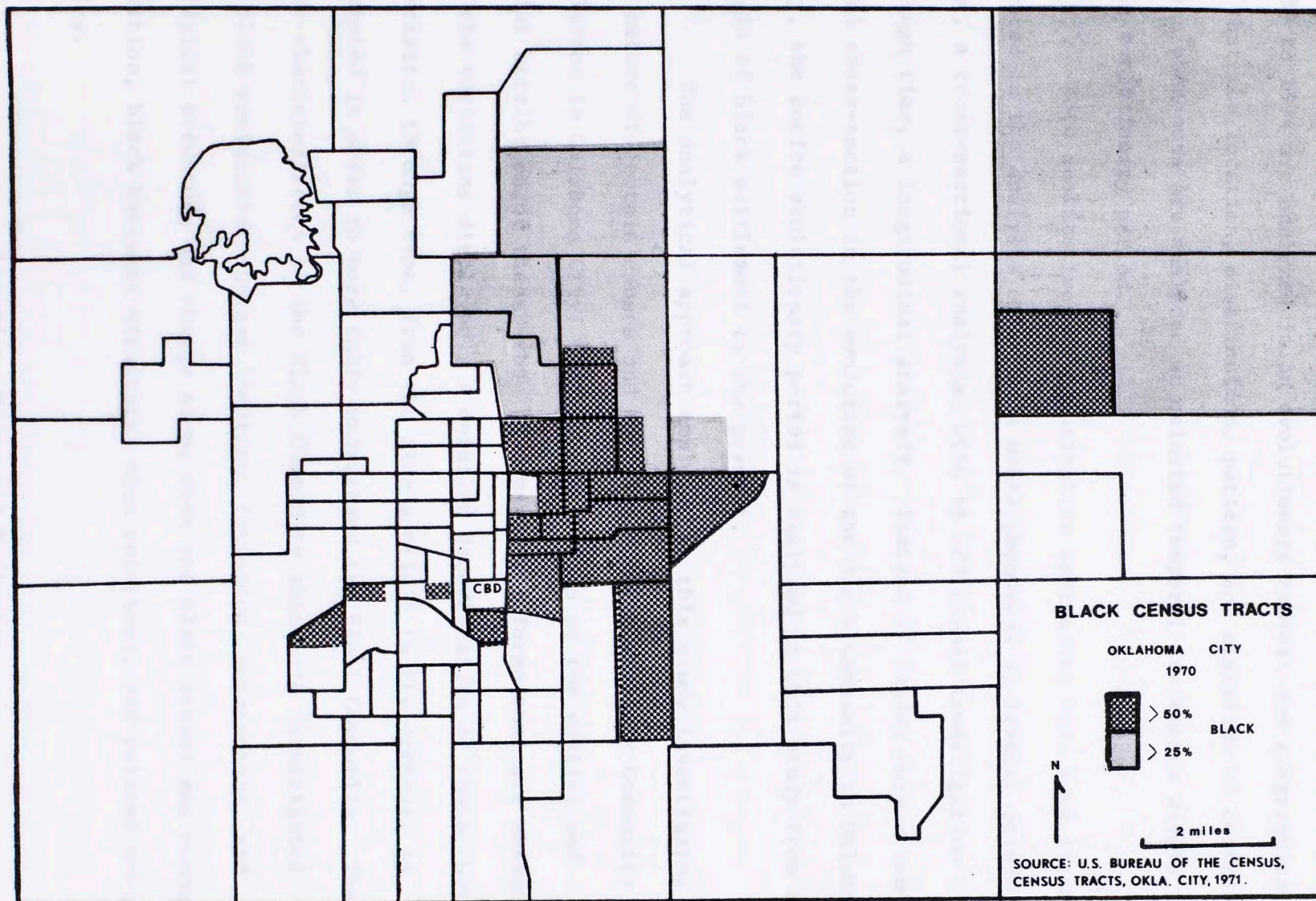


FIGURE 1-2

in the sense that certain urban phenomena for the period from the year 1889 to 1974 are analyzed in an evolutionary context and geographical in that the location, distribution, pattern, and migration of certain urban phenomena are analyzed at selected temporal increments within this evolutionary period.

Both qualitative and quantitative approaches have been incorporated in the analysis of certain urban phenomena at several points in time, a cross-sectional analysis, with an additional investigation through time, a longitudinal analysis. Instead of taking only a temporal cross-section in the evolution of the Black Community in Oklahoma City, the entire evolutionary period is analyzed in this study from the origin of black settlement to the present.

The analytical approach employed in this study investigates the nature of certain causes and the consequences of Black Community evolution in Oklahoma City. Emphasis is placed on the spatial and social attributes of these urban phenomena, the forms that are assumed, and the variations displayed. A detailed documentation of these characteristics through time, from the city's origin to the present, is attempted in order to more fully understand the Black Community. The major characteristics of the Black Community which are investigated are black residential enclave location, formation, maintenance, and ecological structure and change along with the black social and economic condition, black business structure, race relations, and related public policy.

Location, Form, and Evolution

The initial objective investigated was the locational component

of the Black Community; determination of the location and form of black residential enclaves. This involves the determination of the origin of black residential areas, the growth or decline in these areas, the overall locational evolution of the Black Community, the locational and economic development of the black business structure, and related public policies.

The locational characteristics of the black population were determined from various primary and secondary data sources. The earliest sources of black residential location in Oklahoma City from 1890 to 1923 were city directories. Beginning in 1899 street addresses were given for most household heads, and black occupied residences were distinguished by various symbols depending on the year of publication. The location of the black population prior to 1899 is not determinable, directly, because city directories prior to that year do not distinguish blacks from the rest of the population. A suggestive location of the black population for 1890 was determined by using a surrogate, occupation, which was given in the directory for most residents. Categories of common black occupations were used; laborer, domestic, blacksmith, livery men, and porter.

City directories for the years after 1923 do not distinguish black occupied residences. A search for other sources revealed only secondary data; 1) a map of the expansion of blacks on the northeast side of the city in an article of The Daily Oklahoman, July 18, 1926, 2) a map of the distribution of Negroes in Oklahoma City in a City Plan of 1931, 3) a map of the northeast side black residential area in an article of The Oklahoma City Times, July 7, 1933, 4) a map of

the northeast side again in an article of the Oklahoma City Times, March 16, 1934, and 5) a map of the distribution of non-white households for 1940 in a City Plan of 1949.

The location of the black population for the period 1950 to 1970 was derived from census data for 1950, 1960, and 1970. The basic unit of analysis here was the census block.

Another characteristic of the Black Community was its economic development and black business structure. The location of black businesses in Oklahoma City from 1899 to 1974 was also derived from various sources. As in the case of black population location from 1899 to 1923, black business location was derived from city directories which distinguished black businesses from non-black businesses. Sources of data on black business location from 1924 to 1974 were; 1) Negro City Directory, 1941, and 2) Progress Association for Economic Development directories of minority-owned businesses for 1971, 1972, 1973, and 1974. A source for black business location in the mid-1960s was the Urban Renewal Authority who would not let their data out to the public.

The determination of public policies which influenced the location, formation, and spatial evolution of identified black residential enclaves primarily involved a specific search for local ordinances in the Oklahoma City Statutes and a more general identification of law and policy on the state and federal levels from literature survey.

Aspatial Development

In approaching the determination of the aspatial development of the Black Community the following characteristics were investigated;

the social and economic condition of blacks, race relations, and related public policy. Attributes of these were derived from interviews with elderly blacks who have resided in Oklahoma City for many decades, census data, and from other published and unpublished reports and studies concerned with the black condition in Oklahoma City over the years, including a number of theses and dissertations of various disciplines at the University of Oklahoma. More general enlightenment came from the survey of related appropriate literature on the subject of blacks in Oklahoma and the United States: race relations in the state and nation, black protest movements, and the national social and economic situation. An extensive literature review was necessary in order to understand the situation of blacks in Oklahoma City, the state, and the country. A major emphasis in the survey of professional literature was on geographical and sociological sources which focused on urban concepts and processes, and on the history of the black experience in America.

Ecological Structure

In contrast to the approach to the first two objectives, the third objective required a quantitative approach to determine ecological structure and change in the Black Community between 1940 and 1970. This approach was principally in pursuit of the accurate measurement of characteristics of the Black Community, of variations in those characteristics, and of relationships between them.

In this approach, through the analysis of black ecological structure, the temporal and spatial dimensions of the social, economic, and demographic attributes of the Black Community are determined. By

the use of multivariate analysis techniques, principal components factor analysis, canonical correlation, and analysis of variance, a determination is made of the dimensions of black ecological structure and change, the relationships between these ecological dimensions, and the spatially manifested patterns of ecological differentiation, respectively. As with the other two objectives there is an investigation of public policies which have influenced ecological structure and change in the Black Community.

Table 1-1 lists the types and methods of quantitative ecological analysis employed to achieve the determination of the third objective; ecological structure and change. The factorial ecology, the spatial pattern of ecological differentiation based on socio-economic factor dimensions, seeks 1) to compare findings with other similar studies, and 2) to compare the findings for 1940, 1950, 1960, and 1970 in order to evaluate change in factor dimension structures and spatial patterns of ecological variation.

The subdimensional analysis of the primary ecological conditions further extends the analysis of ecological patterns and the structure of socio-economic dimensions of the Black Community during a critical period in its evolution; the pre- and post- Civil Rights' Act years, 1960-1970. The association analysis of the derived ecological subdimensions reveals the dimensional and spatial relationships of the "so-called" independent factor dimensions derived from the factorial ecology, and change in those dimensional and spatial aspects between 1960 and 1970.

TABLE 1-1

TYPES AND METHODS OF QUANTITATIVE ECOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

<u>Type</u>	<u>Method</u>	<u>Census Variables</u>	<u>Year of Analysis</u>
1) Factorial Ecology	Principal Components Analysis		
		20	1970
		16	1970
		16	1960
		9	1970
		9	1960
		9	1950
		9	1940
2) Subdimensional Analysis (family condition)	Principal Components Analysis	10	1970
		10	1960
(economic condition)		15	1970
		15	1960
(household condition)		18	1970
		14	1960
3) Association Analysis	Canonical Correlation		
(family/economic)		2 sets	1970
(family/economic)		2 sets	1960
(family/household)		2 sets	1970
(family/household)		2 sets	1960
(economic/household)		2 sets	1970
(economic/household)		2 sets	1960
4) Change Analysis	Principal Components Analysis		
		12	1960-70
		10	1950-60
		8	1940-50
5) Relative Status Change	Mean and Standard Deviation	18	1940, 1950, 1960, 1970
6) Pattern Analysis	Analysis of Variance	variable	1940, 1950 1960, 1970

The change analysis reveals dimensions and spatial variation of the percentage change (degree of change) in the black ecological structure of a growing expanding Black Community between 1940 and 1970. Together with the analysis of varying dimensional structures and spatial ecological patterns derived from the 1940-1970 factorial ecologies, and relative status change an evaluation of ecological change in the Black Community can be assessed. The relative status change analysis utilizes the mean and standard deviation of each of a variety of socioeconomic variables to evaluate the relative status of black neighborhoods in decennial time periods, 1940 through 1970.

Analysis of variance, one-way and two-way, is utilized to determine the statistical significance of ecological dimension patterns derived from the factorial ecologies, the sub-dimensional analysis, and the change analysis. Patterns depicted by cartographic representation are considered also in the overall evaluation of observable patterns of ecological variation among the neighborhoods of the Black Community.

Synthesis

The principal goal of this research is to formulate a synthesis, from the findings of these various qualitative and quantitative analyses, which furthers understanding of the Black Community, specifically, the locational and social spatial aspects of its origin and evolution. An aim of the synthesis is to formulate illustrative diagrams and models which aid in the description and explanation of the findings of this study.

Chapter Outline

In this first chapter the subject of study has been introduced and the analytical approach outlined. The second chapter reviews concepts and processes related to urbanization and ghettoization. Chapters 3 through 5 analyze qualitatively the historical evolution of the locational and socio-spatial aspects of formation and maintenance of the Black Community as a manifested entity in Oklahoma City. Chapter 6 quantitatively analyzes the changing black ecological structure of Oklahoma City and Chapter 7 is a synthesis of the findings in the analyses of black ecological structure in Oklahoma City. In Chapter 8 an overall comprehensive synthesis of the research is formulated, aided by generalized, illustrative diagrams and models, and Chapter 9 contains the summary and conclusions of the study.

Appendices A, B, C, and D respectively contain the factorial ecology rotated factor matrices, the sub-dimensional rotated factor matrices, the canonical correlation matrices, and the factorial change analysis matrices. The relative status change tables are in Appendix E.

CHAPTER II

PROCESSES AND CONCEPTS

Introduction

The phenomenon of city life is a culmination of the constant interplay of a complex set of forces which have been set into motion by the process of urbanization and the cultural experience of urbanism. The concept of urbanism refers to a set of shared human values related to the urbanization process and is a result of the "interplay between technological and social processes."¹

It is a pattern of existence which deals with (1) the accommodation of heterogeneous groups to one another; (2) a relatively high degree of specialization in labor; (3) involvement in non-agricultural occupational pursuits; (4) a market economy; (5) an interplay between innovation and change as against the maintenance of societal traditions; (6) development of advanced learning and the arts; and (7) tendencies toward city-based, centralized governmental structures.²

The basic processes of urbanization refer to the diffusion of urban values, the migration of the population from rural settings to cities, and the transformation of the behavior patterns of migrants "to those which are characteristic of groups in the cities."³ Sim-

¹Paul Meadows and Ephraim Mizruchi, Urbanism, Urbanization, and Change: Comparative Perspectives (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969), p. 2.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

plistically, urbanization is considered a process of population concentration which results in a greater proportion of people residing in urban areas.⁴

Ghettoization is a dynamic component aspect at work within the overall framework of Anglo-North American urbanization. It is a segregative process of ethnic and or racial minority groups; a separatist, selective process of exclusion and isolation. Manifested in space this results in residential segregation; an ecological segregation based on homogeneity of race, religion, nationality, or ethnicity.⁵ As in the case of the American Negro ghettoization is reflected by the appearance of subcultural natural areas within urban areas; created by social selection and segregation.⁶ Simply, ghettoization is the physical, social, and economic confinement of subordinate minority groups.

Ghettoism is the way of life which manifests itself within the subculture of an urban ghetto. Confinement, restrictions, discrimination, and prejudice have many consequences which spawn a way of life separated from the dominant society. Institutions evolve within the segregated community to provide the needs of the ghetto populace. Ghettoism is a specific type of urbanism which is experienced and expressed by the ghetto.

The Urban System and Intra-Urban Differentiation

The social and physical spatial structure of a city is a system;

⁴Hope Tisdale, "The Process of Urbanization," Social Forces, 20, No. 3 (March, 1942), p. 311.

⁵Noel P. Gist and L. A. Halbert, Urban Society (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1956), p. 81.

⁶Milla Alihan, Social Ecology (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), p. 158.

a complex of sub-systems.⁷ This urban system is represented by a complex pattern of constantly changing interactions which determine and are determined by the spatial structure of the city. This complicated pattern of interaction is manifested in both the relatively static infrastructural form and the dynamic systems of activity. These two primary components of the urban system are interdependent and exist as symbiotic processes in the differentiation of the urban landscape.⁸

The general arrangement of land use in cities is the result of centrality or accessibility, competition for sites, interconnections among functions, and public policies.⁹ Technological developments in transportation and communication has had an unprecedented impact upon these determinants of land use differentiation. The result has been a strong tendency toward a decentralization and deconcentration of functions and population. This process of urbanization, suburbanization, promotes urban sprawl and a greater segmentation and differentiation of the population.¹⁰

Residential land use is one of the traditional categories of

⁷Leslie Martin and Lionel March (ed.), Urban Space and Structures (London: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 159. Brian J. L. Berry and Frank E. Horton, Geographic Perspectives on Urban Systems (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey; Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970).

⁸David Crowther and Marcial Echenique, "Development of a Model of Urban Spatial Structure," in Urban Space and Structures, ed. Leslie Martin and Lionel March (London: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p. 176.

⁹Ronald Boyce, The Bases of Economic Geography (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1974), p. 260.

¹⁰F. Stuart Chapin, Jr., Urban Land Use Planning (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), pp. 25-26.

urban land use, and occupies the largest proportion of the total metropolitan area.¹¹ People who reside in the city are not of a homogeneous character. In fact, the urban population is highly heterogeneous in respect to a multitude of socio-economic, demographic, cultural, ethnic, and racial attributes.

Models of Urban Space

For the North American city three classical land use theories (models) and several subsequent others have been formulated to explain land use distribution, patterning, and growth. In what Stuart Chapin, Jr. calls space orientation concepts are three fundamental theories developed by Ernest Burgess (refer to Figure 2-1, A.), Homer Hoyt (refer to Figure 2-1, B.), and Chauncy Harris and Edward Ullman (refer to Figure 2-1, C.).¹²

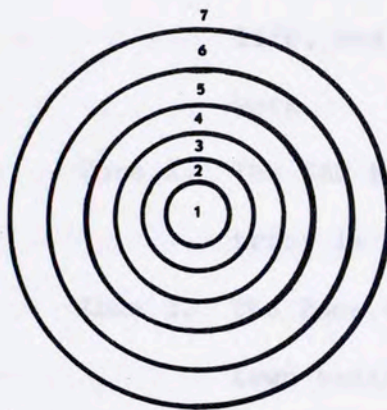
The Burgess concentric-circle or zone theory is explained by seven concentric zones which extend out radially from the central city as rings of growth with distinctive characteristics.¹³ The first five inner zones make up the urban area itself and the sixth and seventh zones represent the rural fringe and hinterland, respectively. The following describes each zone:

¹¹J. H. Niedercorn and E. F. R. Hearle, "Recent Land Use Trends in 48 Large American Cities," Land Economics, XL, No. 1 (February, 1961), pp. 105-110. H. Bartholomew, Land Uses in American Cities (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955).

¹²Chapin, Urban Land Use Planning, p. 15.

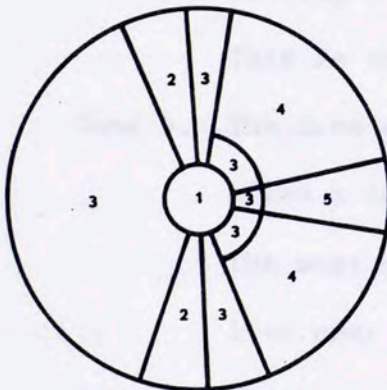
¹³E. W. Burgess, "The Growth of the City: An Introduction to a Research Project," in The City (1925), eds. R. E. Park, E. W. Burgess, and Roderick D. McKenzie (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, reprinted in 1967), pp. 47-62.

CLASSICAL URBAN STRUCTURAL MODELS



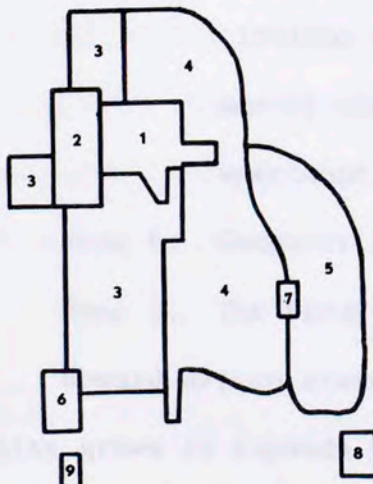
BURGESS CONCENTRIC ZONE MODEL

- 1 - The Central Business District
- 2 - The Fringe of the CBD
- 3 - The Zone in Transition
- 4 - The Zone of Working Class Homes
- 5 - The Zone of Better Residences
- 6 - The Commuters' Zone
- 7 - The Rural Fringe



HOYT SECTOR MODEL

- 1 - The Central Business District
- 2 - The Wholesale-Light Manufacturing District
- 3 - Low Class Residential
- 4 - Middle Class Residential
- 5 - High Class Residential



ULLMAN-HARRIS MULTIPLE NUCLEI MODEL

- 1 - The Central Business District
2 - Wholesale-Light Manufacturing
3 - Low Class Residential
4 - Middle Class Residential
5 - High Class Residential
6 - Heavy Manufacturing
7 - Outlying Business District
8 - Residential Suburb
9 - Industrial Suburb

SOURCE: REFER TO N.21.

FIGURE 2-1

- Zone 1. The Central Business District - This is the central core of the city's commercial, social, and political life, and the focus for the city's transportation network.
- Zone 2. The CBD Fringe - Encircling the retail business district is the wholesale business district.
- Zone 3. The Zone in Transition - This zone encircles the downtown business area and is a zone of residential deterioration characteristic of a mixture of land use including encroachment from business district activities. This is the area of poverty and slums.
- Zone 4. The Zone of Independent Workingman's Homes - This is often a zone of second-generation immigrants who for the most part are industrial workers which desire to live near their place of work.
- Zone 5. The Zone of Better Residences - This is a large encircling zone of middle and upper class residences; mostly single-family dwellings with dispersed better apartment buildings.
- Zone 6. Commuter's Zone
- Zone 7. The Rural Fringe¹⁴

Howard Nelson states that "the essence of this model is that as a city grows it expands radially from its center to form a series of

¹⁴Ibid.

concentric zones."¹⁵ Stuart Chapin, Jr. says that "early land economists frequently used Burgess' conventionalized diagram to explain the composite effect of market forces upon land use arrangements."¹⁶

Burgess developed his theory along with Robert Park and Rod-
erick McKenzie in order to explain ecological processes in the city.
Being a dynamic model, growth of the city resulted in an expansion out-
ward of the inner adjacent zones. In other words, there is an invasion
and succession of land uses which is dependent upon economic expansion
and population growth. It was also hypothesized that in periods of
economic decline and population decrease the zones tend to contract.
The simplicity of Burgess' concentric zone approach has been criticized
because of its oversimplification and the lack of account for irregu-
larities which distort zonal patterns. Its high degree of generaliza-
tion and applicability to the North American city has also justified
its appeal.

Homer Hoyt's sector theory is a theory of axial development.¹⁷
Hoyt contends that growth takes place along established routes of trans-
portation, and that these radiating routes promote sectoral growth which
differentiates itself throughout the urban area. Hoyt's theory devel-
oped from his study of residential neighborhoods; their qualities and

¹⁵Howard J. Nelson, "The Form and Structure of Cities: Ur-
ban Growth Patterns," Journal of Geography, LXVIII, No. 4 (April,
1969), p. 201.

¹⁶Chapin, Urban Land Use Planning, p. 16.

¹⁷Homer Hoyt, The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighbor-
hoods in American Cities, (Federal Housing Administration, Washington,
D.C., 1939).

distribution. Hoyt stated that "if one sector of the city first develops as a high, medium, or low rental residential area, it will tend to retain that character for long distances as the sector is extended outward through the process of the city's growth."¹⁸ This concept may be applicable to other land uses and especially to uses associated with different socio-economic sectors; as industrial activities and low income residences or recreational activities and high income residences. An example given by Chapin is high-rent areas (sectorial) which exhibits the following characteristics:

1. High-grade residential growth ... along established lines - trend from origin to periphery.
2. ... toward high ground ... to spread along lakes, etc.
3. ... tend to grow toward ... free, open country ... away from "dead ends" ... barriers.
4. ... toward the homes of the leaders of the community.
5. Trends of movement of office buildings, banks, and stores pull higher-priced residential neighborhoods in the same general direction.
6. ... tend to develop along the fastest existing transportation lines.
7. ... continues in the same direction for a long period of time.
8. Real estate promoters may bend the direction of high-grade residential growth.¹⁹

Similarly, a low income-low quality residential area will tend to migrate toward the periphery within its sector. Hoyt's theory although more detailed than that of Burgess still remains relatively simple and generalized which makes it quite useful in its applicability. Howard Nelson states that "Hoyt's model takes into account both distance and direction from the center of the city ... it is an improvement on the

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Chapin, Urban Land Use Planning, p. 18.

earlier Burgess effort."²⁰

Harris and Ullman felt that the Burgess and Hoyt models were lacking as explanatory theories of urban land use. They formulated the multiple nuclei theory which recognizes several nuclei within the city as growth centers.²¹ The previous two models assumed a single urban nucleus and were based on cultural assimilation and residential neighborhoods, respectively. The multiple distinct nuclei which differentiate the city are a result of the combination of four factors:

1. Certain activities require specialized activities.
2. Certain like-activities group together because they profit from cohesion.
3. Certain unlike activities are detrimental to each other.
4. Certain activities are unable to afford the high rents of the most desirable sites.²²

Growth center nuclei which the model distinguishes are 1) the central business district, 2) inner city industrial center, 3) whole-sale center, 4) outlying business districts, 5) various classes of inner city residential centers, 6) residential suburbs, and 7) industrial suburbs.²³ Chapin points out that "Harris and Ullman note that the number and the function of each nucleus vary from one metropolitan area to another."²⁴ Although this last model is not dynamic as the first two theories, it does have growth implications when considered as a process

²⁰Nelson, "Form and Structure of Cities," p. 202.

²¹Chauncy Harris and Edward Ullman, "The Nature of Cities," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 242, (November, 1945), pp. 7-17.

²²Ibid.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Chapin, Urban Land Use Planning, p. 19.

in conjunction with the zone and sector models.

Separately, these models of urban land use and growth only partially explain the location, distribution, patterning, and growth of the North American city. Together they bring into focus a more realistic and useful concept of urban phenomena. Brian Berry proposes that the city's "flesh shows certain simple systematic regularities which are tightly knit into a locational system of simultaneous concentric and axial dimensions," and that "segregated housing patterns are responsible for the current inability to develop a single model of the whole covering both spatial structure and change."²⁵

A general descriptive model developed by Edward Taaffe incorporates both the concentric zone and the sector theory centered on the Central Business District.²⁶ The idealized structure is a CBD encircled by a fringe which contains the origins of several sectors as industrial, wholesale, and blighted residential areas which are encircled by a "middle zone" which contains a wide mixture of uses including both low rent and high rent apartment sectors. The next outer zone is the "peripheral zone" which is basically single-family housings serviced by outlying shopping centers. The outer most zone consists of the "radial suburbs" which are residential developments along major thoroughfares. Between the radial suburbs are found the "interstitial suburbs" which fill in these areas. What Leo Schnore said about Burgess'

²⁵Brian Berry, "Internal Structure of the City," in Internal Structure of the City, ed. Larry S. Bourne (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 103.

²⁶Edward Taaffe, B.J. Garner, and M.H. Yeates, The Peripheral Journey to Work (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1963).

theory could be applicable to all of those discussed so far. Schnore pointed out that the model was an ideal or constructed type and that the "scheme must be seen as an attempt to deal with the reorganization of spatial relations that occurs with growth and radial expansion."²⁷

According to Maurice Yeates and Barry Garner several general factors of social and economic change in society can be identified; 1) an efficient agricultural system, 2) scientific discoveries and mechanical inventions, 3) an efficient transportation system, 4) demographic and social factors effecting in-migration and natural increase, and 5) economic internalities and externalities - opportunity.²⁸ The changes, prompted by industrialization, have increased urbanization and the growth of North American cities.

In the origination of the city, site and situation factors are of critical consideration. Subsequently, the economic base, number and type of functions, greatly determine the future growth of the city. Myrdal's principle of circular and cumulative causation as applied to urban growth implies that a change in functional structure brings about supporting changes, so therefore, growth is cumulative and begets growth.²⁹ As noted by Yeates and Garner, a new factory brings on new jobs which increases purchasing power which causes a demand for more goods and services which establishes new businesses which need employees which increases

²⁷Leo Schnore, "On the Spatial Structure of the City," in The Study of Urbanization, eds. Philip Hauser and Leo Schnore (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965), p. 351.

²⁸Maurice Yeates and Barry Garner, The North American City (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1971), pp. 32-34.

²⁹Gunnar Myrdal, Rich Lands and Poor (New York: Harper & Row, 1957).

population and interpersonal interaction, etc.³⁰ Of course, differential urban growth results due to this economic situation, both within a city and among cities.

J. R. Borchert's theory of transportation technology and urban growth recognizes several major innovations and related epochs; 1) the Sail-wagon, 1790-1830, 2) the steamboat and iron horse, 1830-1870, 3) the steel rail, 1870-1920, and 4) the auto-air-amenity, 1920 to present.³¹ During this time span technological change and great migrations resulted in tremendous urban growth. Each epoch suggested by Borchert influenced the internal structure of the North American city. As Borchert notes "each increment is eventually differentiated from the adjoining ones not only by the age of its structures but also by their scale, design, use, degree of obsolescence, and, often, site or location."³² A major problem Borchert says is that "there is no general provision for 'recycling' the resource of developed land when the initial development has become obsolete," and that the result has been a giant filtering down process.³³

Robert Murdie views urban structure and growth from the standpoint of social space (three dimensions of economic, social, and ethnic status) superimposed upon the urban physical space (refer to Figure 2-2.).³⁴ From this an idealized spatial model can be altered to demon-

³⁰Yeates and Garner, North American City, pp. 48-50.

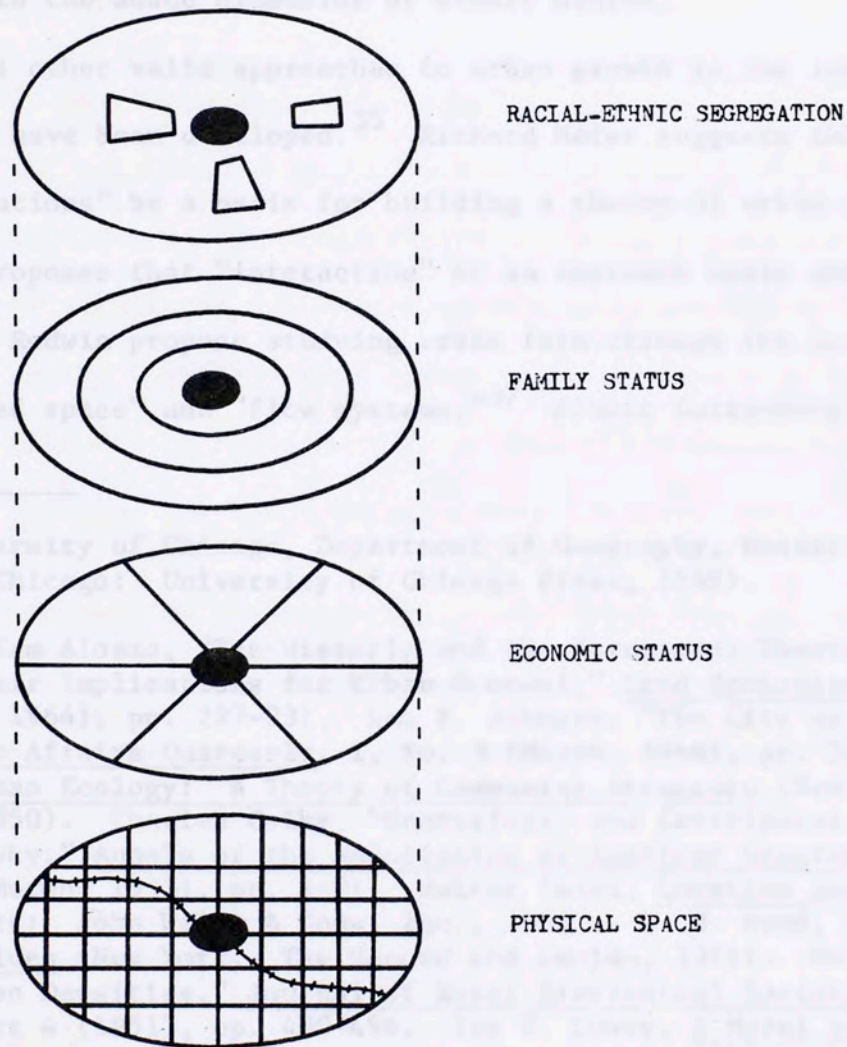
³¹J. R. Borchert, "American Metropolitan Evolution," Geographical Review, 57, No. 3 (July, 1967), pp. 301-323.

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Robert A. Murdie, Factorial Ecology of Metropolitan Toronto,

MURDIE'S MODEL OF URBAN STRUCTURE



Source: Robert A. Murdie, Factorial Ecology of Metropolitan Toronto, 1951-1961, University of Chicago, Department of Geography, Research Paper No. 116 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969).

FIGURE 2-2

strate the effect of differential access along radial routes on urban ecological structure. This approach has led to a more realistic analysis of the complex spectrum of urban phenomena. The components of the superimposed model are similar to the three previously described classical models with the added dimension of ethnic status.

Several other valid approaches to urban growth in the industrialized world have been developed.³⁵ Richard Meier suggests that "human communications" be a basis for building a theory of urban growth.³⁶ Melvin Webber proposes that "interaction" be an approach basis and Kevin Lynch and Lloyd Rodwin propose studying urban form through the analysis of "human adopted space" and "flow systems."³⁷ Albert Guttenberg devel-

1951-1961, University of Chicago, Department of Geography, Research Paper No. 116 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969).

³⁵William Alonzo, "The Historic and the Structural Theories of Urban Form: Their Implications for Urban Renewal," Land Economics, Vol. XL, No. 2 (May, 1964), pp. 227-231. Leo F. Schnore, "The City as a Social Organism," Urban Affairs Quarterly, 1, No. 3 (March, 1966), pp. 58-69. Amos Hawley, Human Ecology: A Theory of Community Structure (New York: Ronald Press, 1950). Charles Colby, "Centrifugal and Centripetal Forces in Urban Geography," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, XXXIII, No. 1 (March, 1933), pp. 1-21. Walter Isard, Location and Space Economy (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1956). R. M. Hurd, Principles of City Land Values (New York: The Record and Guide, 1924). Colin Clark, "Urban Population Densities," Journal of Royal Statistical Society, Serial A, Vol. 114, Part 4 (1951), pp. 490-496. Ira S. Lowry, A Model of Metropolis (Santa Monica, California: The Rand Corporation, 1964). Sidney Willhelm, Urban Zoning and Land Use Theory (New York: Free Press of Glenco, 1962). Lowden Wingo, Jr., Transportation and Urban Land (Washington, D. C.: Resources for the Future, Inc., 1961). J.H. von Thunen, Der isdierte Staat in Beziehung auf Landwirtschaft und Nationalokonomie (Hambert, 1826). August Losch, The Economics of Location (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954). Alfred Weber, Theory of Location of Industries, translation C. J. Friedrich (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928).

³⁶Richard Meier, A Communications Theory of Urban Growth (Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1962).

³⁷Melvin N. Webber, "The Urban Place and the Nonplace Urban Realm," in Explorations into Urban Structure, ed. Melvin M. Webber

oped a theoretical approach based on accessibility; "a community effort to overcome distance."³⁸ A more recent approach to explain urban growth has been in decision analysis. The utility of any single theory or model is questionable; but with the integration of present models an overall pattern can be seen evolving.

The Urban Aspatial Social Structure

The social system as a concept presupposes a group that has social interaction which is "directed toward attaining a goal and guided by patterns of structured and shared symbols and expectations."³⁹ Within a social system there may be a number of subsystems. In sociology the major elements in the structure of the social system and the four functional problems for every social system to solve are:

Elements;

- 1) Subgroups of various kinds, normatively related.
- 2) Roles both within the larger system and within groups, each role system being normatively related with each of the others.
- 3) Regulative norms governing subgroups and roles.
- 4) Cultural values

Problems;

- 1) Pattern maintenance and tension management
- 2) Adaption
- 3) Goal attainment
- 4) Integration⁴⁰

(Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963). Kevin Lynch and Lloyd Rodwin, "A Theory of Urban Form," Journal of the American Institute of Planners (November, 1958), pp. 201-214.

³⁸Albert Z. Guttenburg, "Urban Structure and Urban Growth," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 26, No. 3 (May, 1960), pp. 104-110.

³⁹F. Stuart Chapin, Jr., and Shirley F. Weiss, Factors Influencing Land Development (Chapel Hill: Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, 1962). Berry and Horton, Geographic Perspectives, pp. 395-439.

⁴⁰Alvin L. Bertrand, Basic Sociology (New York: Appleton-

The first functional problem deals with the primary socialization institutions; the family, school, and religion. The second deals with the economic institution and the third deals with the political institution. The last is concerned with the professional decision maker.⁴¹

The structure and functioning of human social systems are organized and patterned. Its complex framework of social interaction is structured by shared norms and values of a hierarchy of social systems which make up society as a whole. "The critical process of socialization consists of the individual learning the patterns for living of his social group, including its normative systems."⁴²

In this manner the individual acquires the social and cultural heritage of his society, and in the case of many subgroups there is the process of socialization into a subculture. In accordance with the norms of society, members are differentiated as to social position which carries with it a certain designation of the rights and obligations accorded to any particular position. From this designation one assumes the status and role of that position.

A system of social stratification, the social stratum, exists in order to differentiate individuals and families on the basis of status criteria as wealth, power, occupation, education, possessions,

Century-Crofts, 1973), p. 21.

⁴¹R. E. Pahl, "Sociological Models in Geography," in Models in Geography, eds. Richard J. Chorley and Peter Haggett (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1967) p. 230. H. M. Johnson, Sociology; A Systematic Introduction (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1961).

⁴²Bertrand, Basic Sociology, p. 32.

and race. This system is hierarchical in nature and assigns degrees of prestige to the various levels of status.⁴³ In reference to social stratification "the fact of social inequality in human society is marked by its ubiquity and its antiquity."⁴⁴

Within this social structure conflict arises between subgroups of the system who struggle and compete for limited resources and positions of status, power, and prestige. Often a subordinate powerless group is subjected to discrimination and lower status designation to further restrict their competitive potential. Social control, therefore, is necessary to maintain the status quo social order. Socialization and institutionalization provide mechanisms, legal and customary sanctions, to prevent stress between the differentiated urban populace. Controls applied through psychological, social, economic, and physical sanctions present a problem for social systems.⁴⁵ Social change is an ubiquitous part of the overall social process and, in so being, sanctions cannot remain rigid while society is undergoing changes in norms and values, and new patterns of behavior and new lifestyles.⁴⁶

⁴³Gist and Halbert, Urban Society, pp. 298-299.

⁴⁴Melvin Tumin, "Some Principles of Stratification: A Critical Analysis," American Sociological Review, 18, No. 4 (August, 1953), p. 387.

⁴⁵Bertrand, Basic Sociology, pp. 329-344.

⁴⁶Ibid.

Urban Social Areas

Social geography has been defined as the geographical study of social space characterized by formal, functional, and circulatory components.⁴⁷ The early French school of social morphologists which included Chombart de Lauwe conceived urban social space as being made up of economic, demographic, and cultural space superimposed upon the physical space of the city.⁴⁸ From this composite of social and physical characteristics relatively homogeneous social areas were distinguished in Paris. Concerning this approach Robert Murdie states:

In this manner one is able to build up a comprehensive picture of urban social structure and to single out relatively uniform social areas for more detailed studies of social dynamics within the urban system. These formulations ... fail to deal adequately with change in the ecological structure of the city.⁴⁹

Early interest in the study of urban residential differentiation began with sociologists and human ecologists.⁵⁰ These scholars analyzed patterns of social differentiation in the city from an ecological perspective which borrowed heavily from concepts in plant ecol-

⁴⁷Anne Buttmer, "Social Geography," in International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, ed. David Sills (New York: Macmillan, 1968), pp. 134-145.

⁴⁸P. H. Chombart de Lauwe, Paris et l'agglomération parisienne (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1952).

⁴⁹Robert Murdie, Toronto, pp. 10-11.

⁵⁰Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess, Roderick McKenzie, C. C. Adams, M. Alihan, J. A. Quinn, Elin L. Anderson, R. C. Angell, Robert M. MacIver, R. V. Bowers, Franklin E. Frazier, W. Gilmore, Asael T. Hansen, William F. Ogburn, Gladys Engle-Frisch, C. H. Cooley, Herbert Spencer, Nels Anderson, Pek Si Wu, Amos Hawley, Otis Duncan, G. A. Theodorson, H. W. Zorbaugh.

ogy. Louis Wirth called the city a mosaic of social worlds.⁵¹ Robert Park visualized the city in these terms:

In the course of time every sector and quarter of the city takes on something of the character and qualities of its inhabitants. Each separate part of the city is inevitably stained with the peculiar sentiments of its population. The effect of this is to convert what was at first a mere geographical expression into a neighborhood that is to say, a locality with sentiments, traditions, and a history of its own.⁵²

Robert Park viewed the city as a complex of natural areas which were defined as spatial social units "limited by natural boundaries enclosing a homogeneous population with a characteristic moral order."⁵³ Much of the ecological structure of cities is explained by the processes and concepts related to urbanization and the housing market.

Where the natural area was a relatively qualitatively defined conception of urban space the social area as derived from Shevky is an empirically indexed conception of urban space.⁵⁴ Shevky began "with a theory of social differentiation," as did the human ecologists, "identifying variations in social space which were then translated into geographical space."⁵⁵ Shevky hypothesized three expressions or indexes of what he called increasing scale.⁵⁶ These indexes (constructs)

⁵¹Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," The American Journal of Sociology, XLIV, No. 1 (July, 1938).

⁵²Robert E. Park, Human Communities (New York, 1952), p. 17.

⁵³Paul Hatt, "The Concept of Natural Area," American Sociological Review, 11, No. 4 (August, 1946), p. 423.

⁵⁴David Herbert, Urban Geography: A Social Perspective (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973), pp. 121-152.

⁵⁵Ibid. p. 139.

⁵⁶Increasing scale implied a continuum of change from traditional primitive to modern industrialized cities and related lifestyles.

were social rank (economic status), urbanization (family status), and segregation (ethnic status).⁵⁷

Shevky developed a body of postulates concerning the processes of urbanization from a large literature on the subject. These postulates were his theoretical foundation for analyzing social area differentiation within the city. Although Shevky's technique has been criticized severely by Amos Hawley and Otis Duncan for its weak theoretical basis, many others have praised his approach.⁵⁸

In his postulates concerning industrial society Shevky has essentially incorporated the three concepts of urbanization; structural, demographic, and behavioral. Emphasis appears to be placed on the structural conception related to the economic aspect of urbanization, but the demographic and behavioral concepts are clearly apparent. A flow chart illustrating Shevky's postulates is shown in Table 2-1.

Shevky viewed "the city as a product of the complex whole of modern society; thus the social forms of urban life are to be understood within the context of the changing character of the larger containing

⁵⁷Herbert, Urban Geography, p. 139. "Social rank described the tendency for society to become more precisely ordered into strata based on specialisation and social prestige. Urbanisation described a weakening of the traditional organisation of the family as the society became more urbanised. Segregation suggested that over time the population group would tend to form distinctive clusters based primarily upon ethnicity." Social rank was measured by measures of occupation and education. Urbanisation was measured by fertility, women at work, and single-family detached dwelling units and segregation was measured from the proportion of racial and ethnic groups in the total population.

⁵⁸Amos Hawley and Otis D. Duncan, "Social Area Analysis: A Critical Appraisal," Land Economics, XXXIII, No. 4 (November, 1957), pp. 337-345. Praise, although subtle from some, has come from D. Timms, Brian Berry, Harold Carter, David Herbert, James Beshers, and others.

TABLE 2-1. SHEVKY'S POSTULATES

POSTULATES CONCERNING INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY (Aspects of Increasing Scale) (1)	STATISTICS OF TRENDS (2)	CHANGES IN THE STRUCTURE OF A GIVEN SOCIAL SYSTEM (3)	CONSTRUCTS (4)	SAMPLE STATISTICS (Related to the Constructs) (5)	DERIVED MEASUR (6)
Change in the range and in- tensity of relations	Changing distribution of skills; lessening importance of manual productive operations - growing importance of clerical, super visory, management operations.	Changes in the arrangement of occupations based on func- tion.	Social rank (economic status)	Years of schooling, employment status, class of worker, major occupation group, value of home, rent by dwelling unit, plumbing and repair, persons per room, heating, cooling.	Occupation, schooling, rent. Inde 1
Differentiation of function	Changing structure of productive activity. Lessening importance of primary production - growing importance of relations centered in cities - lessening importance of the household as economic unit.	Changes in the ways of living - movement of women into urban occupations - spread of alternative family patterns.	Family status (urbanization)	Age and sex, owner or tenant, house structure, persons in household.	Fertility, women at work, single- Inde family 2 dwelling units.
Complexity of organization	Changing composition of population; increasing movement - alterations in age and sex distribution - increasing diversity.	Redistribution in space, changes in the proportion of supporting and de- pendent population - isolation and segregation of groups.	Segregation (ethnic status)	Race and nativity, country of birth, citizenship.	Racial and national groups in Inde relative 3 isolation.

Source: Maurice Yeates and Barry Garner, The North American City (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1971), p. 289 after Eshref Shevky and William Bell, Social Area Analysis (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1955), p. 4.

society."⁵⁹ Three basic processes of urbanization were postulated as:

- 1) Change in the range and intensity of relations.
- 2) Differentiation of functions.
- 3) Complexity of organization.⁶⁰

Assuming that with industrialization and modernization a combination of technological and social organizational changes are made, then these three postulates could form the foundation for societal change. The first postulate refers to changes in the arrangement of occupations and specialization which leads to greater occupational and socio-economic stratification. The second postulate refers to changes in the way of living which leads to changing family and demographic characteristics of urban society. The third postulate relates to an increasing heterogeneity in population which leads to ethnic and socio-cultural segregation.

In this section several concepts of urbanization have been reviewed. It has been established that rapid urbanization together with urbanism produce an ever changing spatio-temporal phenomenon, the city, which tends toward greater social and economic diversification and complexity. A new social milieu is created with its concentration of wealth, power, and prestige and its new forms of social organization and disorganization. As the agglomeration of people and economic activities emerge and grow the urban infrastructure expands, aided by

⁵⁹Eshref Shevky and Wendell Bell, Social Area Analysis (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1955).

⁶⁰Harold Carter, The Study of Urban Geography (London: Edward Arnold Limited, 1972), p. 262.

more complex networks of transportation and communication. Greater efficiency from technology and institutional structures is continually required. Distinct patterns of specialization and stratification evolve until the city's functions and people have well-defined segregated boundaries.

Whatever the term, natural areas, social areas, or neighborhoods; areas of human occupancy come into existence as part of a dynamic emerging pattern of urban growth. Every city is composed of a mosaic of many diverse areas, each with its own distinct socio-economic, physical and behavioral characteristics; lifestyles and standards. Some social areas are abruptly distinct and others are transitional between relatively distinctive areas. The ecological configuration of a young or small urban area is rather simple. As the city grows a more complicated urban system evolves, sometimes shadowing the actual causes and effects involved in social and spatial change. It has been suggested that the concepts of natural area and social area should be used with much discrimination and caution.⁶¹

- 1) The concept of natural area should not be applied too rigidly.
- 2) The criteria that are chosen to differentiate natural areas may not be universally applicable.
- 3) Natural areas are not sharply demarcated from one another.
- 4) Natural areas are not static and fixed but are dynamic and ever changing.⁶²

Ernest Burgess' generalized scheme, the concentric theory represents the most simplified ecological patterning and structural and

⁶¹Calvin F. Schmid, "Research Techniques in Human Ecology," Scientific Social Surveys and Research, ed. Pauline V. Young (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955), pp. 411.

⁶²Ibid., pp. 411-413.

interactional change of natural areas. As growth occurs, each inner zone of the model tends to invade the next outer zone following what the human ecologist refers to as a sequence of invasion, succession, and possible dominance. Homer Hoyt's sector concept was based on the findings that different income groups of a city tend to be found in distinctive sectors which grow out axially along major transport arteries. Harris and Ullman's multiple nuclei theory conceptualizes the concentration of urban land uses around several functional nuclei. These classical models previously discussed in detail, together with Shevky's social area analysis, provided a theoretical basis (although highly generalized) for further research by human ecologists, social geographers, urban planners and others. For the most part, subsequent social area research empirically validated the classical models and the Shevky approach to analysis, but not without some exceptions and much criticism.⁶³

⁶³Eshref Shevky and Wendell Bell, "The Social Areas of the San Francisco Bay Region," American Sociological Review, 18, No. 1 (February, 1953), pp. 39-47; Eshref Shevky and Marilyn Williams, The Social Areas of Los Angeles (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949); Theodore R. Anderson and Janice A. Egeland, "Spatial Aspects of Social Area Analysis," American Sociological Review, 26, No. 3 (June, 1961), pp. 392-398; This paper tested Burgess' concentric zone and Hoyt's sector hypothesis by using the constructs suggested by Shevky. The results indicated that Burgess' model was essentially supported with respect to urbanization (family status) but not social rank. Hoyt's model was supported by social rank (economic status) but not by urbanization. T. R. Anderson and L. L. Bean, "The Shevky-Bell Social Areas: Confirmation of Results and a Re-Interpretation," Social Forces, 40, No. 2 (December, 1961), pp. 119-124; this study found that the family status construct had two distinct elements, familism and urbanism. Dennis C. McElrath, "The Social Areas of Rome: A Comparative Analysis," American Sociological Review, 27, No. 3 (June, 1962), pp. 376-390; this paper tested the classical models and found that economic status and family status exhibited both concentric and sectorial patterns. Larger families of lower economic status located near the periphery of Rome. Janet L. Abu-Lughod, "Testing the Theory of Social Area Analysis: The Ecology of Cairo, Egypt," American Sociological Review, 34, No. 2 (April, 1969), pp. 198-212; using

A more contemporary approach to the classification and analysis of social or residential areas has been multi-variate. This new trend in analysis has been due partially to a change in the philosophy of social scientists in respect to research technique and theory formation, a greater interest and respect for quantitative methodology, and the recent introduction of high speed computers into most major institutions of higher learning, business, and government.

The most commonly used and possibly the most powerful multi-variate statistical tools have been factor analytic procedures and linkage analysis. The factor analytic procedures, principal components and factor analysis, have been extremely useful, sophisticated techniques in the investigation of spatial variations in the urban social structure. "The term factorial ecology is of recent origin and has been used

the Shevky social area analysis approach it was found that a "close association between certain variables of family status and social rank" existed. It is argued here that the constructs explanatory of North American cities have little meaning in situations "where contrasts derive from cultural variables between ethnic groups, and where there is a low level of differentiation of housing type and the element of extended households." J. R. Urdy, "Increasing Scale and Spatial Differentiation: New Tests of Two Theories from Shevky and Bell," Social Forces, 42, No. 4 (May, 1964), pp. 403-413; Urdy's argument is that there is no basis for translating a theory of societal change into a typology; that trends exhibited from findings were not consistent over time. J. Musil, "The Development of Prague's Ecological Structure," Readings in Urban Sociology, ed. R. E. Pahl (Pergamon, 1968), pp. 232-259; this study found a close relationship between housing policy and family characteristics. D. T. Herbert, "Social Area Analysis: A British Study," Urban Studies, 4, No. 1 (February, 1967), pp. 41-60; this study points out limitations of the social area constructs outside North America. Relationships within the economic status construct were significant, but there was no significant relationship between the variables of the family construct. Occupation and fertility were also found to be correlated. E. A. Jones, A Social Geography of Belfast (London: Oxford University, 1960); B. T. Robson, "An Ecological Analysis of the Evolution of Residential Areas in Sunderland," Urban Studies, 3, No. 1 (February, 1966), pp. 120-142.

to describe those analyses of urban spatial structure which employ factor analysis as a technique."⁶⁴

Duncan Timms describes the typical study in factorial ecology as consisting of

...the application of extensive factor analytic techniques to a wide range of demographic, socio-economic, and housing data generated on a sub-area framework. The analysis is founded on the belief that it will be possible to account for the manifold variation in neighborhood characteristics in terms of a much smaller number of constructs ... The criteria of significance reside in both the statistical properties of the factors, as accounting for a certain proportion of variance, and in their theoretical connections.⁶⁵

Factorial ecologies of urban areas in Anglo-North America have produced relatively similar findings. Anywhere from a somewhat lesser consistency to highly inconsistent results have been obtained from urban studies in other parts of the world. For Anglo-North America and many other western countries the variation in the characteristics of social areas within a city has been found to be explained primarily by three significant constructs: economic status, family status, and ethnic status. Other dimensions which have commonly appeared are mobility and household characteristics.

F. L. Sweetser's analysis of Helsinki, Finland and Boston revealed the three factors of economic status, family status, and ethnic status in the case of Boston, but no ethnic status for Helsinki.⁶⁶ He validated much of the construct concepts of Shevky. The economic factor

⁶⁴Herbert, "British Study." p. 153.

⁶⁵Duncan Timms, The Urban Mosaic: Towards a Theory of Residential Differentiation (London: Cambridge University Press, 1971), p. 55.

⁶⁶F. L. Sweetser, "Factor Structure as Ecological Structure in Helsinki and Boston," Acta Sociologica, 8, No. 3 (1965), pp. 205-225.

correlated high with variables indicative of occupation, education, income, and housing value. The family status dimension correlated high with fertility, family size, married adults, age characteristics, and dwelling type. Sweetser's objective was to test the value of factor analysis in the differentiation of residential areas. In his paper he stated:

Modern factor analysis, using factor structure as a model for ecological structure, is the method par excellence for comparing cross-nationally (and intra-nationally) the ecological differentiation of residential areas in urban and metropolitan communities.⁶⁷

C. F. Schmid and K. Tagashira found that many variables used in multivariate analysis are indicatively redundant and that a large number of variables (42 in this case) can be selectively reduced to ten or twelve variables which will provide a satisfactory representation of the three basic constructs; socio-economic status, family status, and ethnic status.⁶⁸ They point out that family status may be characterized with different labels by researchers because of its variability in correlated components and its seemingly not so independence from the economic status factor.

In an analysis of Winnipeg, Canada, David Herbert found three factors: housing style, social status, and ethnicity.⁶⁹ Herbert says that "the leading three factors are clearly reminiscent of the constructs of social area analysis and the great majority of North American analysis

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸C. F. Schmid and K. Tagashira, "Ecological and Demographic Indices: A Methodological Analysis," Demography, 1, No. 1 (1964), pp. 195-211. Sweetser made a similar observation in his Helsinki study.

⁶⁹Herbert, Urban Geography, pp. 154-163.

have produced similar results."⁷⁰ The geographical patterns of these three factors were concentric zonal, sectorial, and agglomerations respectively which supports the classical models.⁷¹

Robert Murdie in his study of Toronto, Canada, discovered similar patterns of socio-economic, family and ethnic statuses.⁷²

In particular, three basic dimensions displayed strength and persistence through time, differentiating the population by economic status, family status, and zones of recent growth. Additionally, there were similar configurations of the population by ethnic status over the time period of the study. Economic status showed a dominantly sectorial pattern of variation and family status was distributed spatially by concentric zones. Recent growth elements were associated with particular zones and ethnic variation with certain sectors. ...the social space of Metropolitan Toronto is made up of a series of independent dimensions that overlay on the physical space of the city in very regular ways.⁷³

Philip Rees' studies of Chicago were performed on varying scales; the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, the city, and the suburbs.⁷⁴ To varying degrees zonal and sectoral effects influenced the distribution of economic status and family status.

Rees suggests that there may be a relationship between the relative strengths of the zonal and sectoral effects and city size. He

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 157.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 161.

⁷²Murdie, Metropolitan Toronto.

⁷³Ibid., p. 167.

⁷⁴Philip H. Rees, "The Factorial Ecology of Metropolitan Chicago," Geographic Perspectives on Urban Systems, eds. B. J. L. Berry and F. E. Horton (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), pp. 319-385. A previous social area analysis by McElrath and Barkey identified three constructs: 1) urbanization which varied by zone and by sector, 2) social rank which varied by zone, and 3) segregation which varied by sector. Dennis McElrath and John Barkey, "Social and Physical Space: Models of Metropolitan Differentiation," (Paper, Northwestern University, 1964).

points out that the larger the city, the greater appears to be the relative importance of zonal variations in social rank and of sectorial variations in family status, even though each remains the subsidiary effect.⁷⁵

Rees derived three major factors which were socio-economic status, stage in life-cycle, and race/resources. In regard to these dimensions Rees stated:

They showed that, within the limits of the technology and resources at their command, people choose to minimise through living apart from those unlike themselves, the possibilities of conflict because of class, generational, racial, and religious or national differences.⁷⁶

Rees conceptualized residential mobility, although conditioned by the infrastructure, as the real process which formed and modified the urban structure. The findings of Rees' Chicago study were:

1. The dimensions of social status and family status were independent and additive contributors to the variation of residential population groups in the subareas of the metropolis.
2. The principal mode of spatial variation of the social status dimension was sectorial, and that of family status zonal, but zonal variation was almost as important as sectorial in the case of social status (confirming that many of Burgess' observations were not mere fancies), and sectorial variation of family status.
3. Comparison with similar studies of smaller cities suggested that this mix of spatial patterns might be associated with the size and stage of development of a city, since the smaller a city, the closer it approximated the integrated model postulated earlier.
4. A series of independent minority-group dimensions emerged from the analysis, but the most important, that distinguishing the Negro population, was undoubtedly associated with the set of socio-economic status indicators in a way that clearly revealed the pattern of discrimination along racial lines in the midwest metropolis.⁷⁷

⁷⁵Timms, Urban Mosaic, p. 233.

⁷⁶Philip H. Rees, "Concepts of Social Space," Geographic Perspectives on Urban Systems, eds. Brian J.L. Berry and Frank E. Horton (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), p. 386.

⁷⁷Ibid.

L. E. Brown and F. E. Horton emphasized changing social spatial patterns in a study of Chicago between 1950 and 1960.⁷⁸ Major factors of change were:

- 1) an increase in the proportion of renters - an occupational polarisation dimension
- 2) an increase in salaries - an income factor
- 3) an increasing proportion of households in the middle life cycle realm - a life cycle factor
- 4) an increase in the number of Negro families - an ethnic factor

The first two factors of change were concentric. Robert Murdie's study of Toronto from 1951 to 1961 revealed factors of change:

... the forces affecting the city were known by an analysis to be the new growth at the periphery (suburbanization), the restructuring of the inner city of redevelopment and conversion (urbanization), the diffusion of particular cultural groups (ethnic change), and the very facts of presence of change or persistence (residential stability).⁷⁹

Several other factorial ecologies of cities in Anglo-North America have revealed similar constructs and residential patterns and have added significantly to the knowledge on the subject.⁸⁰ Of course, many

⁷⁸Lawrence E. Brown and F. E. Horton, "Social Area Change: An Empirical Analysis," Urban Studies, 7, No. 3 (October, 1970), pp. 271-288.

⁷⁹Murdie, Metropolitan Toronto, p. 170.

⁸⁰C. G. Janson, "The Spatial Structure of Newark, New Jersey," Acta Sociologica, 11, No. 3 (1968), pp. 144-169; M. D. Van Ardsol, S. F. Camilleri, and C. F. Schmid, "The Generality of Urban Social Area Indices," American Sociological Review, 23, No. 3 (June, 1958), pp. 277-284; Frank L. Sweetser, The Social Ecology of Metropolitan Boston: 1950 (Boston: Massachusetts Department of Mental Health, 1961); The Social Ecology of Metropolitan Boston: 1960 and Patterns of Change in the Social Ecology of Metropolitan Boston, 1950-1960 (Boston: Massachusetts Department of Mental Health, 1962); George W. Carey, "The Regional

studies have analyzed residential patterns in other countries of the world which have resulted in a generally accepted conclusion that there is a traditional-industrial urban continuum in each society and an overriding cultural influence in each society which results in different explanatory constructs and different manifest patterns.⁸¹ Developmental

Interpretation of Manhattan Population and Housing Patterns Through Factor Analysis," The Geographical Review, LVI, No. 4 (October, 1966), pp. 551-569; Brian J. L. Berry and Robert J. Tennant, Commercial Structure (Chicago: Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission, 1965); R. C. Tyron, Identification of Social Areas by Cluster Analysis: A General Method with an Application to the San Francisco Bay Region (Berkeley, 1955); Jeffrey K. Hadden and Edgar F. Borgatta, American Cities: Their Social Characteristics (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1965); several other factorial ecologies can be found among the unpublished Master's theses and doctoral dissertations in sociology and geography. Numerous such studies have been performed by scholars in the Center for Urban Studies at the University of Chicago.

⁸¹A selection of these: Janet L. Abu-Lughod, "Testing the Theory of Social Area Analysis: The Ecology of Cairo, Egypt," American Sociological Review, 34, No. 2 (April, 1969), pp. 198-212; David T. Herbert, "Principal Components Analysis and British Studies of Urban-Social Structure," The Professional Geographer, XX, No. 4 (July, 1968), pp. 280-283; "Principal Components Analysis and Urban-Social Structure: A Study of Cardiff and Swansea," Urban Essays: Studies in the Geography of Wales, eds. Harold Carter and W. K. D. Davies (London: Longmans, 1970), pp. 70-100; A. H. Dawson, "Warsaw: An Example of City Structure in Free Market and Planned Socialist Environments," Tijdschrift voor Economische en Social Geographie, LXII, No. 2 (1971) pp. 104-113; A. L. Mabogunje, Urbanisation in Nigeria (London: University of London Press, 1968). Brian J. L. Berry and Philip H. Rees, "The Factorial Ecology of Calcutta," American Journal of Sociology, 74, No. 5 (March, 1968), pp. 445-491; Frank L. Sweetser, "Factorial Ecology: Helsinki, 1960," Demography, 2, (1965), pp. 372-385; Elizabeth Gittus, "The Structure of Urban Areas," Town Planning Review 35, No. 2 (April, 1964), pp. 5-20; F. L. Jones, "A Social Profile of Canberra, 1961," The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology, 1, No. 2 (October, 1965), pp. 107-120; R. J. Johnston, "Neighborhood Patterns Within Urban Areas," in Urbanization in New Zealand, ed. R. J. Johnston (London: Reed Education, 1973), pp. 204-227; "Zonal and Sectoral Patterns in Melbourne's Residential Structure," Land Economics, XLV, No. 4, (November, 1969), pp. 463-467; R. J. Stinson, "The Social Structure of Large Cities," Urbanization in Australia, ed. I. H. Burnley (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp. 147-163; B. T. Robson, Urban Analysis: A Study of City Structure with Special Reference to Sunderland (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

models for each society are needed to comprehensively understand residential differentiation throughout the world.

A summary of the basic findings of factorial ecologies in North American cities follows:

- 1) there is an urban social structure which manifests itself in distinguishable social area patterns of residence.
- 2) certain aspects of any particular city's social area differentiation is unique, regional, national, and universal.
- 3) there are at least three major indicative elements (factors, constructs); economic status, family status, and ethnic status.
- 4) economic status is generally indicated by attributes of income, occupation, education, and property values, and tends to be differentiated sectorially.
- 5) family status is generally indicated by attributes of age distributions, fertility, size, household type, and women in labor force, and tends to be differentiated concentrically.
- 6) ethnic status is indicated by proportion of ethnic or racial types which tend to be found in agglomerations superimposed upon economic status and family status patterns.
- 7) distortions of these generalized patterns are variable and result from unique situations of the physical environment (topography), the physical urban infrastructure (a relatively static structure undergoing an aging process), and the behavioral aspect of individuals and activity systems.
- 8) social areas of relative homogeneity may be determined from the superimposition of the concentric, sectorial, and agglom-

erative patterns upon the physical environment and intra-structure of the urban area.

- 9) the social areas discerned are not necessarily functional or perceived.

... in reality, contemporary communities rarely exhibit functional and perceptual homogeneity. This decline in community identity can be attributed to a number of factors including increased mobility, lack of home ownership, social distance and separation of work and residence.⁸²

- 10) the ecological structure of urban social areas is not static.
- 11) change in spatial patterns is primarily influenced by urban growth.
- 12) change in the pattern of economic status is concentric.
- 13) change in the pattern of family status is concentric.
- 14) change in the pattern of ethnic status is sectorial.
- 15) spatial patterns of change have been rapid throughout the Twentieth Century.

Economic status generally explains 40% to 70% of the spatial variation in urban areas. This status dimension ranges from social areas of characteristically high occupational status (professionals, managers), high educational status (college graduates), high income status (high salaries), expensive housing and rents, and many material and possibly aesthetic amenities to social areas characterized by unskilled and semi-skilled laborers, a low percentage of highschool graduates, low wages and salaries, inexpensive housing (although it often requires a large percent of the families' income), and few amenities.

⁸²Murdie, Metropolitan Toronto, p. 168.

The family status dimension generally explains 20% to 40% of the spatial variation in the urban social structure. Social areas are characterized from areas of young, large families in overcrowded housing to older, smaller families in lesser crowded housing. Household and dwelling attributes also characterize this dimension, especially tenure type. This is a variable and complicated factor which needs further in-depth study.

The ethnic status dimension generally explains 10% to 20% of the spatial variation of urban social structure. Social areas here are characterized by proportion of ethnic or racial types. Often certain economic and family variables are highly related to this dimension.

The Ghetto System and Intra-Ghetto Differentiation

It is difficult to let others see the full psychological meaning of caste segregation. It is as though one, looking out from a dark cave in a side of an impending mountain, sees the world passing and speaks to it; speaks courteously and pervasively, showing them how these entombed souls are hindered in their natural movement, expression, and development; and how their loosening from prison would be a matter not simply of courtesy, sympathy, and help to them, but aid to all the world.⁸³

Background

"The story of the Negro in America is that of a transplanted group, whose original culture has been disintegrated, and which is now in process of cultural assimilation into the American variant of European civilization."⁸⁴

⁸³W. E. B. DuBois, Dusk of Dawn (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1940).

⁸⁴Charles S. Johnson, Patterns of Negro Segregation (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1943), p. xvi.

African Negroes, shipped to America as slaves, as diverse if not more so than the Europeans, represented many cultures; some highly civilized.⁸⁵ Little, if any, of their original culture was able to survive the American slavery experience. Their new way of life was almost totally dependent upon their masters.

The African family system was destroyed, and the slave was separated from his kinsmen and friends. ... whatever memories he might have retained of his native land and native customs became meaningless in the New World.⁸⁶

Even though some cultural characteristics survived, a new way of life developed for the Negro under slavery. A new culture evolved for the Negro during his two centuries of slavery which was partially external, roles, status, and standards prescribed by the master, and partially internal, socialization within the slave community. During this period of slavery, roots of social and economic stratification of the Negro population appeared.⁸⁷

Although their numbers were much smaller, free Negroes before the Civil War had their system of social and economic stratification based on ancestral heritage, black or mulatto, which was often related to varying levels of education, occupation, and wealth.⁸⁸ So there was

⁸⁵Alphonso Pinkney, Black Americans (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969), pp. 6-7.

⁸⁶E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1957), p. 12.

⁸⁷E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro in the United States (Toronto: The Macmillan Company), p. 273; social distinctions resulted chiefly from the division of labor established on plantations. House slaves and personal servants were regarded as holding a higher social class position than the common laborers. Also, distinctions were made as to skilled Negro artisans and mulattoes. In fact, some mulattoes were slave holders themselves. The social status of the master also affected the status of his slaves in a more general context.

⁸⁸Ibid. p. 275.

a dual system of social stratification prior to emancipation; the free Negroes and the slaves.

Following emancipation class structure among the Negroes of free ancestry "held themselves aloof from the former slaves and tended to form an upper class in the Negro communities."⁸⁹ In the older well established communities of the South, as Charleston, South Carolina, social distinction among Negroes was quite rigid, but in new rural communities of the South and in towns and cities of the North and West previous criteria for social stratification began to fade with the influx of Negroes from the South during the later decades of the Nineteenth century. Property, education, and family stability became standards for social status among freedmen.⁹⁰ In this manner a considerable difference in stratification systems and social mobility developed according to the region of the country.

Along with the massive migration of Negroes from the South to cities of the North and West, evolved a "greater complexity of urban life conducive to greater social stratification."⁹¹ This migration contributed to the formation of black urban ghettos throughout the country.

Formation of Ghetto Social System

Urban ghetto social systems began to emerge around the turn of the twentieth century. Wherever large numbers of Negroes migrated ghetto social systems began to form and evolve to what they are today.

⁸⁹Ibid., p. 277.

⁹⁰Ibid., p. 278.

⁹¹Pinkney, Black Americans, p. 64.

The emergence of social classes accompanied a greater occupational differentiation producing a more complex class system.⁹² W. E. B. Dubois identified four Negro classes in his study of Philadelphia in 1899 based on "moral considerations;" a respectable upper class, a working-class, the poor, and the lower class of criminals, loafers, and such.⁹³ E. Franklin Frazier typifies the early status differences as distinguished by social distinctions; an upper, middle, and lower class.⁹⁴ Alphonso Pinkney says that

...the restoration of white supremacy, as well as the migrations of the Blacks from rural to urban areas and from South to North had the effect of minimizing class distinctions among Negroes. Yet the black community, like its white counterpart, has continued, through a variety of criteria, to distinguish among its members.⁹⁵

Both Otis Duncan and St. Clair Drake found significant social classes in their separate studies of Chicago's black population.⁹⁶

According to Frazier a new stage in the evolution of Negro class structure occurred around World War I based on socio-economic distinctions and that "this process was greatly accelerated by the sudden urbanization of the Negro population...."⁹⁷ All of the ramifications of urbanization

⁹²Frazier, Negro in United States, p. 279.

⁹³W. E. B. Dubois, The Philadelphia Negro (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1899), pp. 310-312.

⁹⁴Frazier, Negro in United States, pp. 279-282.

⁹⁵Pinkney, Black Americans, p. 63.

⁹⁶Otis D. Duncan and Beverly Duncan, The Negro Population of Chicago (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 293-298; St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, Black Metropolis (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1945), pp. 710-712.

⁹⁷Frazier, Negro in United States, pp. 283-284; in Boston, Frazier estimated 70% of the Negro population to be lower class, 18% middle

previously touched upon in this chapter including ghettoization developed a distinctive, well-established ghetto social system from which Negroes were socialized into American society.

With an increased emphasis on socio-economic status as a major determinant in social class distinction Negroes have taken on conventional social-class criteria utilized by white Americans in judging each other's social position in the Black Community; income, occupation, education, wealth, family background, style of life, refinement, property ownership, organizational affiliations, respectability, and morality.⁹⁸ The main criteria by which Negroes socially distinguish each other are education, occupation and income.⁹⁹ Robin Williams, Jr. in his study of eleven Negro ghettos found similar patterns of social stratification.¹⁰⁰

As in the greater urban social system the black ghetto social system "adheres to a system of social stratification ... members distinguish among themselves on the basis of certain achieved and ascribed

class, 2% upper class and 10% the "shiftless and vicious element," the lowest class; Jack Daniels, In Freedom's Birthplace (Boston, 1914), pp. 174-183. Daniels described these Negro classes as the lower class, rank and file common people who made a living from domestic and personal service and common labor as the middle class, thrifty homeowners who lived in better Negro neighborhoods which included waiters, Pullman porters, janitors, artisans, and some professionals and proprietors, and the upper class, usually lighter complexion who lived in good residential areas and were outstanding professional and literary people of northern ancestry.

⁹⁸Pinkney, Black Americans, p. 63.

⁹⁹Norval Glenn, "Negro Prestige Criteria: A Case Study in the Bases of Prestige," American Journal of Sociology, LXVIII, No. 6 (May, 1963), pp. 645-657.

¹⁰⁰Robin M. Williams, Jr., Strangers Next Door (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1964), pp. 252-254.

criteria."¹⁰¹

Regarding the importance of social stratification, E. Franklin Frazier states:

First, since the development of socioeconomic classes has been associated with the amalgamation of the races and the increasing occupational differentiation of the Negro population, it provides a measure of the process of acculturation and integration of the Negro into the American community. Secondly, the institutions and other forms of associated life and various phases of culture in the Negro community can be understood only when studied in relation to its class structure.¹⁰²

Ghetto Formation, Maintenance, and Evolution

The formation and growth of black urban ghettos in the United States occurred simultaneously with the rapid urbanization of the country's population during the first half of the twentieth century. Shortly after emancipation white supremacy was institutionalized throughout American society. As Pinkney has stated, the role of racism in American life was "paramount among the factors contributing to its development, continuance, and growth."¹⁰³ Through custom and law Anglo-American prejudice was manifested in segregation and discrimination.

Harold Rose typifies the black ghetto as a form of social accommodation with deep strong roots.¹⁰⁴ Sociologist Alvin Bertrand defines accommodation as "the process of halting or avoiding further conflict

¹⁰¹Pinkney, Black Americans, p. 69.

¹⁰²Frazier, Negro in United States, pp. 304-305.

¹⁰³Pinkney, Black Americans, p. 53.

¹⁰⁴Harold Rose, "Social Processes in the City: Race and Urban Residential Choice," Commission on College Geography, Association of American Geographers, Resource Paper No. 6 (Washington, D.C., 1969), p. 2.

... which consists of the alteration of functional relations between personalities and groups so as to avoid, reduce or eliminate conflict and to promote reciprocal adjustment."¹⁰⁵ Logically then, the residential segregation of blacks was originally created by an accommodation to competition and conflict with the dominant society. The compromise between the dominant society and Negroes then resulted in a relative spatial and social isolation; the black ghetto.

Rose also characterizes the black ghetto as a territorial entity and that conflict is related to the magnitude of the territorial aggregate.¹⁰⁶ He states that "zones of black residential occupance have emerged as a consequence of the operation of a host of institutional supports designed to promote their existence and maintenance."¹⁰⁷ Institutionalized racism has resulted in the victimization of blacks. It has deprived blacks of an equal pursuit of opportunity.

The ghetto was formed by both voluntary and involuntary segregative forces. The involuntary forces are both de facto and de jure while the voluntary forces are attractive, that is he benefits socially, economically and or psychologically from his proximity to other blacks.

The formation of the ghetto reinforced the limitations of blacks in assimilating into the larger society. At the time of ghetto formation little progress toward assimilation had been achieved by blacks beyond acculturation; relative adoption of the dominant culture. Major barriers

¹⁰⁵Bertrand, Basic Sociology, p. 239.

¹⁰⁶Harold Rose, "The Black Ghetto as a Territorial Entity," in Department of Geography Publication, ed. Donald Deskins (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University), p. 43.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., p. 44.

to full assimilation were skin color, historical background, and stereotyped cultural differences.

Generally, the location of black urban ghettos were not pre-planned, but with their initial formation institutional forces in the dominant society and institutional forces within the black community complimented each other in maintaining and developing the ghetto system. Of course, not all maintenance forces were institutional in nature.

Robert Morrill identified four forces that operate to maintain the ghetto system:

- 1) prejudice of whites against Negroes
- 2) characteristics of Negroes
- 3) discrimination by the real estate industry and financial institutions
- 4) legal and government barriers¹⁰⁸

The prejudice stems from a fear of Negro competition and loss of social status by association.¹⁰⁹ The Negro contributes to ghetto maintenance by his hesitancy to escape from the ghetto to the white neighborhood. This hesitancy also stems from the Negro's general preference to live among other Negroes. Morrill points out that "the strongest force, however, in maintaining the ghetto may well be the real-estate institutions."¹¹⁰

Harold Rose suggests that the simplest approach to understanding the ghetto forming mechanism is through the operation of the housing market.¹¹¹ The operation of the housing market is also a major factor in the

¹⁰⁸Robert Morrill, "The Negro Ghetto: Problems and Alternatives," Geographical Review, LV, No. 3 (July, 1965), p. 17.

¹⁰⁹Ibid.

¹¹⁰Ibid, p. 345.

¹¹¹Rose, "Social Processes," p. 11.

maintenance and evolution of the black ghetto. This is reflected by Morrill's third and fourth forces of maintenance. Not only the real estate industry but the government at all levels promoted racial residential segregation wholeheartedly up until the last two decades. Residential segregation of Negroes has also been maintained by intimidation and violence.¹¹²

With the formation and subsequent maintenance of the black residential enclave or ghetto came a "raison d'etre." As sociologist Noel Gist points out, there is an awareness of "the affinity with others belonging to the same type of group ... a sense of loyalty to the group and a feel at home with its member."¹¹³ Blacks shared common experiences externally in the form of racial discrimination not only in housing, but in employment, education, and recreational opportunity, and internally by the sub-cultural socialization of the restricted people of the ghetto. Strong ties developed out of a need for a meaningful life which was limited by the dominant society. As Walter Firey found, "sentiments and symbolism" were inherent in their maturation of a separate community.¹¹⁴

Because assimilation was not accorded the Negro, other than partial acculturation, social and economic institutions of the dominant society were relatively inaccessible. With a territorial base, the Black Community sought to establish its own institutions in order to provide for the needs of the black urban population. These reflected their life

¹¹²Pinkney, Black Americans, p. 55.

¹¹³Gist, Urban Society, p. 173.

¹¹⁴Walter Firey, Land Use in Central Boston (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947), pp. 138-149.

in a racist society.

The social institutions of the family and the church became important foundations from which a new urban ghetto social system evolved. From these basic elements developed fraternal and mutual aid organizations, black business and educational institutions, all separated from the external society. In this manner a new social system developed as a result of racial prejudice and discrimination culminated in residential segregation and limited life opportunities dictated by the dominant society.

Unlike the European immigrant ghettos the black ghetto persisted and through natural increase and continued urban in-migration began to expand territorially. Robert Morrill explains the expansion of the black ghetto as a block-by-block transistion; a gradual spatial diffusion process.

Human ecologists recognize certain population redistribution processes which are most appropriate to the expansion of the ghetto. This expansion was and remains a process of invasion; the movement of black families into white neighborhoods or newly constructed housing along the periphery of the ghetto. Amos Hawley conceptualized the forces behind this invasion process as "the development of extreme congestion in the rental space available to the invaders or from a rise of income level among certain of their members."¹¹⁵ The process of succession is achieved with a preponderance of the invading black population.¹¹⁶ The climax or stage

¹¹⁵Morrill, "Negro Ghetto," p. 347.

¹¹⁶Amos H. Hawley, Human Ecology: A Theory of Community Structure (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1950), p. 401.

of dominance occurs when the complete displacement of the original population has occurred.¹¹⁷ Noel Gist makes an interesting observation of this climax stage.

But the process involves more than mere displacement of people; it involves also the social reorganization of the area. The receding group takes its culture patterns, leaving behind, perhaps, certain physical properties; the newcomers must perforce modify their institutional structures to meet the needs of people living under a new set of conditions. Frequently, these changes involve modifications of the family system, alteration of religious practices, and new forms of recreation and earning a living.¹¹⁸

Karl and Alma Taeber made a comprehensive study of racial residential segregation and succession in the United States. They concluded that there were basic regional differences in these processes and their consequences for neighborhood change.¹¹⁹ They found that the prevalent pattern, especially in the North and the West, was simply Negro families occupying previously white housing, but that "racial homogeneity of neighborhoods may, however, be fostered by other processes, such as new construction designed for occupancy on a segregated basis, or selective demolition of dwellings in racially mixed areas."¹²⁰

This type of diffusion of the Negro population of a city has been referred to as a filtering down process.¹²¹ This process of filtering is a source of housing for lower income and minority families so that

¹¹⁷Ibid.

¹¹⁸Gist, Urban Society, p. 215.

¹¹⁹Karl E. Taeuber and Alma F. Taeuber, Negroes in Cities (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965), p. 4.

¹²⁰Ibid., pp. 4-5.

¹²¹Wallace F. Smith, "Filtering and Neighborhood Change,"

there generally arises "a succession of occupancy in dwellings originally built for higher income families of the dominant society."¹²² Homer Hoyt suggested this as a process which occurred in a sectorial fashion.¹²³ In this overall expansion Harold Rose contributes the forces of a suburbanization as contributing to the outward migration of black families from the inner city neighborhoods.¹²⁴

The Taeubers found a variation in segregative changes among cities based on at least four factors:

- 1) population growth
- 2) residential construction
- 3) suburbanization
- 4) changing socio-economic status of Negroes¹²⁵

Three conclusions as to Negro residential succession were:

- 1) Negro residential succession was an irreversible process - any area which gained more than a few Negro residents tended to become all Negro.
- 2) There was a "piling up" of Negro population at each stage.
- 3) Entering Negroes resembled the displaced white population by socio-economic characteristics.¹²⁶

Although the mechanisms of ghetto formation, maintenance, and

Internal Structure of the City, ed. Larry S. Bourne (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 170.

¹²²Ibid.

¹²³Hoyt, Residential Neighborhoods, pp. 84-88.

¹²⁴Harold Rose, "Metropolitan Miami's Changing Negro Population, 1950-1960," Economic Geography, 40, No. 3 (July, 1964), p. 229.

¹²⁵Taeuber, Negroes in Cities, p. 70.

¹²⁶Ibid., p. 99.

evolution are very complex "involving the interaction of a host of social, economic, and political variables, and on a series of levels," the housing market operations have been and continue to be the black families dilemma as reflected by past and contemporary social attitudes of the dominant society.¹²⁷

Harold Rose proposes that this black dilemma, the housing market, revolves around:

- 1) the absolute availability of shelter
- 2) the cost of shelter
- 3) the quality of urban shelter
- 4) the provision of social services within the black urban housing market

Since the late 1940s several major factors have contributed to the explosive expansion of black ghettos in most metropolitan centers of the country:

- 1) elimination of de jure segregation
- 2) partial lessening of de facto segregation
- 3) a general change in white racist attitudes and government policies
- 4) greatly improved educational, economic, and occupational opportunities
- 5) massive white flight to other suburbs or nearby satellite towns from neighborhoods adjacent to Negro neighborhoods which are perceived as being in the path of black residential

¹²⁷Rose, Social Processes, p. 11.

expansion

- 6) greater cooperation by the real estate and financial institutions
- 7) urban renewal programs of rehabilitation, redevelopment, relocation, and public housing.

This more recent expansion has been of such magnitude that many cities are presently or soon will be inner city and inner suburb black dominated. This, of course, has strong political implications of a very different nature for local, state, and federal government carrying with it an ever increasing black decision-making influence in the dealings of government.

Ghetto Location and Form in Urban Space

"Ghetto" was the name for the Jewish quarter in sixteenth-century Venice. Later, it came to mean any section of a city to which Jews were confined. America has contributed to the concept of the ghetto the restriction of persons to a special area and the limiting of their freedom of choice on the basis of skin color. The dark ghetto's invisible walls have been erected by the white society, by those who have power, both to confine those who have no power and to perpetuate their powerlessness. The dark ghettos are social, political, educational, and - above all - economic colonies. Their inhabitants are subject peoples, victims of the greed, cruelty, insensitivity, guilt, and fear of their masters.¹²⁸

Harold Rose states that "the zone of black occupance in American cities is variable in both scale and pattern, but generally tends to radiate out from a location near the fringe of the city's central business district in one or more directions."¹²⁹ In the South ghettos originally

¹²⁸Kenneth B. Clark, Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1965), p. 11.

¹²⁹Rose, "Social Processes," p. 7.

formed in residential areas specifically built for Negro occupance, while in the North Negroes occupied low income, deteriorating residential areas previously occupied by whites or more often by other ethnic minority groups.¹³⁰

Prior to the urbanization of the Negro in the South, the Negro population in the South was fairly uniformly scattered, being often located in the backyard quarters of middle and upper class white families.¹³¹ This pattern of Negro residential location has persisted in variable degrees in Southern non-industrial cities. In the industrial cities of the South another locational pattern originated; one of large Negro concentrations determined by early "economic and social forces inherent in the growth of the modern city" and also a "light scattering of Negroes over a large area" of the city due to historical considerations.¹³² Patterns of status differentiation were exhibited by a majority of Negro families (lower class) residing in "slum and blighted areas" while the few middle and upper class Negro families often occupied housing near Negro colleges.¹³³ Typical of most Southern cities have been several moderately large Negro concentrations with a light scattering of Negroes through the white middle and upper class neighborhoods.

In what Frazier classifies as the border states, the location

¹³⁰Harold Rose, "The Origin and Pattern of Development of Urban Black Social Areas," Journal of Geography, LXVIII, No. 6 (September, 1969), p. 327.

¹³¹Charles S. Johnson, Patterns of Negro Segregation (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1943), p. 9.

¹³²Frazier, Negro in United States, p. 237.

¹³³Ibid., p. 239.

and pattern of Negro residence conforms to a combination of both the cities of the South and the North. There are large concentrations as found in the North and also a scattering of smaller concentrations and individual families.¹³⁴ The sectorial pattern of the larger concentrations are differentiated by proximity to the central city. The inner zone is usually a blighted deteriorating slum while the outer zones become neighborhoods of increasingly better housing.¹³⁵ Charles Johnson describes these border state ghettos as "an uncertain mixture of traditions of both North and South."¹³⁶

In the cities of the North Johnson says "the Negro population was a negligible factor prior to the large migrations from the South" and that "with the sudden influx of newcomers and the over-running of areas gradually associated with Negroes, reaction to expansion was acute."¹³⁷ The smaller cities of the North developed highly segregated, usually singularly large concentrations while the larger Northern cities developed one or more large concentrations of a lesser segregative nature, although evolutionary economic and social forces have tended to create greater isolation.

In the West there were not any large concentrations of Negroes before the 1940s except for Los Angeles. With an influx of Negroes to the West after 1940 from the South, the Border states, and the North,

¹³⁴Ibid., p. 243.

¹³⁵Ibid., p. 245.

¹³⁶Johnson, Negro Segregation, p. 11.

¹³⁷Ibid.

large overcrowded ghettos began to form.¹³⁸ The larger concentrations of Negroes formed near the central business districts as in the North and slums quickly developed near the CBD. Ghettos of sectorial form evolved again with better housing conditions near the expanding periphery. Other smaller concentrations of Negroes were established near employment centers outside the central business district.

Generalizations of ghetto location and form are quite difficult to formulate since there are quite a variety of types within each region of the United States, and complicated by the unique historical backgrounds of each city's economic and social development, and race relations. Still, generalizations of regional and national ghetto location and form can be formulated. An attempt to describe the regional generalizations has been given in a very simplified qualitative manner.

An overall national generalization of black ghetto location and form is given here as:

- 1) original location of the black ghetto was determined by the housing market and proximity to employment opportunities.
- 2) the number of locations and the magnitude of the respectively formed ghettos are dependent upon the locational characteristics of appropriate employment opportunities and the housing market in proximity to these opportunities.
- 3) degree of segregation is dependent upon the influx (number and rate) of Negroes (concentration) and the social attitudes of the dominant society.
- 4) expansion of the ghetto is dependent upon the natural increase

¹³⁸Frazier, Negro in United States, pp. 269-272.

and in-migration of the Negro population, the housing market, the social attitudes of the overall dominant society and the suburbanization of white families who live in adjacent neighborhoods.

Historical, social economic, psychological, and geographic factors must be considered in comprehensively evaluating black ghetto location, form, and evolution. Separately, these factors only partially explain this urban phenomenon and its multitude of ramifications in urban society.

The Condition of the Black Ghetto

The objective dimensions of the American urban ghettos are overcrowded and deteriorated housing, high infant mortality, crime, and disease. The subjective dimensions are resentment, hostility, despair, apathy, self-depreciation, and its ironic companion, compensatory grandiose behavior.¹³⁹

The ghetto is ferment, paradox, conflict, and dilemma. Yet within its pervasive pathology exists a surprising human resilience. The ghetto is hope, it is despair... It is aspiration for change, and it is apathy. It is vibrancy, it is stagnation. It is courage, and it is defeatism. It is cooperation and concern and it is suspicion, competitiveness, and rejection. It is the surge toward assimilation, and it is alienation and withdrawal within the protective walls of the ghetto.¹⁴⁰

Although a common and often correct image of the ghetto is one of a slum or a blighted residential neighborhood, the ghetto generally is quite diverse in its physical condition.¹⁴¹ More often than not, the black urban ghetto varies from inner city slum of poverty, unemployment, family disorganization, crime, disease, and structural dilapidation to

¹³⁹Johnson, Negro Segregation, p. 11.

¹⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 11-12.

¹⁴¹Rose, "Urban Black Social Areas," pp. 330-331.

the middle and upper class suburbs nearer the periphery of the ghetto characterized by good residential housing and environmental quality. Although there is diversity in the quality of life among black ghetto residents, the majority of black families live in poverty or on the edge of poverty. The majority live in dilapidated or deteriorating housing. The majority are undereducated and underemployed. By far the greatest majority remain residentially segregated from the dominant society.

With the original formation of a black ghetto, usually in the inner city near the central business district, housing quality was relatively homogeneous although overcrowding varied with family economic status. With expansion of the ghetto, black families of means were able to break away from the older unpleasant environment of the ghetto core into the better housing vacated by white families in the inner suburbs and eventually into the outer suburbs. In some cases better housing was specifically built for black families, both as public housing and conventional housing.

Another characteristic of the ghetto condition is the development of a retail environment.¹⁴²

The resident ghetto population has certain basic commercial needs, many of which might be satisfied by shopping within that territory identified as the ghetto.¹⁴³

Although differences in retail adequacy and retail character vary spatially within the ghetto, it is thought by some that ghetto retail establishments possess a unique set of characteristics, whether measured in terms of the external appearance of the retail outlet or the internal mix of the commodity structure.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴²Harold Rose, The Black Ghetto; A Spatial Behavioral Perspective (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1971), p. 72.

¹⁴³Ibid.

¹⁴⁴Ibid., p. 73.

For the most part ghetto commercial activities provide near-by consumers with retail goods and services (wholesale in some cases). This supply of goods and services to the public is a function which is dependent basically upon demand from the ghetto consumer market area and upon the historical evolution of the internal structure and patterning of such activities, as well as, the population characteristics of the market area.

Commercial activities overall are not large consumers of land area in the ghetto except along major urban arterials, and ribbon developments, and in nodal neighborhood and community shopping centers. Since commercial ghetto establishments are centers of exchange they are important generators of traffic flow (pedestrian, auto, etc.). Each type of establishment has certain locational requirements, the most prominent being their accessibility to the consumer. Therefore, pre-existing links of high traffic flow are usually preferable. The historical evolution of the structural morphology of a ghetto and the neighborhoods in its path of expansion will generally be a controlling factor in present and future commercial location. Changes in the social and or physical environments will have an effect on an existing pattern of activities. Changes in technology, transportation, social legislation, public needs and attitudes, and goods supply are only a few of many variables which effect a changing pattern of ghetto commercial location. With increased ghetto consumer mobility has come such changes.

In Allen Pred's study of low-income and black ghetto retail environment in Chicago he states:

At the principal business thoroughfare or neighborhood business street is the center of human activity in any residential area its land use patterns of store types provide a telescoped expression of the material features of culture and an ideal basis for comparing such features from

community to community.¹⁴⁵

Pred compared black ghetto business thoroughfares with a white low income area and a white middle income business thoroughfare.¹⁴⁶ The purpose of his comparison was to distinguish what is distinct black sub-cultural from what is typical for low-income thoroughfares. His findings were that beauty shops and barber shops "were the most frequently occurring store-front phenomena," and that the barbershop had additional functions as bail bonding and shoeshining.¹⁴⁷ He also felt that these establishments were in many cases fronts for illegal activities. Two factors were basically responsible for the great number of these types of business; 1) the Negro personality type which was highly conscious about his or her appearance and 2) the low capital outlay required to initiate such businesses.¹⁴⁸ Personal services and retail were especially prominent with regard to personal appearance such as dry cleaners, valet services, and tailor shops. Specialty retail and service businesses such as record shops and radio-TV repair shops were common. The black independent grocery store was a significant feature - selling subcultural produce and meat cuts as turnip greens and chicken necks. Recreation-ally, the billard and domino parlor was a characteristic land use.

Pred finds that there are three major characteristics of any business thoroughfare:

¹⁴⁵Allan Pred, "Business Thoroughfares as Expressions of Urban Negro Culture," Economic Geography, 39, No. 3 (July, 1963), p. 221.

¹⁴⁶Ibid.

¹⁴⁷Ibid.

¹⁴⁸Ibid., p. 233.

- 1) those land uses which are generally of equal frequency for most thoroughfares;
- 2) those land uses which are a reflection of the market area socio-economic characteristics; and
- 3) those land uses which are reflective of the needs and demands of a particular minority as in the Black Ghetto.¹⁴⁹

A concluding quote from his paper sums his feelings toward this reflection of the black subculture in ghetto commercial structure.

The singular atmosphere imparted to the low-income Negro business thoroughfare by its shopkeepers and clientele is more than a result of cultural characteristics and externally-imposed economic conditions. It is also a consequence of the aggregate behavior and needs of a particular group of individuals. When interpreting a landscape whose impact is to some extent determined by the unique behavior of individuals one cannot employ ultimates, absolutes, or incontrovertible arguments.¹⁵⁰

Rose says that the ghetto retail environment is not of a monolithic nature but is segmented into neighborhood retail centers which are appropriate to the social and economic differentiation of the ghetto's black households.¹⁵¹

Generally, the majority of businesses in the black ghetto are non-black owned, but still, the majority of black owned and operated businesses are within the confines of the ghetto and migrate with the expansion of the ghetto.

The Black Ghetto as a Differentiated Enclave

The homogeneity of the black ghetto is based primarily on one

¹⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 229-230.

¹⁵⁰Ibid., p. 233.

¹⁵¹Rose, Black Ghetto, p. 73.

tangible characteristic; that it is occupied primarily by Negroes. Physical body features, chiefly skin color, visibly reinforce and stereotype this image of black ghetto homogeneity. Another characteristic which is intangible and which also typifies a homogeneous black ghetto is the external force of discrimination by the dominant society that restricts the life opportunities and the residential location of black families collectively.

Although the Black Community shares a common subcultural social system, the components of this system closely parallel the structure of the dominant society's system. The homogeneity of the black population perceived by the majority of the dominant white society is far from being such. As social and economic stratification is highly developed within Anglo-society so is it in the Black Community and as in the former's case, the Black Community is differentiated residentially by status position characteristics.¹⁵²

Gunnar Myrdal typifies Negro class structure as not static, but dynamic; "... not only is there movement between the classes and changes within each of the classes, but also the entire class system is moving upward."¹⁵³

In a study of several cities Harold Rose found the economic differentiation of the Negro population manifested spatially by economic

¹⁵²Frazier, Negro in United States, pp. 273-305; Pinkney, Black Americans, pp. 62-68; Drake, Black Metropolis, pp. 495-715; Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishing, 1962), pp. 689-708.

¹⁵³Myrdal, American Dilemma, p. 705.

residential segregation.¹⁵⁴

In social area analysis of cities the dimension of ethnic status located and identified the segregated areas of ethnic and racial segregation and these segregated residential areas were found to be differentiated as to family, and economic status by a limited number of indicative population characteristics, but no real emphasis was given to the analysis of the specific ethnic and racial areas.¹⁵⁵

In a more sophisticated multivariate technique, factor analysis, a few geographic studies have analyzed the socio-economic differentiation of the Black Community in a number of large metropolitan areas of the United States.¹⁵⁶ Most of these studies have focused on the static socio-economic differentiation of large black ghettos at a specific point in time (a decennial census year). One study was longitudinal in nature and analyzed both the spatial and temporal aspects of the black ghetto between two decennial census years.¹⁵⁷ A few non-geographical studies (sociological and demographic) have added to a general agreement among social

¹⁵⁴Harold M. Rose, "The Spatial Development of Black Residential Subsystems," Economic Geography, 48, No. 1 (January, 1972), pp. 50-52.

¹⁵⁵Shevky and Bell, "Social Areas," pp. 39-47.

¹⁵⁶David R. Meyer, Spatial Variation of Black Urban Households, The University of Chicago, Department of Geography, Research Paper No. 129 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970). Philip H. Rees, "The Factorial Ecology of Metropolitan Chicago," (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1968); Curtis C. Roseman, Charles M. Christian, and Henry W. Bullamore, Factorial Ecologies of Urban Black Communities, Perspectives in Geography 2: Geography of the Ghetto; Perceptions, Problems, and Alternatives, ed. Harold M. Rose (DeKalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 1972); Charles Christian, Social Areas and Spatial Change in the Black Community of Chicago: 1950-1960, Geography Graduate Student Association Paper No. 2 (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois, April, 1972).

¹⁵⁷Christian, Black Community of Chicago.

scientists that there exists significant variations in the socio-economic characteristics of black ghetto families.¹⁵⁸

In his study, David Meyer was satisfied that his research hypothesis was substantiated by his analysis of black residential areas in sixteen cities of the United States.

...that the spatial variation in the characteristics of housing among black residential areas is a significant element in the spatial variation in the characteristics of black household in cities.¹⁵⁹

The spatial variation of black households according to characteristics such as income and family types is highly associated with the spatial variation in the characteristics of housing available to black homeseekers in black residential areas.¹⁶⁰

Important findings of Meyer's study were:

- 1) income and price of housing are positively related among black residential areas.
- 2) the decision to own a home is positively related to black family income.
- 3) black family income is positively related to the quality of housing in residential areas; black residential areas are not undifferentiated slums.¹⁶¹

Apparent from these findings is the fact that "value and rent of

¹⁵⁸Karl E. Taeuber and Alma F. Taeuber, Negroes in Cities; Otis D. Duncan and Beverly Duncan, Negro Population of Chicago; Ozzie Edwards, "Patterns of Residential Segregation within a Metropolitan Ghetto," Demography, 7, No. 2 (May, 1970), pp. 185-192; Ralph A. Sanders and John S. Adams, "Age Structure in Expanding Ghetto-Space, Cleveland, Ohio, 1940-1965, Southeastern Geographer, 11, No. 2 (1971), pp. 121-132.

¹⁵⁹Meyer, Black Urban Households, p. 105.

¹⁶⁰Ibid.

¹⁶¹Ibid., pp. 105-107.

housing, rates of owner occupancy, and quality of housing are all positively related to income."¹⁶²

Meyer also looked at the relationship between family status characteristics and the spatial variation of black housing. He found that as in the dominant white society "preference for living in single family dwellings seem to vary with the stage in the life cycle of the family."¹⁶³ Although dependent upon family income black families with both husband and wife were more likely to live in single family dwellings and to be homeowners. It was also found to no real surprise that black family income increased with distance from the central business district in non-Southern cities.

Spatial variations of housing in black residential areas were found to be:

- 1) Quality, size, value, and rent of housing increase with distance from the city center (CBD).
- 2) Age of housing decreases with distance from the CBD.
- 3) The proportion of single family dwellings in residential areas increases with distance from the CBD.¹⁶⁴

Another important phase of Meyer's study was a comparison of the ecology of black residential areas with the ecology of white residential areas. Pertaining to this he concluded, "that there is a rough correspondence between the residential choices of black households and the residential choices of white households when families of similar socio-economic status and family type characteristics are compared," and that "the significant exception, however, is that black households are frequently

¹⁶²Ibid., p. 107.

¹⁶³Ibid.

¹⁶⁴Ibid., p. 111.

restrained from fulfilling their residential choices by white constraints."¹⁶⁵ In conclusion he suggested "that the most important effect of white housing constraint is to limit the range of specialized housing accommodations suitable for black households not various stages in their life cycle."¹⁶⁶

Philip Rees analyzed the social geography of metropolitan Chicago through the technique employed in factorial ecology.¹⁶⁷ The third factor of ten which emerged, ethnic status, he labeled race and resources because of a mixture of high factor loadings on both racial or ethnic status variables and socio-economic variables. This factor "identifies the association between racial status and the allocation of resources."¹⁶⁸ "Thus the dimension identified is not simply one of pure racial segregation, but also one of systematic inequality in the allocation of resources between the two principal racial groups."¹⁶⁹

Rees designated the black ghetto as the lowest status neighborhoods of which there were three in Chicago: the South Side, the West Side, and the western part of the near North Side. Rees classified other black neighborhoods as non-ghetto type enclaves; a long established middle class area, a public housing community, and blue-collar suburbs.

Curtis Roseman, Charles Christian, and Henry Bullamore analyzed the factorial ecologies of the black communities of Chicago, Milwaukee,

¹⁶⁵Ibid., p. 115.

¹⁶⁶Ibid., p. 117.

¹⁶⁷Rees, "Metropolitan Chicago."

¹⁶⁸Ibid., p. 333.

¹⁶⁹Ibid., p. 335.

and Los Angeles.¹⁷⁰ Five factors of explanation of the spatial variation in the black communities were derived of which four paralleled "those usually derived for entire cities, indicating that there are indeed similarities between the ways that Blacks differentiate themselves in urban space and that of the entire urban population."¹⁷¹ The five factors derived were economic status, family status, segregation, immigration, and an ambiguous fifth factor.

With respect to economic status in these black communities, the spatial pattern was manifested in an increase in economic status with distance from the CBD, in other words, an increase in income, education, and occupational position. Although not mentioned in their study, there appears to be a slight sectorial difference also on this factor.

The family status factor results were quite variable. Chicago showed "no clearly discernible pattern of differentiation."¹⁷² The pattern in Milwaukee was a concentration of neighborhoods near the CBD with relatively smaller household population, with fewer children, with an older family population, and with less household overcrowding. Black neighborhoods approaching the opposite family status characteristics were dispersed about the city. In Los Angeles the pattern was more clear-cut with lower family status scores nearer the CBD and higher scores near the periphery.

On the segregation factor "a consistent core-periphery pattern"

¹⁷⁰Roseman, Christian, and Bullamore, Urban Black Communities.

¹⁷¹Ibid., p. 246.

¹⁷²Ibid., p. 248.

was found.¹⁷³ That is, neighborhoods nearest the central city core were the most segregated and the neighborhoods farthest from the central city were the least segregated. The in-migration factor supported the idea of "minority zones," in other words, there are certain neighborhoods which attract the black migrant.

Conclusions of their study of Black Community spatial patterns are given in the following quote:

However, the results cited above suggest that the same basic processes exist but that the locational patterns resulting from these processes are quite different, due to the nature of constraints and choices confronting Blacks. In the case of economic status, spatial differentiation among Blacks is much the same as that among total urban populations; however, it is expressed in a spatial pattern that is concentric with respect to the center of the city. Variations in the nature of the housing market at differing distances from the CBD and the outward expansion of Black residential areas have influenced this pattern. The spatial distribution of family status for the Black population is strongly influenced by the location of public housing and thus disguises any "natural" spatial differentiation. The spatial pattern of the process of expansion of Black urban space, and the spatial pattern of the in-migration dimension suggests the existence of clusters of neighborhoods that act as "reception areas" for Blacks entering from outside of the SMSA.¹⁷⁴

In Charles Christian's study of the black community in Chicago for 1950 and 1960, factor analysis, social change analysis, and factor congruence analysis were employed to determine the social structure and spatial changes over time for the black population.¹⁷⁵ The factors derived were "found to be similar to previous studies of applied factor analysis for entire metropolitan areas; however, spatial patterns of social structure for blacks are quite dissimilar to those presented in previous similar studies of metropolitan areas."¹⁷⁶ The factors derived

¹⁷³Ibid., p. 251.

¹⁷⁴Ibid., pp. 253-254.

¹⁷⁵Christian, Black Community of Chicago.

¹⁷⁶Ibid., p. 1.

were economic status, family status, segregation, mobility, and crafts-men-operative structure. The findings from Christian's study showed that economic status was concentric and family status was sectorial. Factors derived from the social change analysis were related to dimensions which were spatially manifested as population, income, family, unskilled employment, housing, and in-migration.¹⁷⁷ The factor congruence analysis suggested that there were no major changes apparent in the social structure for 1950 and 1960.

As a result of these analyses, several processes are revealed which may explain social and spatial structure: (1) urban renewal and public housing influencing economic and family structure; (2) city-wide discrimination affecting housing choice, employment and mobility within the entire city; (3) variations in the invasion-succession process reacting to housing availability for blacks; and (4) the migration of diverse social economic attributes responding to housing availability in the core areas, as well as the entire metropolitan area.¹⁷⁸

Few qualitative or quantitative studies have specifically analyzed the spatial differentiation of the black community urban social structure. From these few studies, findings basically support the following patterns in most metropolitan centers of the United States:

- 1) the existence of one or more large black ghettos emanating from the central city outward.
- 2) the existence of one or more dispersed black residential or enclaves.
- 3) the sectorial expansion of central city ghettos toward the city's periphery.
- 4) the agglomeration of central city ghettos, originally sepa-

¹⁷⁷Ibid.

¹⁷⁸Ibid.

rated from each other.

- 5) the socio-economic differentiation of black urban residential areas.
- 6) the concentric distribution of black family economic status throughout the larger black ghettos.
- 7) the variable distribution of black family status throughout the larger black ghettos; studies have found both sectorial and concentric patterns.
- 8) the segregation of black neighborhoods decreases with distance from the CBD.

Introduction

Public policies of racial segregation have spatially differentiated the American. Still, both explicit and implicit systems are present. The social ramifications of racial segregation and the physical manifestations of extensive social inequalities are the focus of this study. Over time social relationships evolved, as did their spatial arrangements.

The primary subject of analysis is this and the following chapters is the investigation and determination of racial segregation in Oklahoma City; how it originated and evolved. The emphasis is on the major consequence, racial residential segregation. In examining this locational pattern reflected by the urban racial system in the early years of Oklahoma City, analysis is focused on the physical, political, maintenance, and evolution of black residential areas considering black social and economic conditions, black community economic growth (black business structure), race relations, the housing market, various public policies on various levels of government, and the economic development of Oklahoma City.

CHAPTER III

ORIGIN AND FORMATION OF BLACK RESIDENTIAL ENCLAVES

IN OKLAHOMA CITY: 1889-1920

Introduction

Only in about the last decade has the yoke of private and public policies of racial segregation been substantially lifted from Black Americans. Still, both subtle and blatant symptoms are apparent. The social ramifications of racial segregation and the spatial manifestations of existent social relationships did not just happen instantaneously. Over time social relationships evolved, as did their spatial components.

The primary subject of analysis in this and the following two chapters is the investigation and determination of racial segregation in Oklahoma City; how it originated and evolved. The emphasis is on one major consequence, racial residential segregation. In exploring this locational pattern reflected by the urban social system in the early years of Oklahoma City, analysis is focused on the origin, formation, maintenance, and evolution of black residential areas considering black social and economic conditions, black community economic development (black business structure), race relations, the housing market, related public policies on various levels of government, and related historical development of Oklahoma City.

This early period in Oklahoma City's history reflects much of the condition and situation of blacks throughout the country, particularly in the border states and northern states. This is not only an era of emancipation, but a period of urbanization; a new start in life for blacks in the cities of America, a new opportunity, a new lifestyle, and a new front for racial confrontation.

Background to Oklahoma City Settlement

An Early Introduction to Segregation

The site of what would become Oklahoma City in 1889 was originally located within the Louisiana Purchase which was procured by the United States from France in 1803.¹ Shortly after the boundary settlement in 1819 federal authorities began devising a plan to relocate the American Indians of the eastern United States to the Louisiana Territory. In the initiation of this plan numerous treaties were made with both the Plains Indians of what is now Oklahoma and the Indians of the southeastern United States.² In essence the Plains Indians relinquished their lands which were then sold to the Five Civilized Tribes. One of these tribes known as the Creek Nation settled central Oklahoma. In 1830 Congress designated these relocated tribes' area as the Indian Territory.

¹The boundaries of the purchase were not settled until the negotiations of the Adams-Onis Treaty with Spain in 1819 which established the Red River as the southern boundary and the 100th Meridian as the western boundary.

²The recognized rightful claimants to the unsettled lands north of the Red River were the Quapaws and the Osage. The relocated Indians of the southeast United States were the "Five Civilized Tribes;" the Choctaw, the Cherokee, the Chickasaw, the Creek, and the Seminole.

The situation remained fairly stable until the period of the Civil War.

During the American Civil War the Five Civilized Tribes were accused of aiding in the Confederacy's philosophical and overt war effort.³ Federal punishment in 1866 resulted in several rather harsh treaties to which the tribes were obliged to agree. Oklahoma historian, Lucyl Shirk states:

Generally, the Treaties of 1866 made provisions for the abolition of slavery, for railroad rights of way through tribal country, for the organization of an intertribal council that would form a nucleus for later territorial government and for the cession of western Indian lands to the United States.⁴

This opened up new lands for the settlement of more relocated tribes from many diverse regions of the country and set the initial stage for white and black settlement to come three decades later.

It was only a year later in 1867 that other tribes were settled in the western Indian Territory.⁵ Central Indian Territory was known as the Unassigned District and remained unoccupied until its opening to the public in 1889. This tract of land served as a buffer zone between the Five Civilized Tribes of eastern Indian Territory and the so called uncivilized plains tribes of western Indian Territory.

The Coming of Settlers

Over the years encroachment by illegal white settlers increased. Legal white settlers were "licensed traders, government employees and

³They were pro-slavery and still had ties with their homelands of the southeast.

⁴Lucyl Shirk, Oklahoma City; Capitol of Soonerland (Oklahoma City Board of Education, 1957), p. 7.

⁵These were the Pottawatomie, Sac and Fox in 1867, the Cheyenne and Arapahoe in 1869, and the Kickapoo in 1871.

laborers who were granted permits by the National Councils to work in the mines, on the farms, and for the railroads."⁶ A licensed trader, Jesse Chisholm, opened a trading post in 1858 northwest of present Oklahoma City.

By 1879, the combined influence of a rapidly growing population in the country, homesteaders, towns bordering Indian Territory, and the railroads instigated strong sentiment in Congress to open the Indian Territory to public settlement. Pressure was continually on federal authorities until President Benjamin Harrison signed a proclamation to open the Unassigned District to public settlement in 1889.⁷

The opening of the Unassigned District, known as the "Run of Eighty-Nine," began officially at noon on April 22. An estimated one hundred thousand people rushed to make their claims for land on that eventful day. Of these some ten thousand settled that first night near the site of present day Oklahoma City.⁸

Origin of Black Residential Segregation, 1889-1900

Emancipation, Migration and a New Way of Life

At the end of the Civil War the antislavery movement was successful in emancipating the black slave, providing him temporarily with

⁶Shirk, Capitol of Soonerland, p. 19.

⁷Angelo C. Scott, The Story of Oklahoma City (Oklahoma City: Times-Journal Publishing Co.), p. 12. "On March 2, 1889, the Indian Appropriation Bill was passed with a "rider" opening the homestead settlement about two million acres of land known as Oklahoma. On March 3 President Harrison issued a proclamation announcing April twenty-second as the opening day..."

⁸Shirk, Capitol of Soonerland, p. 25.

equal rights and some property.⁹ Because of post-Civil War corruption in the South and a lack of any real federal program to assimilate the freedman into American society, the Reconstruction Amendments to the Constitution were minimally effective in establishing equal rights. Also, each freedman was to receive forty acres from his previous master or from the Freedman's Bureau, an organization "set up with the avowed purpose of enabling the emancipated Negro to become established as a free man."¹⁰

During the early Reconstruction Period many of the hopes of the Negro and the libertarians gradually disappeared especially throughout the Southern and Border States.¹¹ The disillusionment of emancipation

⁹Milton R. Konvitz, Bill of Rights Reader (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1968), p. 3. The thirteenth amendment in 1865 abolished slavery. The fourteenth amendment gave naturalized citizenship to all persons born in the United States and states that "no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." The fifteenth amendment stated that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Congress was given the power to enforce these amendments by appropriate legislation.

¹⁰E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro in the United States (Toronto: The Macmillan Company, 1969), p. 121. The bureau accomplished a great deal in elevating the Negro both socially and educationally. There existed strong opposition to the bureau in both the North and the South. The bureau held properties in the South which were confiscated during the war. Much of this property was to be distributed to the freedmen, but President Andrew Johnson's veto of the second Freedmen's Bureau Bill together with his "amnesty proclamation" released much of these confiscated lands to their previous owners.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 123-146. Ante-bellum social organization and division of labor saw a period of restoration during these post-Civil War years. The "black codes" of the South were reinstated with little if any significant protest. Strong support came from the Ku Klux Klan.

resulted partially from a troubled and strife-ridden country beset with the gargantuan problem of the reconstruction of its social and economic institutions. This took precedence over the Negro situation.

Over four million emancipated slaves were seeking a new way of life during the Reconstruction Period.¹² For the overwhelming majority of these freedmen there was despair in their search for the "promised equality." With a dissatisfaction of the old Confederate South a great Negro migration began to the North and later to the West.¹³

In 1879 the Congress of the United States under the proposals of Senator Windom of Minnesota stated a conviction to disperse the Negro population into other States and Territories of the country where they would be welcome and have an equal chance for opportunity.¹⁴ Failure of land reform and economic independence for the Negro doomed federal objectives in the South and resulted in an attitude toward migration as an alternative for expediting equality.¹⁵ While Congress continued to debate the subject tens of thousands of Negroes were leaving the South.

An early proposal by the first Negro graduate of Harvard in 1879 suggested the freedmen should homestead the public lands of the

¹²Rayford W. Logan, "The Betrayal of the Negro," in The Segregation Era 1863-1954, eds. Allen Weinstein and Frank O. Gatell (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 57.

¹³Frazier, Negro in United States, pp. 171-196.

¹⁴Logan, "Betrayal," pp. 62-63. The exodus of freedmen began just two years after the withdrawal of federal troops from the South in 1879. Others like Frederick Douglas felt that Negroes should stay in the South.

¹⁵Eric Foner, ed., America's Black Past; A Reader in Afro-American History (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1970), pp. 206-209. With the end of Reconstruction in 1877 southern Whites reclaimed control of the South which strongly suppressed civil rights for the Negro.

West.¹⁶ Senator Windom specifically mentioned "the territories of Arizona, New Mexico and especially the Indian Territory."¹⁷ The earliest large migration to the West was to Kansas in 1879. Lesser migrations in this year were to Nebraska and Iowa. One brief description of this exodus follows:

Hopeless, penniless and in rags, these poor people were thronging the wharves of St. Louis, crowding the steamers on the Mississippi River, hailing the passing steamers and imploring them for a passage to the land of freedom, where the rights of citizens are respected and honest toil rewarded by compensations.¹⁸

With a realization of the loss of Negro labor in the South, many southern politicians reexamined their civil rights policies toward the freedmen and initiated some inducements which would extend greater equality to the Negro worker. In effect this may have slowed the outmigration stream during the 1880s until 1889. In that year favor again grew in the South for Negro migration.¹⁹ With this political, social and

¹⁶Richard T. Greener was the first Negro graduate of Harvard College in 1870. He was a strong supporter of Negroes homesteading the West by organizing a National Executive Committee and having agents buy land and provide for cheap transportation.

¹⁷Logan, "Betrayal," p. 65. Windom also proposed that it might become necessary to organize a new territory for the freedmen. He did not support compulsory migration, only encouragement. Northern senators began to be alarmed at the large number of Negro emigrants to their states during this period.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 67. Some 20,000 acres were homesteaded by these emigrants during that year. Lack of funds made it impossible for many of the Negro farmers to buy equipment. "Many of them found employment on railroads, in coal mines and in public works while the women took in washing, worked as house servants and kept apple stalls." The Freedmen's Relief Association was established to aid destitute migrants with necessities.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 68. Senator M. C. Butler of South Carolina introduced a bill to Congress "to provide for the migration of persons of color from the Southern States." Senators Morgan of Alabama and Vance of North Carolina strongly supported this policy.

economic turmoil and inconsistent civil rights' stand in the South, there developed a strong movement for freedmen to colonize the Unassigned District of Indian Territory.²⁰

Settlement of the Unassigned District of Oklahoma Territory

At noon on April 22, 1889, the Unassigned District was officially opened for settlement. North of the North Canadian River sprang up Oklahoma City. Most of the settlers were white men who planned to bring their families to their new land of opportunity. Many Negroes also came to homestead and begin a new life in a land not yet heaped in a history of black persecution. Only some 278 blacks had settled in Oklahoma City by 1890.²¹ Several small black towns sprang up farther to the east and north of Oklahoma City. The largest city at the time was the territorial capital, Guthrie, which had a 30% black population.

There appears to be some controversy over where blacks original-

²⁰Arthur Tolson, "The Negro in Oklahoma Territory, 1889-1907: A Study in Racial Discrimination," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1966), pp. 9-23. Although Congress had provided civil rights legislation to enforce the Reconstruction Amendments court interpretation did not reflect the good intentions of Congress. Civil Rights' legislation which was basically directed toward the Negro was: 1) Civil Rights' Act of 1866, (Enforcement Act), 2) Anti-lynching Act of 1871 (Ku Klux Klan Act), 3) Civil Rights' Act of 1875 (Public Accommodations Act). Much of the inconsistency of Southern civil rights' policy stemmed from the Supreme Court's decision in 1875 which supported States' rights which in effect invalidated the strength of federal congressional civil rights' legislation.

²¹U. S. Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, Abstract with Supplement for Oklahoma (Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1913), p. 614. The total population of Oklahoma City in 1890 was 4,151. Very limited data pertaining to Negroes in Oklahoma City is provided by the Census until 1910.

ly settled in or near Oklahoma City in that first year.²² A surrogate, occupation, for the black population was used to locate the distribution of blacks in Oklahoma City in 1890.²³ This is presented in Figure 3-1. Although this reflects a somewhat dispersed pattern overall, it does show a concentration of this surrogate along the Sante Fe railroad tracks in South Oklahoma City.

The original Oklahoma City townsite, then called Oklahoma, was bounded by the Atchison, Topeka, Sante Fe tracks on the east, Walker Avenue on the west, Reno Avenue on the south, and Seventh Street on the north.²⁴ A 160 acre military reservation had previously been established on higher ground just to the east of the Sante Fe tracks between Reno Avenue and Fourth Street, and bounded on the east by Stiles Avenue. The townsite of South Oklahoma was platted in that first week of settlement as a separate town bordering the city of Oklahoma along Reno Avenue.²⁵

²²A literature survey of a number of unpublished theses and dissertations combined with personal interviews with elderly blacks in Oklahoma City reflected conflicting views of the original and early settlement of blacks in the Oklahoma City area. The only hard conclusion which can be made is that there were a substantial group of blacks, mostly men, who first helped settle the city and that, although clustered in small groups, were relatively dispersed throughout the city. Some support of one view tends to believe that there was at least one dominant area of blacks along the north bank of the North Canadian River near the Sante Fe tracks either in the Southtown or Walnut Grove areas.

²³Smith's Directory of Oklahoma Territory, 1890 (Guthrie: James W. Smith Publisher, 1891). The proposed location of the black population was determined by using a surrogate, occupation. The occupation categories used were labor, domestic, blacksmith, livery men, and porter. Addresses given for occupants with these occupations were mapped and are presented in Figure 3-1.

²⁴Hare and Hare, City Planning Consultants, Report of the City Planning Commission, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 1930 (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma: City Planning Commission, 1931), p. 13. Original published plat map; Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Territory, 1890.

²⁵Scott, Story of Oklahoma City, p. 27. South Oklahoma was

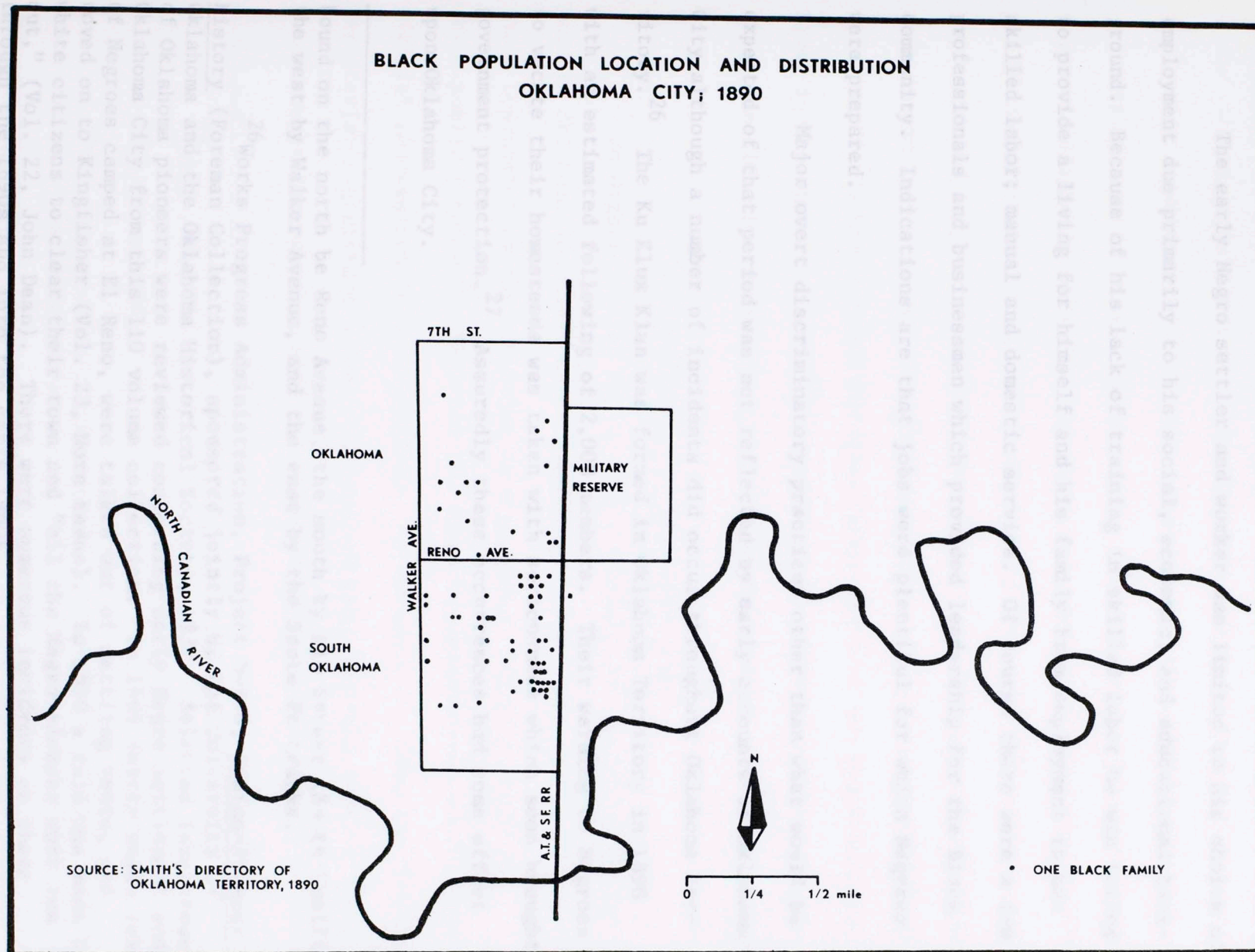


FIGURE 3-1

The Early Negro Condition

The early Negro settler and worker was limited to his choice of employment due primarily to his social, economic, and educational background. Because of his lack of training in skilled labor he was forced to provide a living for himself and his family from employment in unskilled labor; manual and domestic service. Of course there were a few professionals and businessmen which provided leadership for the Black Community. Indications are that jobs were plentiful for which Negroes were prepared.

Major overt discriminatory practices other than what would be expected of that period was not reflected by early accounts of Oklahoma City although a number of incidents did occur throughout Oklahoma Territory.²⁶ The Ku Klux Klan was formed in Oklahoma Territory in 1890 with an estimated following of 2,000 members. Their warning to Negroes to vacate their homesteads was taken with seriousness which soon brought government protection.²⁷ Assuredly these occurrences had some effect upon Oklahoma City.

bound on the north by Reno Avenue, the south by Elm Street (South Twelfth), the west by Walker Avenue, and the east by the Santa Fe tracks.

²⁶Works Progress Administration, Project 5-149, Indian-Pioneer History (Foreman Collection), sponsored jointly by the University of Oklahoma and the Oklahoma Historical Society, 1937. Selected interviews of Oklahoma pioneers were reviewed concerning early Negro settlement and Oklahoma City from this 110 volume collection. In 1889 thirty wagon loads of Negroes camped at El Reno, were talked out of settling there, and moved on to Kingfisher (Vol. 23, Nora Eades). In 1890 a raid was made by white citizens to clear their town and "all the Negro element were run out," (Vol. 22, John Dean). There were numerous incidents as these through the 1890s and into the early 1900s.

²⁷W. F. Kerr and Ina Gainer, The Story of Oklahoma City (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1922), p. 104.

Early Economic Prosperity and Natural Catastrophe

During the 1890s Oklahoma City was a "homesteaders" boom town. New public lands were periodically opened to settlement which provided the city with an increasing market area. In 1890 two major cotton gins were established in Oklahoma City which provided jobs to many Negroes.²⁸ The financial, commercial, and manufacturing sectors of the city's economy continued to grow until the Depression of 1893 which was a brief set back in the city's growth. Another catastrophe of this early period in Oklahoma City's history was the first major flood of the North Canadian River in the summer of 1892.²⁹ South Oklahoma suffered considerable losses as did other areas along the floodplain east and west of the city.³⁰

The Beginnings of Discrimination

The Organic Act of May 2, 1890, provided for organized government in Oklahoma Territory and a supplement to this act on May 14 provided appropriation for education in a system of separate Negro and white public schools.³¹ This was the first legislative act which sought official segregation in the territory. On December 4, 1890, the Oklahoma Territorial Legislature passed the first of many Jim Crow laws to follow which sought the separation of the black and white races in most public

²⁸Ibid., p. 104.

²⁹Ibid., p. 134.

³⁰The city council proposed a canal project as a river cut-off which was half-heartedly planned and constructed over the next few years.

³¹Malachi Knowles, "A Study of Non-White Population Distribution and Housing Characteristics in Oklahoma City, 1940-1960," (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1965), pp. 14-15.

situations.³² Oklahoma's first black legislator, Green Currin, introduced the first Civil Rights' Bill in the territory.³³ It failed.

Throughout the 1890s the Supreme Court "was engaged in a bit of reconciliation - reconciliation between federal and state jurisdiction, as well as between North and South, reconciliation also achieved at the Negro's expense."³⁴ This reconciliation resulted in constitutional support of the Jim Crow Era. Judicial rulings of the highest court in the land served to institutionalize white supremacy in the country.

On December 30, 1890, the citizens of Oklahoma City through a public vote elected to have "separate but equal" schools for Whites and Negroes.³⁵ The first Negro school in Oklahoma City was established in March of 1891 in an old two room camp house in an abandoned wagon yard at Reno Avenue and Harvey Avenue.³⁶ The Negro school was moved into a sheet iron building in the 300 block of East California Street in 1894.³⁷

³²Kaye M. Teall, Black History in Oklahoma; A Resource Book (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma City Public Schools, 1971), p. 172.

³³Ibid., pp. 172-173.

³⁴C. Vann Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 60-65.

³⁵Ralph Brand, "A History of the Oklahoma City School System, 1889-1907," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1938), pp. 12-13.

³⁶Mildred Crossley, "A History of the Negro Schools of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1939), p. 7. Management of the separate schools was under the direct supervision of the Oklahoma City Board of Education. In February of 1891 a Board of Education report listed 93 school age Negroes.

³⁷Ibid., p. 10. This building was taken over by the school board and named Douglass School.

Catalysts for the Early Formation of Black Residential Areas

In 1893 the military reservation east of the Sante Fe tracks was abandoned and subsequently granted to Oklahoma City.³⁸ This was soon platted and private development took place with some of the social elite of the city resettling on this more attractive ridge overlooking downtown to the southwest.

Another catalyst for land use change in Oklahoma City was the construction of the Choctaw, Oklahoma and Gulf Railroad tracks between Main Street and Second Street in 1895.³⁹ These tracks lay east-west through the city and just south of the newly developed residences of the city's elite in the Military Addition. Soon industry, warehousing and related activities were located along this important addition to the transportation network of the city.

Throughout the remainder of the decade blacks began to migrate toward and along both the Sante Fe and the Choctaw tracks.⁴⁰ Opportunities for employment and accessibility to jobs, goods and services promp-

³⁸June A. Baker, "Patterns of Black Residential Segregation in Oklahoma City: 1890 to 1960," (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1970), p. 15.

³⁹Kerr, Story of Oklahoma City, p. 161. This line extended east to Memphis, Tennessee and was shortly after constructed on to Amarillo, Texas. The right of way for this line was made in 1894 just after the initial settlement of the elite into the East 1st Avenue of the Military Addition. Bringing this line into the city was a result of the city's Chamber of Commerce (Trade Board) which continuously worked to bring emipitus to more growth. Their attitude was that assurance of rail facilities would attract "manufactures, wholesalers, and industry."

⁴⁰Baker, "Patterns," p. 16. In a newspaper article, Oklahoma City Times, on July 4, 1933, a brief history of this area was portrayed. "Up to this time, the city's handful of Negroes had been congregated nearly a mile south along the North Canadian River. The industrial plants offered them employment, and northward they came."

ted this migration northward which initiated the beginnings of the formation of Oklahoma City's present "Black Ghetto" on the northeast side.

With no precedent this was the beginning of what would continue to be a reinforced complex of voluntary/involuntary residential segregation. The classical forces which were at work toward this end were probably 1) self imposed (voluntary) segregation in order to provide security and 2) community social forces (involuntary) composed of previously established values and lifestyles which through white attitudes and possibly enforcement restricted black household location in this newly settled community.

With incompatible land uses along the Choctaw tracks, nearby residences became undesirable so white households moved out and relocated to the north of East Second Street and to more desirable areas to the northwest. As whites moved out, black families moved into the area along both sides of East 1st Street and the southside of East 2nd Street. Previously large single family housing became multi-family with the construction of new but unsatisfactory housing on back lots and on other open spaces nearer the tracks and industrial locations. White households along East Second and Third Streets had no intentions of allowing any further black expansion into their still high social status neighborhood.

To the north of the Military Addition a new residential addition, "Maywood," was platted in the summer of 1896. At that time the white residents of the Military Addition were located between East Second and East Fourth Streets with Negro residents south of East Second. In 1897 a committee of white land owners petitioned the city to reopen streets

closed by the Choctaw railroad.⁴¹ A combination of influences, chiefly the closure of streets, the noise and smoke of the railroad, the incompatible land uses, and the Negro population south of East Second Street, resulted in a decrease of land values in much of the Military Addition and a movement of white families into the Maywood Addition.

During this same period beginning in 1895 a number of black families and transient black workers moved to along West Second Street due to job opportunities afforded by the Choctaw railroad which was laid through this section of the city. A variety of opportunities were available to the Negro in the northwest quadrant of Oklahoma City which resulted in a relatively dispersed pattern of black residential location in this sector. This pattern is shown for the year 1899 in Figure 3-2.⁴² Most Negroes in the northwest quadrant were employed as unskilled workers with the railroad and related warehousing and industry. A substantial number were also employed as porters, baggagemen, waiters, cooks, and domestics. Employers were chiefly commercial service establishments for whites or blacks as hotels, restaurants, laundries, transportation activities, and the higher social status white households who resided north of West Fourth Street.⁴³ The Negro employment profiles for the northeast and southeast quadrants are quite similar to that of the northwest.

⁴¹Kerr, Story of Oklahoma City, p. 185.

⁴²Chittendon's Directory of Oklahoma City, 1899 (St. Louis: Chittendon Directory Company, 1899). This directory designated "colored" residences by address. Each "colored" individual was mapped in order to portray black residential location in Oklahoma City for 1899. This is the oldest authoritative source for locating the Negro in the city.

⁴³This evaluation of the Negro employment situation was deduced from the analysis of Chittendon's 1899 directory which listed occupation with each located resident.

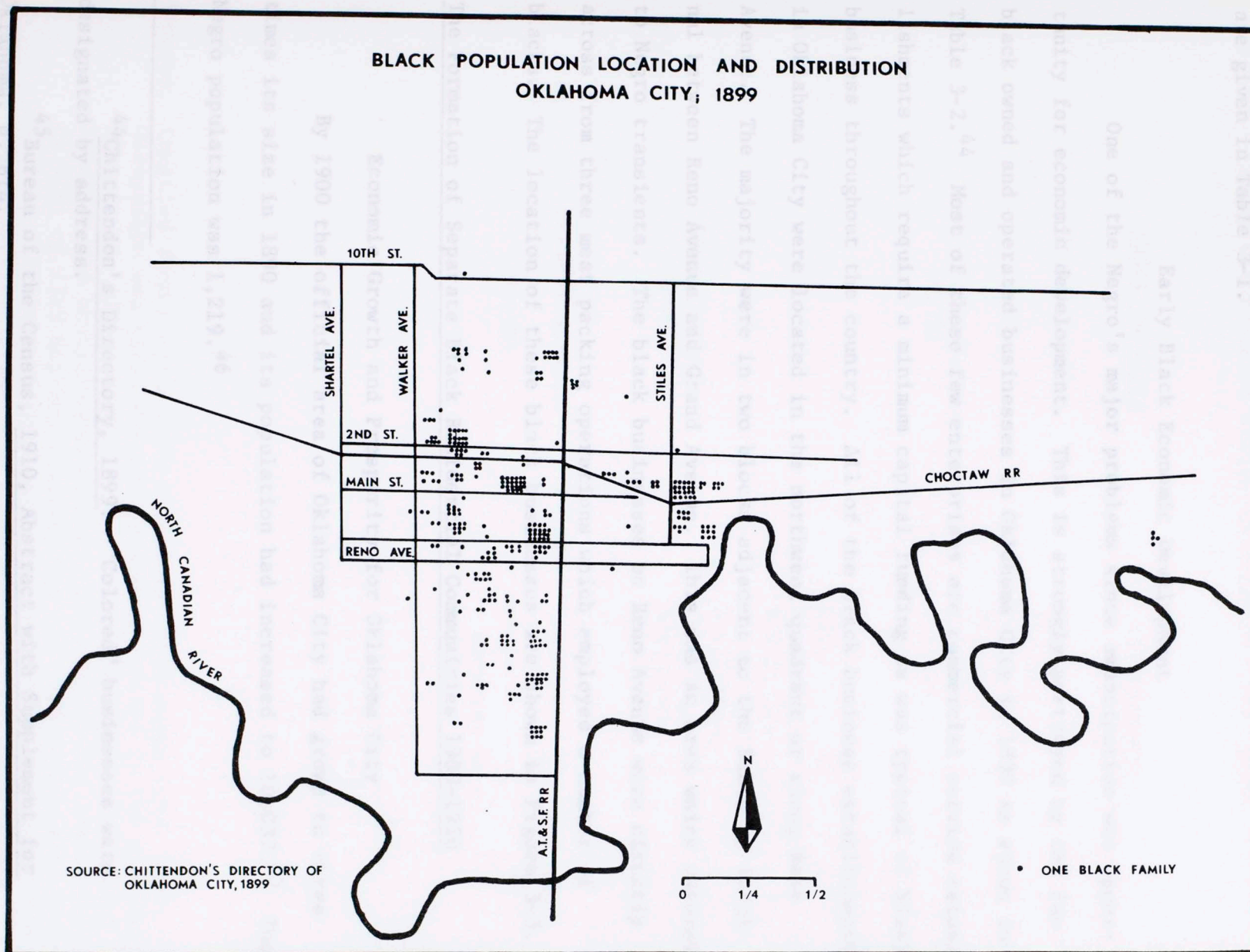


FIGURE 3-2

Characteristics of Negro employment in Oklahoma City for the year 1899 are given in Table 3-1.

Early Black Economic Development

One of the Negro's major problems since emancipation was opportunity for economic development. This is strongly portrayed by the few black owned and operated businesses in Oklahoma City in 1899 as shown in Table 3-2.⁴⁴ Most of these few enterprises are commercial service establishments which require a minimum capital funding as was typical of black business throughout the country. All of the black business establishments in Oklahoma City were located in the northwest quadrant or along Reno Avenue. The majority were in two blocks adjacent to the Sante Fe terminal between Reno Avenue and Grand Avenue. This was an area which catered to Negro transients. The black businesses on Reno Avenue were directly across from three meat packing operations which employed a number of blacks. The location of these black businesses are shown in Figure 3-3.

The Formation of Separate Black Residential Communities 1900-1920

Economic Growth and Prosperity for Oklahoma City

By 1900 the official area of Oklahoma City had grown to three times its size in 1890 and its population had increased to 10,037.⁴⁵ The Negro population was 1,219.⁴⁶

⁴⁴Chittendon's Directory, 1899. "Colored" businesses were designated by address.

⁴⁵Bureau of the Census, 1910, Abstract with Supplement for Oklahoma, p. 614.

⁴⁶Ibid.

TABLE 3-1

NEGRO OCCUPATIONAL STATUS IN OKLAHOMA CITY, 1899*

<u>Major Category</u>	<u>Sub-Category</u>
Professionals	Teacher 7
and	Minister 6
Semi-Professionals	Physician 1
(8.7%)	Proprietor 5
	Manager 5
	Printer 1
Skilled	Barber 9
and	Cook 22
Semi-Skilled	Blacksmith 2
(16.0%)	Manufacture 2
	Plasterer 2
	Brick Mason 2
	Carpenter 2
	Machinist 1
	Farmer 1
Service Workers	Domestic 15
(75.3%)	Labor 137
	Other
	service 57

*Source: Compiled from Chittendon's Directory of Oklahoma City, 1899. Occupation was given for most residents listed in the directory. This is the oldest authoritative source for Negro residential location and occupational status. Two hundred and seventy-six, or 22%, of 1219 Negroes reported for the 1900 Census were given in this directory which should be a good representation of the Negro labor force for this early period in Oklahoma City's history.

TABLE 3-2

BLACK BUSINESS PROFILE FOR OKLAHOMA CITY, 1899*

<u>General Business Category</u>	<u>Specific Business Type</u>	<u>No. of Establishments</u>
Commercial Service		<u>14</u>
(6 types)	Bath House	1
	Barber Shop	3
	Blacksmith Shop	1
	Boarding House	3
	Furnished Rooms	3
	Restaurant	3
Retail Business		<u>1</u>
(1 type)	Grocery (retail)	1
Commercial Recreation		<u>0</u>
Professional Service		<u>1</u>
(1 type)	Physician	1

*Source: Compiled from Chittendon's Directory of Oklahoma City, 1899. Negro businesses were designated as such, and were given by address and general business category. This is the oldest authoritative source for Negro business location in Oklahoma City and should be a good representation of the black business profile of this early period.

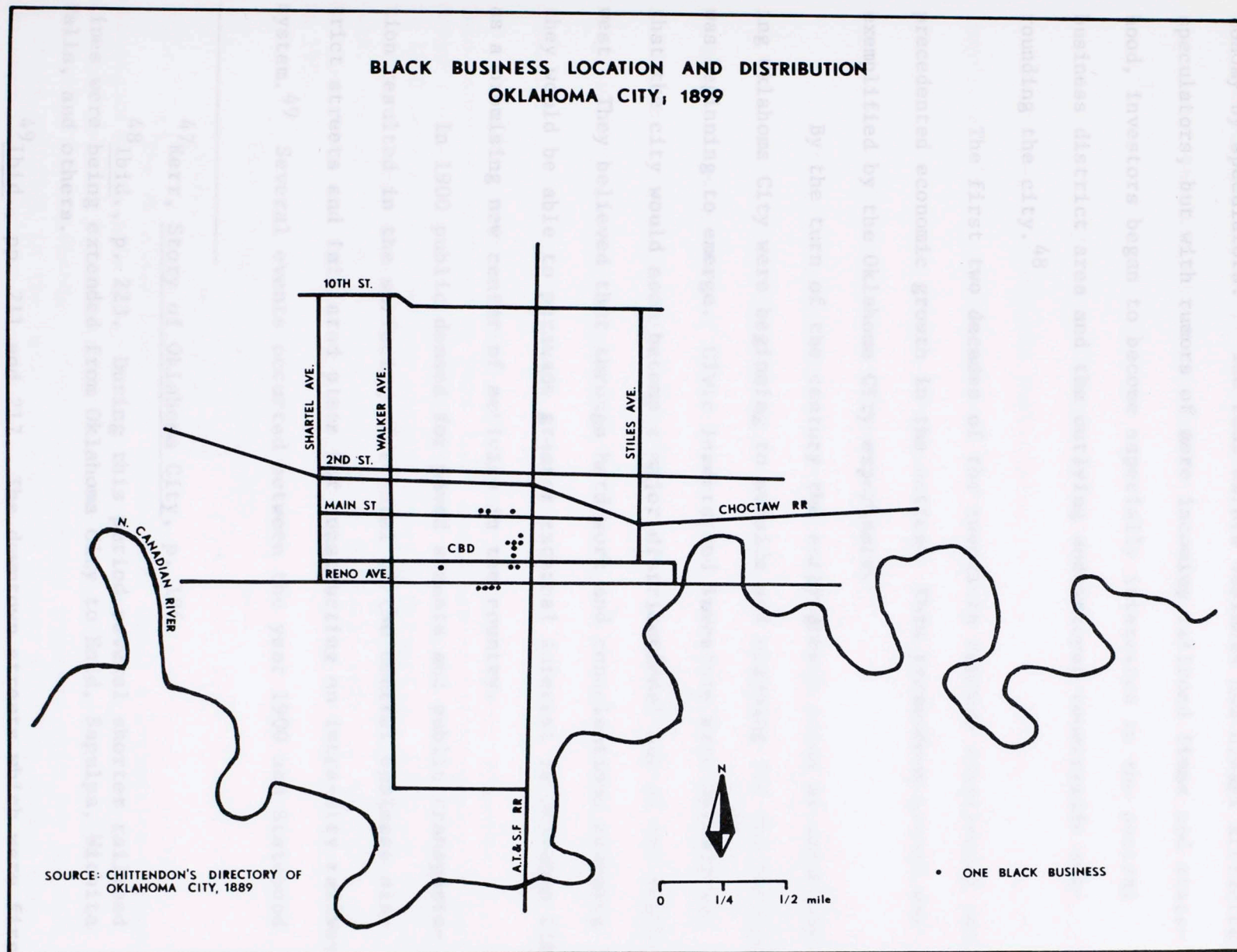


FIGURE 3-3

The turn of the century was heavy investment in the city's economy by speculators.⁴⁷ The real estate business had always attracted speculators, but with rumors of more incoming railroad lines and statehood, investors began to become especially interested in the central business district area and the outlying undeveloped countryside surrounding the city.⁴⁸

The first two decades of the twentieth century experienced unprecedented economic growth in the nation. This tremendous growth was exemplified by the Oklahoma City experience.

By the turn of the century the early growth pains of establishing Oklahoma City were beginning to subside and planning for the future was beginning to emerge. Civic leaders and investors were optimistic that the city would soon become a major distributional hub of the Southwest. They believed that through hard work and conscientious planning they would be able to persuade greater external interest in Oklahoma City as a promising new center of activity in the country.

In 1900 public demand for paved streets and public transportation resulted in the surfacing of several of the central business district streets and initiated plans for constructing an intra-city railway system.⁴⁹ Several events occurred between the year 1900 and Statehood

⁴⁷Kerr, Story of Oklahoma City, p. 186.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 223. During this period several shorter railroad lines were being extended from Oklahoma City to Enid, Sapulpa, Wichita Falls, and others.

⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 211 and 217. The downtown streets which were first paved were Main, Grand, First and California between Sante Fe and Harvey and Sante Fe, Broadway, Robinson and Harvey between California and the Choctaw railroad tracks.

in 1907 that stimulated further economic growth for the city.⁵⁰ There was a continued expansion of new railroad lines and the discovery of oil in central Oklahoma Territory which precipitated a stock investment boom.⁵¹

In the spring and summer of 1902 and 1904 heavy rains resulted in flooding again along the North Canadian River.⁵² Residents demanded immediate relief. The formation of the Oklahoma County River Improvement Association was made to get Congress to make an appropriation for river improvements.⁵³ Only token projects were funded.

During the year 1902 the establishment of Epworth University, new residential subdivision plats, and a proposed trolley car line system promoted the migration of many of the city's social elite to the north and northwest along and near N.W. Thirteenth Street.⁵⁴ Soon mansions of previously unknown elegance were built in this section of the city.

⁵⁰The Oklahoma City and Western Railway Company extended a line into southwestern Texas in 1901 while the Oklahoma and Southeastern Rail Company constructed a line to Louisiana. Important internal developments in 1902 were the trolley car system, Epworth University, Oklahoma Medical College, a large modern metropolitan park (Delmar Gardens), and Wheeler Park. In 1903 the Missouri-Kansas-Texas Railroad line was extended to Oklahoma City and the old Choctaw line was sold to the Rock Island line in 1905.

⁵¹Kerr, Story of Oklahoma City, p. 223.

⁵²Ibid., p. 250 and p. 259.

⁵³The Oklahoma River and Improvement Canal & Irrigation Company was organized in 1904 to deal with the flooding situation. This reconstituted concern for shortening the river channel, reclaiming land, and preventing future floods. Minor improvements together with few periods of heavy rainfall in the basin resulted in lesser flooding damage over the next few years.

⁵⁴Kerr, Story of Oklahoma City, p. 230.

Catalysts for Change in the Distribution of Negroes

From 1900 to 1907 Oklahoma City's population increased tremendously to 32,452.⁵⁵ The estimated Negro population was 3,569 in 1907.⁵⁶

Figure 3-4 reflects the distribution of the black population of Oklahoma City in 1904.⁵⁷ Quite a change occurred since 1899. The growth of the largest black segregated neighborhood east of the Sante Fe tracks along the Choctaw tracks is evident. Also apparent is the decline of Negroes in the northwest quadrant of the city and the slight growth of Negroes in the southwest quadrant (Southtown).

Several catalysts affected this change in the distribution of Negroes. The increase in the northeast quadrant was due much to opportunity for and accessibility to jobs, and to relatively better housing amenities. The former was afforded by the Choctaw Railroad line beginning in 1895, the Missouri, Kansas, Texas Railroad line in 1903, the changeover of the Choctaw line to the Rock Island line in 1905, the jobs afforded by related industrial, warehousing, and commercial establishments, the proximity to central business district jobs, and the proximity to jobs afforded by white households to the immediate north. Concerning the latter, higher ground, some water and sewage facilities, and former large white single-family dwellings provided more living condition amenities, although these quickly became overcrowded. Many undesirable dwellings were built on back lots for the increasing black population.

⁵⁵Bureau of the Census, 1910, Abstract with Supplement for Oklahoma, p. 614.

⁵⁶Estimated by the author as being 11% of the total population.

⁵⁷Warden - Ebright City Directory of Oklahoma City, 1904 (Oklahoma City: Warden - Ebright Printing Co., 1904).

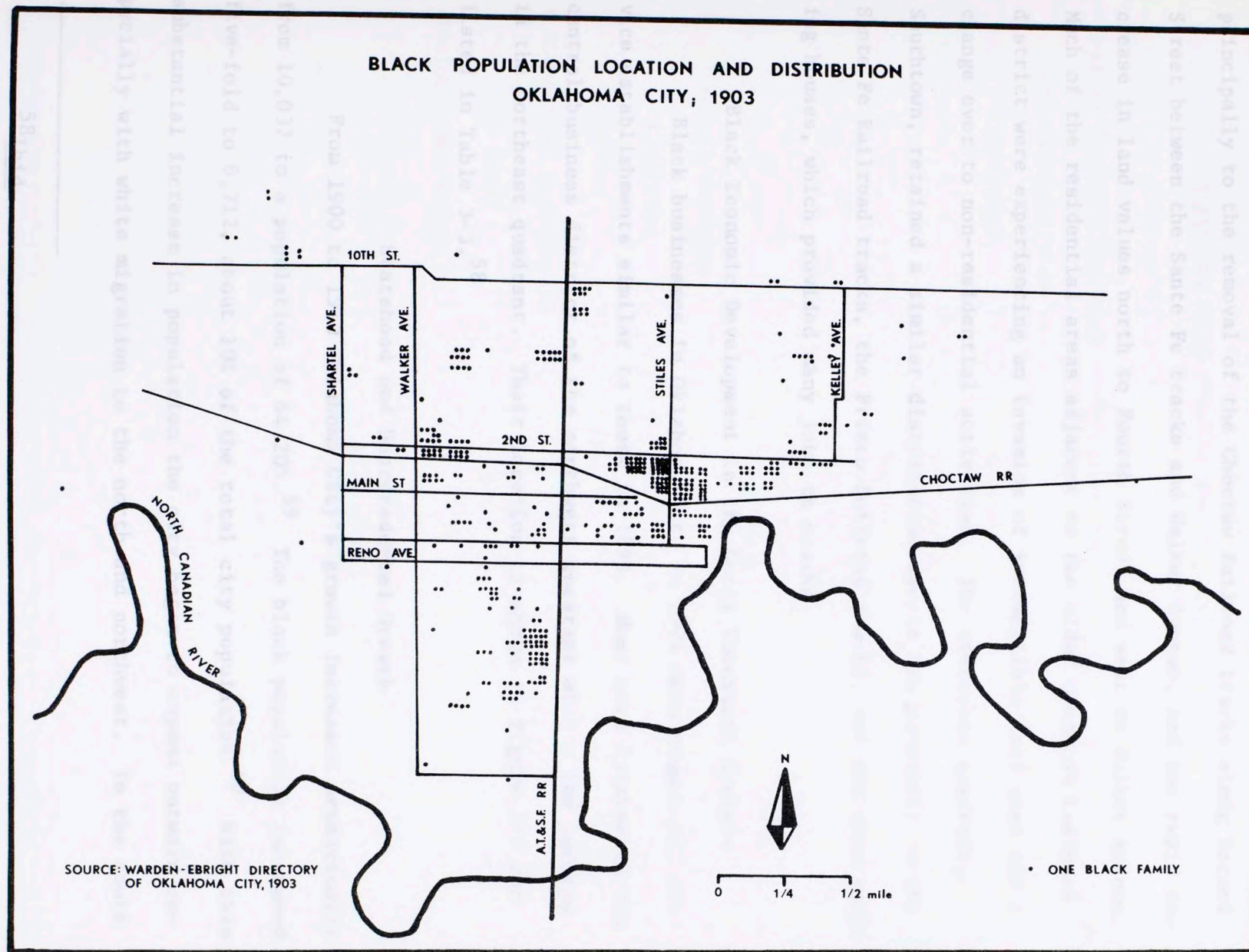


FIGURE 3-4

The decline in the Negro population in the northwest quadrant was due principally to the removal of the Choctaw Railroad tracks along Second Street between the Sante Fe tracks and Walker Avenue, and the rapid increase in land values north to Fourth Street and west to Walker Avenue. Much of the residential areas adjacent to the older downtown business district were experiencing an invasion of incompatible land uses and a change over to non-residential activities. The southeast quadrant, Southtown, retained a similar distribution due to its proximity to the Sante Fe Railroad tracks, the Frisco Railroad tracks, and the meat packing houses, which provided many jobs to blacks.

Black Economic Development in the Early Twentieth Century

Black businesses in Oklahoma City in 1904 were commercial service establishments similar to those in 1899. Most were located in the central business district of the northwest quadrant with a few located in the northeast quadrant. Their location is shown in Figure 3-5 and listed in Table 3-3.⁵⁸

Statehood and Unprecedented Growth

From 1900 to 1910 Oklahoma City's growth increased dramatically from 10,037 to a population of 64,205.⁵⁹ The black population increased five-fold to 6,712, about 10% of the total city population.⁶⁰ With this substantial increase in population the city began to expand outward especially with white migration to the north and northwest. To the south

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Bureau of the Census, 1910, Abstract with Supplement for Oklahoma, p. 614.

⁶⁰Ibid.

TABLE 3-3

BLACK BUSINESS PROFILE FOR OKLAHOMA CITY, 1904*

<u>General Business Category</u>	<u>Specific Business Type</u>	<u>No. of Establishments</u>
Commercial Service		<u>20</u>
(10 types)	Barber	7
	Cleaners	2
	Dressmaker	1
	Furnished Rooms	4
	Hotel	1
	Lunch Room	1
	Restaurant	1
	Saloon	1
	Shoe Maker	1
	Undertaker	1
Retail Business		<u>7</u>
(3 types)	Confectionary	1
	Meat Market	1
	Grocery (retail)	5
Commercial Recreation		<u>1</u>
(1 type)	Pool Hall	1
Professional Service		<u>3</u>
(3 types)	Attorney	1
	Physician	1
	Real Estate	1

*Source: Compiled from Warden - Ebright City Directory, Oklahoma City, 1904.

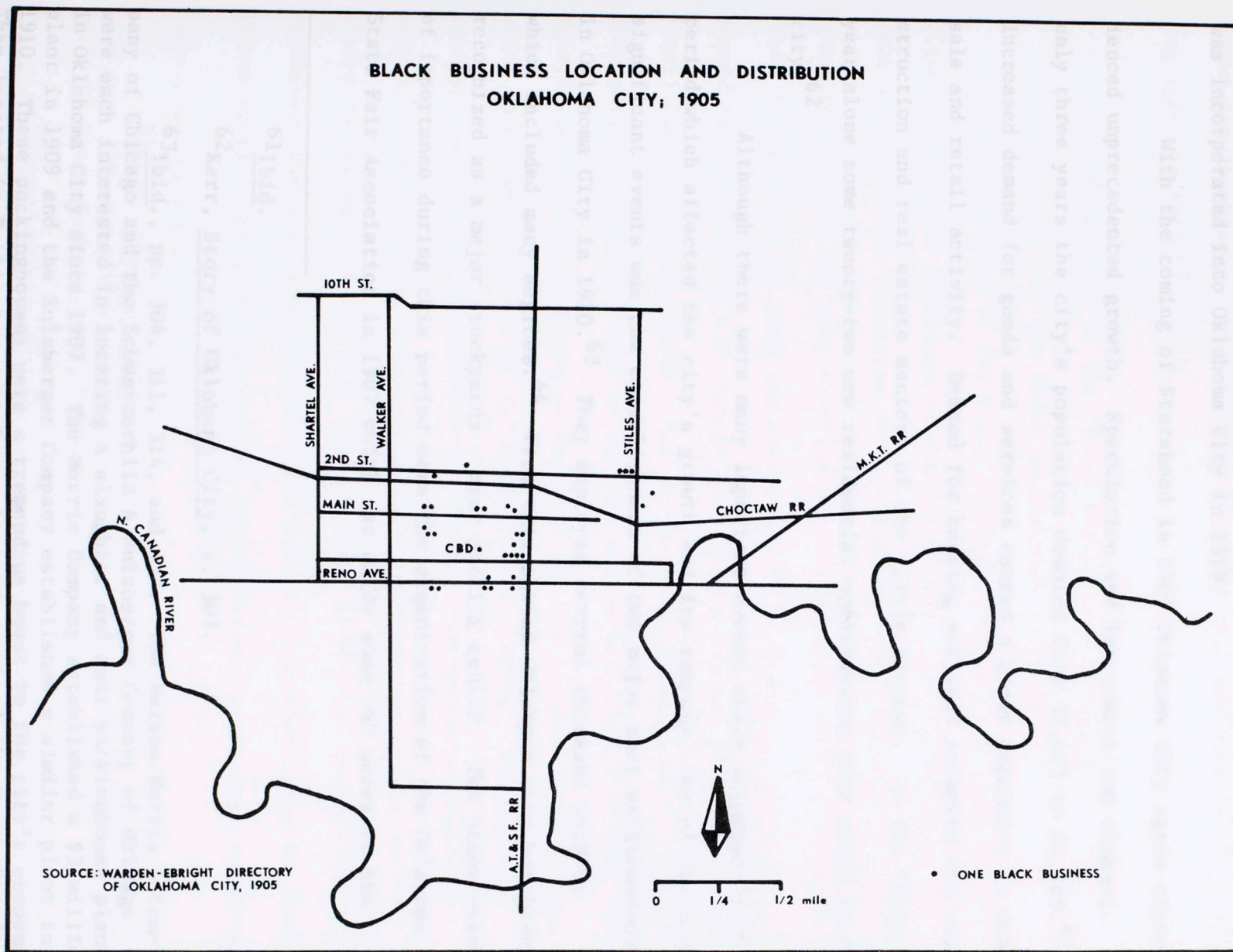


FIGURE 3-5

of the North Canadian River was the small town of Capitol Hill which was incorporated into Oklahoma City in 1910.

With the coming of Statehood in 1907 Oklahoma City again experienced unprecedented growth. Speculation and investment ran rampant. In only three years the city's population doubled from 32,452 to 64,205.⁶¹ Increased demand for goods and services caused a great expansion in wholesale and retail activity. Demand for housing and land promoted the construction and real estate sectors of the city's economy. In the first year alone some twenty-two new residential subdivisions were added to the city.⁶²

Although there were many important events which occurred in this period which affected the city's growth and its economy, one of the most significant events was the establishment of two major meat packinghouses in Oklahoma City in 1910.⁶³ They employed several thousand workers which included many Negroes.⁶⁴ From this period Oklahoma City has been recognized as a major stockyards - meat packing center. Two other events of importance during this period were the organization of the Oklahoma State Fair Association in 1907 which set aside some 160 acres to the

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Kerr, Story of Oklahoma City, p. 307.

⁶³Ibid., pp. 304, 311, 314, and 357. The Nelson Morris & Company of Chicago and the Schwarzochild & Sulzberger Company of Chicago were each interested in locating a slaughter and meat packinghouse plant in Oklahoma City since 1907. The Morris Company established a \$3 million plant in 1909 and the Sulzberger Company established a similar plant in 1910. These packinghouses were a tremendous boost to the city's economy. They located in Packingtown which was located south of the North Canadian River between Agnew and May Avenues.

⁶⁴Interview. The notation "Interview" is used to note those findings which were confirmed by at least three black senior citizen interviewees. Twenty-two elderly blacks with a long history of residence in Oklahoma City were interviewed in the Fall of 1974.

northeast of Oklahoma City for a State Fairgrounds and the completion of an inter-urban rail line between Oklahoma City and several surrounding towns in 1910.⁶⁵

Prominence of the "Black Ghetto" and a Formation
of New Black Residential Enclaves

The location of the black population in 1910 as depicted by Figure 3-6 shows a continued alteration of the previous locations in 1904 and 1899. The formation of the dominant "Black Ghetto" in the city began around 1895 and over a period of fifteen years grew to the prominence it exhibited in 1910 and ever since.⁶⁶ A few black families continued to reside along N.W. Second Street as a remnant of a once larger functioning black population. One new Negro residential area during this period was located west of Western Avenue between Reno Avenue and Main Street. This was known as Westtown and was located in a low area along an old meander scar of the North Canadian River. The area was susceptible to frequent flooding and was not considered desirable by whites.⁶⁷ Warehousing, industrial, and commercial activities had expanded to the west of the city between Grand Avenue and Second Street to Western Avenue. Similar activities were also located along the Rock Island tracks from Walker Avenue and Second Street to the west northwest.

⁶⁵Kerr, Story of Oklahoma City, pp. 311 and 358. From 1906 to 1910 some 170 miles of inter-urban rail lines were laid to Norman, Purcell, El Reno, Guthrie, and Shawnee.

⁶⁶From 1895 to 1910 the northeast side black residential area grew consistently in black population. It was apparent by 1910 that this black neighborhood was the commencement of what could become a full-fledged Black Ghetto in the decades to come.

⁶⁷Interview.

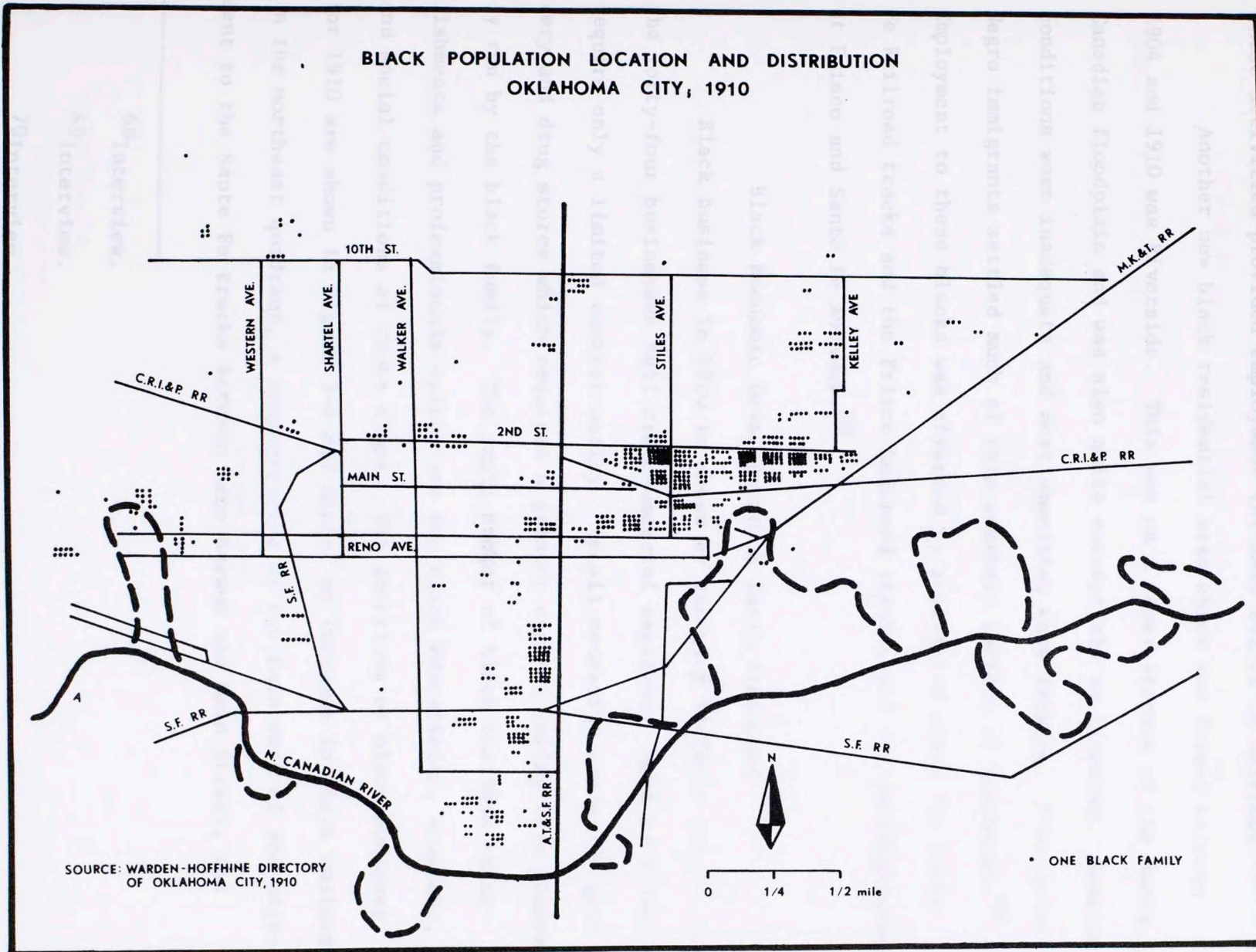


FIGURE 3-6

Just to the south of Westtown was the Farmer's City Market. All of these activities provided employment for many blacks in Westtown.⁶⁸

Another new black residential area which was formed between 1904 and 1910 was Riverside. This was on a lower terrace of the North Canadian floodplain and was also quite susceptible to flooding. Housing conditions were inadequate and most amenities were lacking. Poor rural Negro immigrants settled much of this southern portion of Southtown.⁶⁹ Employment to these blacks was afforded by activities along the Sante Fe Railroad tracks and the Frisco Railroad tracks, and the packinghouses at Frisco and Sante Fe Avenues.⁷⁰

Black Economic Development at Early Statehood

Black business in 1910 is shown by category in Table 3-4.⁷¹ Of the forty-four businesses half are commercial services. Most of these require only a limited capital outlay. Retail necessity stores as grocery and drug stores which required a greater capital outlay were generally run by the black family. The small number of black business establishments and professionals epitomizes the black educational, economic, and social conditions of those times. The locations of black business for 1910 are shown in Figure 3-6 and depict an increase in black business in the northeast quadrant, a concentration of business west of and adjacent to the Sante Fe tracks between Reno Avenue and Main Street, the

⁶⁸Interview.

⁶⁹Interview.

⁷⁰Interview.

⁷¹Warden's - Hoffhine Directory of Oklahoma City, 1910 (Oklahoma City: Wardine - Hoffhine Printing Co., 1910).

TABLE 3-4

BLACK BUSINESS PROFILE FOR OKLAHOMA CITY, 1910*

<u>General Business Category</u>	<u>Specific Business Type</u>	<u>No. of Establishments</u>
Commercial Service		<u>18</u>
(12 types)	Baggage Transfer	1
	Barber	6
	Blacksmith Shop	2
	Boarding House	1
	Cleaners	1
	Dressmaker	1
	Employment Agent	1
	Milliner	1
	Restaurant	1
	Rooming House	1
	Tailor	1
	Undertaker	1
Retail Business		<u>10</u>
(3 types)	Drugstore	3
	Furniture	1
	Grocery (retail)	6
Commercial Recreation		<u>4</u>
(1 type)	Pool Hall	4
Professional Service		<u>12</u>
(6 types)	Attorney	3
	Dentist	1
	Newspaper	2
	Physician	2
	Printer	1
	Real Estate	3

*Source: Compiled from Warden's-Hoffine City Directory, Oklahoma City, 1910.

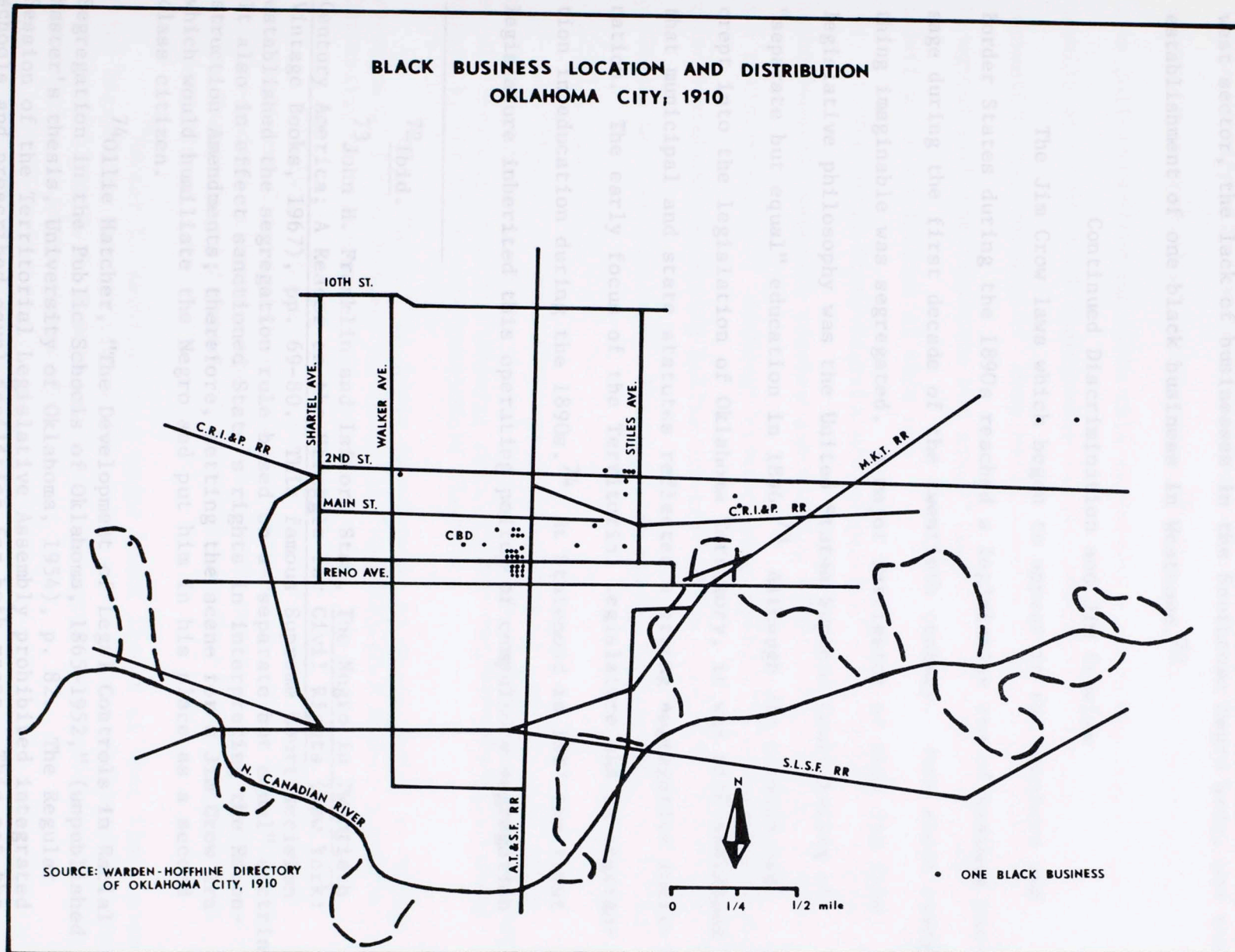


FIGURE 3-7

decline in the previously dispersed pattern of businesses in the northwest sector, the lack of businesses in the Southtown Negro area, and the establishment of one black business in Westtown.⁷²

Continued Discrimination and Jim Crowism

The Jim Crow laws which began to appear in the Southern and Border States during the 1890s reached a legislative era of maximum passage during the first decade of the twentieth century. Just about everything imaginable was segregated. A major instigator of this Jim Crow legislative philosophy was the United States Supreme Court ruling of "separate but equal" education in 1896.⁷³ Although Jim Crowism had crept into the legislation of Oklahoma Territory, it was with Statehood that municipal and state statutes reflected a strong segregative inclination. The early focus of the Territorial Legislature was on segregation in education during the 1890s.⁷⁴ At Statehood in 1907 the first legislature inherited this operating policy of compulsory segregation

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³John H. Franklin and Isidore Stan, The Negro in Twentieth Century America; A Reader on the Struggle for Civil Rights (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), pp. 69-80. This famous Supreme Court decision established the segregation rule based on a "separate but equal" doctrine. It also in effect sanctioned State's rights in interpreting the Reconstruction Amendments; therefore, setting the scene for a Jim Crow Era which would humiliate the Negro and put him in his place as a second class citizen.

⁷⁴Ollie Hatcher, "The Development of Legal Controls in Racial Segregation in the Public Schools of Oklahoma, 1865-1952," (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1954), p. 82. The Regular Session of the Territorial Legislative Assembly prohibited integrated schools and prescribed equal facilities for both races. This set the stage for the "separate but equal" doctrine to come in most other public instances. Afterwards the Oklahoma Territorial Supreme Court adopted this line of segregation in education.

in education.⁷⁵ Oklahoma had the distinction of being the only state in the country with compulsory segregation which financed its separate schools by a special ad valorem levy.⁷⁶ State statutes and administrative policies helped maintain this segregation and lended support to justify other types of segregation in accommodations, transportation, recreation, and housing.⁷⁷ Many black leaders of the country generally agreed with the "separate but equal" doctrine and supported accommodating the conditions of this era.⁷⁸

The first State legislature passed a bill in December of 1907 which required separate coaches and waiting rooms for all forms of public transportation.⁷⁹ Although several discriminatory laws were passed after Statehood concerning public accommodations, most discriminatory practices were by custom.⁸⁰ The Negro in public was expected to accept

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 94. Although the Enabling Act of Oklahoma emphasized the supremacy of the United States and the civil rights guaranteed to all citizens under the Federal sovereignty, interpretation of these rights by the State were considered flexible.

⁷⁶Allan Saxe, "The Early Development of State Policy on Desegregation of Public Schools in Oklahoma," (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1963), p. 10.

⁷⁷Tolson, "Negro in Oklahoma," p. 107. Jim Crow mania began with the Sixth Territorial Legislative Assembly in 1901. Council Bill No. 30 required railroad companies to provide separate coaches for whites, Negroes, and Indians. This set a precedent for segregation in transportation.

⁷⁸Booker T. Washington, a major black leader of that time, counseled Negroes to accommodate to the status quo. He was challenged vigorously by William E. B. DuBois who would not accept the condition of subordination to white supremacy.

⁷⁹Teall, Black History, p. 233.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 239. Early State laws segregated telephone booths, bath houses, and restrooms. Strong custom which reflected a Southern

his separate and inferior place in the city's society.

De jure discriminatory public policy became more apparent than ever before during this decade of Oklahoma City's black history. The year of 1910 was a special State legislative session which enacted an amendment to the State Constitution that in effect set a restriction of voting because of race.⁸¹ Known as the grandfather clause "it stated that no one could vote unless he could read and write a section of the constitution or unless he had voted before January 1, 1866, or was a direct descendant of someone who could vote then."⁸² Of course, this was an effective attempt at eliminating blacks from participating in the political process not only in Oklahoma, but in many States of the South.

The passage of local ordinances which restricted the residential location of blacks in Oklahoma City first began in 1916.⁸³ This city ordinance made it illegal for a person of the white or black race to move into a block in which 75% or more of the present dwellings were occupied by persons of the other race.⁸⁴ At this time few Negro families lived north of East Second Street or West of Phillips Avenue in the north-east quadrant. Consequently, this residential segregation ordinance set

influence in Oklahoma's early social mores segregated such services as restaurants, lunch counters, barbershops, beauty shops, and hotels. Generally, retail businesses and financial institutions were open to all business, black or white.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 215.

⁸²Ibid.

⁸³Baker, "Patterns," p. 21.

⁸⁴Board of Commissioners, Segregation Ordinance for Oklahoma City, No. 1825, 1916. This was an attempt at public as well as private segregation.

Northeast Second Street as a boundary to black movement northward. This ordinance also designated racial segregation in schools, churches, theaters, and dance halls.

This first attempt at official residential segregation in Oklahoma City was only effective until 1917 when the U. S. Supreme Court held that a similar ordinance in Louisville, Kentucky, was unconstitutional "since neither racial group could properly be deprived of the civil right to acquire, enjoy and use property, which is guaranteed to all citizens by the Fourteenth Amendment."⁸⁵

With the initial implementation and enforcement of this first residential segregation ordinance white households were secure and remained just to the north of this Negro community. With the court's unconstitutional ruling many white families moved farther north and either sold out or rented to blacks.⁸⁶ Several black real estaters were also involved in purchasing properties in this area.⁸⁷

A second discriminatory ordinance related to residential location of races was passed by the Oklahoma City Board of Commissioners in 1918.⁸⁸ This ordinance set Northeast Fourth Street as a boundary for segregating the races residentially.⁸⁹ In May of 1919 the local chapter

⁸⁵Thomas Emerson; and David Haber. Political and Civil Rights in the United States, Vol. 2 (Buffalo, New York: Dennis & Co, Inc., 1958) p. 1261. Buchanan v. Warley, 245 U.S. 60, 385. Ct. 16, 62 L. Ed. 149 (1917).

⁸⁶Interview.

⁸⁷Interview.

⁸⁸Board of Commissioners, Segregation Ordinance for Oklahoma City, No. 2027, 1918.

⁸⁹Teall, Black History, pp. 258-259.

of the N.A.A.C.P. brought action in Federal District Court against this ordinance which was held to be unconstitutional.

The legal voiding of these city ordinances aroused the white citizens who resided in the apparent path of Negro residential migration north of Northeast Fourth Street which resulted in a strong collaboration of white home owners to agree not to sell their property to blacks. This condition existed until the late 1940s.

Establishment of a Negro School System in Oklahoma City

A group of blacks in Oklahoma City organized a school system for Negro children under the supervision of the Oklahoma City Board of Education in September of 1895.⁹⁰ Because of the small number of school aged Negro children and a lack of sufficient funds, buildings were rented in order to provide classrooms. It wasn't until 1901 that the first Negro school house was built which was a two story frame structure named Frederic Douglass.⁹¹ The school burned to the ground in 1903 and a year later a white school only one block away was turned over to the black school system.⁹² With a rapidly increasing Negro population in Oklahoma City and a dispersion of the city's black families into residential clusters in the northeast quadrant, in Southtown, and in Westtown, problems

⁹⁰Brand, "Oklahoma City School System," pp. 61-62. In 1894 there were 1233 students in Oklahoma City of which 111 were black students.

⁹¹Crossley, "Negro Schools," p. 11. This school was located in the 400 Block of East California. Douglass school was burned to the ground in 1903 allegedly by arsons.

⁹²Ibid., p. 13. This was originally Webster School and was built for white children in 1894. It was a brick building with better facilities than the previous black school. It was renamed Douglass.

of overcrowded school facilities and transportation logistics required serious concern. At first additions were made to the school house and several buildings were purchased and moved to the Douglass School grounds. In 1909 an older two story framehouse was rented in Westtown to provide a school for Negro children of that area.⁹³ In 1910 land was secured about the city for new black schools.⁹⁴ With these provisions for more Negro school buildings, overcrowded conditions still continued to exist.

During the decade prior to 1920 more educational facilities were made available to the several dispersed Negro communities about the city. In 1910 a one room school house provided elementary instruction in Sandtown.⁹⁵ In 1911 Fairgrounds School was built near the Bathtown area which was replaced by a larger brick school building named Dunbar in 1916.⁹⁶ A new brick building was constructed for Orchard Park School in Westtown in 1911, while in the same year Choctaw School was established in Southtown in a Presbyterian Church.⁹⁷ Douglass School at this time was the only Negro highschool and in 1916 began offering manual training in the industrial arts. In 1917 strong protest came from the Black Community because of a lack of maintenance to the Douglass building which had resulted in deterioration. In response the structure was

⁹³Ibid., p. 16. This school was named Orchard Park. Several other buildings were rented in the city to alleviate the crowding at Douglass School. The first Negro kindergarten was setup in 1909 at the Avery Chapel Methodist Church at 205 North Geary Avenue.

⁹⁴Ibid., p. 23. These were located near the Fair Park, near Packingtown, and in Westtown.

⁹⁵Ibid., p. 23.

⁹⁶Ibid.

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 24.

partially improved, but still more and newer facilities were being demanded.

World War I Era: Urbanization and Massive Migration of Blacks

In the decade from 1910 to 1920 the nation experienced its first world war which placed the country into a position of international prominence. Public and private investment geared up the industrial sector of the economy which laid the foundation for a rapidly growing military-industrial complex. In previous decades since the Civil War migration from the South to the North had been moderate for the most part with a few short periods of heavy out-migration. Much of the migration of the Negro had been from rural farms and small towns to the larger cities of the South and the Border States. Beginning in 1914 "masses of southern Negroes migrated to northern industrial centers from the cotton plantations ravaged by the boll weevil."⁹⁸ Demand was for unskilled labor in the heavy industries of the North. American industry had come into its own by the decade of 1910. The annual gross national product had increased from an average of \$13 billion during the 1890s to over \$40 billion in the 1910s and employment had doubled.⁹⁹ According to sociologist E. Franklin Frazier:

In fact the growth and distribution of the Negro population during the first half of the twentieth century have been determined by the economic and social forces which have shaped the growth of the nation. The Negro population has been concentrated, on the whole, in those areas where there was a demand for the type of labor which the Negro could provide.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸Frazier, Negro in United States, p. 196.

⁹⁹Arthur Ross, "The Negro in the American Economy," in Employment Race, and Poverty, eds. Arthur Ross and Herbert Hill (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1967), p. 11.

¹⁰⁰Frazier, Negro in United States, p. 196.

This was the commencement of an era of the urbanization of the country's population, white and black, and the decline in the agricultural employment sector. Black urban ghettos of many of the major cities of the country were beginning to grow and mature into relatively large and important entities within the urban landscape. Prior to 1900 most of the larger Southern cities had substantial black populations. Only nine northern cities had over 10,000 Negroes by 1910.¹⁰¹

During World War I the Negro found himself in the role of an American with a mutual role with all Americans to serve his country in the nation's military - industrial complex. Nearly 400,000 blacks served in the military while one million blacks migrated to the industrial centers of the North.¹⁰² Prior to the war Negro workers were employed for the most part in menial, domestic, and unskilled jobs which were in direct competition with poor white citizens and the deluge of foreign immigrants who were crowding the urban centers of the North. With the commencement of United States involvement in the war and the strict limitation of further foreign immigrants, Negro workers were able to be drawn into lower levels of the industrial labor market.¹⁰³

By 1917 the mass migration of blacks from the South to the Northern and Border States became a major social issue. The short post-war recession, the return of Negro soldiers to civilian life, the competition for lower skilled labor employment, and resultant frustrations

¹⁰¹Ibid., p. 229.

¹⁰²Alphonso Pinkney, Black Americans (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice - Hall, Inc., 1969), p. 31.

¹⁰³Foner, America's Black Past, p. 327.

developed into a situation of racial tension across the nation. Numerous outbreaks of racial violence occurred which continued to strain race relations everywhere.¹⁰⁴ The awareness of the new urban phenomena, the Black Ghetto, strengthened the forces that created it. A similar situation on a lesser scale occurred in Tulsa, Oklahoma, partially because of the phenomenal growth of its black population during this decade. This strained racial atmosphere did not reach the violent climax in Oklahoma City that occurred in many other urban centers of this era.¹⁰⁵

Growth of Negro Residential Areas in Oklahoma City

From 1910 to 1920 Oklahoma City's black population increased from 6,546 to 8,241.¹⁰⁶ The small increase was due to the natural increase and rural in-migration countered by a general out-migration to Tulsa and northern industrial centers.¹⁰⁷ The distribution of the Negro population of Oklahoma City for the year 1920 is shown in Figure 3-8.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴Norman Coombs, The Black Experience in America (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1972), pp. 112-114.

¹⁰⁵Oklahoma City's Negro population had its least percentage increase during this decade with the exception of the World War II period. Tulsa's increased almost 4-fold while Oklahoma City's only increased by about 30%. Although racial stress was apparent in Oklahoma City the catalyst of a dramatically increasing black population did not occur. If it had it is very possible that racial violence may have occurred, especially in the northeast quadrant of the city.

¹⁰⁶U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920, Volume III, Population (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1922), p. 824.

¹⁰⁷Interview. Tulsa's Negro population increased dramatically between 1910 and 1920 due to intra-state migration of blacks from eastern rural counties of Oklahoma and from Oklahoma City; the 1910 Negro population was 1,959 and in 1920 it was 8,878. Tulsa was an industrial center which expanded during the war and continued to grow after the war.

¹⁰⁸Polk's City Directory of Oklahoma City, 1920 (Kansas City, Missouri: R. K. Polk & Company, 1920).

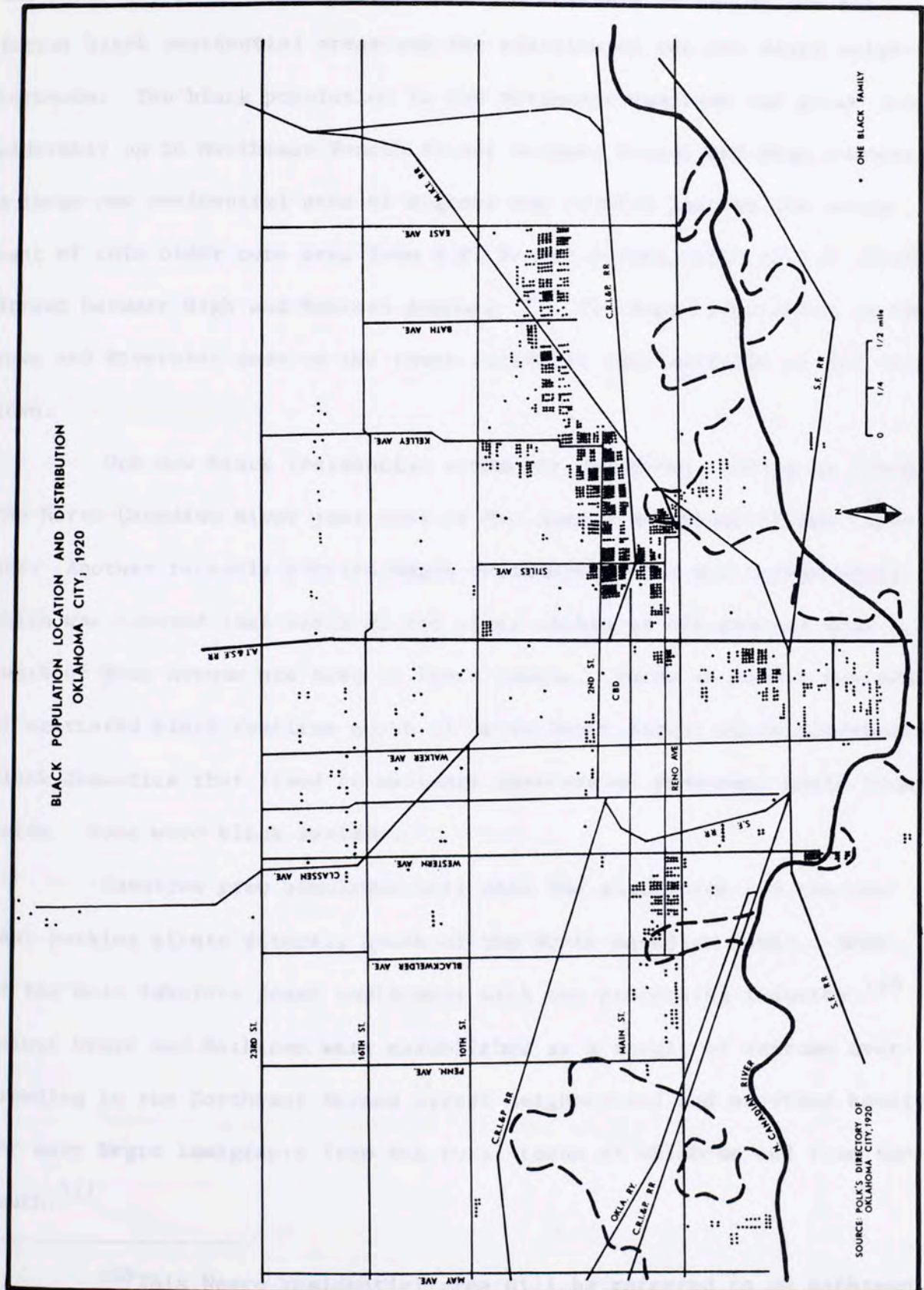


FIGURE 3-8

The pattern depicted in this map shows an increase in all of the different black residential areas and the addition of two new Negro neighborhoods. The black population in the northeast quadrant had grown considerably up to Northeast Fourth Street between Walnut and High Avenues. A large new residential area of Negroes was located just to the northeast of this older core area from N.E. Fourth Street north to N.E. Seventh Street between High and Eastern Avenues.¹⁰⁹ The Negro population in Southtown and Riverside down to the river increased substantially as did Westtown.

One new black residential community, Sandtown, sprang up along the North Canadian River just east of May Avenue and south of Reno Avenue. Another recently settled Negro residential area was Walnut Grove which was located just north of the river within an old meander scar south of Reno Avenue and east of Byers Avenue. There is also a pattern of scattered black families north of North Tenth Street which represents black domestics that lived in servants quarters of prominent white households. Some were black renters.

Sandtown grew simultaneously with the stockyards and the new meat packing plants directly south of the North Canadian River. Many of the male laborers found employment with the processing industry.¹¹⁰ Walnut Grove and Bathtown were established as a result of extreme overcrowding in the Northeast Second Street neighborhood and provided housing for many Negro immigrants from the rural towns of Oklahoma and from the South.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹This Negro residential area will be referred to as Bathtown.

¹¹⁰Interview.

¹¹¹Interview.

The Emergence of Black Business Districts

By 1910 a few black businesses began to appear in the near northeast quadrant. In the short period between 1910 and 1916 the dominant black business district began to emerge along Northeast First and Second Streets between Walnut and Stiles Avenues. The only other concentration of black businesses were near the Sante Fe railroad terminal. Several were located on East Grand Avenue and others were scattered throughout the northwest quadrant and in the Bathtown area. Eight Negro businesses were in Southtown while two were in Sandtown and only one was in Westtown. The location of black businesses for 1916 and 1920 is shown in Figures 3-9 and 3-10 and are listed in Tables 3-5 and 3-6, respectively.¹¹² The 1920 pattern of black businesses in Oklahoma City exhibits a very similar distribution of establishments although the number of businesses had increased. By 1920 the prominence of black business in the near northeast side was apparent, especially on Northeast First and Second Streets. In this year there were 127 black business establishments offering at least 31 functions, of which 60% were in the northeast quadrant of the city. Northeast Second Street was the center of business and social life for the Negro community from this period on into the 1950s.¹¹³

Summary

Prior to the settlement of Oklahoma City on April 22, 1889,

¹¹²Worley-Friss City Directory of Oklahoma City, 1916 (Oklahoma City: Worley-Friss Oklahoma Directory Co., 1916); Polk's City Directory of Oklahoma City, 1920 (Kansas City, Missouri: R.K. Polk & Company, 1920).

¹¹³Interview.

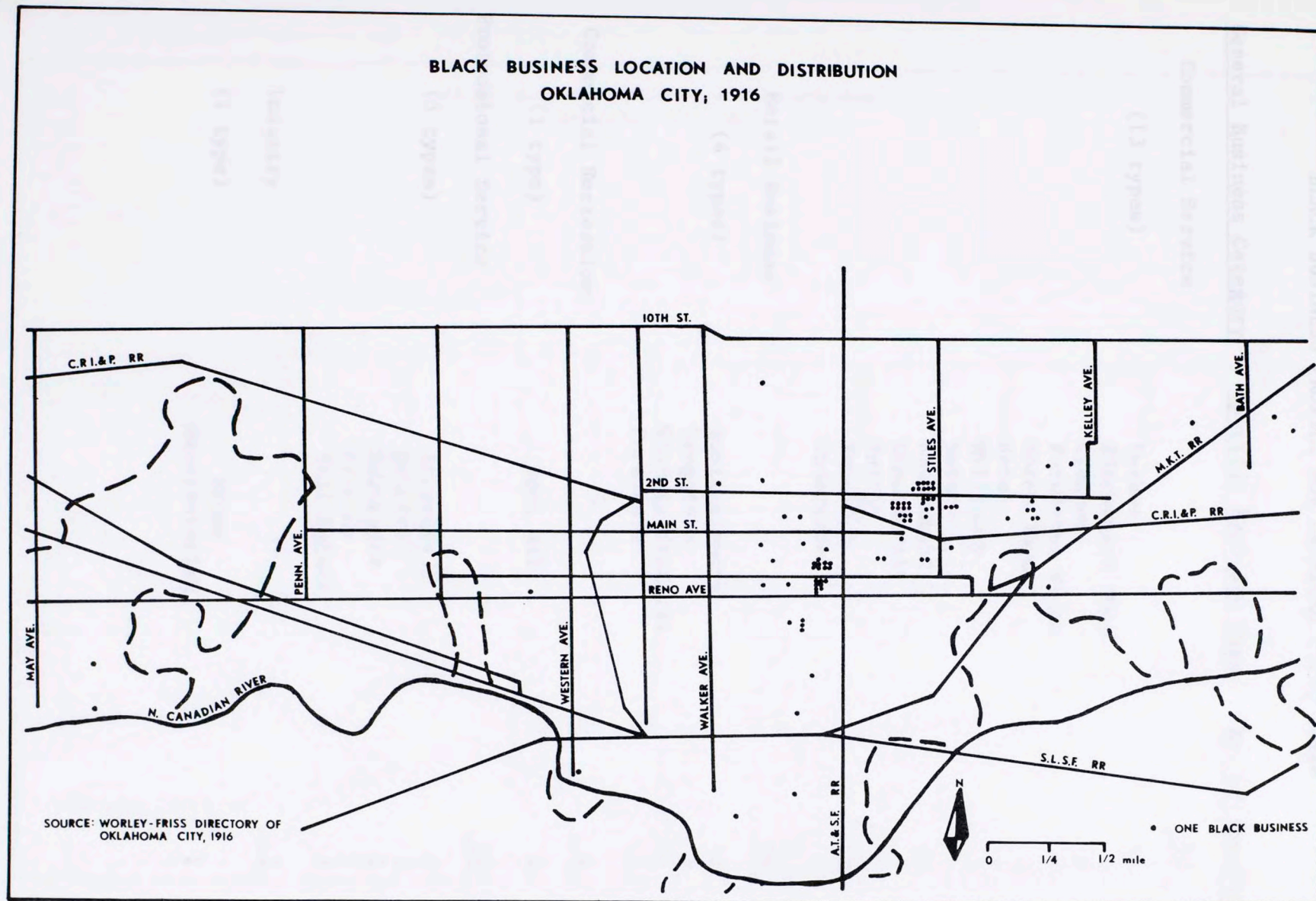


FIGURE 3-9

134
TABLE 3-5

BLACK BUSINESS PROFILE FOR OKLAHOMA CITY, 1916*

<u>General Business Category</u>	<u>Specific Business Type</u>	<u>No. of Establishments</u>
Commercial Service		<u>52</u>
(13 types)	Barber	14
	Blacksmith Shop	1
	Cleaners	4
	Furnished Rooms	7
	Horse Shoer	1
	Hotel	1
	Millinery	1
	Notary	1
	Restaurant	14
	Shoe Repair	3
	Tailor	2
	Transfer	1
	Undertaker	2
Retail Business		<u>24</u>
(4 types)	Confectionary	2
	Drugstore	5
	Grocery (retail)	16
	Furniture	1
Commercial Recreation		<u>4</u>
(1 type)	Pool Hall	4
Professional Service		<u>10</u>
(5 types)	Attorney	2
	Dentist	3
	Newspaper	1
	Printer	2
	Real Estate	2
Industry		<u>1</u>
(1 type)	Brown Manufacturing	1

*Source: Compiled from Worley-Friss City Directory, Oklahoma City, 1916.

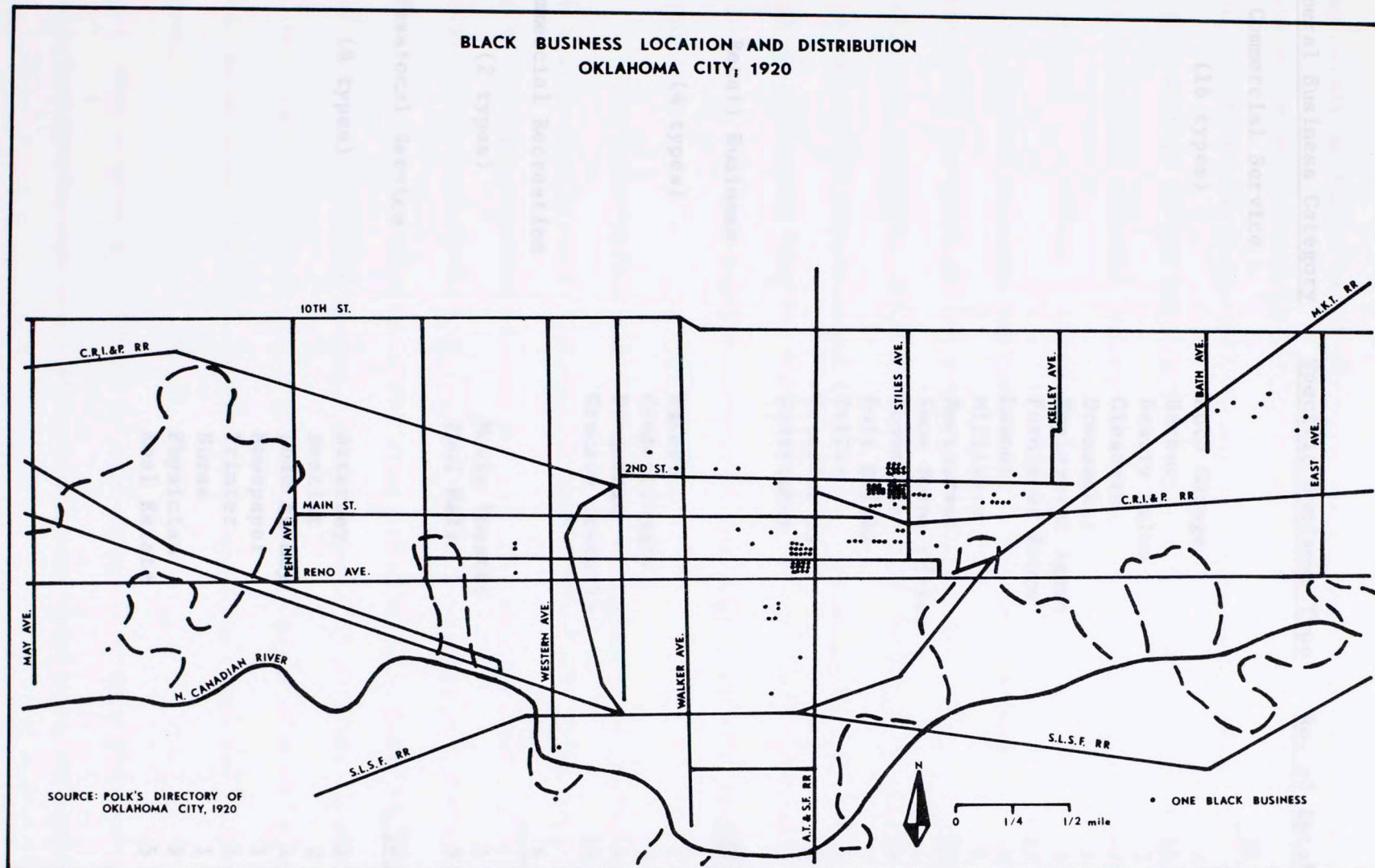


FIGURE 3-10

BLACK BUSINESS PROFILE FOR OKLAHOMA CITY, 1920*

<u>General Business Category</u>	<u>Specific Business Type</u>	<u>No. of Establishments</u>
Commercial Service		<u>76</u>
(16 types)	Auto Garage	1
	Barber	15
	Beauty Salon	3
	Cleaners	7
	Dressmaker	5
	Employment Agent	1
	Furnished Rooms	11
	Laundry	2
	Millinery	1
	Restaurant	15
	Shoe Shine Parlor	1
	Shoemaker	5
	Soft Drinks	2
	Tailor	4
	Transfer line	2
	Undertaker	1
Retail Business		<u>22</u>
(4 types)	Bakery	1
	Confectionary	2
	Drugstore	4
	Grocery (retail)	15
Commercial Recreation		<u>6</u>
(2 types)	Movie Theater	1
	Pool Hall	5
Professional Service		<u>22</u>
(8 types)	Attorney	2
	Dentist	2
	Loan Agency	1
	Newspaper	1
	Printer	1
	Nurse	1
	Physician	9
	Real Estate	5

*Source: Compiled from Polk's City Directory, Oklahoma City, 1920.

Oklahoma was known as the Indian Territory. American Indians of the "Five Civilized Tribes" from the southeastern United States had been relocated in eastern Indian Territory while after the Civil War several tribes of the Great Plains and the western United States had been relocated in western Indian Territory. To begin with this was a land set aside for racial minority segregation from the greater dominant American society.

Central Oklahoma was known as the "Unassigned District" and had been part of the Creek Nation prior to the Civil War. The Unassigned District was opened for settlement in 1889 when thousands of whites and blacks rushed for town lots and homesteads. Oklahoma City was settled during this eventful "Run of Eighty-Nine." Of the first settlers in Oklahoma City several hundred were blacks seeking a new life of equality and prosperity.

With emancipation after the Civil War hundreds of thousands of black families migrated to the industrial cities of the North and to other metropolitan centers of the Border states and the West. In Oklahoma City economic opportunity was mostly in menial labor and domestic service, although a few black commercial and professional services were established in that first decade. Black households in those first few years were dispersed about the city rather uniformly with a small concentration of black families in South Oklahoma City along the Sante Fe railroad.

Only a short time passed before white supremacy, discrimination and segregation dominated white-black race relations; following a national trend of institutionalized racism. Blacks were separated from the dominant white society in education, public transportation, public

accommodations, public recreation, etc. Jim Crow policies which emanated from this period in Oklahoma City's history persisted until the mid-Twentieth century.

Racial residential segregation began to appear around the turn of the century. Due to several catalysts related to railroad network construction and the location of black employment opportunities, several concentrations of black residences began to form about the city. The concentrations were: 1) on the northeast side of town along the Choctaw railroad tracks, 2) in the south part of the city along the Sante Fe railroad, and 3) in the northwest section of the city on N.W. Second Street along the west extension of the Choctaw railroad. In 1899 the major proportion of blacks lived in the northwest quadrant of Oklahoma City. During these early years almost all of the black businesses were also located in the northwest quadrant.

In only a decade, by 1910, the residential location and pattern of black families had been greatly altered. Statehood came in 1907 along with a rapid increase in population and economic opportunity. The black population of the city had grown to over 6,700, about 10% of the city's population. Few blacks still lived in the northwest quadrant. The Choctaw railroad tracks had been removed from along N.W. Second Street and commercial land use was invading the residential areas in the northwest quadrant. The near northeast side between Reno Avenue and N.E. Second Street had evolved as the major black residential area of Oklahoma City, the emerging Black Ghetto. A few black businesses were located in the near northeast side, but the dominant black business district was along the Sante Fe railroad tracks between Reno and Grand Avenues.

Also, by 1910 three much smaller black residential enclaves had formed; two on the lower terraces of the North Canadian River. Westtown was located just west of Oklahoma City's central business district, west of Western Avenue between Reno Avenue and Main Street. Located in a low area along an old meander scar of the river, the area was susceptible to frequent flooding and was not considered desirable by whites. Many Negro laborers of this neighborhood found employment in the warehousing and industrial activities in the western section of the CBD and at the Farmer's City Market just to the south. Another black neighborhood along the river was Riverside located west of the Sante Fe railroad tracks and south of the Frisco railroad tracks. Many blacks here found employment with the railroads and the meat packinghouses in the area. The black residential area of Southtown was probably the original concentration of blacks in the city. This area had slowly grown west of the Sante Fe tracks and just north of the Frisco tracks. Black workers here found employment with the railroads, the meat packinghouses and the warehousing, industry, and commercial businesses of the central business district.

The period just prior to and during World War I was one of massive migration by blacks out of the South and a rapid urbanization of both whites and blacks. A slight increase in black population in Oklahoma City can be accounted for by natural increase countered by a general out-migration of blacks to the war industries of the North.

From 1910 to 1920 three more black residential areas appeared in Oklahoma City. A small black enclave, Sandtown, was located along May Avenue just north of the North Canadian River. This was in proximity to two recently built multi-million dollar meat packing houses and the city stockyards. Another small new black neighborhood was Walnut

Grove, southeast of the CBD, located in a meander scar of the North Canadian River south of Reno Avenue and east of Byers Avenue. The third new black neighborhood was Bathtown located just to the northeast of the northeast side Black Ghetto core. Bathtown straddled the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas railroad tracks and spread east to Eastern Avenue between N.E. Fourth and N.E. Seventh Streets. During this decade the other previously formed black residential enclaves of Westtown, Southtown, and Riverside grew substantially. Many black families were also scattered to the north of Tenth Street, most being domestic laborers and servants who resided in the backyard quarters of wealthy white households. The near northeast side Black Ghetto also grew, resulting in overcrowded conditions and a need for more and better housing. Local ordinances, although stricken down as unconstitutional, enforced racial residential segregation mainly in response to the growing concentration of blacks on the northeast side.

Another development in the Black Community of Oklahoma City was the emergence of two fairly large, growing black business districts; one along the west of the Sante Fe railroad tracks between Reno and Grand Avenues and the other in the near northeast side Black Ghetto on N.E. First and Second Streets between Walnut and Central Avenues. Other black businesses were mostly dispersed throughout the Black Ghetto on the northeast side with a few black businesses in Bathtown, Southtown, in the northwest quadrant and at least one in each of all the other black residential enclaves except Riverside.

Reflective of black business in the 1890s, black businesses in 1920 were predominately of the commercial service type; barber and beauty shops, restaurants, cleaners, rental rooms, and so on. About one-fifth

were retail businesses mostly of the neighborhood grocery store type. Black commercial recreational businesses consisted of several pool halls and one motion picture theater. About another fifth of the businesses were professional services, mostly physicians and real estate brokers.

Segregative policies established an urban socio-spatial caste system, and not only restricted life opportunities, but also the movement, activities, and residence of the black population. From a relatively dispersed pattern of black residence in the first few years of the settlement, Oklahoma City evolved a polynuclear pattern of several small to moderate sized black neighborhoods, mostly clustered about the central business district, by 1920. The location and growth of these black enclaves was chiefly determined by proximity to employment, available low cost-rental housing, housing environments undesirable to whites, and private and public policies and attitudes. Early in the evolution of the black residential enclave, one took on dominance in the Black Community; the northeast side Black Ghetto. By 1910 over half the black residents of the city lived here. From this period on, the social, economic, and cultural aspects of the Black Community became focused on this enclave. Commensurate with black residential clustering evolved two major black business districts; the first and largest in the southeast corner of the CBD, and the other in the largest of the black enclaves, the northeast side ghetto. This pattern of black residential location, formation, and early evolution is comparable to that experienced by many cities of the border states and northern states during this period.

CHAPTER IV

URBAN APARTHEID: MATURATION OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY;

1920-1950

Introduction

With the origin and formation of black residential areas, simultaneously developed internal and external social mechanisms which effectively maintained social and spatial racial distance. The cumulative result was a pluralistic urban society based on racial differences. From such evolved an "urban apartheid;" strict racial segregation and discrimination manifested not only in a social separation within an urban social system, but also, a spatial separation within the housing market.

This chapter continues to explore the evolution of social relationships and their spatial components in the development of the Black Community as in Chapter III. A common phenomenon in the evolution of the Black Community is the maturation of its social structure, institutional base, and spatial prominence. The period of this maturation process in the case of Oklahoma City is the subject of this chapter along with the continued maintenance and evolution of the Black Community.

The Separate Black Community

Despite social, economic, and political limitations "the 1920s

represented a high point of prosperity for the Negro."¹ It was also a period of "Negro Renaissance" because of the contribution of many talented blacks in the field of the fine arts including literature.²

During the 1920s the country experienced widespread economic prosperity. Although this situation benefited the Negro's economic situation, it did little to advance their low social status since the country was well set in its discriminatory policies along racial lines.

The black urban ghettos that formed in the previous decade developed a sense of community during the 1920s.³ Since the urban Negro's place in the dominant white social and economic structure was uncertain he turned inward in order to strengthen his own community institutions. Negro leaders became "committed to the idea of a separate Negro community with civic institutions, businesses, and political organizations of its own."⁴

Black Economic Development in the 1920s

The Black Community of Oklahoma City was representative of this general trend across the country.⁵ The social and economic life of the Black Community was well established in the northeast quadrant of the

¹Arthur Ross, "The Negro in the American Economy," in Employment, Race, and Poverty, eds. Arthur Ross and Herbert Hill (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1967), p. 14.

²Alphonso Pinkney, Black Americans (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969), p. 33. Often the theme of these writings and music were protests to the injustice imposed upon the Negro.

³Allan H. Spear, Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), pp. 167-79.

⁴Ibid., p. 167.

⁵Interview.

city by the 1920s. Black businesses continued to be intensely concentrated along Northeast First and Second Streets between Walnut and Stiles Avenues. A scattering of numerous black businesses were located in the area between this black business core area and Bathtown farther to the northeast. A smaller concentration of black business remained near the Sante Fe passenger terminal. Figure 4-1 shows the location of and Table 4-1 lists black businesses for the year of 1923.⁶ As can be seen from this map only six black businesses remain in the vicinity of the city's central business district in the northwest quadrant. Seventeen black businesses are found in Southtown, twelve in Westtown, four in Sandtown, and four in the Walnut Grove area. Although the northeast quadrant is overwhelmingly dominant, the other Negro communities also exhibit quite an increase in black businesses, especially Westtown.

Black Population Growth and Residential Expansion in the 1920s

Much of the social life of Negroes in Oklahoma City centered around the schools and churches of the various black residential enclaves.⁷ A "sense of place" was closely associated with the residential neighborhood in which the Negro family resided. A black was often characterized by other blacks as a Southtownner, Sandtownner or Westtownner or whatever.⁸

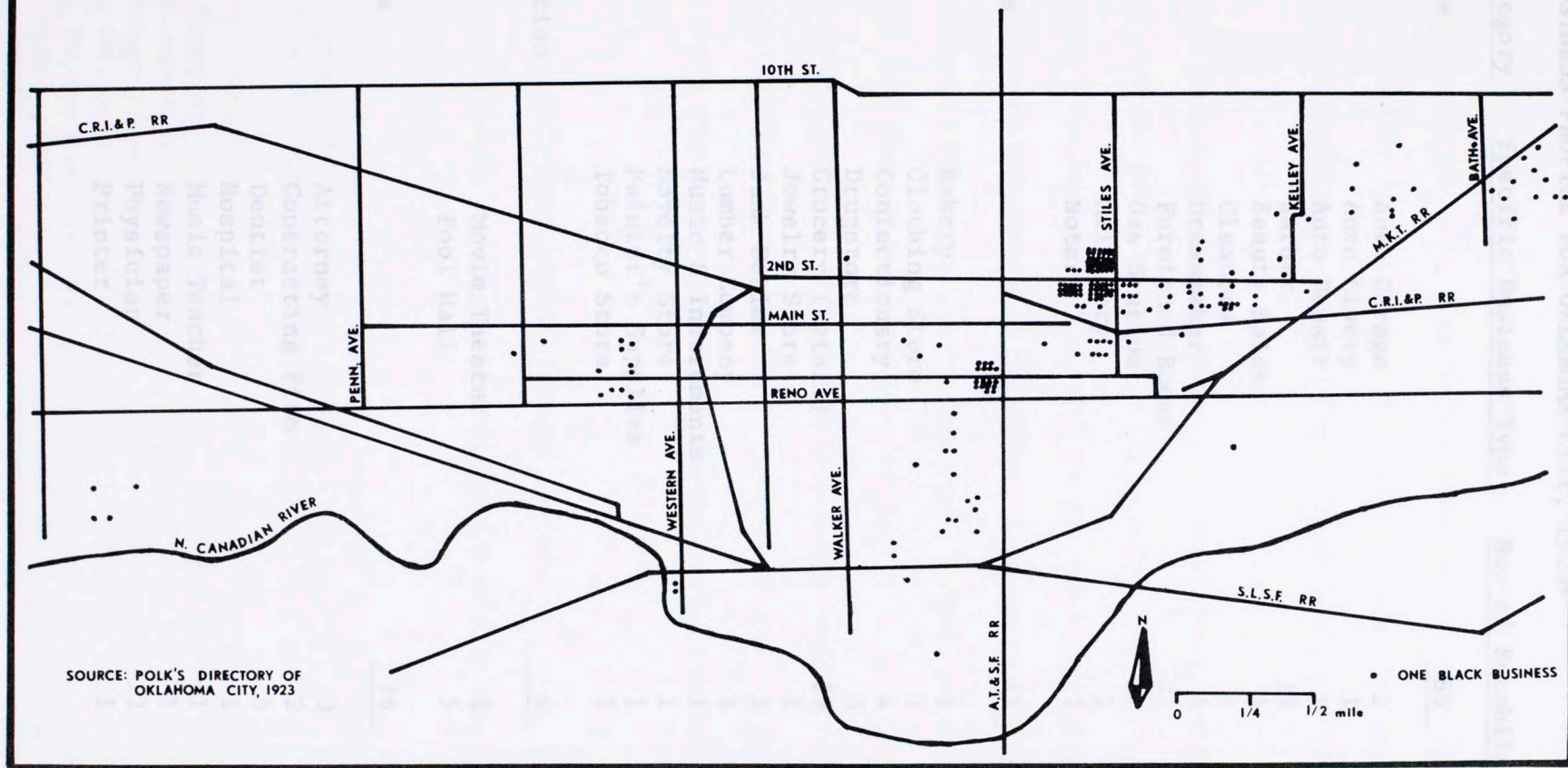
In 1930 Oklahoma City's total population was 185,389 of which

⁶Polk's City Directory of Oklahoma City, 1923 (Kansas City, Missouri: R. K. Polk & Company, 1923). This was the last source for the location of Negroes by address in Oklahoma City until the publication of the Negro City Directory in 1941.

⁷Interview.

⁸Interview.

BLACK BUSINESS LOCATION AND DISTRIBUTION OKLAHOMA CITY, 1923



SOURCE: POLK'S DIRECTORY OF
OKLAHOMA CITY, 1923

FIGURE 4-1

BLACK BUSINESS PROFILE FOR OKLAHOMA CITY, 1923*

<u>General Business Category</u>	<u>Specific Business Type</u>	<u>No. of Establishments</u>
Commercial Service		65
(11 types)	Auto Garage	2
	Auto Livery	1
	Auto Repair	1
	Barber	19
	Beauty Salon	4
	Cleaners	9
	Dressmaker	4
	Furnished Rooms	21
	Gas Station	1
	Millinery	1
	Notary	2
Retail Business		45
(12 types)	Bakery	1
	Clothing Store	1
	Confectionary	4
	Drugstore	3
	Grocery (retail)	29
	Jewelry Store	1
	Junk Dealer	1
	Lumber Company	1
	Music & Instruments	1
	Novelty Store	1
	Painter's Supplies	1
	Tobacco Store	1
Commercial Recreation		6
(2 types)	Movie Theater	1
	Pool Hall	5
Professional Service		26
(8 types)	Attorney	3
	Contracting Firm	2
	Dentist	5
	Hospital	1
	Music Teacher	1
	Newspaper	1
	Physician	12
	Printer	1

*Source: Compiled from Polk's City Directory, Oklahoma City, 1923.

14,662 were reported as Negroes.⁹ This was a 78% increase in the black population since 1920. Although the black population increased substantially over this decade there was only a small increase in the area of the various black neighborhoods in the city. This can be seen in Figure 4-2 which exhibits the approximate concentrations of Negroes in Oklahoma City for 1930.¹⁰

Throughout this decade the Negro residents around the black central business district on N.E. First and Second Streets and the Negro residents of the Bathtown area had merged and formed one large growing ethnic ghetto. By 1930 black families had expanded to the north a couple of blocks. Southtown, north of the Frisco railroad tracks, began to have a changeover in land uses and population characteristics. Newly arrived Mexican-American and American Indian families began concentrating in this section of Southtown during the 1920s.¹¹ Riverside grew in black population as did the other smaller Negro neighborhoods of Walnut Grove, Westtown, and Sandtown.

Black Ghetto Expansion and the White Response

Controversy continued to center on the expansion of the black

⁹U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Volume III, Population, Part 2 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1931), p. 557.

¹⁰Hare and Hare, City Planning Consultants, Report of the City Planning Commission, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 1930 (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma: City Planning Commission, 1931), p. 23. The map from which this figure was taken and slightly modified by this author represented the location of Negroes in Oklahoma City. The accuracy of this is somewhat questionable, but will be utilized in this paper because it is the most detailed depiction of Negro residential location that this author has come across for this period.

¹¹Interview.

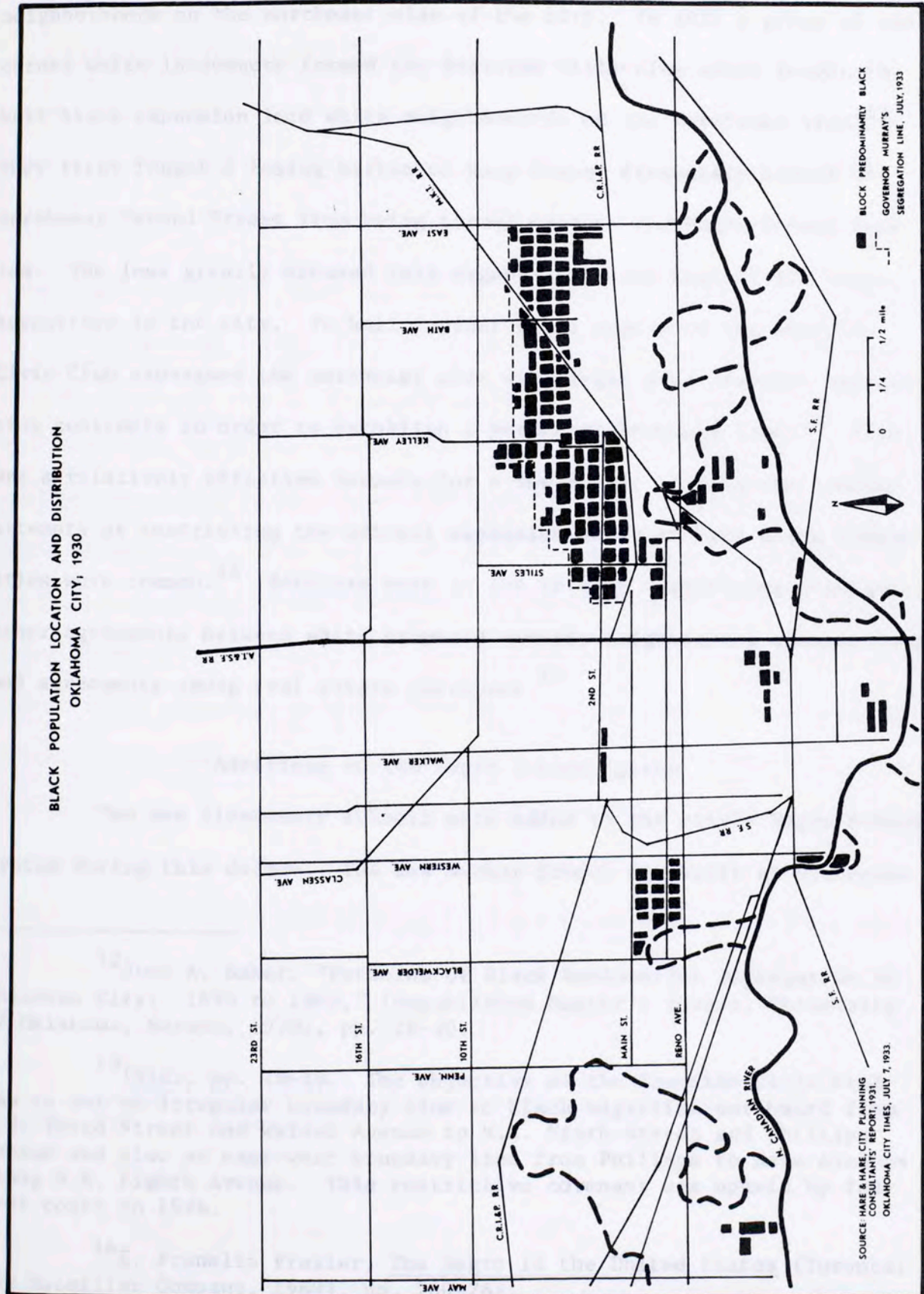


FIGURE 4-2

neighborhoods on the northeast side of the city. In 1925 a group of concerned white landowners formed the Eastside Civic Club which fought to halt black expansion into white neighborhoods on the northeast side.¹² They first fought a losing battle to keep Bryant Elementary School on Northeast Second Street from being turned over to the Negro School System. The loss greatly aroused this organization and many of its white supporters in the city. To halt further black expansion the Eastside Civic Club canvassed the northeast side with legal plat covenant restriction contracts in order to establish a permanent boundary line.¹³ This was a relatively effective measure for a few years. Across the country attempts at restricting the natural expansion of inner city Black Communities were common.¹⁴ Barriers were in the form of restrictive covenants, other agreements between white property owners, neighborhood associations, and agreements among real estate operators.¹⁵

Additions to the Negro School System

Two new elementary schools were added to the city's Negro School System during this decade. The new Dunbar School was built at Northeast

¹²June A. Baker, "Patterns of Black Residential Segregation in Oklahoma City: 1890 to 1960," (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1970), pp. 26-30.

¹³Ibid., pp. 28-29. The objective of the Eastside Civic Club was to set an irregular boundary line to black migration northward from N.E. Third Street and Walnut Avenue to N.E. Sixth Street and Phillips Avenue and also an east-west boundary line from Phillips to Kate Avenues along N.E. Eighth Avenue. This restrictive covenant was upheld by federal court in 1926.

¹⁴E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro in the United States (Toronto: The Macmillan Company, 1969), pp. 260-261.

¹⁵Ibid.

Seventh Street and Stonewall Avenue, and the new Choctaw School was built in Riverside.¹⁶ In 1925 a junior high school was established at Douglass School.¹⁷ A number of more progressive educational programs were offered during this period including school playgrounds and equipment, night school, summer school, and a science laboratory at Douglass School.¹⁸

The Negro Condition; Employment and Occupational Characteristics, 1930s

According to the 1930 U. S. Census there were 4,957 male Negro workers and 3,333 female Negro workers employed in Oklahoma City.¹⁹ Table 4-2 shows the employment profile for the Negro in Oklahoma City.²⁰ The employment categories which have the greater number of black employees might be expected. The primary category for males was "hotels, restaurants, and boarding houses" followed closely by "other domestic and personal service." Other important employers were in the building industry, unidentified industry, wholesale and retail trade, street railroads, garages, and slaughter and packing houses. Female black workers were almost entirely in the "other domestic and personal service" category with a substantial number in "hotels, restaurants, boarding houses." This employment profile is quite representative of the black urban employment profile for the State and the country for this period. In fact it can be

¹⁶Mildred Crossley, "A History of the Negro Schools of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1939), pp. 36 and 34.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 35.

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 33-36.

¹⁹Bureau of the Census, 1930, Volume III, Population, Part 2, p. 586.

²⁰Ibid.

TABLE 4-2

NEGRO OCCUPATIONAL STATUS IN OKLAHOMA CITY, 1930*

Occupational Status	NEGRO			WHITE, ETC.		
	MALE	FEMALE	%	MALE	FEMALE	%
Number employed	4957	3333	9.9	57,602	18,314	90.1
Agriculture	86	1	10.0	754	31	90.0
Farmers (owners and tenants)	16	-	5.3	274	13	94.7
Farm managers and foremen	-	-	0.0	13	2	100.0
Farm laborers	69	1	13.0	460	8	87.0
Wage workers	68	1	13.2	449	4	86.8
Unpaid family workers	1	-	6.3	11	4	93.7
Forestry and fishing	-	-	0.0	18	-	100.0
Coal mines	-	-	0.0	14	-	100.0
Oil and gas wells	4	-	0.1	6,058	178	99.9
Other mines and quarries	-	-	0.0	71	1	100.0
Building industry	591	1	8.3	6,419	97	91.7
Chemical and allied industries	8	-	0.7	1,020	136	99.3
Clay, glass, and stone industries	50	1	12.8	327	19	87.2
Clothing industries	26	5	7.3	165	231	92.7
Bakeries	26	1	3.7	563	154	96.3
Slaughter and packing houses	219	1	13.1	1,229	230	86.9
Other food and allied industries	24	1	3.5	553	127	96.5
Automobile factories and repair shops	75	-	3.4	2,052	77	96.6

Table 4-2 (cont.)

Iron and steel industries	43	-	2.3	1,715	92	97.7
Lumber and furniture industries	10	-	2.0	443	39	98.0
Paper, printing, and allied industries	18	2	1.5	1,060	252	98.5
Independent hand trades	6	43	8.3	212	332	91.7
Other manufacturing industries	104	3	4.2	1,921	285	95.8
Construction and maintenance of streets, etc.	132	1	21.9	445	30	79.1
Garages, greasing station, etc.	219	1	24.0	686	11	76.0
Postal service	20	1	5.1	374	18	94.9
Steam and street railroads	284	4	12.0	2,042	72	88.0
Telegraph and telephone	20	1	1.2	876	928	98.8
Other transportation and communication	141	2	7.6	1,665	69	92.4
Banking and brokerage	22	3	1.1	1,763	538	98.9
Insurance and real estate	29	9	1.2	2,249	875	98.8
Automobile agencies and filling stations	55	-	2.9	1,723	126	97.1
Wholesale and retail trade, except autos	413	42	3.2	10,409	3,225	96.8
Other trade industries	4	-	0.4	667	271	99.6
Public service (not elsewhere classified)	135	2	6.4	1,492	514	93.6
Recreation and amusement	117	12	10.3	689	433	89.7
Other professional and semi-professional service	168	158	5.3	2,813	2,984	94.7
Hotels, restaurants, boarding houses, etc.	744	428	23.1	1,479	2,389	76.9

Table 4-2 (cont.)

Laundries, cleaning, pressing shops	24	18	3.0	619	814	97.0
Other domestic and personal services	655	2,578	50.5	978	2,189	49.5
Industry, not specified	485	14	17.1	1,929	487	82.9

*Source: Compiled from U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Volume III, Population, Part 2 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931).

generalized that this profile is representative of black employment for the first half of the Twentieth century.

Rural farm and small town life was still dominant for the Negro in the Southern and Border States including Oklahoma in 1930. Agricultural activity provided a livelihood for at least half of Oklahoma's Negro citizens although this sector of the economy was continuing to decline in farm owners, tenants, and laborers.

Table 4-3 portrays the **socio-economic characteristics** of the Negro in Oklahoma City for 1930.²¹ The Census statistics for 1930 reflect some interesting and rather surprising facts. Some of the more expected characteristics of Negro families are the following:

- 1) Fewer Negro families owned their homes than white families.
- 2) More Negro families rented their residences than white families.
- 3) Negro families lived in less expensive residences than white families.
- 4) A much larger percentage of Negro families lived in very inexpensive housing.
- 5) The median value of residences owned by Negroes was about half the value of residences owned by white families.
- 6) The median rent paid by Negro families was less than half that paid by white families.
- 7) A greater percentage of Negro families were very large (with over five children under age twenty-one).

²¹Ibid., pp. 9, 16, and 50.

- 8) A greater percentage of Negro families had two or more gainful workers.
- 9) A greater percentage of Negro families had one or more lodgers in their homes.
- 10) A much greater percentage of Negro families had women household heads.
- 11) A much lower percentage of Negro families owned radio sets.

More surprising characteristics were:

- 1) The median family size of Negro families is less than for native white families.
- 2) A greater percentage of Negro families have no children.
- 3) A fewer percentage of Negro families have from one to three children.
- 4) A greater percentage of Negro families have either small or very large families.
- 5) Unemployment was less for Negro workers than for native white workers.

The Great Depression and the Roosevelt Era

Across the nation the Great Depression of the 1930s was catastrophic, particularly for the Negro. Three important interrelated developments which adversely affected black economic well-being were "first, the collapse of the cotton agriculture in the South, second, the decline of urban employment opportunities, and third, the invasion by the whites into many of the traditional Negro jobs."²² After the first few years

²²Ross, "Negro in American Economy," p. 14. Cotton acreage was reduced almost by half from 1929 to 1939. Government policies, especially

TABLE 4-3

NEGRO SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS IN OKLAHOMA CITY, 1930*

	Number or Monetary Figure	As Percentage of Negro Families
** 1. Negro home owner families	1,148	30.0
** 2. Negro tenant families	2,677	70.0
** 3. Negro median home value	\$2,395	
** 4. Negro median rent	\$16.99	
5. Negro home owner families	959	27.3
6. Negro tenant families	2,303	65.6
7. Negro median home value	\$2,509	
8. Negro median rent	\$17.22	
9. Negro females employed as domestics, waitresses, etc.	1,381	80.6
10. Negro families with a radio set	319	9.1
11. Negro families with head unemployed	82	2.3
12. Negro families with one gainful worker employed	1,697	48.3
**13. Negro median size family	2.77	
**14. Negro families with one or more children under age 10	1,367	35.7
15. Negro median size family	2.61	
16. Negro families with no children under age 21	1,808	51.5
17. Negro families with more than one child under age 21	992	28.3
18. Negro families with no lodgers	2,634	75.0
19. Negro families with more than one lodger	472	13.4
20. Negro families with male head	2,790	79.5
-- under age 25	225	6.4
-- age 25 to 34	885	25.2
-- age 35 to 54	1,382	39.4

*Source: Compiled from U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Volume III, Population, Part 2 (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1931). The symbol ** designates categories for which only county data is available. In 1930 there were 3,825 Negro families in Oklahoma County while there were 3,510 for Oklahoma City.

of the Depression, the migration of Negroes, especially out of the South, became nil.²³ By the mid-1930s a large percentage of the Negro families in the country were receiving public assistance from the government. The Roosevelt administration inaugurated effective federal relief and recovery programs which benefited the Negro as well as the whites. The Depression and the Roosevelt era set a real turning point in American race relations.²⁴

In general the New Deal benefited Black people by creating a favorable climate of opinion for increased civil rights, by increasing the material benefits paid to the unemployed, and by reducing discrimination against Blacks in employment.²⁵

Advancement of Negroes into the industrial unions was benefited during this period. The Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) initiated interracial trade unionism which helped set equal pay scales for blacks and whites.²⁶ Although racial relations were beginning to change-

by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration provided incentives for the reduction of tenant laborers. Low market prices and policies aided in the displacement of many Negroes of various status. The dispersion of the Southern rural Negro into urban centers of the country resulted in widespread unemployment of Negroes in the cities. The urban job market had drastically shrunk and what jobs that were available were offered to unemployed whites.

²³Pinkney, Black Americans, p. 33.

²⁴Eric Foner, ed., America's Black Past; A Reader in Afro-American History (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1970), p. 388. There was a genuine desire by federal authorities to provide for the general welfare of the poor and the Negro. Many Negroes were appointed to federal agencies and positions of prominence. Although many discriminatory policies continued to exist, attitudes toward Negroes were changing.

²⁵Pinkney, Black Americans, p. 34.

²⁶August Meir and Elliott M. Rudwick, From Plantation to Ghetto (New York: Hill and Wang, 1966), p. 213. During the New Deal the formation of the CIO broke from the AFL and racially integrated the United Mine Workers. Separate locals were permitted in the South. This marked a major change in union policy in labor race relations.

over to a more egalitarian perspective several federal agencies were persistent in their discriminatory policies. The United States Housing Authority provided public housing for both races, but on a segregated basis, and "in agreements with banks and other lending institutions, the Federal Housing Administration refused to guarantee mortgages on homes purchased by Negroes in white communities."²⁷

The Governor's Segregation Line and the Restrictive Covenant

Although the segregation line was commencing to be broken in employment, blacks remained residentially segregated. In Oklahoma City pressure from whites was placed on local and State officials to keep blacks from further invading white neighborhoods. Unrelenting protest from white households in neighborhoods adjacent to the Negro residential area in the northeast quadrant of Oklahoma City resulted in an unprecedented proclamation by Governor Murray which demarcated a segregation line on the northeast side.²⁸ This segregation boundary line was established on May 1, 1933.²⁹ This State executive move which was designated to be enforced by the National Guard came the day after a racial incident in the area.³⁰ The Governor recognized his order as only a temporary injunction toward

²⁷Meir and Rudwick, Plantation to Ghetto, p. 212.

²⁸Baker, "Patterns," pp. 34-36.

²⁹"Murray Halts Negro Encroachment," Oklahoma City Times, 1 May 1933.

³⁰The incident was a relatively minor conflict between a Negro family which was attempting to move into an all white block, the 600 block of N.E. Sixth Street, and several white residents of the block became overly aroused and pleaded to officials to take action. Racial relations were tense. The National Guard was not brought into the area but an adjutant general was assigned to enforce the line.

Negro expansion northward. He called on the Oklahoma City Council to fix permanent racial boundaries.³¹ This segregation line was in effect for nearly a year until the city council passed a racial zoning ordinance which established the Governor's segregation line as a boundary to migration by Negroes. This city ordinance was passed on March 6, 1934 and remained in effect until November of 1935 when the State Supreme Court found it unconstitutional.³²

Whites and blacks did not altogether agree on the value of Murray's segregation line. Many blacks resented the existence of the line, while many whites resented the impotence of it.³³

With the termination of the Governor's segregation line and the court's voiding of the city's racial zoning ordinance, the restrictive covenant again became the most effective means by which white landowners limited black migration northward. The restrictive covenant was unexpectedly quite effective as can be seen in Figure 4-3.³⁴

Ethnocentricity runs throughout the Oklahoma City Plan of 1930. The Black Community is considered as an important element of the city which has unique problems that need to be dealt with before further internal pressures cause strife in the overall city. The part of the plan which concerns itself with the Negro population calls for residential segregation policies and suggests that new housing for Negroes be constructed to the east or northeast of the present large concentration of

³¹"Problem of Settling East Side Dispute on Negro Encroachment is Held Duty of City Hall," Oklahoma City Times, 7 July 1933.

³²Baker, "Patterns," pp. 37-38. City Council of Oklahoma City, Segregation Ordinance for Oklahoma City, No. 4524, 1934.

³³Ibid., p. 49

³⁴Hare and Hare, City Planning Commission, p. 23.

blacks in the northeast quadrant.³⁵ The intention was to lessen the overcrowded and inadequate housing conditions of the large Black Ghetto, and diminish the threat of blacks moving north into white neighborhoods.

In response to the overcrowded conditions of the Black Ghetto in Oklahoma City a new Negro neighborhood, Green Pastures, was developed to the far northeast by a Negro developer in 1935.³⁶ This residential area was located about ten miles northeast of downtown Oklahoma City on Northeast Fiftieth Street east of the North Canadian River. Much of this rural subdivision not only provided housing for hundreds of Negro families from Oklahoma City, but also for incoming rural Negroes.³⁷

In 1939 the Negro Housing Committee of the Real Estate Board of Oklahoma City resolved to provide new housing for Negro families.³⁸ The resolution of the committee was to construct housing for blacks north and northeast of the Fair Park. This followed the recommendations of the 1930 city plan and promoted further racially segregated neighborhoods.

Edward's Addition was the first of several Negro subdivisions to be developed. This development was located along and east of the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas railroad tracks northeast of Fair Park. Construction of housing began in 1939 and continued until the late 1940s.³⁹ Although a needed improvement, this addition did not begin to resolve the housing

³⁵Ibid., pp. 23-24.

³⁶Baker, "Patterns," p. 48.

³⁷Interview.

³⁸Baker, "Patterns," p. 48.

³⁹Harland Bartholomew and Associates, The Comprehensive City Plan, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (Oklahoma City: City Planning Commission, 1949), plates 4, 5, 6, 6A.

shortage problem for the Black Community.

The Oil Boom and the Black Ghetto

The discovery of oil in eastern Oklahoma City late in 1928 began what was one of the largest oil booms in the country.⁴⁰ The real boom period was in 1929 and 1930 although many more wells were drilled up to the year 1936.⁴¹ This directly affected the black and white neighborhoods in the northeast and southeast quadrants of the city. Refer to Figure 4-4 for the location of oil and gas wells in Oklahoma City.⁴² As is shown on this map numerous wells were drilled in the Walnut Grove area, the Bathtown area, in the area east of the warehousing district south of the Rock Island railroad, and in the Negro area on the near northeast side up to Northeast Eighth Street. Many wells were also drilled in the white neighborhoods north of Eighth Street up to Northeast Fiftieth Street.

Much like the Negro migration on the northeast side of the city, well drillings started in the industrial and warehousing areas south of the Rock Island tracks and moved northward. Oil companies and brokers bought many of the mineral interests which were owned by unsuspecting Negroes and whites. Later most other residents leased their interests.⁴³

⁴⁰Lucyl Shirk, Oklahoma City; Capitol of Soonerland (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma City Board of Education, 1957), p. 229.

⁴¹Leo Robertson, "Geographical Changes Resulting From Oil Development in Oklahoma City and Vicinity," (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1937), p. 44.

⁴²Oklahoma City Planning Department, The Relationship of Oil Wells to Substandard Conditions, Oklahoma City, 1966, map following page 12.

⁴³Many citizens both white and black questioned the legality of drilling within the city limits, but no serious opposition was mounted

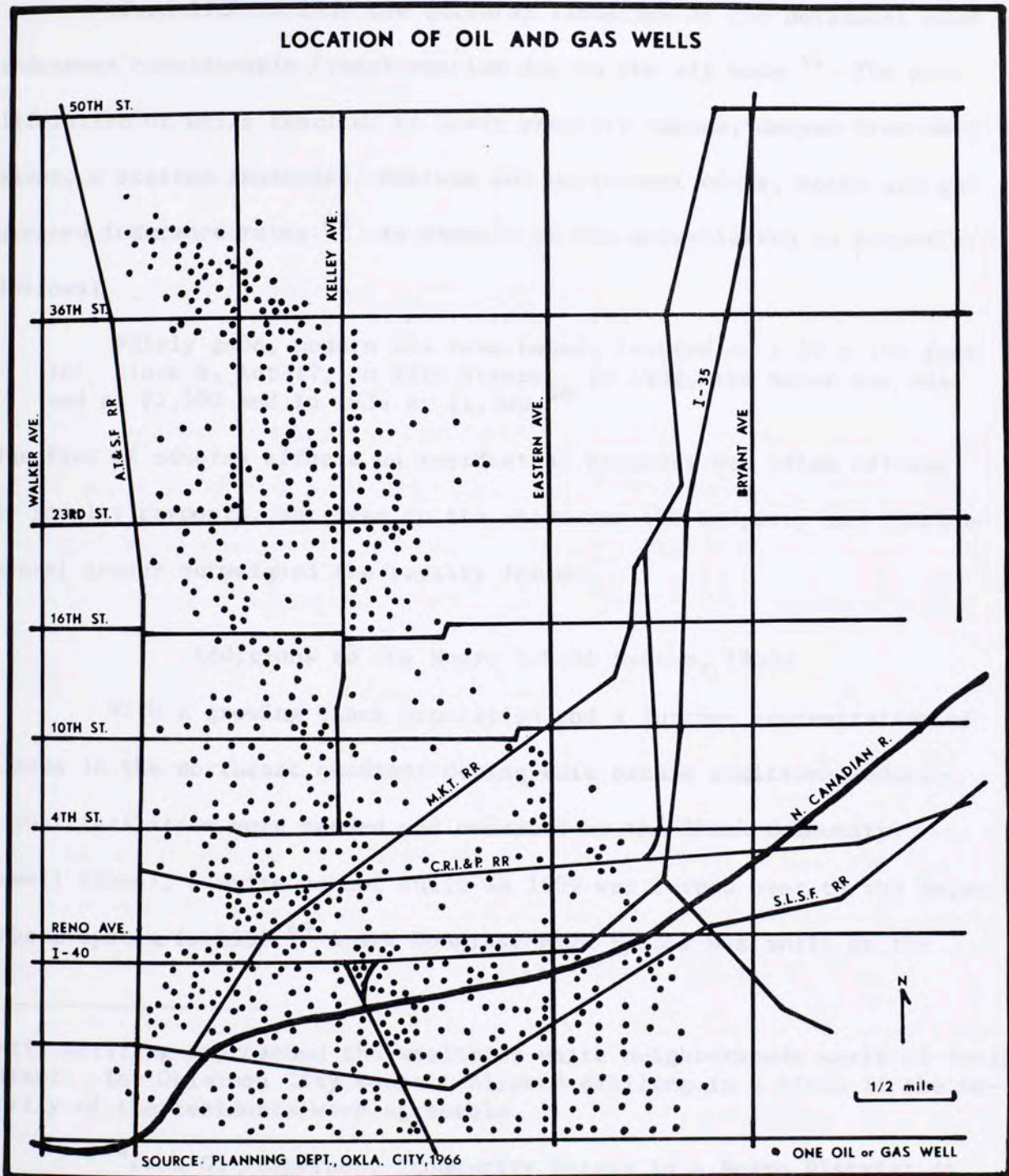


FIGURE 4-3

By 1936 there was a well drilled in almost every block.

From 1928 to 1936 the cultural landscape of the northeast side underwent considerable transformation due to the oil boom.⁴⁴ The proliferation of wells resulted in lower property values, danger from well fires, a scarred landscape, noxious and unpleasant odors, noise and increased insurance rates.⁴⁵ An example of the depreciation on property follows:

Fairly good, modern six room house, located on a 50 x 140 foot lot, block 9, lot 17, on 12th Street, In 1932, the house was valued at \$2,500 and in 1936 at \$1,500.⁴⁶

The fear of adverse effects on residential property was often off-set by royalty payments, but even in the short-run the property and environmental losses outweighed the royalty income.

Additions to the Negro School System, 1930s

With a growing black population and a further concentration of blacks in the northeast quadrant during this decade additional educational facilities were needed and demanded by the Black Community.

Lowell School, a white school built in 1909 was turned over to the Negro School System in 1933.⁴⁷ A new Douglass High School was built on the

until drilling approached the wealthier white neighborhoods north of Tenth Street. The Oklahoma City Council allowed drilling in a block if the majority of the residents were agreeable.

⁴⁴Fred G. Fulkerson, "Community Forces in a Negro District in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma," (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1946), p. 10.

⁴⁵Robertson, "Geographical Changes," p. 50.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 53. The oil companies and brokers were able to persuade the Negroes and the middle class whites to lease their mineral rights but the wealthy whites of Lincoln Terrace voted against drilling in their neighborhood. Even so their properties depreciated.

⁴⁷Crossley, "History of Negro Schools," p. 38.

Lowell School grounds in 1934 and with a federal grant Douglass Stadium was built at Washington Park a year later.⁴⁸ A Junior College was even started in the Douglass School building in 1936 with eighty-seven students.⁴⁹ Also, substantial improvements and additions were made to the various Black Community schools and playgrounds.⁵⁰ Overcrowded conditions and limited materials and facilities were a drawback to the "equal" education of Negro children in Oklahoma City.

Negro Population and Residential Areas, 1940

By 1940 the Negro population of Oklahoma City had grown to 19,709 which was 9.5% of the total city population.⁵¹ This was a 32% increase over the Negro population in 1930.⁵² Figure 4-3 shows the general location of the black population for the year 1940.⁵³ The important feature

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 48-52.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 57. This was an extension of Langston University.

⁵⁰Ibid., pp. 55 and 61. In 1939 elementary school enrollment was 2302, junior high school was 604, and senior high school was 387.

⁵¹U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Volume II, Population, Part 5 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1943), p. 936.

⁵²From 1930 to 1940 Oklahoma City's total population grew from 185,389 to 204,424, a 10.3% increase. The total white population increase was only 8.6%. Much of the increase in Negro population was due to in-migration from farms and small towns in Oklahoma during the latter years of this decade.

⁵³Bartholomew and Associates, City Plan, plate 25. This figure was taken from a general map in the 1949 City Plan which designated areas of 50% and more non-white population. The only other known sources by this author of non-white or Negro location are found by census tract for 1940 in the Bureau of Census' Census Tract publication for Oklahoma City which would be a more gross representation and by specific address for 1941 in the Negro City Directory, 1941-42 which locates each of over 19,000 Negroes. The latter would be quite desirable, but it is not necessary for the purpose of this thesis.

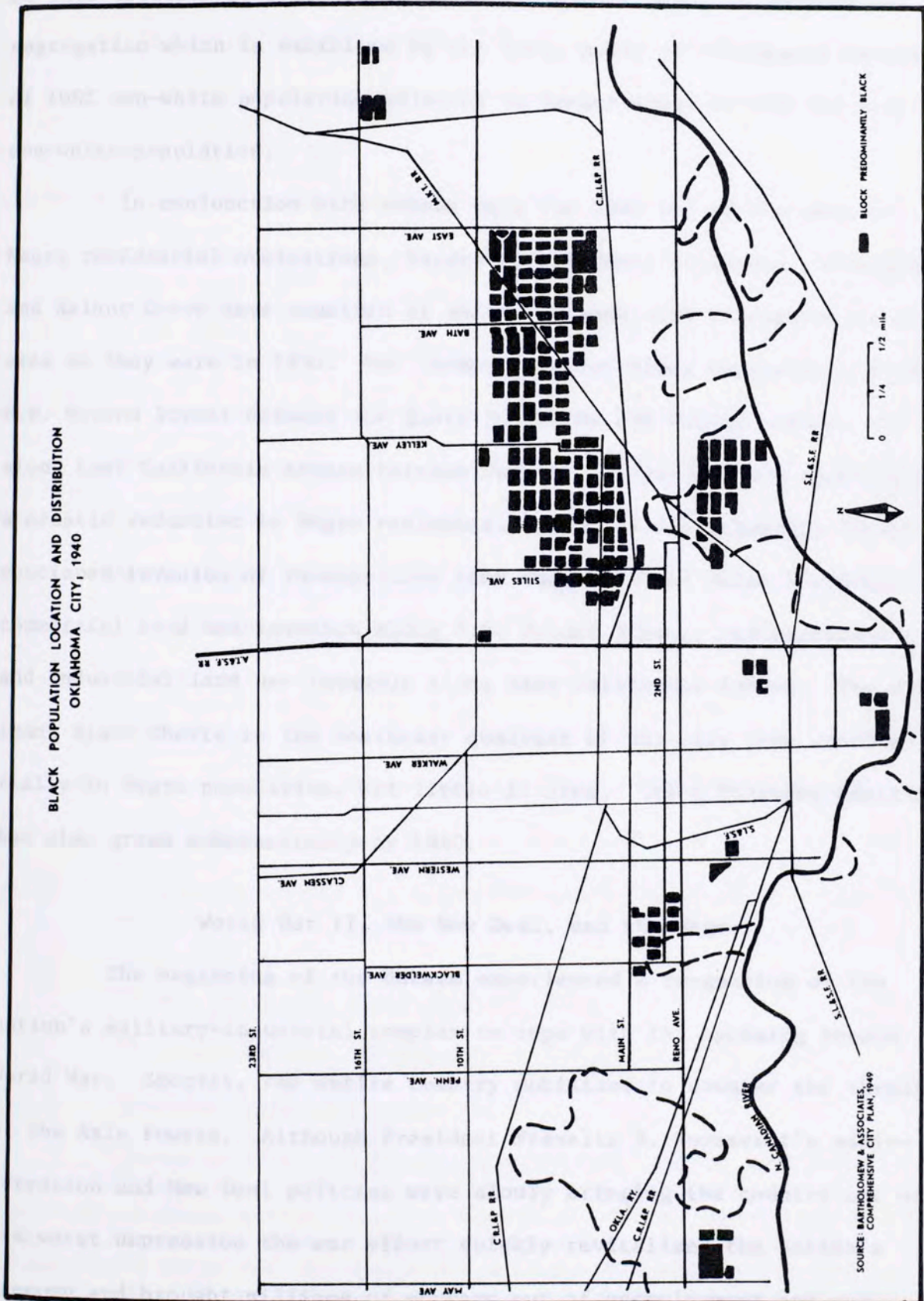


FIGURE 4-4

of this location of Negro families is the almost complete residential segregation which is exhibited by the large areas of contiguous blocks of 100% non-white population adjacent to lesser areas of 90% and more non-white population.

In conjunction with census data for 1940 all of the smaller Negro residential nucleations, Sandtown, Westtown, Southtown, Riverside, and Walnut Grove have remained at about the same size in population and area as they were in 1930. Two former areas of black population, along N.W. Second Street between the Sante Fe tracks and Walker Avenue, and along East California Avenue between Walnut and Byer Avenues experienced a drastic reduction in Negro residents. This was due primarily to the continued invasion of incompatible land uses and land value increases; commercial land use invasion along N.W. Second Street, and warehousing and industrial land use invasion along East California Avenue. The dominant Black Ghetto in the northeast quadrant of the city grew substantially in Negro population, but little in area. Green Pastures Addition had also grown substantially by 1940.

World War II, The New Deal, and the Negro

The beginning of the decade experienced a re-gearing of the nation's military-industrial complex to cope with the upcoming Second World War. Shortly, the entire country mobilized to counter the threat of the Axis Powers. Although President Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration and New Deal policies were slowly bringing the country out of its worst depression the war effort quickly revitalized the nation's economy and brought millions of workers out of unemployment and under-employment.

The renewed expansion of industrial production "led to a new

acceleration of migration to northern cities, and an increased absorption of black workers into the industrial labor force."⁵⁴ The new jobs did not come easily to black workers because of widespread firing discrimination in 1940 and 1944. It was not until President Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802 which established a Fair Employment Practices Committee that Negroes made major advancements into the war industries.⁵⁵ With this order federal employment services encouraged the hiring of black workers. Discrimination was still flagrant and racial tension erupted into numerous violent outbreaks across the country.

Over a million Negroes served in the armed forces during World War II. Discriminatory policies were practiced in the military as well as in industry. Black soldiers were segregated into their own companies with their own living quarters, mess halls, and recreational areas which were generally inferior to facilities provided for white companies. Frequent clashes and even racial riots occurred on military installations.⁵⁶ Continued protest by Negro servicemen, civilians, and white sympathizers resulted in revolutionary changes in the armed services policies toward blacks.⁵⁷ The war propelled the Negro in a position of self-confidence

⁵⁴Foner, America's Black Past, p. 391.

⁵⁵Meir and Rudwick, Plantation to Ghetto, p. 218.

⁵⁶Pinkney, Black Americans, p. 35.

⁵⁷Norman Coombs, The Black Experience in America (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1972), pp. 179-181. At first only the Army and Navy accepted Negro servicemen, and Negroes in the Navy were restricted to menial positions. After a flood of complaints, protests and riots the Air Force Corps and the Marine Corps began accepting a limited number of blacks. It was not until near the end of the war that integrated units were experimented with, that being in the Army.

and determination which forced the government and the dominant white society to respond to their demands during and after the war.

The Negro Condition; Employment and Occupational Characteristics, 1940

During World War II Negroes in Oklahoma City became employed in several war industries and in the rejuvenated commercial retail businesses and services. Tinker Field, the Army's largest depot, was built southeast of Oklahoma City.⁵⁸ East of Tinker Field, Douglas Aircraft Company established a large plant.⁵⁹ Several other military installations were established in the vicinity of the city during the early years of the war.⁶⁰

Table 4-4 shows the occupational profile for non-whites in Oklahoma City in 1940.⁶¹ This occupational profile of Negroes reflects that the majority of Negro workers are in menial jobs. Seventy-nine percent of black workers were employed as domestics, service workers, and laborers. Only 4.2% of the Negroes employed were categorized as professionals or semi-professionals compared to 7.2% of the white employed. Of the professional Negroes in the city 58% were teachers and 22% were ministers. Others were physicians, social workers, nurses, attorneys, dentists, and librarians. A real discrepancy was in the proprietors, man-

⁵⁸Fulkerson, "Community Forces," p. 12.

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Ibid. An Army air base, Will Rogers Air Field, and an air cadet training station, Cimmaron Field, were located southwest and northwest of Oklahoma City, respectively. A Naval Air Station, a Naval Hospital, and a Naval Air Technical Training Center were located at Norman eighteen miles south of the city.

⁶¹U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population and Housing, Statistics for Census Tracts, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1942), p. 28.

TABLE 4-4

NON-WHITE OCCUPATIONAL STATUS IN OKLAHOMA CITY, 1940

Occupational Category	MALES			FEMALES			ALL BLACK	
	Number	% Males	% Total	Number	% Females	% Total	Total	%
Professional workers	144	3.3	45.4	173	4.4	54.6	317	3.8
Semi-professional workers	22	0.5	62.9	13	0.3	37.1	35	0.4
Proprietors, managers, officials	159	3.6	75.7	51	1.3	24.3	710	2.5
Clerical, sales, kindred	122	2.8	65.9	63	1.6	34.1	185	2.2
Operatives, kindred	632	5.1	90.4	67	0.2	9.6	699	8.4
Domestic service workers	395	14.4	12.2	2955	1.7	87.8	3250	38.9
Other service workers	1895	9.0	76.1	594	74.4	23.9	2489	29.8
Laborers	743	43.2	98.8	9	15.0	1.2	752	9.0
Not reported	49	16.9	55.7	39	0.2	44.3	88	1.0
	4385			3971			8356	

Source: Compiled from U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population and Housing, Statistics for Census Tracts, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1942).

agers, and officials and the clerical sales, and kindred workers categories where only 4.7% of the blacks were employed compared to 20.7% of the whites employed. Of 15,609 Negro workers 12% were unemployed. During the latter years of the war black unemployment was estimated at only 2%.⁶²

During the war years labor unions were new to Oklahoma City. Few Negroes in the city belonged to unions and those who did were mostly in the meat packing and aircraft industries.⁶³ Across the country "thirty-one unions were known to discriminate against Negro workers by exclusion or restrictions upon their membership."⁶⁴

A National Urban League Community Relations Project Study in 1945 had the following to say about Negro employment in Oklahoma City:

The Negro population is seriously affected in its employment efforts due to a lack of equal employment opportunities in public utilities, in the city government, and in local federal employment.⁶⁵

The National Urban League urged cooperation from publicly supported institutions in liberalizing their employment policies to better race relations in Oklahoma City.

Negro Protest and Educational Inequality

Since the 1894 Supreme Court "separate but equal" doctrine in

⁶²Fulkerson, "Community Forces," p. 32. Taken from the Labor Market Analyst of the Oklahoma Division of the United States Employment Service.

⁶³Ibid., p. 33.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 35. Most of these discriminatory unions were affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Most of the others were independent. None were affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organization.

⁶⁵National Urban League. "A Study of the Social and Economic Conditions of the Negro Population of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma," prepared by J. Harvey Keans for the Community Relations Project. (Oklahoma City: Council of Social Welfare, 1945), p. 155.

education Negro children had been promised equal educational opportunity by the provision of separate but equal educational facilities. This promise had not been fulfilled in Oklahoma by 1940. It was evident in most communities that Negro children were not being provided their fair share whether it be by physical facilities or quality education. Negroes in Oklahoma began strong protests during the decade of the 1940s against educational inequalities. Several court battles ensued at all levels of education during this period.⁶⁶

If it can be assumed that one's future employment improves with the amount of formal education and training one receives then it would have to be admitted that Negroes were at a considerable disadvantage in improving their status from the "separate but equal" system since that system was not equal. Many Negroes including the N.A.A.C.P. believed that equality had to come first in education for social and economic equality to be a future reality.

In 1940 the median school years completed by non-whites was eight years.⁶⁷ A much greater percentage of Negro adults in Oklahoma City were high school or college graduates than ever before.⁶⁸ Many blacks were still attending colleges in other states which offered more varied curriculum.

⁶⁶Kaye M. Teall, Black History in Oklahoma; A Resource Book (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma City Public Schools, 1971), pp. 269-277. Protests and court suits directed at higher education resulted in the integration of the graduate schools of the University of Oklahoma and Oklahoma A&M College in 1949. Frequent protest was also directed toward the inequality of appropriations for Langston University, the only Negro school of higher education in Oklahoma.

⁶⁷Bureau of the Census, Population and Housing, Oklahoma City, p. 28.

⁶⁸Ibid.

Additions to the Negro School System, 1940s

Two new Negro elementary schools were built during this period, one in the northeast quadrant of Oklahoma City and the other in Sandtown.⁶⁹ Edwards School was a six room building built in 1942 north of the Fairgrounds Park at the corner of Northeast Tenth Street and Grand Boulevard. Carver School was a five room building built in 1943 in Sandtown on Southwest Third. Douglass School remained the only black high school, and the only Negro institution of higher education was at Langston University some forty miles north of the city.

The Negro Condition; Health and Housing

Throughout the National Urban League's 1945 study of the Negro situation in Oklahoma City reference is made to high incidence of sickness and deaths of Negroes related to poor housing conditions and ignorance of proper provision for physical well-being. A major contributing factor to poor health among many blacks, especially school children has been attributed to poor sanitary conditions and possible neglect by parents.⁷⁰

There were two Negro hospitals in Oklahoma City in the 1940s; the Great Western Hospital with 35 beds on Northeast Fourth Street and Edward's Hospital with 100 beds on Northeast Sixteenth Street in Edward's Addition.⁷¹ Three other hospitals which were previously for white patients

⁶⁹Bartholomew and Associates, City Plan, Table 33. In 1947 there were seven Negro elementary schools in Oklahoma City with 2,220 students, or 11% of the city's total elementary school enrollment. Douglass High School had an enrollment of 1,074. There were 39 teachers at Douglass High School and 63 teachers at the various elementary schools.

⁷⁰National Urban League, "Social and Economic Conditions," pp. 158-159.

⁷¹Fulkerson, "Community Forces," pp. 69-70.

only provided areas for Negro patients.⁷² These were the University of Oklahoma Hospital on Northeast Thirteenth Street with 80 beds for Negroes, General Hospital at Northwest Thirteenth and Robinson Avenue with 15 beds, and St. Anthony's Hospital at Northwest Tenth Street and Dewey Avenue with 20 beds. A major concern of the National Urban League was that Negro physicians were not given an opportunity to improve their skills.

Neither the modern public nor private hospitals accept Negro physicians as staff members and one Negro hospital is so definitely sub-standard as to be unsuitable for proper hospitalization of Negro patients.⁷³

In a 1948 study of one hundred Negro households in the northeast quadrant of Oklahoma City it was found that a greater number of black than white deaths "were due to degenerative diseases of the heart, cerebral hemorrhage, and congenital malformations in the first year of life."⁷⁴ Other crippling diseases which affected the city's black population were pneumonia, influenza, tuberculosis, and venereal diseases. In a National Urban League health study in 1945 the prevalence of syphilis among a sample of Negroes was 218 per 1000; seven times the rate for whites.⁷⁵

The war years from 1941 to 1946 witnessed a general moratorium on housing construction in Oklahoma City which resulted in a shortage of housing and a concentration of population in older sections of the city.⁷⁶

⁷²Ibid., p. 70.

⁷³National Urban League, "Social and Economic Conditions," p. 159.

⁷⁴Golda Slief, "Health and Social Conditions in One Hundred Families," (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1948), p. 118.

⁷⁵National Urban League, "Report of the Health Consultant for Oklahoma City, Oklahoma," prepared by Paul Cornely for the Community Relations Project (Oklahoma City: Council of Social Welfare, 1945), p. 4.

⁷⁶Associated Consultants, "A Street Transportation Plan for Oklahoma City," prepared for the City of Oklahoma City, 1954, p. 1.

Black households remained concentrated in the same residential neighborhoods with little expansion before the end of the war. Restrictive covenants and public resistance to black residential expansion continued to produce a scarcity of housing for Negroes.⁷⁷ This was a major factor in increased rents in the Negro neighborhoods during this period.

The census for 1940 reflects widespread deterioration and lack of necessities and amenities in the Negro residential areas of Oklahoma City. The city plan for 1949 depicts the housing situation in 1940 which shows that all of the Negro residential areas of the city are either obsolete or blighted with an immediate need for major structural repair and private baths.⁷⁸ An independent study of one hundred Negro families of the northeast quadrant in 1948 found that there was quite a disparity of dwelling conditions related to structure, cleanliness, furniture, overcrowding, kitchen facilities, bathroom facilities and public utilities.⁷⁹ Much of this disparity was attributed to whether a dwelling was owned or rented and to the income of the household.

During the 1940s Edward's Addition continued to grow. Two new Negro residential subdivisions began development just after the war;

⁷⁷National Urban League, "Social and Economic Conditions," p. 157. Overcrowding and housing deterioration and obsolescence were the general attributes of substandard black neighborhoods. The Urban League study recommended that immediate and serious attention be made toward the Negro housing situation.

⁷⁸Bartholomew and Associates, City Plan, plates 23, 24, 26. Negro residential areas which were rated as obsolete (70% or more substandard) were Sandtown, Riverside, and Walnut Grove. Scattered blocks in the northeast quadrant were rated obsolete, although most of this area was rated blighted (20% to 70% substandard). The Westtown area was rated in good condition.

⁷⁹Slief, "Health and Social Conditions," pp. 91-97. Forty percent of these families owned their homes. According to the census for 1940 some 42% of non-white housing was owned by the occupants.

Carverdale Addition on Northeast Tenth Street between the two trunk lines of the MK&T railroad, and Garden Oaks just to the east of Edward's Addition. These three additions provided new and adequate housing for nearly 2000 blacks by 1950. Shortly after the migration of hundreds of black families to these subdivisions, other black households began moving into the previous white housing just west of the MK&T tracks between Northeast Tenth and Northeast Twenty-third Streets.

In a study of non-white housing between 1940 and 1960 the following was stated in regard to the Negro housing problem in Oklahoma City:

The primary difficulties encountered by the Negro in trying to obtain suitable housing prior to 1950 were: the low income of the Negro worker; the manner in which the Negro was exploited by landlords; payment of excessive rent for substandard housing; the exorbitant prices demanded for all houses; the maintenance of segregated neighborhoods by whites; the hesitancy of lenders to invest in property for Negro families; and the unwillingness of builders to build for low income families.⁸⁰

Discriminatory practices were still not only in housing and education, but also in public transportation, recreation, eating and drinking establishments, and general public facilities (as drinking fountains, toilets). Although most of these de jure and customary practices could be tolerated and accepted by Negroes, discrimination in recreation was a deprivation which was harmful to the well-being of the Black Community.

The Negro Condition; Recreation

Most recreational activities for Negroes centered around social clubs, churches and schools of the Black Community since the early days of settlement. Numerous black social clubs and churches were present

⁸⁰ Malachi Knowles, "A Study of Non-White Population Distribution and Housing Characteristics in Oklahoma City, 1940-1960," (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1965), p. 58.

during the 1940s. Of course there was the existence of social stratification within the Black Community by this time similar to that found in the dominant society based upon socio-economic and family status. This certainly restricted membership and participation in certain black social organizations.

The Black Community of Oklahoma City was provided with "separate but equal" parks; Edward's Park at Northeast Sixteenth Street and Grand Boulevard, Riverside Park at California and Central Avenues, Tolan Park at Reno and Blackwelder Avenues, and Washington Park at Northeast Fourth Street and High Avenue.⁸¹ These parks served the far northeast side, Walnut Grove, Westtown, and the near northeast side, respectively, and provided recreational facilities comparable to most white neighborhood parks. One facility which the Negro parks lacked was a swimming pool until 1948 when an outdoor pool was built at Washington Park.⁸² Frequent complaints by blacks were that the facilities were always overcrowded especially on weekends.⁸³

At Lake Overholser and Lake Hefner Negroes were given fishing and boating privileges but were restricted to certain areas of the lakes and to certain days for recreational use.⁸⁴ Negroes were allowed to visit Lincoln Park Zoo only on Thursdays and they were denied any use of the park, the lake, the beach, and other recreational facilities in Lincoln Park.⁸⁵ School playgrounds provided important neighborhood open

⁸¹Slief, "Health and Social Conditions," pp. 17-18.

⁸²Ibid., p. 18.

⁸³Interview.

⁸⁴Slief, "Health and Social Conditions," p. 18.

⁸⁵Fulkerson, "Community Forces," p. 73.

TABLE 4-5

NEGRO SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS IN OKLAHOMA CITY, 1940*

	Number or Monetary Figure	As Percentage of Negro Families
1. Negro home owner families	1,059	19.4
2. Negro tenant families	4,388	80.6
3. Negro median home value	\$1,492	
4. Negro median rent	\$12.74	
5. Negro females employed as domestics, service workers, etc.	3,549	89.4
6. Negro labor force seeking employment	1,916	17.8
7. Median school years completed (persons over 24 years old)	8.0	
8. Negro college graduates		3.2
9. Negro highschool graduates and better		16.5
10. Median household size	2.89	
11. Median household size for owner-occupied units	3.34	
12. One person households	824	15.1
13. Households with more than four persons	2,347	43.1
14. Occupied units with over one person per room	2,169	39.8
15. Occupied units with over two persons per room	485	8.9
16. Dwellings needing major repairs	555	11.0
17. Dwellings with no running water	1,706	31.3
18. Dwellings with private bath and private flush toilet	2,170	39.8

*Source: Compiled from U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population and Housing, Statistics for Census Tracts, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1942). There were 5,447 Negro families in Oklahoma City in 1940.

areas for children to play, but facilities were minimal.

Library facilities were provided on Northeast Fourth Street in one small room at the Dunbar Branch Library and at Douglass High School. Much protest came from the Black Community in regard to the lack of adequate library facilities.

Commercial recreation was also very important in Negro social life, especially movie theaters and night clubs which were owned and operated by black businessmen. Neighborhood pool halls, restaurants, and taverns held a position of prominence among many Negroes' recreational activities.⁸⁶

The Establishment of a Black Economic and Social Institutional Base

Economic and social development appears to have reached a stage of maturation in the northeast quadrant "Black Ghetto" of Oklahoma City by the 1940s. A history of over four decades of black residential containment and general de jure and customary discrimination forced the Black Community to seek a certain degree of self-reliance in establishing black business districts and social institutions.

The formidable barriers, which the dominant white society of Oklahoma City and the nation built around the Black Community up to 1950, had a profound effect upon the black man and his self-image. He turned inward and established an economic and social institutional base in order to adjust to his containment. It was from this base of relative institutional strength that future strides for equality were looked upon as feasible.

Table 4-6 lists and categorizes black businesses in Oklahoma

⁸⁶Ibid., pp. 70-74.

City for 1941.⁸⁷ Black business is still predominately in the commercial services sector of the business economy. Although the number and types of black establishments had significantly increased over the 1923 black business profile, not much headway had been made into retail business except for grocery stores, commercial recreation, warehousing, wholesaling, or industry. The location and distribution of these black businesses are shown in Figure 4-5. By 1941 there had been an extreme decline in black businesses in the smaller Negro residential areas. Only Westtown had a semblance of its former business structure. Almost the entire 217 black commercial service and retail business establishments were located in the northeast quadrant "Black Ghetto" between Walnut and Eastern Avenues south of Northeast Nineth Street. The black central business district on Northeast Second Street was still very dominant. A new business district was located on Northeast Fourth Street between Laird and High Avenues. Numerous other businesses were located along Northeast Fourth Street from Stiles Avenue west to Eastern Avenue. The remainder of black businesses were scattered throughout the northeast quadrant.

Other than the concentration of black business in the dominant Black Ghetto of the city, the extraordinary feature of the Black Community during this period was the large number of black civic and social organizations. These organizations originated and evolved due to an internal need for social institutions in the Black Community outside of the church, which had always played a dominant role in the development of the community.

⁸⁷T. P. Scott, ed., Negro City Directory of Oklahoma City, 1941-1942 (Oklahoma City: Negro Chamber of Commerce, 1942). This Negro directory designated black businesses by address. As far as investigation has shown, this is the only comprehensive listing by location of black business in Oklahoma City between 1924 and 1971.

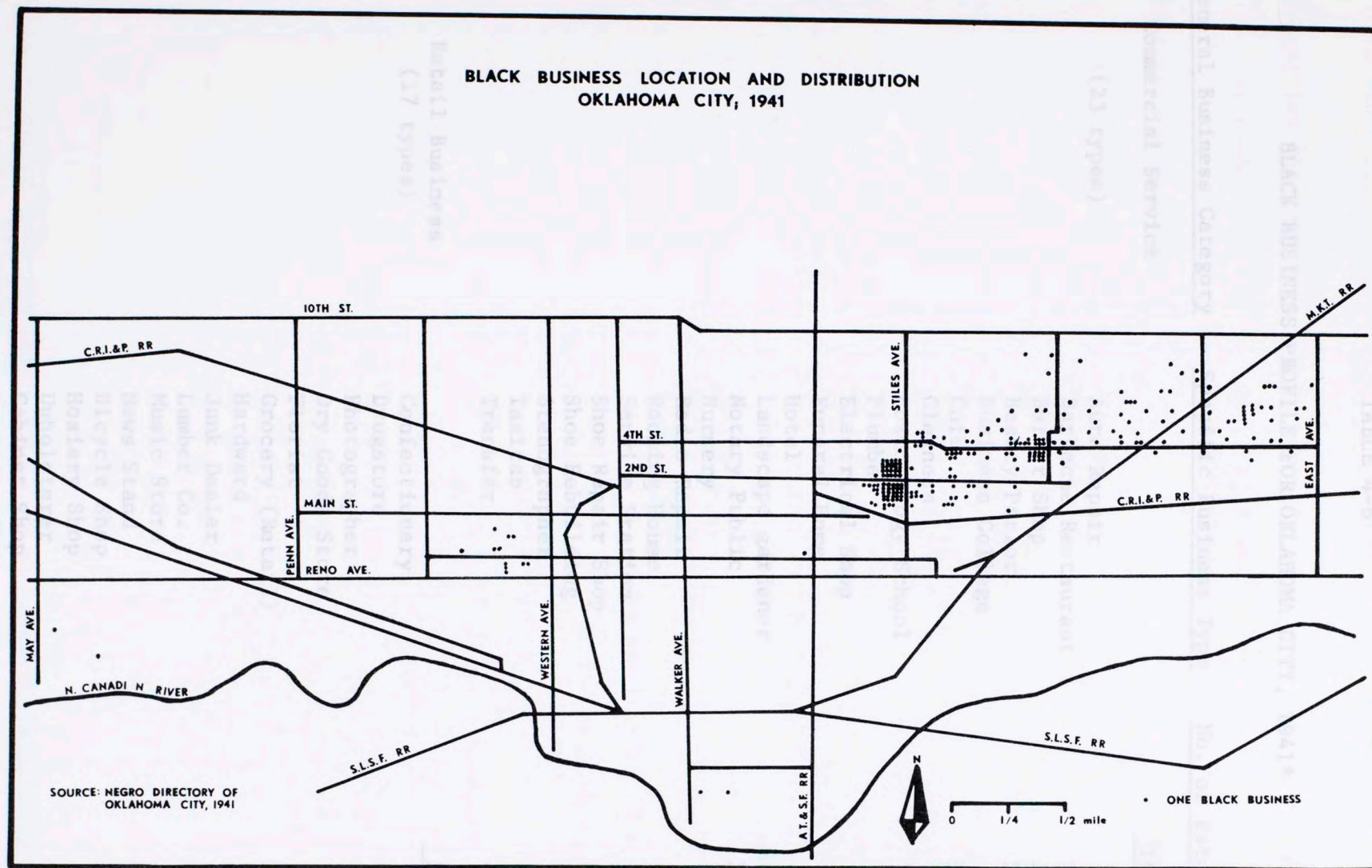


FIGURE 4-5

TABLE 4-6

BLACK BUSINESS PROFILE FOR OKLAHOMA CITY, 1941*

<u>General Business Category</u>	<u>Specific Business Type</u>	<u>No. of Establishments</u>
Commercial Service		<u>165</u>
(23 types)	Auto Repair	6
	Barbecue Restaurant	12
	Barber Shop	13
	Beauty Parlor	21
	Business College	1
	Cafe	39
	Cleaners	8
	Cosmotology School	1
	Plumber	4
	Electrical Shop	2
	Funeral Home	5
	Hotel	8
	Landscape gardener	3
	Notary Public	10
	Nursery	1
	Radio Repair	2
	Rooming House	7
	Service Station	7
	Shoe Repair Shop	5
	Shoe Rebuilding	3
	Stenographer	1
	Taxicab	1
	Transfer	5
Retail Business		<u>50</u>
(17 types)	Confectionary	3
	Drugstore	4
	Photographer	2
	Dry Goods Store	1
	Florist	1
	Grocery (Retail)	26
	Hardward	1
	Junk Dealer	1
	Lumber Co.	1
	Music Store	1
	News Stand	3
	Bicycle Shop	1
	Hosiery Shop	1
	Upholsterer	1
	Cabinet Shop	1
	Cosmetic Shop	1
	Notion Shop	1

Table 4-6 (cont.)

Commercial Recreation		15
(2 types)		
	Recreation Parlors	13
	Movie Theater	2
Professional Service		204
(11 types)		
	Attorney	5
	Chiropodist	2
	Dentist	4
	Hospital	1
	Insurance Agent	1
	Physician	10
	Piano Instructors	9
	Newspaper	2
	Orchestra	1
	Real Estate	11
	Teacher	158
Industry		3
(3 types)		
	Bottling Co.	1
	Poultry & Produce Co.	1
	Manufacturer	1

⁸⁸Fulkerson, "Community Forces," p. 34.

⁸⁹Cooper, Black Encyclopedia, p. 100.

*Source: Compiled from the Negro Directory of Oklahoma City, 1941-1942, pp. 211-229.

Post World War II and the Early Truman Administration

During the post-World War II years from 1946 to 1950 thousands of black servicemen and women returned to Oklahoma City to return to civilian life and to seek a dream of equality and prosperity. With the phasing down of the war effort unemployment began to rise. As early as mid-1946 Negro unemployment in the city was up to 10 percent.⁸⁸ The housing shortage problem which existed during the war became even worse for the Negro, although new housing was being developed for middle class black families to the northeast of Fair Park. These circumstances together with the black serviceman's improved self-image resulted in strained racial relations and black protest during these years of post-war reunion.

During this period, the federal government took a more active role in regard to improving race relations. The Truman administration created this new racial atmosphere by first establishing a committee on civil rights which after intensive study reported that "the Federal Government had the duty to act in order to safeguard civil rights when local or state governments either could not or did not take such action."⁸⁹ President Harry Truman issued an executive order in 1948 aimed at achieving fair employment within government service and he continually attacked discrimination within federally contracted industry.⁹⁰ A major breakthrough for blacks was the Supreme Court's decision in 1948

⁸⁸Fulkerson, "Community Forces," p. 34.

⁸⁹Coombs, Black Experience, p. 186.

⁹⁰Ibid.

that declared restrictive covenants in housing unconstitutional.⁹¹ Although important, this court decision was not faithfully enforced at the local level until the passage of the Civil Right's Act of 1964.

Summary

By 1920 the new urban phenomenon, the Black Ghetto, was a prominent feature in the urban landscape of most metropolitan centers of the country. This was a time of the formation and development of black social and economic institutions separate from the dominant white society. The Negro had turned inward to provide himself with the institutional needs which were denied to him in the greater society. In Oklahoma City the period from 1920 to 1950 was one of maturation of the dominant Black Ghetto on the northeast side. Much of the social and economic life of Negroes began to be centered around the evolving black community institutions. Black families began to develop a "sense of place" which was closely associated with the black residential area in which they lived.

Throughout these three decades the country experienced a considerable diversity in its economy. The twenties saw relative prosperity, the thirties experienced the Great Depression, and the forties witnessed World War II. Negro migration across the country changed in magnitude and destination with the fluctuating economic situation and events of the period.

With limited in-migration of black families from the South, and in-migration from rural Oklahoma together with a high natural increase, black population in Oklahoma City increased from a little over 8,200 in

⁹¹Ibid.

1920 to over 21,000 in 1950. Although this was not a large increase it was commensurate with the total population increase in the city. Little migration, in or out of Oklahoma City, occurred during the depression years except for some in-migration of rural blacks who were affected by the severe drought and economic condition of that decade. During World War II the war industries established near Oklahoma City attracted both white and black workers, although many migrated to industrial centers of the North and the West coast.

All the black residential areas of Oklahoma City grew substantially over these three decades, except for Southtown. Southtown experienced the invasion of both incompatible land uses prompted by an expanding CBD and the in-migration of other minority groups, Mexican-Americans and American Indians, and resulted in a reduction in the black population in this section of Oklahoma City. The black neighborhoods on the northeast side of the city grew considerably. The near northeast side black residential area merged with Bathtown, and black households occupied housing up to Northeast Tenth Street. Between 1935 and 1950 several new housing developments specifically built for blacks were located on the northeast side; two just north of the Fairgrounds Park and the third, ten miles northeast of downtown.

With the growth and expansion of the Black Ghetto, there came a white response. In the mid-1920s a group of white land owners on the northeast side of the city and north of the Black Ghetto formed an organization which fought to halt black expansion into their white neighborhoods. Since local racial segregation ordinances concerning housing had been banned in the previous decade a legal plat covenant was used to restrict this expansion northward by black families.

After a small racial incident on the northeast side, in 1933, Governor Murray demarcated a segregation line in that part of the city between the white and black population. With pressure from the governor the Oklahoma City Council passed a racial zoning ordinance which established a similar boundary to racial residential migration. In 1935 this ordinance was found to be unconstitutional by the State Supreme Court. It was not until 1949 that the restrictive covenant in housing was found unconstitutional by the U. S. Supreme Court. This ruling by the court opened up much housing to blacks, especially to middle and upper class black families.

Following the discovery of petroleum in east Oklahoma City in 1928 hundreds of wells were drilled of which many were in the black neighborhood of Walnut Grove, the near northeast side, and Bathtown. Many other wells were also drilled in the white neighborhoods to the north of the black neighborhoods on the northeast side. In the short run this provided royalty and lease monies to the owners of these properties, but in the long run the oil boom had a detrimental effect on the residential landscape.

In 1930 black male workers were employed chiefly in work at "hotels, restaurants, and boarding houses" and in "other domestic and personal service." Other major employers of black males were in the building industry and "unidentified industry." Black females were employed almost entirely in the "other domestic and personal services." Of almost 16,000 black workers in 1940, four-fifths were domestics, service workers, and laborers. About 7% were employed as professionals and semi-professionals of which 80% were teachers and ministers. Very few blacks were proprietors or managers and even fewer were in clerical work.

The occupational condition of blacks reflects their socio-economic characteristics; generally low social status, low educational background, low family income, low occupational positions, residences mostly rented, and much deteriorating and dilapidated housing. Black families were generally large, often with lodgers, although many were small with no children. A large number of black families were headed by a woman, often with several children.

"New Deal" policies of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Administration and "Fair Deal" policies of the Harry S. Truman Administration aided in reestablishing the individual equal rights of blacks and initiated an advancement in black social and economic conditions. Presidential committees were established to investigate the problems in race relations in the country.

During the 1940s, the economic and social development in the Black Community of Oklahoma City reached a stage of maturation. Decades of discrimination forced the Black Community to seek a certain degree of self-reliance in establishing black business districts and social institutions to provide for the needs of the Black Community. In 1941 there were 230 black businesses, commercial service, retail, and recreational, in Oklahoma City. There were also 37 black professional services and three black owned industries. The majority of these black establishments and professionals were concentrated in the northeast "Black Ghetto." The types and functions of these establishments remained similar to those which first began around the turn of the century.

With a considerable increase in black population and some areal expansion of black residential areas, the Black Community began to become perceived as a threat to whites and their adjacent neighborhoods.

This prompted a public reaction to absolutely segregate blacks socially and spatially, especially residentially. Public and private policy emerged to cope with the growing black population which attempted to control the expansion of black residential areas, particularly the north-east side "Black Ghetto." Formal race relations conflict grew out of white paranoia to their threatened status and perceived competition in the housing market.

In response to the implemented and enforced apartheid policies and attitudes of the white urban society the Black Community internally developed its own formal and informal institutions to provide for their social needs and the social stratification of black society. Large black business districts formed and a multitude of social associations evolved together with the emergence of patterns of black residence based on socio-economic differentiation of black families.

CHAPTER V

RAPID GROWTH AND EXPANSION OF THE BLACK GHETTO

IN OKLAHOMA CITY; 1950-1970s

Introduction

This era in Oklahoma City's history and in the history of urban America has been labeled by social researchers of American race relations as the second Reconstruction Period. That is, a period of considerable social change which heightened society's consciousness of the nation's black condition, and brought about a serious movement to at least, partially, eradicate the social, economic, and political chains of subordination and exploitation.

Coexistent with this social movement for furthering minority equality was the rapid urbanization of blacks resulting in large urban black population increases and the development of spatially extensive black ghettos. This situation of social change, rapid black urban population growth, and continued patterns of residential segregation is investigated in this chapter for Oklahoma City; an irony of circumstances.

Growth and Expansion of the Black Ghetto

From 1950 to 1953 the Korean War brought prosperity again to the country and particularly to the Negro. That era was an apex of Negro

prosperity relative to white prosperity.¹ Continued migration of blacks from the South to the cities of the North and West caused tremendous growth and expansion of black urban ghettos in those northern and western industrial cities. Black unemployment was down, income was at an all time high, and many Negroes were back in the armed services. This was a clear-cut era of "rising expectations" for blacks who had waited so many years to see their dreams materialize.

To be sure, the long term movements of Negroes out of agriculture and out of the South have continued to operate and have accelerated greatly in recent years. The number of Negroes in manufacturing rose from 998,000 in 1950 to 1,306,000 in 1962. Those in wholesale and retail trade increased from 617,000 in 1950 to 980,000 in 1962. Substantial gains have been made in the lower levels of public administration, in nursing and nonprofessional hospital occupations, and in teaching.²

Negro Population and Residential Areas, 1950

The Negro population of Oklahoma City in 1950 was 21,006 which represented 8.6% of the city's total population.³ This was only an increase of 8% over the Negro population in 1940. Apparently, a sizeable number of blacks migrated to the western and northern industrial cities during the 1940s. The location and distribution of blacks in Oklahoma City for 1950 are shown in Figure 5-1. The dominant Black Ghetto on the northeast side had expanded to Northeast Tenth Street. The new Negro

¹Arthur Ross, "The Negro in the American Economy," in Employment, Race, and Poverty, eds. Arthur Ross and Herbert Hill (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1967), p. 18.

²Ibid.

³U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950, Population, Census Tracts, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952), p. 7.

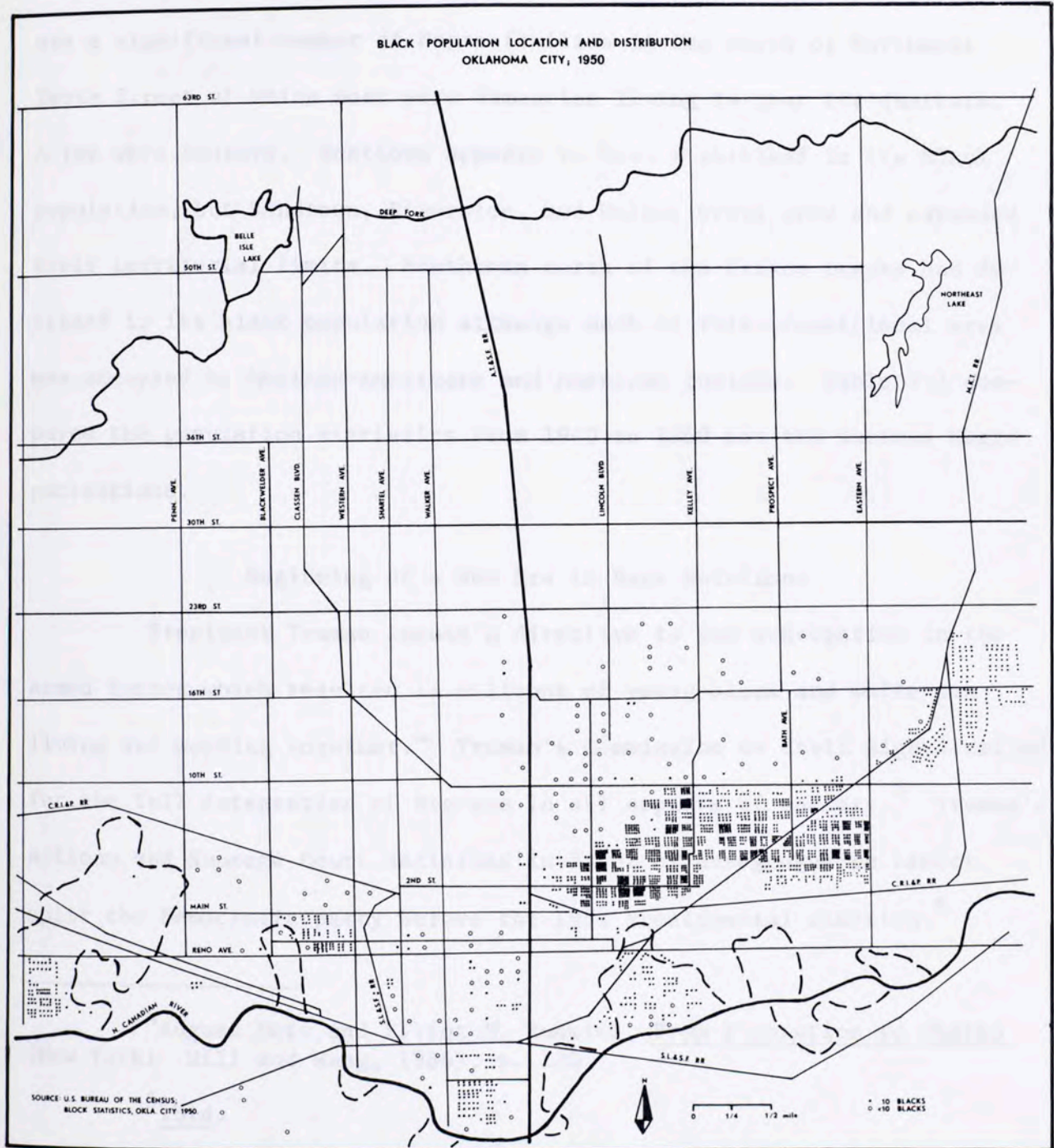


FIGURE 5-1

residential additions north and northeast of Fair Park were occupied by several hundred black families. Some had even moved into previously all white neighborhoods just to the west of the MK&T railroad tracks. There was a significant number of Negro families living north of Northeast Tenth Street of which most were domestics living in rear lot quarters. A few were renters. Westtown appears to have stabilized in its black population, but Sandtown, Riverside, and Walnut Grove grew and expanded their territorial limits. Southtown north of the Frisco tracks had declined in its black population although much of this transitional area was occupied by Mexican-Americans and American Indians. Table 5-1 compares the population statistics from 1940 to 1960 for the various Negro nucleations.

Beginning of a New Era in Race Relations

President Truman issued a directive to end segregation in the armed forces which resulted in millions of young black and white men living and working together.⁴ Truman's Commission on Civil Rights called for the full integration of Negroes in all aspects of society.⁵ Truman's actions and Supreme Court decisions in favor of desegregation almost split the Democratic party before the 1952 Presidential election.⁶

⁴August Meir and Elliot M. Rudwick, From Plantation to Ghetto (New York: Hill and Wang, 1966), p. 220.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Eric Foner, ed., America's Black Past; A Reader in Afro-American History (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1970), p. 410. Truman appointed a Negro, William Hastie, to the Third U. S. Circuit Court. This was the highest judicial appointment of a Negro up to that time in American History.

TABLE 5-1

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY IN OKLAHOMA CITY, 1940-1970

	1940				1950			
	NEGRO No.	%	Other Non- White	White	NEGRO No.	%	Other Non- White	White
Total Population for City	19,344	9.5	365	184,715	21,006	8.6	1,659	220,839
Total for Study Areas	17,651	39.6	170	44,585	20,400	30.6	818	45,417
N.E. Black Ghetto Core	6,367*	74.5	10	2,173	4,240*	72.4	75	1,543
Bathtown	3,655	96.6	0	127	5,236	99.6	1	17
N.E. Inner Suburb Neighborhoods	4,882	31.5	70	15,493	6,930	46.3	375	14,953
N.E. Inner Intermediate Neighborhoods	276	3.0	9	9,008	722	6.3	30	10,705
N.E. Outer Intermediate Suburban Neighborhoods	28	0.6	15	4,379	54	1.0	21	5,311
N.E. Outer Suburban Neighborhoods					8	2.1	2	375
Southtown	205	.03	51	7,249	111	2.0	173	5,557
Riverside	463	17.8	1	2,131	674	28.9	62	1,594
Sandtown	420	44.9	0	516	923	29.7	2	2,181
Walnut Grove	400*	75.0			588*	75.0		
Westtown	955	21.3	14	3,509	914	21.9	77	3,181
Green Pastures								

Table 5-1 (cont.)

	1960				1970			
	NEGRO No.	%	Other Non- White	White	NEGRO No.	%	Other Non- White	White
Total Population for City	37,529	11.6	4,748	280,078	50,083	13.9	8,600	300,988
Total for Study Area	38,380	42.4	1,619	50,338	46,973	68.9	1,107	20,808
N.E. Black Ghetto Core	2,536*	76.2	118	673	1,329*	90.3	27	116
Bathtown	3,684	98.3	3	60	1,183	99.4	4	3
N.E. Inner Suburb Neighborhoods	15,433	73.8	447	5,020	10,926	93.9	96	614
N.E. Inner Intermediate Neighborhoods	6,403	53.3	65	5,544	10,176	86.3	101	1,519
N.E. Outer Intermediate Suburban Neighborhoods	3,327	17.6	168	15,410	17,352	77.3	119	4,972
N.E. Outer Suburban Neighborhoods	11	0.1	78	10,035	1,675	17.5	153	7,726
Southtown	23	0.6	466	3,111	7	0.6	171	1,008
Riverside	349	25.4	83	944	307	35.4	107	453
Sandtown	691	28.4	56	1,684	249	15.6	92	1,251
Walnut Grove	788*	90.0			296*	90.0		
Westtown	453	25.2	85	1,259	111	11.5	155	697
Green Pastures	4,682	41.3	50	6,598	3,362	57.1	82	2,449

194

Source: Compiled from U.S. Bureau of the Census. Census Tract Statistics for Oklahoma City in 1940, 1950, 1960, and 1970. Astrick symbolizes an estimated figure.

Early in the decade of the fifties, states and municipalities in the North and the West began passing some fair employment practice and public accommodation laws. After the Korean War the "Cold War" between the Communist Bloc and the Democratic Alliance indirectly was quite beneficial to the Negro cause.⁷ The Communist powers propagandized the exploitation of Negroes in America and in response American institutions countered by attempting to remedy the poor image this portrayed for democracy throughout the world. A shift in public opinion toward extending equal rights to Negroes grew also throughout the decade. At the same time the political power of Negroes across the country was strengthened through the influence of black urban ghettos in all the major cities of the nation.

Throughout the decade of the 1950s the Supreme Court chipped away at the mountain of discriminatory laws which had prevented Negroes from their full participation as American citizens. Court decisions ruled against racially restricted covenants in housing, segregation in interstate transportation, and discrimination in publicly owned recreational facilities.⁸ The court also made several rulings concerning jury duty which were favorable toward Negroes between 1947 and 1954.⁹ Supreme Court rulings in favor of desegregation climaxed with outlawing segregation in education in 1954.¹⁰ Later in 1957 the court ruled that

⁷Meir and Rudwick, Plantation to Ghetto, p. 223. Another important international development was the indirect effect that the independence of African colonies had on Negroes in the United States.

⁸Ibid., p. 224.

⁹Foner, America's Black Past, p. 411.

¹⁰Alphonso Pinkney, Black Americans (Englewood Cliffs, New

gerrymandering was unconstitutional.¹¹ Gerrymandering had been used effectively to limit black political power, especially in urban areas of the South.

In 1957 President Eisenhower established a Civil Rights Commission which investigated discriminatory conditions and made recommendations to correct these practices.¹² Later in the same year Congress passed a "token" Civil Rights' Bill which was ineffectual in dealing with the discrimination problem.¹³ In the latter years of the decade continued pressure from the N.A.A.C.P. and other civil rights organizations on cities and states of the North and the West brought about enforced antidiscrimination in employment, housing, and public accommodations. Of course, legal statutes were of only limited value in respect to public attitude and customary discriminatory practices.

Black strength, organization, leadership, and power came into its own during the 1950s. The foremost Negro leader, Martin Luther King, Jr. advocated non-violent protest and organized the Southern Christian Leadership Conference which struggled relentlessly to protest racism and discrimination in the South during the late fifties and early sixties. Much was accomplished from this National black effort to be recognized as equals.

Jersey: Prentice - Hall, 1969), p. 185. The court's implementation decree for the desegregation of public education came in 1955.

¹¹Meir and Rudwick, Plantation to Ghetto, p. 225.

¹²Ibid., p. 223.

¹³Ibid., p. 228.

Concessions and Black Protest in Oklahoma City

From the late 1940s through the decade of the fifties Oklahoma City witnessed the birth of a revolutionary change in civil rights for blacks. Beginning in 1948 federal district court in the city struck down the real estate broker's racially restrictive housing covenants; however, such policies persisted. The city plan of 1949 designated an area north and northeast of Fair Park as the future Negro area. This strongly suggests that policy makers were still determined to limit the migration of Negro families into white neighborhoods.¹⁴

In 1948 equal pay for Negro teachers in Oklahoma was ordered by the court.¹⁵ The ban was lifted from Negro membership in the Oklahoma League of Young Democrats in 1953 and in 1955 racial identification on election ballots in Oklahoma was outlawed by the court.¹⁶

The Supreme Court's desegregation ruling in public education during 1954 was not implemented in Oklahoma City until the 1956-57 school year at which time most elementary schools and high schools were either black or white because of their highly segregated neighborhood characteristics. There were few black children attending previously all white schools and vice versa because of this residential segregation. In effect the schools were still segregated without the "separate but equal" doctrine. Integration of the Oklahoma City public schools was most effectual in the areas of the smaller Negro residential sections as South-

¹⁴In fact the 1949 plan recommends segregated housing.

¹⁵Kaye M. Teall, Black History in Oklahoma; A Resource Book (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma City Public Schools, 1971), p. 284.

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 226-227.

town, Westtown, Sandtown, and Walnut Grove and this was generally integration with poor white children.

The Negro legal fight to enroll black students in previously all white institutions of higher learning in Oklahoma was a long struggle. By the 1954-55 school year Negroes were enrolled in the University of Oklahoma, Oklahoma A & M College, and Oklahoma City University.¹⁷

Although changes were being made across the country in respect to public transportation and accommodation policies, Oklahoma City's city council upheld its past discriminatory policies in regard to keeping the Negro in his place. The Supreme Court ruled in 1956 that public transportation segregation was unconstitutional.¹⁸ Policies in Oklahoma City were not changed until the next decade.

Overt Negro protest was at its peak in Oklahoma City during the summer of 1958. Sit-ins, stand-ins, marches, rallies, and boycotts protested discrimination in downtown restaurants, fountains, and department stores.¹⁹ Led by Mrs. Clara Luper many Negro children participated in these protests which brought concessions from several establishments. Little if any violence was encountered. During this period the Oklahoma Restaurant Owners Association advised restaurant owners that they could refuse service to any person and that such a person could be arrested on the grounds of violating the state's anti-loitering law.

Later in 1958 seventeen white churches in the city welcomed members of the Negro Youth Organization to their services and the General

¹⁷Ibid., p. 278.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 233.

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 241-244.

Board of Oklahoma City Council of Churches made the statement that segregation in a Christian society was undemocratic, un-Christian, and inhuman.²⁰

The Negro Condition; Social and Economic Characteristics, 1950

The social and economic status of Negroes in Oklahoma City improved considerably during the 1950s. This improvement was due partially to increased emphasis of education and the resultant mobility up the occupational status ladder. By 1950 the median school years completed by Negroes over 24 years of age was 8.9 compared to 8.0 for 1940.²¹ The percentage of professionals and semi-professionals remained the same, but Negroes in skilled and semi-skilled labor increased significantly as did managers, officers, and proprietors while the percentage of domestic service, other service, and laborers decreased from 79% to 61% of the Negro labor force in 1950.²² This trend continued throughout the decade. Socially, Negroes were making headway toward partial acceptance as equals within the dominant white society. Government policies and public and private opinion were changing. Recognition of his equal rights were soon to come.

Perhaps the most startling development to emerge from these decades was that prominent Negroes began to assume responsibilities in government, business, labor, athletics, education, and the social services

²⁰Ibid., pp. 241-242.

²¹U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950, Volume II, Population, Part 36, Oklahoma (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1951), p. 60.

²²Ibid.

TABLE 5-2

NON-WHITE OCCUPATIONAL STATUS IN OKLAHOMA CITY, 1950

Occupational Category	MALES			FEMALES			ALL BLACK	
	Number	% Males	% Total	Number	% Females	% Total	Total	%
Professional, technical, kindred	164	3.1	41.6	230	6.1	58.4	394	4.3
Managers, officials, proprietors	241	4.5	67.3	117	3.1	32.7	358	3.9
Clerical and kindred	189	3.5	56.4	146	3.9	43.7	335	3.8
Sales Workers	71	1.3	65.7	37	1.0	34.3	108	1.2
Craftsmen, foremen, kindred	629	11.8	95.0	33	0.9	5.0	662	7.3
Operatives and kindred	1222	22.9	84.0	232	6.1	16.0	1454	16.0
Private household workers	52	1.0	2.9	1714	45.3	97.1	1766	19.4
Service workers	1414	26.5	54.3	1189	31.5	45.7	2603	28.6
Laborers	1263	23.7	96.3	48	1.3	3.7	1311	14.4
Not reported	83	1.6	70.9	34	0.9	29.1	117	1.3
	5328			3780			9108	

Source: Compiled from U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950, Population, Census Tracts, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952). Statistics only reported for non-whites in census tracts which contain 250 or more non-white persons.

TABLE 5-3

NEGRO SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS IN OKLAHOMA CITY, 1950*

1. Median family income	\$1815
2. Families with income under \$1,999	52.2%
3. Families with income over \$8,000	1.5%
4. Labor force employed as professionals and semi-professionals	8.3%
5. Labor force employed as laborers, domestics, and service workers	62.4%
6. Females in labor force (over age 13)	46.0%
7. Male unemployment	4.1%
8. Median education (over age 24)	8.5 years
9. Collage graduates (over age 24)	4.0%
10. High school graduates and better	24.9%
11. No education (over age 24)	2.6%
12. Husband-wife families	54.7%
13. Median home value	\$5643
14. Median rent	\$30.40
15. Median dwelling population	2.8
16. Dwellings with more than one person per room	27.4%
17. Dwellings with no running water or dilapidated	25.0%

*Source: Compiled from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950, Population, Census Tracts, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1952).

which had no connection with race. Negroes were working in critical jobs because they were needed, and not simply because they were Negroes.

Although the housing market for blacks was still constrained in 1950 dramatic changes occurred during the following decade. By 1950 more than twice as many black families owned their own homes which represented about 47% of all black households in Oklahoma City.²³ Ownership statistics were up but housing and plumbing facilities were generally in poor condition, especially in the older neighborhoods. Some 63% of non-white housing was rated as dilapidated or lacking a private bath and/or running water. As had been the previous tendency, a large percentage of Negro families occupied multifamily dwellings.

Expansion of the Black Ghetto and Decline of the Smaller Black Enclaves, 1960

Vivid evidence of change in the black urban landscape is portrayed in Figure 5-2 which shows the location and distribution of blacks in Oklahoma City for the year 1960.²⁴ Over the past decade the black urban ghetto had exploded on the northeast side of the city. The formerly contained ghetto had expanded throughout the entire northeast quadrant up to Northeast Twenty-third Street. Several black families were even living north of Twenty-third Street. This expansion was aided by four major factors; a rapidly increasing Negro population from natural

²³U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950, Housing, Volume I, General Characteristics, Part 5 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1951), p.36-18.

²⁴U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Eighteenth Census of the United States: 1960, Housing, City Blocks, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961).

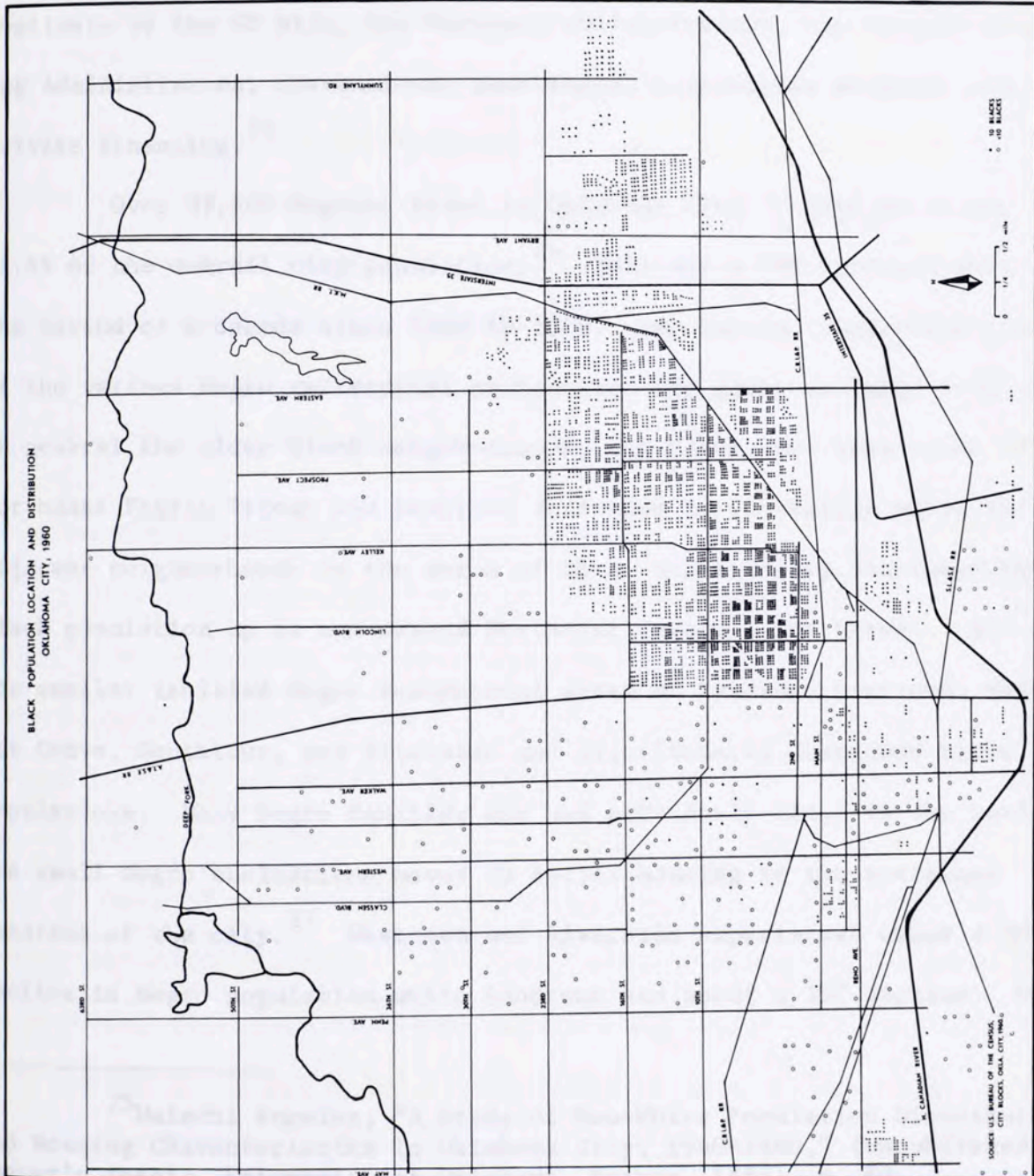


FIGURE 5-2

increase and in-migration, a lessening of the effect of racially restricted covenants in housing, a panic sellout by many white households who felt threatened by the advancing black presence, and financing made available by the GI Bill, the Veterans Administration, the Federal Housing Administration, conventional bank loans, real estate brokers, and private financing.²⁵

Over 37,500 Negroes lived in Oklahoma City in 1960 which was 11.6% of the overall city population.²⁶ This was a 79% increase over the period of a decade since 1900 to 1910. Population characteristics of the various Negro residential nucleations are given in Table 5-10. In general the older black neighborhoods, the black core area south of Northeast Fourth Street and Bathtown decreased in population while the adjacent neighborhoods to the north of these dramatically increased in black population up to and beyond Northeast Twenty-third Street. All of the smaller isolated Negro residential areas of Sandtown, Westtown, Walnut Grove, Southtown, and Riverside had significantly decreased black populations. Many Negro families who had previously lived in the various small Negro nucleations moved to better housing in the northeast quadrant of the city.²⁷ Westtown and Riverside experienced about a 50% decline in Negro population while Sandtown had about a 25% decline. Only

²⁵Malachi Knowles, "A Study of Non-White Population Distribution and Housing Characteristics in Oklahoma City, 1940-1960," (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, Norman, 1965), p. 60.

²⁶U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Eighteenth Census of the United States: 1960, Population and Housing, Census Tracts, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 14.

²⁷Interview.

a few black families and individuals remained in Southtown north of the Frisco railroad tracks although other non-whites accounted for 466 of the population of that neighborhood. A new Negro residential addition was located east of Garden Oaks Addition between the North Canadian River and Northeast Twenty-third Street. This new addition housed over 500 blacks. The Green Pastures community and vicinity northeast of Oklahoma City had a Negro population of around 3,430. Excluding Green Pastures, the Negro population of the northeast quadrant of the city represented over 87% of the total black population. The prominence of the Black Ghetto was most conspicuously apparent and continued to expand to the north during the sixties.

The Negro Condition; Social and Economic Characteristics, 1960

By 1960 the social and economic situation had improved for the Negro in Oklahoma City, but there was still quite an incongruity which existed between white and black well-being. The median school years completed by Negroes in Oklahoma City had increased to 10.0 years.²⁸ This is what white median education was in the 1930s. Almost 6% of blacks over 24 years of age were college graduates and about 33% had a high school education or better.²⁹ With an increase in education came better occupational positions and higher salaries and wages. Median family income was \$3,441; however, 28% of all black families had an annual income of less than \$2,000.³⁰ Nine percent of the Negro labor force were cate-

²⁸Bureau of the Census, 1960, Population and Housing, Oklahoma City, p. 65.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Ibid.

TABLE 5-4

NON-WHITE OCCUPATIONAL STATUS IN OKLAHOMA CITY, 1960*

Occupational Category	MALES			FEMALES			ALL BLACK	
	Number	% Males	% Total	Number	% Females	% Total	Total	%
Professionals, technical workers, kindred	370	4.5	44.0	470	8.0	56.0	840	6.0
Managers, officials, proprietors	230	2.9	74.0	81	1.4	26.0	311	2.2
Clerical and kindred	339	4.2	44.8	418	7.1	55.2	757	5.4
Sales workers	103	1.3	52.0	95	1.6	48.0	198	1.4
Craftsmen, foremen, kindred	881	10.9	94.1	55	0.9	5.9	936	6.7
Operatives and kindred	1455	18.0	81.5	331	5.6	18.5	1786	12.8
Private household workers	23	0.3	1.3	1705	28.9	98.7	1728	12.4
Service workers	1556	19.3	49.7	1572	26.6	50.3	3128	22.4
Laborers	1449	18.0	96.2	58	1.0	3.8	1507	10.8
Not reporting	1663	20.6	59.7	1123	19.0	40.3	2786	19.9
	8069			5908			13977	

*Source: Compiled from U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Eighteenth Census of the United States: 1960, Population and Housing, Census Tracts, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961).

TABLE 5-5

NON-WHITE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS IN OKLAHOMA CITY, 1960*

1. Median family income	\$3441
2. Families with income under \$1,999	28.0%
3. Families with income over \$8,000	7.1%
4. Labor force employed as professionals and semi-professionals	7.4%
5. Labor force employed as laborers, domestics and service workers	37.5%
6. Females in labor force (over age 13)	44.9%
7. Male unemployment	6.4%
8. Median education	10.0 years
9. College graduates	5.4%
10. High school graduates and better	32.8%
11. No education	1.9%
12. Husband-wife families	58.2%
13. Median home value	\$6695
14. Median rent	\$54.38
15. Median dwelling population	3.37
16. Dwellings with more than one person per room	22.6%
17. Household population under age 14	39.8%
18. Household population between 25 and 54 years of age	30.4%
19. Household population over age 65	5.6%
20. Family home ownership	30.9%
21. Median size dwelling	4.26
22. Single family housing	79.5%
23. Dwellings built before 1939	71.7%
24. Dwellings built after 1950	5.0%
25. Dwellings deteriorating or dilapidated	37.6%

*Source: Compiled from U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Eighteenth Census of the United States: 1960, Population and Housing, Census Tracts, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1961).

gorized as professionals, semi-professionals, managers, proprietors, and officials. The number of blacks in clerical and sales positions remained rather small, about 7%, but skilled and semi-skilled positions greatly increased to 20%.³¹ Black employment as domestics, service workers, and laborers declined to 45% of the black labor force in the city.

The housing situation in 1960 was much better for blacks in Oklahoma City. Not only had the housing market doubled for Negroes, but previous white neighborhood housing provided adequate housing for black families who could afford it and acquire loans. Even with much better housing conditions newly black occupied neighborhoods were rated by the census as being 25% deteriorated. Still, over 60% of all Negro households were living in sound dwellings. The residential neighborhoods which exhibited the greatest environmental deficiencies were the black core area south of Northeast Fourth Street, Bathtown south of Northeast Eighth Street east of High Avenue, and the smaller black nucleations of Riverside, Southtown, Westtown, Sandtown, and Walnut Grove.

Of over 12,000 residential structures occupied by blacks 80% were single family dwellings; most with adequate size yards and garages.³² The condition of overcrowded housing in the past was only really a problem in apartment houses and large single family houses which had been converted over to multi-family dwellings. In 1960 the median value of black owner occupied housing was \$6,400 and the median rent of black rental occupied housing was \$53.³³

³¹Ibid.

³²Ibid., p. 88.

³³Ibid.

The Black Revolution

The early sixties witnessed the Black Revolution in America.

Emphasis was on both obtaining equal civil rights from the dominant white society and developing black pride and identity within the national Black Community. Of the many civil and human rights organizations, six particularly stood out for their enormous contribution to this national black movement; The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Non-Violent Coordination Committee, the Congress of Racial Equality, the National Urban League, and the Black Muslims. They did not always have the same objectives nor use the same means, but their overall effort climaxed in widespread concessions and opened the way for eventual equality and respect. Often they competed with each other for power and publicity, but more than not most cooperated enough to unify the black movement which solidified their cause along a demanding front.

Throughout much of the early sixties the N.A.A.C.P. took a relatively conservative position in the movement. They preferred to fight within the established system through lobbying and the use of legal tactics in the courts.³⁴ Since the N.A.A.C.P. was an older, well-established organization with many white supporters and contacts they were often criticized as being too soft and called Black Bourgeoisie.³⁵ Actually, they were the most diversified black organization fighting on all fronts during these years of strong protest. The National Urban League also protested within the confines of the establishment during this period.

³⁴Norman Coombs, The Black Experience in America (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1972), p. 197.

³⁵Meir and Rudwick, Plantation to Ghetto, p. 230.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference was formed and led by Martin Luther King, Jr. This organization promoted protests at all scales primarily in the Deep South. It was their goal to bring out in the open discrimination, public intimidation, and brutality which was so inherently manifested in the South.

The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee was a black student organization which was formed in 1960 to protest discrimination in public transportation and accommodation.³⁶ Together with the S.C.L.C. they led the civil rights protest in the South in the early 1960s.

The Congress of Racial Equality, C.O.R.E., was a more militant black group which in the early sixties struggled for equal rights in the northern urban ghettos. It was also this group which initiated the intensive campaign of "freedom rides" throughout the South in 1960.³⁷

The Black Muslims are a black nationalist group which organized in the 1930s and had a relatively large following of Negroes who were completely disenchanted with the white - American way of life. They preached violence, black nationalism, and separatism during the sixties.³⁸ They provided a vehicle for the more radically militant and separatist blacks.

They preached an eschatological vision of the doom of the white "devils" and the coming dominance of the black man, promised a utopian paradise of a separate territory within the United States in which black men would establish their own state, and offered a more immediate practical program of building up Negro business through hard work, thrift, and racial unity. To those willing to submit to the rigid discipline of the movement, the Black Muslim organization gave a sense of purpose and destiny. Its program offered them four

³⁶Coombs, Black Experience, p. 196.

³⁷Ibid., p. 197.

³⁸Meir and Rudwick, Plantation to Ghetto, p. 235.

things: an explanation of their plight (white devils); a sense of pride and self-esteem (black superiority); a vision of a glorious future (black ascendancy); and a practical, immediate program of uplift (working hard and uniting to create Negro enterprise and prosperity). With this Puritan ethic the Muslims have appealed chiefly to an upward-mobile group of the lowest social class of Negroes. Basically, like the integrationist Negro Revolt, the Black Muslims were a manifestation of the Negroes' quest for recognition of their human dignity and their rejection of the philosophy of gradualism.³⁹

The Negro vote had been politically important in national elections since President Truman's victory in 1948. John F. Kennedy's presidential victory in 1960 over Richard Nixon was attributed to the strong black support and heavy vote for President Kennedy.⁴⁰ With Kennedy's election came the Civil Rights Act of 1960 which pertained to equal rights in voting and aided in doubling Negro voter registration between 1962 and 1964. In 1961 President Kennedy appointed a Negro, Robert C. Weaver, as head of the Housing and Home Finance Agency. In the next year he ordered federal housing authorities to halt discrimination in the financing of private homes. President Kennedy's early plan had been to satisfy the Negro movement by the use of executive authority which would lead to civil rights legislation later in his term, but massive pressure from all fronts of the movement forced him to submit a comprehensive civil rights bill to the Congress in 1963.

In 1960 there were forty cities in the United States with a black population of over 50,000 and half were northern cities.⁴¹ Seven

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 228.

⁴¹ Hollis R. Lynch, The Black Urban Condition (New York: Thomas T. Crowell Co., 1973), p. 431.

of the largest black urban ghettos were in the North each with greater than a quarter of a million Negroes.⁴²

By 1960 desegregation policies were being implemented in the North and West, but desegregation in public education, transportation, and accommodation was meeting considerable resistance in the South.⁴³ This prompted action by the S.C.L.C. and S.N.C.C. and other civil rights groups. Thousands of Negro demonstrators were arrested and violence heightened in the South with the killing of several prominent Negroes. Legal expenses incurred by civil rights' groups were enormous. Major target cities in the South were selected by the civil rights groups to magnify the humiliating situation. Protest to the situation in the South occurred across the country in massive demonstrations which culminated in the largest demonstration Washington, D. C. had ever seen on August 28, 1963. A quarter of a million peaceful and orderly demonstrators protested for Negroes' civil rights. The purpose of this emotional like pilgrimage was eloquently stated in the following words of Martin Luther King:

"Now is the time to make real the promise of democracy. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood. Now is the time to make justice a reality for all of God's children.

Now, I say to you today, my friends, so even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream. I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.'

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave-owners will be

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Pinkney, Black Americans, p. 188.

able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the people's injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character.

This is our hope. This is the faith that I go back to the South with - with this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope."⁴⁴

In November of 1963 President Kennedy submitted his Civil Rights Bill to Congress and made it the priority goal of his administration. Only a few weeks later he was assassinated. President Lyndon B. Johnson succeeded and made it his policy to see Kennedy's programs materialize. In early 1964 the comprehensive Civil Rights Bill was enacted by Congress. This was the most revolutionary legislation to be enacted and enforced in order to guarantee all citizens of the United States their equal civil rights.

Black Protest in Oklahoma City

Black activism of the early sixties in Oklahoma City was an intensified continuation of the protest of the late fifties. The decade commenced with the Oklahoma City city council's refusal to pass a city anti-discrimination bill in public accommodation. In response Dr. E. C. Moon, president of the local branch of the N.A.A.C.P., sanctioned further intensified demonstrations in the city.⁴⁵ The city council did pass an anti-discriminatory bill in city hiring and promotion practices.

Numerous protests in the traditional form of marches and sit-ins were focused first on independent restaurants, cafes, and cafeterias in

⁴⁴Coombs, Black Experience, p. 199.

⁴⁵Teall, Black History, p. 245.

the downtown area. Several establishments succumbed to protest during the summer of 1960. Hotel restaurants and room accommodations became the next targets. In August of 1960 an economic boycott by blacks of downtown retail stores began in order to bring pressure on other discriminating business. Similar protests continued through to fall of 1963. During the summer of 1963 the attention black protest was focused on two recreational amusement parks, Springlake and Wedgewood, and the Central YMCA.⁴⁶ Victories were achieved at integrating these recreational facilities. Also, in 1963 Federal District Judge Luther Bohanon ordered integration of Oklahoma City schools. Resegregation had occurred because of changing neighborhood characteristics and residential segregation. Although most overt protests were orderly and non-violent many Negroes and white supporters were arrested during this period.

With most of the downtown eating establishments integrated by the winter of 1963 white suburban restaurants became the target of protest in early 1964. In May of 1964 a civil rights rally was held by 40 participating city churches at the State Capitol. In the following month a more impressive rally was held at the capitol to promote the passage of a State anti-discriminatory bill on public accommodations. The elections during the Fall of 1964 saw the election of four black legislators to the Oklahoma legislature, three from Oklahoma County.⁴⁷ President Lyndon B. Johnson's landslide victory was accounted as being chiefly responsible for the large number of blacks elected to public office throughout the country.

⁴⁶Ibid., pp. 252-255.

⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 227-229.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964

The important passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 provided the following:

To enforce the constitutional right to vote, to confer jurisdiction upon the district courts of the United States to provide injunctive relief against discrimination in public accommodations, to authorize the Attorney General to institute suits to protect constitutional rights in public facilities and public education, to extend the Commission on Civil Rights, to prevent discrimination in federally assisted programs, to establish a Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, and for other purposes.⁴⁸

This act established a firm foundation from which equal rights were promoted and protected. This was a powerful act which the Johnson Administration effectively enforced, but there were many exemptions to which the act did not have any jurisdiction. These exceptions greatly complicated the interpretation of the act particularly when a matter concerned private ownership and private discrimination. Other than the enforcement of the act as it stood the basic problem ahead of the Negro was the replacement of legal segregation by de facto segregation and private discrimination.

With the realization of their rights manifested in the 1964 Civil Rights Act, black rising expectations and frustration mounted. The eradication of overt discrimination was only the first step toward achieving equality. They could not emerge from the chains of poverty and third class citizenship overnight. They had to look ahead and cope with the problems which had held them back from their equal unalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

⁴⁸Milton R. Konitz, Bill of Rights Reader (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1968), p. 1167.

Black Disenchantment, Ghetto Violence, and Despair

Throughout the remainder of the sixties a deadlock in racial relations and the civil rights movement ensued. The black masses of the urban ghettos again became disenchanted with promises and demanded action to improve their near hopeless condition. Violent racial uprisings occurred in almost every major city of the country. Racial rioting became a regular summer occurrence. Hundreds were killed and thousands injured while millions of dollars of property, black and white, was destroyed.

Paralleling the strife and violence experienced in the nation's cities was the build-up of the war in Vietnam. Black soldiers were fighting and dying in Vietnam while their families at home were in despair. This was truly a dark and regrettable era in the country's history.

In 1967 black earnings and employment rates lagged far behind that for whites. Negro income was about half that of whites and unemployment rates were twice that for whites. Seventy-five percent were still in unskilled low-paying jobs, and about half of all black families lived in substandard housing. The despair of the Negro in the urban slums was actually pronounced. The long and hard fought civil rights movement had hardly improved "the day-to-day realities of education, housing, employment, and social degradation" in the urban ghetto.⁴⁹

Horror and disbelief struck the nation in 1968 when two of the most outspoken men on civil and human rights, one black and one white, were assassinated; Martin Luther King, Jr. and Robert F. Kennedy. A

⁴⁹Coombs, Black Experience, p. 205.

feeling of futility seemed to grip the nation's Black Community.

President Johnson's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders investigated the conditions under which violence had spread throughout the country. It concluded that the country was moving toward two societies, "one black, one white, separate and unequal."⁵⁰

The advancement of Negro status in the late sixties was promoted within the establishment by a large and growing federal civil rights bureaucracy. Much public concern was with improving the Negro condition, but the Vietnam War abroad and radical terrorism at home limited the impact of an already deteriorated civil rights movement.

End to War Abroad and Terrorism at Home

The war in southeast Asia did not come to an end until the latter months of President Richard Nixon's first term in 1972. The war and terrorism and violence across the nation had alienated much of the country. By 1971 protests had greatly subsided although civil rights advocates had not surrendered to the status quo. The movement generally shifted to a more conservative strategy of working within society's institutions to further victories in obtaining equality for blacks. Organizations began to be oriented toward creating an economic and political base for the future. This new dimension of strength was apparent in the elections of hundreds of blacks to local, state, and national offices in 1972 and 1974. A slower process has been black economic development; however, greater sources of monies and advice have been made available to the Black Community. Still a great disparity exists in America.

⁵⁰Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), p. 1.

Changes in Policies of Racial Discrimination
and Segregation in Oklahoma City

During the post-Civil Rights Act of 1964, Oklahoma City's policies concerning racial discrimination have changed considerably. The vast number of segregationist and discriminatory policies present in the Oklahoma Statutes of 1961 were stricken by state legislative repeal beginning in 1964 and culminating in 1968 with the adoption of the State Civil Rights Bill which in effect provided execution of the Federal bill of 1964. A much larger housing market was opened up to the black family by the Supreme Court's decision in 1968 to uphold the unconstitutionality of racial discrimination in the sale and rental of private and public property.⁵¹ In 1968 several blacks were elected or reelected to the State legislature; continuing to strengthen their political base.⁵² In 1966, Dr. Charles Atkins, a prominent city Negro, was appointed as the first black councilman, and in the following year another Negro, Dr. Alfonzo Dowell was elected to the city council.

In education de facto segregation remained existent in the elementary schools and junior and senior high schools principally because of the continued maintenance of segregated neighborhoods and the allowance of white students in integrated ghetto peripheral areas to transfer to all-white schools. Federal District Judge Luther Bohanon again attacked this racial segregation in public schools in 1965 and demanded from the Oklahoma City Board of Education its elimination by way of positive and

⁵¹Teall, Black History, p. 262.

⁵²Negroes elected or re-elected to the state legislature were E. Melvin Porter, Archibald Hill, Jr., Artis Johnson, Hannah Atkins, and Ben H. Hill.

affirmative integration. High schools became integrated through a city-wide busing program. In 1970 Judge Bohanon ordered faculty integration and in 1972 he ordered an expanded integration of the city's elementary schools which resulted in the city-wide busing of school children of all ages. This was a matter of intensive white protest through the late sixties and early seventies.

Integration of black and white students in the Oklahoma City Public Schools during the early seventies has been implemented by busing elementary, junior high, and high school students, and enforced by the federal courts. The implementation of this mode of integration resulted in the out-migration of many white families and some black families to outside of the Oklahoma City Public School area and in the formation of numerous church affiliated private schools in the area.

Although a heightened consciousness by whites of the recognized degenerative black condition resulted in a furthering of white sympathy, understanding, and support for racial social change, a continuance by many whites has been indifference and indignation. Much of this indifference and indignation may be a result of the situation in which many white families find themselves. Relatively, it is quite apparent that blacks are socio-economically subordinated, but looking at the situation absolutely from the point of view of some whites, statistics for Oklahoma City show that in 1970 three times as many white families had a male unemployed, twice as many lived below the poverty level, over twice as many were employed as laborers, domestics, and service workers, four times as many were not in the civilian labor force, five times as many had less than a highschool education, and six times as many were working

class-lower middle class families.⁵³

These circumstances suggest that there is an economic basis to the confrontation of the races primarily on the lower class-working class-disadvantaged class levels in Oklahoma City, and that many whites in this categorization find themselves exploited; that they and their children are the pawns to be manipulated by government to further social change and racial equality. Whether this attitude is justified is certainly debatable. White or black, the poor and disadvantaged foremost seek to survive. The competition for those resources which allow survival and the hope for better things to come may underlie much of the hidden and overt racial tension and prejudice of everyday life.

Urban Renewal and the Black Ghetto

A major force in reshaping the residential characteristics of the Black Community in Oklahoma City during this period was the Urban Renewal Authority.⁵⁴ Community renewal programs were proposed for most of the inner city which affected most of the Negro neighborhoods of Oklahoma City. Programs of clearance and relocation of black residents and businesses followed which dramatically changed the previous market area attributes of the northeast quadrant. Several large public housing

⁵³ U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Nineteenth Census of the United States: 1970, Population and Housing, Census Tracts, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972).

⁵⁴ Under the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Renewal Assistance Administration has been responsible for Urban Renewal. Local government has cooperated with HUD in surveying blighted areas of the city in order to establish project areas which are to be redeveloped. Several residential and commercial project areas have been funded and implemented since 1966.

projects were constructed to provide adequate housing to low income black families. Whatever the consequences, this all had a tremendous impact upon the Black Community and rapidly disrupted the traditional forces which shaped and maintained the black urban ghetto of the northeast quadrant. Further elaboration will be given in the following chapters.

In the Community Renewal Program for Oklahoma City which was prepared by the Oklahoma City Planning Commission in 1964 most of the northeast quadrant of the city south of Northeast Twenty-third Street was partitioned into project areas for rehabilitation and/or clearance.⁵⁵ Later the Urban Renewal Authority in cooperation with the Planning Commission divided the area into three major project areas; the Harrison-Walnut area, the Medical Center area, and the John F. Kennedy area. Numerous other blocks were completely cleared, north of Eighth Street up to Twentieth in the John F. Kennedy area and north of Fourth Street up to Thirteenth Street in the Medical Center area. The Planning Commission supervising the Harrison-Walnut area enforced building codes and began clearance of residential lots to make way for a proposed expressway. Two other major projects were the construction of the four-lane divided Capitol Boulevard which extends down Lincoln Boulevard and Durland Avenue to Northeast Fourth Street and the four-lane divided extension of Lottie Avenue south from Northeast Thirteenth Street to Northeast Fourth Street. Several public housing and private low-income housing projects were developed in this northeast sector of the city as far north as Wil-

⁵⁵ Oklahoma City Planning Commission, Oklahoma City's Program of Community Renewal (Oklahoma City, 1964).

shire Avenue. These were both in the form of single and multi-family dwellings; the latter being predominant. These projects have had an unprecedented impact upon the location and distribution of Negroes in the northeast quadrant of Oklahoma City since 1966.

Black Population Growth and Ghetto Sprawl

The Black population of Oklahoma City in 1970 was 50,059.⁵⁶ This represented 14% of the total city population and was a 36% increase over the black population in 1960. Of these approximately 13,500 were new Negro residents in Oklahoma City since 1960. Half are accounted for by natural increase while the other half are accounted for by; 1) the in-migration of Negroes from the surrounding Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area of Oklahoma City other than the central city, about 18%, and 2) the in-migration of Negroes from outside the S.M.S.A., about 28%. Nearly two-thirds of these latter Negroes were from the South. Almost a third of the black residents moved within the city to a new residence. Much of this was due to three factors; the decline in the black population of the various black residential areas scattered along the North Canadian River, Urban Renewal and Oklahoma City Housing Authority projects which affected the city's Black Community, and the increased black housing market in the northeast quadrant of the city.

As in the decade of the fifties, the sixties experienced black residential sprawl, but this time Negroes migrated out into the suburbs beyond Northeast Twenty-third Street. A little over 420 blacks lived north of Twenty-third Street in 1960. Over 16,000 did in 1970. The ex-

⁵⁶Bureau of the Census, 1970, Population and Housing, Oklahoma City, p. 89.

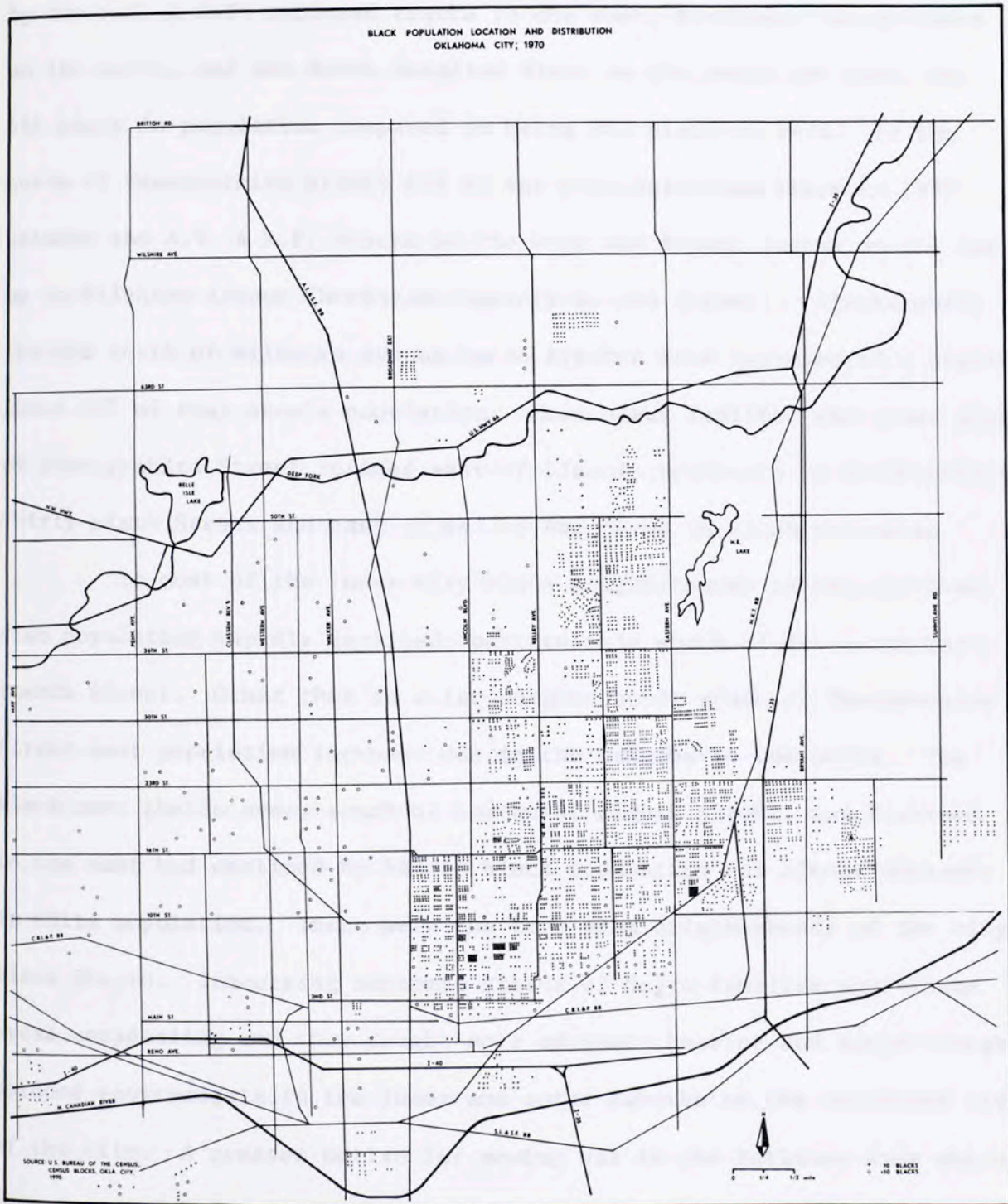


FIGURE 5-3

pansion of the black neighborhoods on the northeast side of the city since 1950 had been astounding. In 1960 the northeast quadrant, bounded by the A.T. & S.F. railroad tracks on the west, Northeast Twenty-third on the north, and the North Canadian River on the south and east, was 66% black in population compared to being 92% black in 1970. To the north of Twenty-third Street 67% of the population was black in 1970 between the A.T. & S.F. tracks on the west and Bryant Avenue on the east up to Wilshire Avenue (Northeast Seventy-second Street). Blacks which resided north of Wilshire Avenue up to Britton Road represented a significant 36% of that area's population. Most black families who lived north of Twenty-third Street resided east of Lincoln Boulevard up to Northeast Thirty-sixth Street and east of Kelley Avenue up to Wilshire Avenue.

In most of the inner city black neighborhoods on the northeast side population rapidly declined, particularly south of Northeast Thirteenth Street. Other than in a few neighborhoods south of Twenty-third Street most population increase was in the suburbs to the north. The black core ghetto area, south of Northeast Eighth Street, and Bathtown to the east had declined by 54% in black population and almost entirely in white population. These were the true slum neighborhoods of the city's Black Ghetto. Increasing economic status of Negro families made these areas unappealing and they sought more adequate housing and better neighborhood environments in the inner and outer suburbs on the northeast side of the city. A greater motive for moving was in the Bathtown area which became one of Urban Renewal's first projects for purchase and clearance. Thousands of blacks were relocated into neighborhoods to the north and into public housing.

By 1970 little remained of the black residential areas of Westtown, Sandtown, Southtown, Riverside, and Walnut Grove. Altogether they only represented about 2% of the city's black population. Westtown, Sandtown, Southtown, and Walnut Grove had one major disrupting influence in common; the construction of the east-west Interstate 40 bypass through the city. This transportation artery cut through each one of these neighborhoods. Southtown, north of the Frisco tracks, underwent considerable land use change during the sixties aside from I-40. Of these smaller black neighborhoods Riverside had the largest black population. The continued decline of these various black neighborhoods along the North Canadian River will probably gradually occur until they will completely disappear from the city's landscape.

By the early 1970s hundreds of black families had been relocated to public housing in Oklahoma City south of the North Canadian River. A 200 unit public housing project was located in the vicinity of Southwest Seventeenth Street and High Avenue about two miles south southeast of the downtown central business district. Another project with 400 units called "Hamilton Courts" was located about two miles to the east of the previous project. A third project, Kerr Village with 288 units, was located to the far southwest of downtown just south of the North Canadian River east of Portland Avenue. Each were located adjacent to low-middle to middle income white neighborhoods. Protest came from white residents of these areas initially and later instances of racial tension have flared up. No serious confrontations have occurred. There has been much controversy over these particular public housing projects.

The Negro Condition; Social and Economic Characteristics, 1970

By 1970 the social and economic characteristics of blacks in Oklahoma City had greatly improved over the past, although a significant disparity still existed between blacks and whites. The educational level of blacks was much higher than ever before. The median school years completed was 11.4 for all persons over 24 years of age.⁵⁷ Some 62% of Negroes of this age category had a high school education or better. Seven percent were college graduates. The occupational status of Negroes continued to improve through the 1960s. Nearly 14% of the black labor force in the city was categorized as professionals, technical types, managers, and administrators. The number of Negroes in sales positions was still quite small, 1.4%, but considerable headway had been made in clerical positions, 14%, especially for women. Almost 20% of the black labor force was categorized as craftsmen, foremen, and operatives. A much reduced number of blacks were domestics, service workers, and laborers, 33%. Median family income had grown to \$5,912 and some 34% were making over \$8,000 annually. Still, poverty gripped the lives of over 3,300 black families in the city. Thirty percent of all black families lived below the poverty level. Poverty hit the hardest at the elderly and families with a woman head of the household with dependent children.

Housing and environmental conditions had greatly improved for the majority of black families. Most housing was by far the single-family dwelling with adequate yard and garage facilities. More than half of all black occupied housing was owner occupied and there

⁵⁷Ibid.

TABLE 5-6

NEGRO OCCUPATIONAL STATUS IN OKLAHOMA CITY, 1970*

Occupational Category	MALES			FEMALES			ALL BLACK	
	Number	% Males	% Total	Number	% Females	% Total	Total	%
Professionals, technical workers, kindred	727	8.5	40.5	1070	12.8	59.5	1797	10.6
Managers and administrators	314	3.7	70.1	135	1.6	29.9	448	2.6
Sales workers	182	2.1	61.7	113	1.4	38.3	295	1.7
Clerical and kindred	754	8.8	33.3	1511	18.1	66.7	2265	13.4
Craftsmen, foremen, kindred	1503	17.5	100.0				1503	8.9
Operatives except transport	1475	17.2	56.6	1132	13.6	43.3	2607	16.2
Transport equipment operatives	633	7.4	100.0				633	3.7
Laborers	1573	18.3	100.0				1573	9.3
Farm workers	68	0.8	85.0	12	0.1	15.0	80	0.5
Service workers	1648	19.2	38.9	2585	31.0	61.1	4233	25.0
Private household workers	45	0.5	3.0	1459	17.5	97.0	1504	8.9
	8602			8336			16938	

227

*Source: Compiled from U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Nineteenth Census of the United States: 1970, Population and Housing, Census Tracts, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1972).

228
TABLE 5-7

NEGRO SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS IN OKLAHOMA CITY, 1970*

	NEGRO	NON-NEGRO
1. Median family income	\$5912	\$9094
2. Families with income under \$1,999	13.2%	4.0%
3. Families with income over \$8,000	34.0%	54.3%
4. Labor force employed as professionals and semi-professionals	13.2%	23.9%
5. Labor force employed as laborers, domestics and service workers	43.7%	12.7%
6. Females in labor force	53.4%	45.7%
7. Male unemployment	5.3%	2.6%
8. Median education	11.4 years	12.3 years
9. College graduates	7.3%	13.4%
10. High school graduates or better (over age 25)	44.5%	60.1%
11. No education	2.3%	0.6%
12. Husband-wife families	51.3%	91.1%
13. Median home value	\$10,400	\$12,800
14. Median rent	\$57.00	\$72.00
15. Families with income below poverty level	29.4%	8.4%
16. Males not in civilian labor force (over age 16)	27.4%	21.1%
17. Persons not attending school (16 to 21 years of age)	47.0%	15.3%
18. Dwellings lacking some necessary plumbing	6.2%	2.3%
19. Dwellings with public sewer	89.9%	93.6%
20. Dwellings with public water	91.3%	95.9%
21. Dwellings with central or built-in heating	57.6%	77.2%
22. Dwellings with air conditioning	50.1%	74.3%
23. Dwellings with automobiles available	69.5%	80.9%
24. Median dwelling population	2.9 persons	2.83
25. Dwellings with more than one person per room	10.2%	4.8%
26. Household population under age 14	38.8%	26.0%
27. Household population between 25 and 54 years of age	30.4%	36.7%
28. Household population over age 65	6.9%	10.4%
29. Family home ownership	55.9%	59.4%
30. Median size dwelling	4.8 rooms	4.9 rooms
31. Single family housing	78.6%	80.0%
32. Dwellings built before 1949	59.1%	46.2%
33. Dwellings built after 1960	17.2%	29.9%
34. Persons in household not related to head	1.5%	1.4%

*Source: Compiled from U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Nineteenth Census of the United States: 1970, Population and Housing, Census Tracts, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972).

was overcrowding only in about 17% of the Negro housing. Although the majority of housing was built before 1949 the median value of owner occupied dwellings was over \$10,000 and median contract rent was only slightly higher than in 1960. A little over 50% of all Negro housing had air conditioning and less than 9% did not have a central or built-in heating system. Seventy percent of all Negro households had at least one automobile and a third had two or more.

Unquestionably, by the early 1970s the overall social, economic, and political situational condition of the Negro in Oklahoma City had greatly improved over the past. By no means had public and private racial discrimination disappeared nor had equal social, economic, and political status with the dominant white society been achieved, but great accomplishments toward those goals had been attained.

Black Economic Development in the 1970s

The location and pattern of a black business establishment in the 1970s reflects the urban processes which have influenced the growth and diffusion of the black population in Oklahoma City since the 1940s. These processes of urban growth and change were greatly influenced by suburbanization of both the white and black populations, public policy changes (especially in housing), social and economic opportunities for blacks, and urban renewal projects.

With unprecedented housing construction after World War II in the outer suburbs of Oklahoma City, many white households in the path of the expanding black ghetto sought new housing in the outer suburbs. De jure segregation in public transportation, public accommodations, and education had been stricken down by the courts. The effective

"restrictive covenant" in housing had been found unconstitutional, and the real estate industry and financial institutions had become much more willing to cater to the needs of middle and upper class blacks and to cooperate with the Black Community. Urban renewal projects were begun in the late sixties and resulted in the relocation of thousands of blacks and the relocation or liquidation of numerous black businesses.

The location and pattern of black business in Oklahoma City for 1971 and 1974 are shown in Figures 5-3 and 5-4 and listed in Tables 5-8 and 5-9 respectively.⁵⁸ Between 1941 and 1966 the black business structure of the northeast Black Ghetto remained much the same character and distribution south of Northeast Tenth Street.⁵⁹ With the migration of black households north of Northeast Tenth Street during and following the 1950s black businesses were established sparsely between Northeast Tenth Street and Northeast Fourth Streets with a heavy concentration of mostly commercial service type establishments. Outside of the major black business nucleations numerous neighborhood oriented businesses were uniformly located throughout the Black Ghetto, especially south of Northeast Thirteenth Street. With the suburbanization of many black households during the 1960s,

⁵⁸The only source for a relatively accurate directory of minority owned businesses from 1971 to 1974 is P.A.E.D., Progress Association for Economic Development. P.A.E.D. is a non-profit organization funded by the Office of Minority Business Enterprise of the Department of Commerce and the Commission on Religion and Race of the United Methodist Church. Another source for black owned and operated businesses in the mid-1960s is the Urban Renewal Authority of Oklahoma City. According to their public relations department, the data in its entirety is not published and is only in raw data form. That data was not made available to this author although published data which pertained to the subject was. No data was uncovered which pertained to black owned and operated businesses in Oklahoma City between 1941 and 1966.

⁵⁹Interview.

TABLE 5-8

BLACK BUSINESS PROFILE FOR OKLAHOMA CITY, 1971*

<u>General Business Category</u>	<u>Specific Business Type</u>	<u>No. of Establishments</u>
Commercial Service		<u>150</u>
(22 types)	Auto Repair	15
	Auto Wash	1
	Barbecue Restaurant	15
	Barber Shop	17
	Battery Charging	1
	Beauty Salon	35
	Beauty School	1
	Bookkeeping	3
	Cafeteria	1
	Cleaners	5
	Clubs (liquor)	10
	Demolition	1
	Electric Co.	1
	Funeral Home	3
	Hotel & Motel	7
	Ice Cream Store	1
	Office Space	1
	Plumbing Co.	1
	Restaurant	24
	Service Station	5
	Generator Shop	1
	Shoe Shine Parlor	1
Retail Business		<u>18</u>
(8 types)	Auto Supply	3
	Beauty Supplies	2
	Carpet & Floor Covering	2
	Florist	1
	Paint Store	1
	Photographer	2
	Record Shop	2
	Upholstering	5
Commercial Recreation		<u>0</u>

Source: Derived from Program on Urban Development, University of Oklahoma, 1971 survey of Oklahoma City, 1971, by John L. Johnson, Jr., Oklahoma City, 1971, pp. 1-10. In response to the invitation of evaluation of certain business types for 1971 survey year. It is not the intention of this survey that these figures are all inclusive, but rather good representative of the overall black business development.

Table 5-8 (cont.)

Professional Service		53
(12 types)		
	Accountant	1
	Ambulance Service	1
	Attorney	8
	Contractors	6
	Dentists	6
	Dental Technician	1
	Newspaper	2
	Investment	1
	Pharmacist	3
	Physician	7
	Printing	3
	Real Estate	14
Industry		1
(1 type)	Manufacturing	1

*Source: Compiled from Progress Association for Economic Development, 1971 Directory of Minority-Owned Businesses in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (Oklahoma City, 1971), pp. 3-10. In comparing black business profile tables careful attention should be made to the inclusion or exclusion of certain business types for different years. It is not the intention of the author that these tables are all inclusive, but rather good representations of the overall black business development.

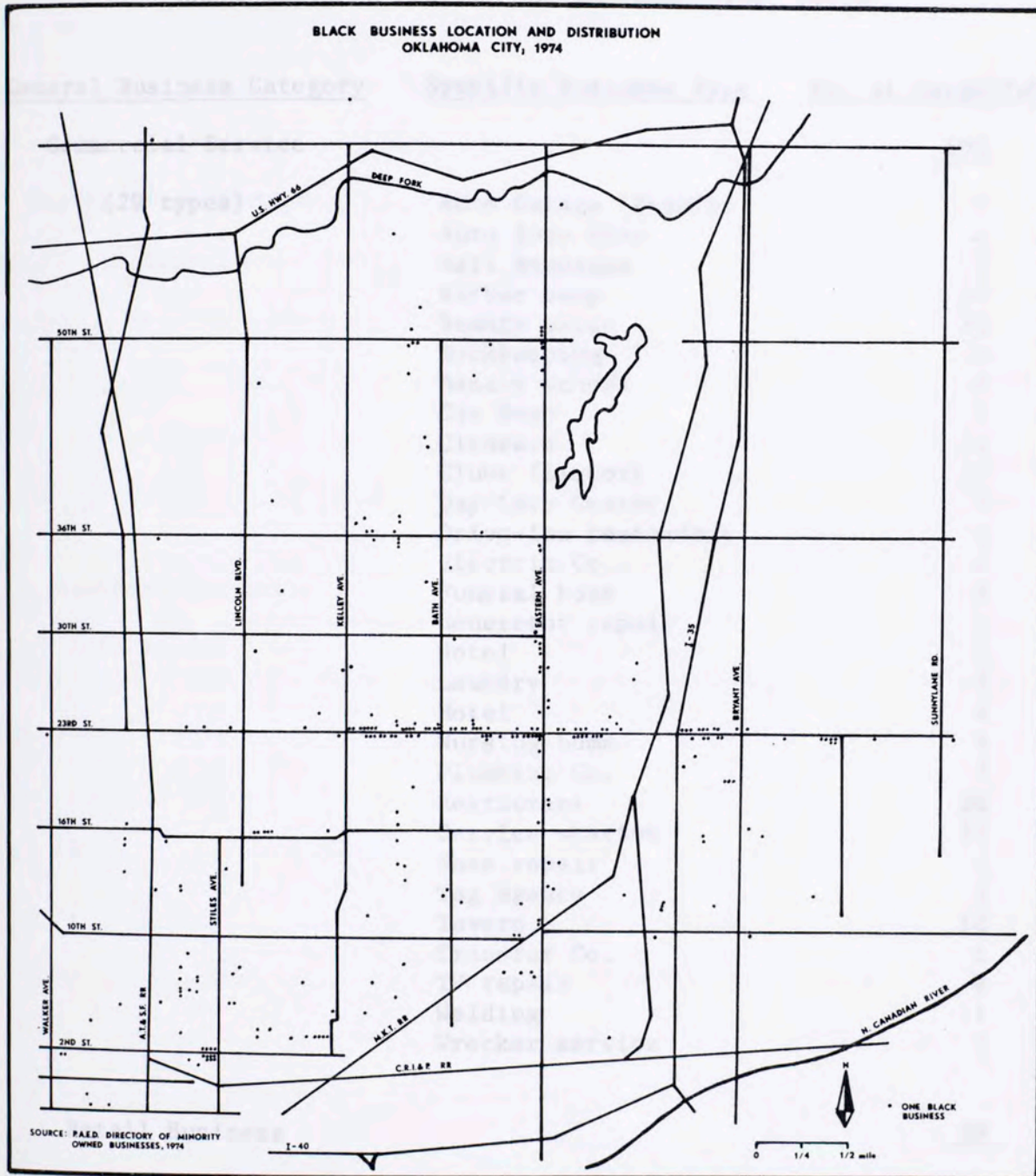


FIGURE 5-4

TABLE 5-9

BLACK BUSINESS PROFILE FOR OKLAHOMA CITY, 1974*

<u>General Business Category</u>	<u>Specific Business Type</u>	<u>No. of Establishments</u>
Commercial Service		198
(29 types)	Auto Garage (Repair)	5
	Auto Body Shop	4
	Bail Bondsman	3
	Barber Shop	16
	Beauty Salon	30
	Bookkeeping	2
	Beauty School	2
	Car Wash	4
	Cleaners	11
	Clubs (liquor)	13
	Day-Care Center	7
	Drive-inn restaurant	3
	Electric Co.	4
	Funeral home	4
	Generator repair	1
	Hotel	3
	Laundry	2
	Motel	6
	Nursing home	3
	Plumbing Co.	3
	Restaurant	30
	Service station	19
	Shoe repair	6
	Tag agency	1
	Tavern	10
	Transfer Co.	1
	TV repair	2
	Welding	1
	Wrecker service	2
Retail Business		39
(16 types)	Auto dealer (used)	1
	Auto parts	2
	Bakery	1
	Beauty supplies	2
	Bookstore	1
	Clothing store	4
	Furniture store	3
	Grocery (retail)	8
	Jewelry shop	1
	Liquor store	1
	Meat market	3

Table 5-9 (cont.)

Pawn shop	1
Photographer	2
Pharmacy	2
Record shop	3
Upholstering	4

Professional Service	66
----------------------	----

(9 types)	Attorney	8
	Contractor	19
	Dentist	6
	Insurance agency	4
	Loan Co.	1
	Newspaper	2
	Physician	7
	Printer	2
	Real Estate	17

Business Service	9
------------------	---

(5 types)	Advertising agency	1
	Advertising specialties	1
	Janitorial service	5
	Sign Co.	1
	Demolition	1

*Source: Compiled from Progress Association for Economic Development, 1974 Directory of Minority-Owned Businesses in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (Oklahoma City, 1974), pp. 11-22.

migration to the north of Northeast Twenty-third Street, black business was gradually established in the outer suburbs of the expanded ghetto. During the late sixties urban renewal clearance projects in the inner city neighborhoods of the black ghetto resulted in the relocation and liquidation of much of the black business in the inner city.

By 1971 a good proportion of black businesses had been established along Northeast Twenty-third Street east of Kelly Avenue. The black business districts on Northeast Second Street and Northeast Fourth Street exhibited only a mere semblance of their past dominant character. By 1974 the number of black businesses in the inner black ghetto, south of Northeast Twenty-third Street, had drastically declined and a heavy concentration of black businesses were located as a commercial ribbon development along Northeast Twenty-third Street. A significant proportion of all black businesses, about 20%, were located north of Northeast Twenty-third Street. The major concentration of black businesses in the outer suburbs were located in a modern, planned shopping center at Northeast Thirty-sixth Street and Kelly Avenue. Urban renewal and others have been attempting to encourage private investment in new business in the inner city black ghetto, but so far with little success.

As can be seen from Tables 5-8 and 5-9 black business in the 1970s continues to be highly concentrated in the commercial service sector; beauty salons, restaurants, service stations, barber shops, cleaners, taverns, clubs, etc.⁶⁰ This black business structure is quite reminiscent

⁶⁰Progress Association for Economic Development, 1971 Directory of Minority-Owned Businesses in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (Oklahoma City, 1971), pp. 3-10; 1974 Directory of Minority-Owned Businesses in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (Oklahoma City, 1974), pp. 11-22.

of black business of the past.

A comparison of the Black Ghetto business structure for 1970 and 1941 is given in the following:

- 1) the black population of the northeast black ghetto in 1970 was four times its size in 1940.
- 2) the areal size of the northeast black ghetto in 1970 was over four times its size in 1940.
- 3) the number of commercial services were 155 in 1940, 150 in 1971, and 198 in 1974; a 30% increase between 1941 and 1974.
- 4) the number of retail businesses were 48 in 1940, 18 in 1971, and 39 in 1974; a 19% decrease between 1941 and 1974.
- 5) the number of commercial recreation businesses were 15 in 1941 and none for 1971 and 1974.
- 6) the number of professional services were 46 in 1941, 53 in 1971, and 66 in 1974.
- 7) the number of business services were none in 1941 and 9 in 1974.⁶¹

The most striking feature here is the large increase of black population and ghetto area, and the relatively small growth in the number of black business establishments. To what this can be attributed and the consequences of such a phenomenon is a deserved subject for further analysis. Undoubtedly, urban renewal has been one of the major factors. Another factor is the apparent change in black family consumer behavior. Greater black mobility and consumer integration oriented toward retail

⁶¹These figures and percentages should only be considered as roughly approximate, but accurately representative of the black business structure for these periods.

business all about the city especially in regional type shopping centers as Penn Square, Shepard Mall, and Crossroads Mall. Another important finding concerning the black business structure of Oklahoma City is the complete decline of black business in the smaller black residential areas by the 1970s.

Summary

In the two decades between 1950 and 1970 the black population of Oklahoma City grew from 21,000 to 50,000. An estimate of the black population in early 1975 was 58,000. About half of this increase can be attributed to natural increase.

The northern boundary of the "Black Ghetto" on the northeast side of Oklahoma City was Northeast Tenth Street in 1950, Northeast Twenty-third Street in 1960, and Britton Road (Northeast Ninety-second Street) in 1975. Expansion also occurred east and west of the 1950 boundaries. The areal extent of the Black Ghetto has grown from about three square miles in 1950 to over ten square miles in 1970. Where the Sante Fe railroad tracks have always in the past been the western boundary of the Black Ghetto, it is no longer. Since 1970 black families have migrated to the west of the Sante Fe tracks between Northwest Thirteenth Street and Hefner Road (Northwest One Hundred Twenty-second Street). Although many black households are scattered throughout the white neighborhoods north of Northwest Thirty-sixth Street most of the migration by blacks has been between Northwest Thirteenth and Northwest Thirty-sixth Streets west to Western Avenue.

This expansion of the Black Ghetto has been promoted by at least six major forces; a black population rapidly increasing due to natural increase and in-migration, the invalidation of the racial restrictive cove-

TABLE 5-10

RACIAL PROFILE FOR POPULATION IN OKLAHOMA CITY, 1890-1980*

Demographic Category	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980
Total Population	4151	10037	64205	91295	185389	204424	243504	324253	366481	416000
White	3865	8808	57493	82871	170021	184715	220839	281971	307703	335703
Per cent of total	93.1	87.8	89.5	90.8	91.7	90.3	90.8	86.9	84.0	80.0
Per cent increase		127.8	552.9	44.1	105.1	8.6	19.5	27.7	9.1	9.1
Negro	278	1219	6546	8241	14662	19344	21006	37529	50103	66887
Per cent of total	6.1	12.1	10.2	9.0	7.9	9.5	8.6	11.6	13.6	16.1
Per cent increase		338.5	437.2	25.8	77.9	31.9	10.8	78.7	33.5	33.5
Other Non-White	8	10	166	183	706	365	1659	4753	8675	13410
Per cent of total	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.6	1.5	2.4	3.2
Land Area of City (miles)	1.0	1.5	15.6	17.2	25.2	25.9	50.8	266.2	648.9	

*Source: Compiled from U. S. Bureau of the Census decennial Population Statistics for Oklahoma City from 1890 to 1970. The 1980 figures are estimates based on recent growth statistics.

nant in housing, open housing legislation, rapid suburban housing development by the construction industry promoted by federal programs, white flight from neighborhoods adjacent to the expanding ghetto to other suburbs of the city and to commuter towns, an improved economic condition, and more available financing from the GI Bill, the Veterans Administration, the Federal Housing Administration, conventional bank loans, and private financing.

During this period the older inner city black neighborhoods on the northeast side decreased in population, while the suburbs to the north gained in black population dramatically. The smaller residential areas of Sandtown, Westtown, Walnut Grove, Southtown, and Riverside all drastically declined in population.

A major stimulus for change in the Black Ghetto of Oklahoma City during the late sixties and seventies has been the Urban Renewal Authority. Urban Renewal clearance projects in the inner city neighborhoods have resulted in large scale relocation of black families and businesses. Large public housing projects have been constructed about the city in the form of large apartment complexes and single-family dwellings. These provide shelter for many of the relocated low-income black households. Private redevelopment within the renewal project areas has been lacking and is a major problem affecting the plans for a renewed inner city landscape.

Black business structure is characteristically much as it was in the 1940s. Most black establishments are of the commercial service type. The retail business sector is weaker partially due to the elimination of the black family owned and operated neighborhood grocery. The Black Community is lacking in commercial recreational establishments. A new sec-

tor of black business has evolved in the form of business services as advertising, and there is a newly established black operated bank on the northeast side. Black economic development in the business world has not met with much improved success in the last three decades.

Although the black business structure in Oklahoma City has not changed much, the location of black business has. With the rapid expansion of the Black Ghetto northward on the northeast side, black business have followed. The once black central business district and its outlier on Northeast Second and Northeast Fourth Streets respectively are but remnants of their former dominance in the Black Community. In the early 1970s much of the black business establishments were located on Northeast Twenty-third Street and farther to the north.

In the 1940s blacks protested for more and better educational opportunities across the nation. In 1954 the U. S. Supreme Court found the "separate but equal" doctrine unconstitutional and the foundation was laid for the future integration of the races in public education in Oklahoma City beginning the fall of 1967.

Since 1950 considerable change has occurred in white-black race relations. Massive black protest had accelerated from the late 1940s to overtly express discontent with the inequalities which had been beset on blacks throughout the past. Several major well-organized civil rights organizations fought through the courts and through marches, sit-ins, and the like to eliminate de jure discriminatory public and private policies. Throughout the country violence often erupted during these years of intense protest resulting in hundreds of deaths and millions of dollars damage to black and white property.

Black protest in Oklahoma City really became active in the late

1950s and early 1960s in the form of marches, boycotts, sit-ins, and lawsuits. After years of persistence and determination the racial barrier began to breakdown.

The long overdue Civil Rights Bill of 1964 was enacted by the U. S. Congress and later officially accepted by the Oklahoma State Legislature in 1968. From this bill a firm foundation for equality in life opportunities was established for the black as a fellow human being and first-class citizen of the United States. Although this civil rights bill had powerful implications, it needed more appropriate enforcement. It took years to come about, after the enactment of the bill, but for the most part official de jure discrimination and segregation was stricken from the legal records. De facto discrimination and segregation persisted and still remains a basic problem for blacks to overcome.

By 1970, blacks in Oklahoma City had achieved much improved social and economic conditions. Almost two-thirds of the black population over age 24 were at least high school graduates; seven percent were college graduates. Nearly 14% of the black labor force were professionals, technicians, managers, and administrators. The black female worker had made considerable head-way in the clerical field. A much reduced percentage of blacks, 33%, were employed as laborers, domestics, and service workers, and annual median family income had grown to nearly \$6,000. Even with these advancements in the general social and economic welfare of blacks, almost a third of the black population in Oklahoma City remains in poverty and despair.

During this recent so called "Second Reconstruction" period considerable gains have been made by blacks through social change. Still,

with blacks achieving greater social acceptance and greater economic opportunity, many whites feel indifferent and indignant toward this change in relationships, and economic gains have been more absolute than relative.

There exists today greater racial interaction in business and in certain social circles, but segregation still pervades if only because of underlying educational and economic inequalities. Token integration is a common occurrence in many businesses and social organizations. On the other hand some neighborhood associations on the periphery of the expanding ghetto and other groups are making genuine efforts to promote racial harmony and equality (middle-upper middle class neighborhoods).

The irony of black social and economic achievement in American society has been the parallel continuance and rapid growth of highly segregated black residential areas, ghettos. This is apparent in the case for Oklahoma City, and for most major cities of the country. Racial residential segregation has not gone away, in fact, it has become even more deeply engrained and the preeminent question arises, what can be done to effectively promote racial residential integration?

CHAPTER VI

QUANTITATIVE ECOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY

IN OKLAHOMA CITY

Introduction

In technical contrast to the qualitative spatio-temporal analytic approach to the Black Community presented in the previous chapters, a quantitative approach seeks to analyze through the procedures of accurate measurement and multi-variate statistical methods; in most cases assisted by the computer. This approach has been developed in order to investigate Black Community evolution and ecological structure, and to further contribute to the overall analysis of the Black Community. It has been an underlying aim of this study to formulate a quantitative approach which may be complimentary to the overall analysis and aid in a more significant and meaningful synthesis.

This quantitative approach seeks to further extend the description and explanation of Black Community evolution; primarily, concerned attributes of black ecological structure and change in this structure from 1940 to 1970. The unit of study is basically the census tract, and the data analyzed are primarily those published by the U. S. Bureau of the Census for the years 1940, 1950, 1960, and 1970.¹

¹From 1940 to 1970 boundaries for those census tracts analyzed in this study underwent slight changes. These changes are not considered as having any significant effect upon the analysis.

The first section of this chapter investigates the factorial ecologies of the Black Community for each of the four decennial census years; differentiation within the Black Community as to the analysis of selected socio-economic attributes. The second section of this chapter investigates the basic sub-dimensions of black ecological conditions for the years 1960 and 1970; differentiation within the Black Community as to the analysis of selected socio-economic attributes which are indicators of specific ecological conditions. The third section investigates the association between these sub-dimensions, and the fourth section investigates change in black ecological structure between 1940 and 1970; change in the structure and pattern of differentiation within the Black Community. The study area census tracts are shown in Figure 6-1 and the sectors and zones analyzed in Black Ghetto pattern analysis for 1960 and 1970 are shown in Figures 6-3 and 6-2 respectively.

Factorial Ecology of the Black Community

In this section of the chapter, analysis is focused on the factorial ecology of the Black Community of Oklahoma City. Black ecological structure is investigated for the years of 1940, 1950, 1960, and 1970. For each year a multivariate statistical technique, a factor analytical procedure-principal components analysis, was employed in order to establish the factorial ecology for each year.

Three objectives were in mind which resulted in the utilization of a varying number of selected census variables to meet the needs of each objective. The first was to determine the ecological structure of the Black Community for 1970 by selecting twenty census variables for study. This analysis was made in order to compare the results with

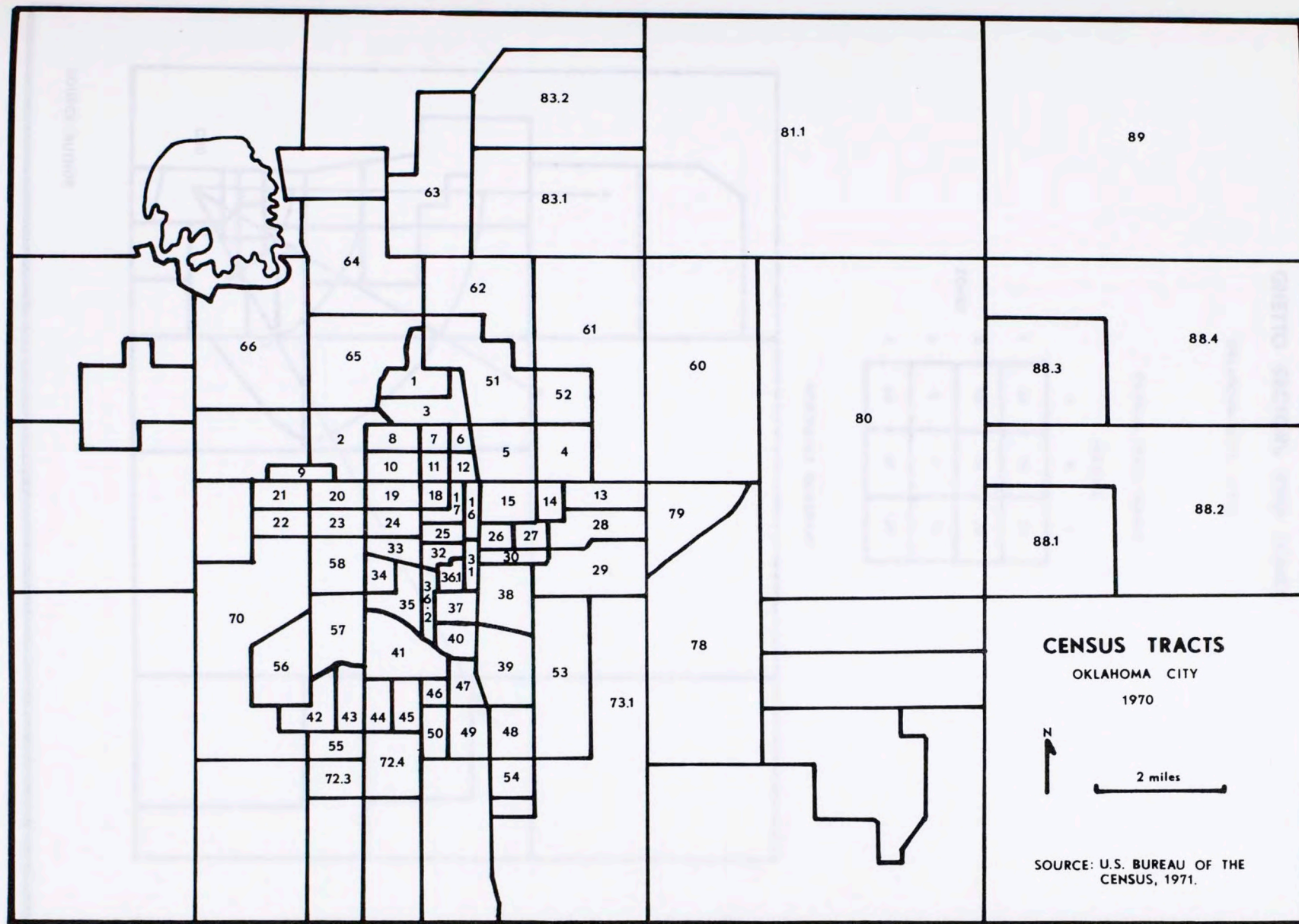


FIGURE 6-1

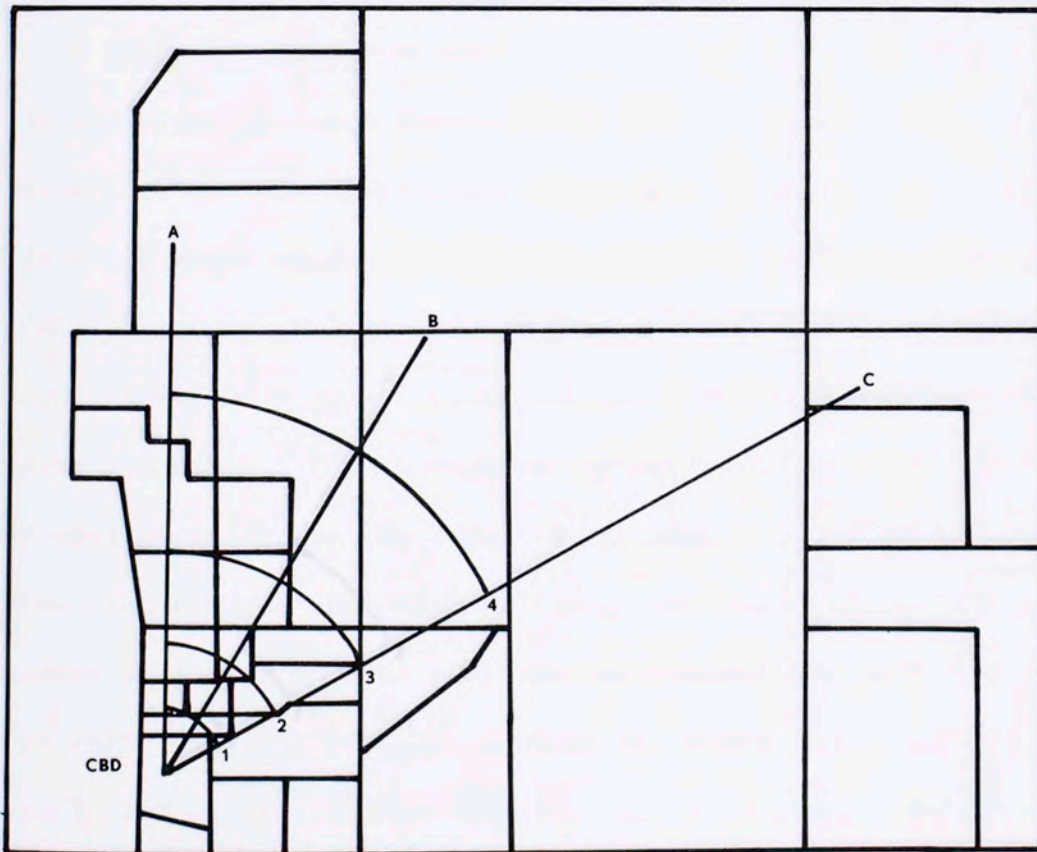
GHETTO SECTORS AND ZONES

OKLAHOMA CITY, 1970

CENSUS TRACT MATRIX

		SECTORS		
		A	B	C
ZONES	1	26	30	29
	2	15	14	28
	3	5	4	79
	4	62	61	88

NORTHEAST QUADRANT



SOURCE: AUTHOR

FIGURE 6-2

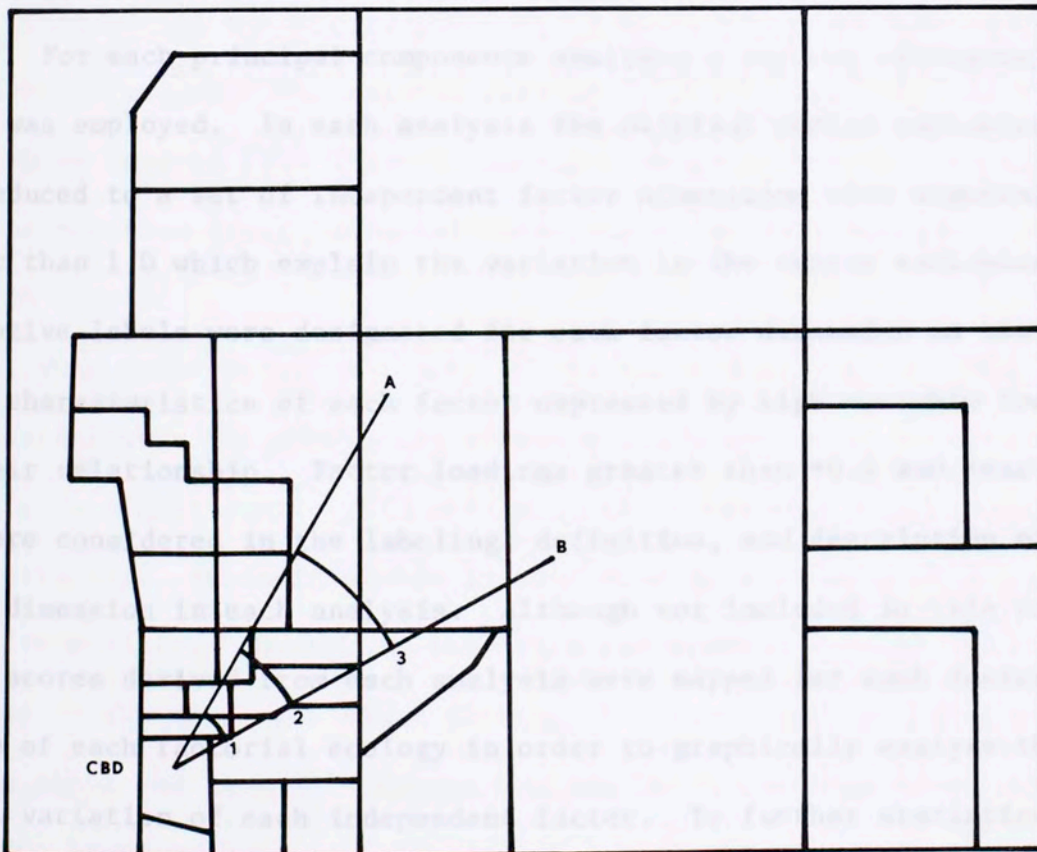
GHETTO SECTORS AND ZONES

OKLAHOMA CITY, 1960

CENSUS TRACT MATRIX

		SECTORS	
		A	B
ZONES	1	30	29
	2	14	28
	3	61	79

NORTHEAST QUADRANT



SOURCE: AUTHOR

FIGURE 6-3

other recent black factorial ecology studies which have used the same census variables. The second objective was to determine the ecological structure of the Black Community for 1960 and 1970 by selecting sixteen census variables for study. This analysis was made in order to compare the factorial ecologies of both years due to the crucial period; pre- and post- 1964 Civil Rights Act census years. The third was to determine the ecological structure of the Black Community for the years of 1940, 1950, 1960, and 1970 by selecting nine census variables for study. This analysis was employed in order to evaluate the change in ecological dimension structure and the pattern of ecological differentiation between 1940 and 1970.

For each principal components analysis a varimax orthogonal rotation was employed. In each analysis the original census variables were reduced to a set of independent factor dimensions with eigenvalues greater than 1.0 which explain the variation in the census variables used. Descriptive labels were designated for each factor dimension on the basis of the characteristics of each factor expressed by high variable loadings and their relationship. Factor loadings greater than +0.4 and less than -0.4 were considered in the labeling, definition, and description of each factor dimension in each analysis. Although not included in this paper, factor scores derived from each analysis were mapped for each factor dimension of each factorial ecology in order to graphically analyze the spatial variation of each independent factor. To further statistically quantify the spatial pattern of each factor dimension, analysis of variance was employed in order to determine whether each factor is differentiated at a significant level, sectorially or concentrically.

The census variables used in these analyses together with the

derived factor dimensions, factor scores, communalities, eigenvalues, and other pertinent statistics are given in the Appendices. The computer program utilized in the principal components analyses was from W. J. Dixon's BiMed Computer Programs out of the University of California at Los Angeles.²

Factorial Ecology; 1970

This factorial ecology which analyzed 20 census variables revealed that five basic dimensions describe much of the variation (87.3% of the total variance) in socio-economic characteristics of the Black Community of Oklahoma City for the year 1970: economic status, family status, residential mobility/migration, sound housing, and craftsmen-operatives structure. The factors derived from this analysis are similar to those derived from other factorial ecologies of entire metropolitan areas and from other factorial ecologies of Black Communities in Anglo-North America.

This multivariate analysis of the Black Community of Oklahoma City substantiates the previously proposed assumption that the Black Community is significantly differentiated as to certain socio-economic characteristics. Economic status is exhibited by a pattern of concentric differentiation throughout the black residential area of the northeast side of the city, the Black Ghetto. The several small black neighborhoods along and near Reno Avenue and the North Canadian River which originated between 1900 and 1920 were of relatively undifferentiated low economic status. Other black residential areas of relatively undiffer-

²William J. Dixon, ed., BMD: Biomedical Computer Programs (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).

entiated low economic status were located in the southeast and southwest sections of the city (public housing). Within the large, growing, expanding northeast side black residential area, the Black Community is significantly differentiated as to aspects of income, occupation, home ownership, and education. The greater economic differentiation was found to be between the neighborhoods along sector A (refer to Figure 6-2) which borders predominately white neighborhoods to the west. The sector of least economic differentiation was sector C, the eastern most sector. As in other Black Community ecological studies economic status increases with distance from the inner city, and very low economic status is generally contained within the inner city neighborhoods and in public housing.

Family status is also exhibited by a pattern of concentric differentiation throughout the northeast side of the city. Smaller families, aging families, and the elderly dominate the inner city neighborhoods and the older scattered declining neighborhoods along the North Canadian River. Overcrowding is characteristic of the inner and outer suburbs of the city. Larger, younger families dominate the outer suburbs and areas of public housing. Within the whole of the Black Community differentiation is significant as to aspects of family size, age composition, dwelling overcrowding, and segregation. The greatest family differentiation was found to be between the neighborhoods along sector C, the least along sector A; the opposite of economic differentiation. In previous black ecological studies no consistent pattern of family status variation has appeared. Findings in previous studies have been no discernible pattern,

sectorial, or nucleated.³ The distortion of any natural pattern has been attributed to public housing.⁴ This natural pattern does not appear to be as distorted in the Oklahoma City case as in other black factorial ecologies.

Residential mobility/migration is exhibited by a pattern of sectorial differentiation through the northeast side. The smaller black neighborhoods along the river are drastically declining in population with very little if any in-migration. The northeast area appears to be significantly differentiated as to aspects of residential mobility, segregation, and certain economic variables related to migration. There are at least three basic types of black neighborhoods based on residential mobility characteristics: 1) the stable black neighborhood, 2) the unstable declining black neighborhood, and 3) the unstable growing black neighborhood.

The stable black neighborhood is characterized by a black population which is relatively not on the decline or on the increase, and by a relatively low degree of residential mobility. These neighborhoods are neither source areas nor reception areas for intra-city migrants. Census tracts 13 and 79 along with the Green Pastures black satellite neighborhood exhibit these attributes.

³ Curtis C. Roseman, Charles M. Christian and Henry W. Bullamore, "Factorial Ecologies of Urban Black Communities," in Perspectives in Geography 2: Geography of the Ghetto: Perceptions, Problems, and Alternatives, ed. Harold M. Rose (DeKalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 1972), pp. 239-256; Charles M. Christian, Social Areas and Spatial Change in the Black Community of Chicago: 1950-1960, Geography Graduate Student Paper No. 2 (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois, 1972).

⁴ Ibid.

The unstable declining black neighborhood is characterized by a black population which has decreased absolutely by 30% to 50% between 1960 and 1970. These neighborhoods are all in the inner city and are all over 90% black. Generally, these residential areas have a low percentage of black in-migrants from outside the S.M.S.A. and a low to moderate percentage of black intra-city migrants. Census tracts 27, 28, 29, 30, and 38 exhibit these attributes. These were source areas for much of the intra-city migrant population to the inner and outer suburbs.

The unstable growing black neighborhood is characterized by a black population which has grown considerably between 1960 and 1970. These neighborhoods can be grouped into two types; 1) major black growth between 1960 and 1965, and 2) major black growth after 1965. These were the primary receiver areas or migrant zones for the mobile black family with relatively higher median education, higher income, and higher status occupations. The invasion-succession process is clearly observable. Census tracts 4, 14, 15, and 26 were receiver areas between 1960 and 1965. Census tracts 5, 52, 61, 62, and 73 became major receiver areas after 1965. Census tracts 4 and 73 have substantial public housing populations. Interestingly, the area of greatest in-migration by blacks from outside the S.M.S.A. was to census tract 73 in which almost all of the black population is situated in public housing. Other areas which were characterized by larger percentages of blacks from outside the S.M.S.A. were in census tracts with the best single-family housing and related amenities; the peripheral suburbs on the northeast side (52, 61, 62, 83).

Two other dimensions of the black ecological structure are sound housing or household characteristics and craftsmen-operative structure. Neither dimension exhibits statistical significance as to sectorial

or zonal patterning, although the patterns appear to be more zonal than sectorial.

The only discernible pattern for the dimension of sound housing or household characteristics is a core-inner city/outer suburb dichotomy on the northeast side with greater housing deterioration and dilapidation in the inner city together with lesser income, education, and females in the labor force compared to much better housing in the outer suburbs with greater income, education, and more females in the labor force. The black neighborhoods along the river exhibit very poor housing conditions with low socio-economic attributes. The Green Pastures area also exhibits relatively poor housing characteristics along with relatively low socio-economic conditions, although this area is quite varied as to black housing and socio-economic characteristics.

The craftsmen-operative structure does not show a clear pattern of differentiation. Craftsmen-operative occupations are well distributed about the Black Community on the northeast side and account for one-fifth to one-third of the occupations in most census tracts with the exception of much lower percentages for the old Bathtown area in census tract 29 and for the public housing area of census tract 73. Generally, older neighborhoods with a high percentage of craftsmen-operatives have a high percentage of household workers and high unemployment. Newer suburbs with a high percentage of craftsmen-operatives have a low percentage of household workers and low unemployment.

Overall, the factorial ecology derived from this analysis compares quite favorably with those found for other Black Communities within the confines of white metropolises. Factor dimensions and factor structures are very similar and patterns of factor differentiation are consistent

with other studies with the exception of the family dimension which displayed a zonal pattern of variation. Family dimension variation has not shown any consistent pattern in other studies.

Factorial Ecologies; 1960 and 1970

The 1970 factorial ecology here analyzed 16 census variables revealing four basic dimensions which describe most of the variation (86.9% of the total variance) in socio-economic characteristics of the city's Black Community; economic status, family status, residential mobility/in-migration, and family purchasing power. The factors derived from this analysis are very similar to the previous 20 variable analysis, and therefore, similar to other factorial ecology studies of Black Communities.

The first two dimensions and factor structures which emerged from this analysis are almost identical with the economic and family dimensions derived in the previous study. The third dimension, residential mobility/in-migration is very similar even with the elimination of the percent black variable. The fourth dimension, family purchasing power, is a household characteristic type and is similar to the previous fourth and fifth dimensions.

From graphic analysis and analysis of variance the patterns of these dimensions are very similar to the previous study; economic status is zonal, family status is zonal, and residential mobility is sectorial, while the fourth dimension's pattern is essentially undiscernible although it tends to be more zonal than sectorial.

This 1960 factorial ecology which analyzed the same 16 variables revealed that four basic dimensions describe much of the variation (86.4% of the total variance) in socio-economic characteristics of Oklahoma

City's Black Community for the year of 1960; economic status, family status, residential mobility, and female employment structure. Again, as in the 1970 analysis, the factors derived are similar to those which have emerged from other metropolitan area and Black Community factorial ecologies.

The multivariate analysis of the Black Community of Oklahoma City for 1960 again substantiates the proposed assumption that the Black Community is significantly differentiated as to certain socio-economic characteristics. In 1960 the black residential area on the northeast side was much more limited in area than in 1970 and there was no public housing or urban renewal clearance and relocation. Economic status is exhibited by a pattern of concentric zonal differentiation through the black northeast side of the city. The small black neighborhoods along and near the North Canadian River and Reno Avenue were of relatively undifferentiated low economic status. The black suburban satellite area of Green Pastures exhibited moderately low economic status. Within the northeast side black residential area the Black Community is significantly differentiated as to aspects of income, occupation, home ownership, and education. Considerable economic status differentiation exists between the inner city core neighborhoods and the black suburbs. The greatest economic differentiation appears along sector A as in 1970. As for Oklahoma City in 1970 and for other black factorial ecologies economic status increases with distance from the inner city, and low economic status is generally contained within the inner city neighborhoods.

Family status is exhibited by a pattern which tends toward concentric differentiation throughout the northeast side. This zonal differentiation is much less distinct than for economic status. It is also

much less significant than the zonal variation displayed in 1970. Sector B shows considerable family status differentiation with distance from the inner city, as in 1970. The smaller black neighborhoods along the river showed differentiation as to family status attributes. The westernmost neighborhoods of Sandtown near May Avenue and Westtown near Western Avenue exhibited the youngest family populations and the most overcrowded conditions. Southtown and Riverside to the south of the CBD exhibited characteristics similar to the inner city black neighborhoods on the northeast side which were aging family neighborhoods with less overcrowding. The black satellite suburb of Green Pastures is shown to be a residential area of predominately young families and relative overcrowding. From this analysis the Black Community is substantially differentiated as to attributes of family status.

Residential mobility is indicated by a pattern of zonal differentiation, unlike the sectorial pattern displayed in 1970. This may be due to the fact that the only variable which loaded high on this dimension was reflective of intra-city migration. The in-migration variable did not load high on any of the factors. Other variables which only loaded moderately were reflective of dwelling overcrowding and education. Although there are black neighborhoods which can be characterized by stability or instability as in 1970 (static, declining, or growing black population) there appears to be little if any relationships between that type of neighborhood classification and residential mobility related to source areas or receiver areas for migrants. The primary finding related to this dimension is, that for the most part, the Black Community is far from being static, but instead is very mobile. Even the declining neighborhoods exhibited considerable residential turnover to new black

residents, especially from other homes within the city.

There were at least three categories of black neighborhoods related to receiver areas of black intra-city migrants; low, moderate, and high in-migration. The low receiver neighborhoods are characterized by a relatively high degree of overcrowding and a low educational level, and only a low to moderate percentage of in-migrants are from outside the S.M.S.A. The moderate receiver neighborhoods are characterized by moderate overcrowding and a moderate level of education. The high receiver neighborhoods are characterized by moderate overcrowding and relatively high levels of education. The low receiver category included only one neighborhood on the northeast side of the city: others were Southtown, Sandtown, and Green Pastures. All other neighborhoods on the northeast side were either moderate or high receiver areas for intra-city migrants and the northernmost peripheral black neighborhood had by far the highest percentage of in-migrants from outside the S.M.S.A. (also, the neighborhood of highest educational level).

Female employment structure exhibits no discernible pattern as to zonality or sectoriality, but there is a considerable differentiation of black neighborhoods on the basis of this dimension. The average percentage of females employed in the labor force is about 41 percent. Black neighborhoods on the northeast side exhibit moderate to high percentages of females in the labor force, 40 to 53 percent. In these neighborhoods laborers and household workers make-up a relatively low to moderate percentage of the black labor force, 15 to 30 percent. These neighborhoods range from having low to high percentages of elderly, 1 to 10 percent, although the majority have low to low moderate percentages. The most suburban neighborhood, census tract 61, has the lowest percentage of

females employed, laborers and household workers, and elderly.

The smaller black neighborhoods along the river, Riverside, Westtown, and Sandtown, exhibit low to moderate percentages of females in the labor force. Riverside has the lowest percentage of females employed of all black neighborhoods in the city, the highest percentage of laborers and household workers, and the largest percentage of elderly. Sandtown had a relatively low percentage of females in the labor force, with a moderate percentage of laborers and household workers, and elderly. Westtown has a moderate percentage of females employed, laborers and household workers, and elderly. Southtown, with a very small black population, has a high percentage of females in the labor force, a low percent of laborers and household workers, and a moderate percent of elderly. The black suburb of Green Pastures exhibits a low percentage of females employed with a high percent of laborers and household workers, and elderly.

Both 1960 and 1970 factorial ecologies here are similar to those derived in other black factorial ecological studies. The factor dimensions and factor structures for the factorial ecologies of 1960 and 1970 display considerable likeness, especially the two most important, economic status and family status. Even the fourth factor of each, family purchasing power and female employment structure are very similar as to variable loadings and structure. This suggests that there exists a consistent basis for black ecological structure and differentiation for the two periods. One major difference is displayed by the trend in more distinct ecological differentiation over time especially for variation in family status, and a change in migration variation from a zonal to a sectorial pattern. This suggests an increasing preference for blacks to occupy housing in the sector nearest the white population which affords

a variety of housing types from inner city to the suburbs rather than a previous need to move from the inner city to the outer suburbs (zonal).

In 1960 the outer zones of housing on the northeast side were entirely white occupied but by 1970 these zones had gone through at least the preliminary stages of the invasion-succession process. With housing availability limited in these outer zones the target for the natural invasion-succession process became the westernmost sector of the northeast side ghetto which provided housing of all types to satisfy the needs of black families commensurate with their economic resources. This appears to be a typical stage in the expansion of the growing expanding black ghetto when the target of invasion-succession shifts from outward zonal expansion to lateral expansion into adjacent sectors of the city. A major shift from outward to lateral expansion is generally associated with a barrier to outward movement. In this case outward black expansion had reached the limit of residential development in the northeast sector.

Factorial Ecologies; 1940 to 1970

The 1970 factorial ecology which analyzed 9 census variables revealed that two basic dimensions describe much of the variation (69.4% of the total variation) in socio-economic characteristics of the Black Community in Oklahoma City for 1970; economic status and family status. These dimensions are typical of economic and family status dimensions and are very similar, considering the limited number of variables utilized, to the economic and family dimensions derived from the 1970 twenty variable and sixteen variable analyses. As in the other 1970 analyses this factorial ecology substantiates the assumption that the Black Community is significantly differentiated.

Economic status is exhibited by a pattern of concentric zonal differentiation and family status is somewhat undiscernible although a zonal pattern is suggested by graphic interpretation and analysis of variance. There exists a definite dichotomy between the inner city neighborhoods and the outer black suburbs as to both economic status and family status. Although only nine variables are used in this analysis the basic factor dimensions, factor structures, and patterns of variation are similar to other Black Community factorial ecologies.

This factorial ecology for 1960 revealed that three basic dimensions describe most of the variation (84.1% of the total variance) in socio-economic characteristics of Oklahoma City's Black Community for 1960; economic status, family status, and segregation/unemployment structure. The dimensions of economic status and family status are typical of such dimensions derived from other black factorial ecologies, and are quite similar to those dimensions derived in the 1960 sixteen variable analysis.

Economic status and family status exhibit a pattern of zonal differentiation similar to the sixteen variable analysis. The third dimension that emerged, segregation/unemployment structure, was somewhat unusual and unique. This type of dimension with these two high loading variables, percent non-white and males unemployed, has not emerged in previous analysis in this study or in any other factorial ecologies known to this author. From a cross-variable analysis of the derived variable correlation matrix several aspects of this dimension were revealed.

The third dimension, segregation/unemployment structure exhibits a sectorial pattern. All of the predominately black census tracts, over

70% black, exhibited moderate male unemployment with the exception of the inner core black area, census tract 38, which had very high male unemployment at 11.9%. Green Pastures, being predominately black, had a low-moderate male unemployment rate and a very low percentage of home ownership. The most stable predominately black census tracts appear to be the black suburbs of census tracts 13 and 79 which both exhibit low to moderate male unemployment and very high home ownership. The outer suburb, census tract 61 an area of middle class black migrants, exhibits the lowest percentage of dwelling ownership. Generally, the smaller black neighborhoods along the North Canadian River exhibit very high male unemployment and a low percentage of home ownership with the exception of Westtown which exhibits moderate unemployment and home ownership.

Overall the factor dimensions which emerged from this analysis are representative of the three Shevky dimensions; economic status, family status, and segregation. The economic status and family status dimensions for 1960 and 1970 are very similar as to structure, variable relationship, and pattern of variation.

The 1950 factorial ecology revealed that two basic dimensions describe much of the variation (76.3% of the total variance) in the socioeconomic characteristics of the Black Community of Oklahoma City for 1950; economic status and family status. The structure of these two dimensions is not typical of the black factorial ecologies for 1960 and 1970 nor metropolitan areas, but they do resemble some black factorial ecologies for 1950 and factorial ecologies for some Third World cities.⁵ Although

⁵Christian, Social Areas; Janet L. Abu-Lughod, "Testing the Theory of Social Area Analysis: The Ecology of Cairo, Egypt," American Sociological Review, 34, No. 2 (April, 1969), pp. 198-212.

the variables indicative of economic and family status loaded moderately to high on the appropriate dimensions, each dimension had significant loadings on variables indicative of the other dimension, especially in the case of economic status. It is this author's contention that these dimension structures may be a result of black residential constraint, a combination of limited differentiation resulting in dimensions which exhibit the combination of family and economic status, and the limited number of study units or census tracts to analyze. In other words there is limited differentiation due to spatial constraint on available housing and that distinct differentiation is not as apparent due to the small number of census tracts under study. This is also the case in the 1940 analysis.

A cross-dimensional comparison revealed several aspects of family and economic status differentiation and spatial aspects of the combination of the two. A basic dichotomy emerged between the several older black neighborhoods along the river and the black neighborhoods on the northeast side of the city; relatively low and high economic status, respectively. The other basic dichotomy emerged along the lines of family status between the three black neighborhood zones on the northeast side of the city; a greater percentage of the young large families are furthest from the CBD. As to a classification of black neighborhoods based on both status dimensions, considerable variation is apparent. On the northeast side the inner city core neighborhoods exhibit a relatively aging population with a relatively higher economic status. The inner city suburbs exhibit a relatively higher economic status with a relatively middle aged population. The outermost suburb exhibits high economic status and a very young population. The several black neighborhoods

along the river are also differentiated as to the combination of economic and family status. Sandtown exhibits a relatively young population with the lowest economic status among the river communities. Westtown exhibited the oldest population, although not as old as the inner city core neighborhoods of the northeast side, and the highest economic status among the river communities. Southtown and Riverside exhibited relatively low economic status with aging population.

The 1940 factorial ecology revealed that three basic dimensions describe much of the variation (87.8% of the total variation) in socioeconomic characteristics of Oklahoma City's Black Community; economic status, family status, and segregation structure. As in the 1950 analysis the economic and family dimensions are not as clear cut as they are in the 1960 and 1970 analyses. In this analysis for 1940 some of the variables which are typical indicators of family or economic status do not load as high as expected on the appropriate dimensions.

Economic status is relatively higher for the black neighborhoods on the northeast side of the city than for the smaller black communities along the North Canadian River with the exception of the Bathtown neighborhood which displays very low economic status. The neighborhoods which exhibit the highest economic status are characterized by a relatively low percentage of laborers and household workers, a moderate to high percentage of professionals and managers, and a moderate to large population per household. These include the inner city black neighborhood (census tract 38), the black suburbs (tracts 30 and 27), and the black neighborhoods of Westtown and Southtown. The Bathtown area (tract 19) ranks moderately as to percentage laborers, household workers, professionals, managers, and population per house. The neighborhoods which exhibit relatively

low economic status (tracts 40, 57, and 17) are all characterized by high percentages of laborers and household workers, low percentages of professionals and managers and low to moderate levels of population per household.

The family status dimension is not only represented by high loadings on the typical indicators of population under age 18, population over age 65, and population per household, but is also represented by two variables which are generally indicative of economic status; median education and males unemployed. The inner city black neighborhoods on the northeast side (tracts 30 and 38) exhibit a relatively moderate percentage of population under age 20 and population over age 65, a moderate to high median education level, a low level of male unemployment, and a moderate to large population per household. The northeast black suburb (tract 27) exhibits a moderate percentage of population under age 20, a low percentage of population over age 65, a high level of education, a low level of male unemployment, and a moderate population per household. The black neighborhoods along the river all exhibit moderate to high percentages of under age 18, high percentages of elderly (extended family areas), low to moderate levels of education, moderate to high male unemployment, and population per household. Census tract 17 is not a black neighborhood, but a wealthy white neighborhood. Blacks which reside in this residential area are mostly live-in servants and some renters. Family status here is exhibited by very low percentages of youth and elderly, a relatively high level of education, a low level of unemployment and small families.

As in the 1950 analysis a cross-dimensional comparison of economic status and family status for 1940 revealed several aspects of

socio-economic differentiation within the Black Community. The wealthy white neighborhood, presently "Heritage Hills," exhibited the lowest economic status for blacks and also the most aged and least crowded population. The socio-economic status positions for these blacks was dominantly influenced by the occupation of the majority of this population, laborers and household servants with low unemployment. Southtown, also with a small black population, exhibited attributes at the opposite end of the socio-economic spectrum; relatively high economic status (low percentage of laborers and servants, high percentage of professionals, and high unemployment), a relatively young population and a moderate to high level of overcrowding. The black neighborhoods of Sandtown and Riverside both exhibited relatively low economic status and younger families with a high level of overcrowding and high unemployment. On the northeast side the black suburbs (tracts 27 and 30) exhibited relatively high economic status with a somewhat aging population. The older inner city black neighborhoods (tracts 38 and 29) and Westtown exhibited a relatively moderate status on both the economic and family dimensions. Interestingly, for this period the inner city black neighborhoods are characterized by relatively higher percentages of young blacks and elderly blacks compared to the black suburbs. Also, the black neighborhoods on the northeast side all exhibit relatively older populations than the several black neighborhoods along the North Canadian River; some being very much younger.

The segregation dimension is characterized by high loadings on percentage non-whites and dwelling ownership with a moderate loading on youthful population. The older core black neighborhoods on the northeast side (tracts 38 and 29) along with Sandtown exhibit the highest

percentages of non-whites, moderate to high dwelling ownership, and a moderate to high percentage of youths. The black suburbs on the north-east side exhibit low to moderate percentages of non-whites with moderate home ownership and population under age 20. The black neighborhoods of Southtown, Westtown, and Riverside exhibit low percentages of non-whites with low to moderate home ownership and population under age 20.

Summary

The importance of the results of this particular analysis lies in the fact that there has been considerable ecological differentiation from 1940 to 1970 between the black neighborhoods of Oklahoma City's Black Community and that over this period there have been significant patterns of ecological variation and change. In more general terms, the basis for this differentiation and the manifested patterns of variation are applicable to the ecological structure of the Black Community in the Anglo-American city.

The dimensional and spatial ecological evolution of the Black Community of Oklahoma City based on factorial ecologies has been determined in this analysis. Black ecological structure and differentiation is primarily explained by two major dimensions, economic status and family status, which explain 46.8% to 76.3% of the total variance and 53.6% to 100% of the common variance. A third important dimension which emerged in the 1960 and 1970 analyses was a residential mobility/migration factor. Other ecological dimensions which emerged over this three decade period were sound housing, craftsmen/operatives structure, female employment structure, black purchasing power, and segregation. Each has its own unique importance as to explaining black ecological structure and differ-

entiation. Over this period both the pattern in ecological variation and factor structure evolved a more distinct character.

Internal and external forces which are discussed in greater detail in the next chapter have influenced this black ecological structure, the spatial variation in its ecological dimensions, and the change in the structure and pattern of these dimensions. The changing nature of the housing market and migration are important factors which have been influenced by these forces, including opportunity for social and economic advancement. Early influences including public policy tended toward constraining the spatial confines of black residential areas while more recent influences have tended toward the expansion of the northeast side Black Ghetto. With the expansion has not only come a considerable increase in available housing, but also an increase in the variety of housing types (age, size, cost-rent, related amenities, architecture, etc.) which has provided a more diversified black housing market. This has provided the basis for greater ecological differentiation and more distinct patterns of variation.

For the most part the results derived from these factorial ecology analyses compare favorably to those derived for other black factorial ecology studies including factor dimensions, factor structures, and patterns of variation. Although the patterns of variation are somewhat dissimilar the factor dimensions and structures are similar to those generally derived from factorial ecologies of entire metropolitan areas. This similarity appears to also extend to patterns of variation with the continued growth, expansion, and maturation of the Black Community.

Sub-dimensional Analysis of Black Ecological Structure

This section of the quantitative analysis of the Black Community ecological structure is focused on investigating the sub-dimensional aspects of the ecological dimensions of the factorial ecology. Although assumed independent, these dimensions and their structures suggest a certain degree of association. The first step in this analysis is to determine the sub-dimensional character of the standard dimensions derived from the factorial ecology. A principal components analysis of three fundamental black ecological conditions for two census years, 1960 and 1970, should reveal whether there are logical sub-dimensions of each condition and whether these sub-dimensions exhibit any significant patterns of spatial differentiation.

The second step in this analysis is to determine the associations between the basic ecological conditions. Canonical correlation analysis is utilized here to further analyze the sub-dimensions derived from the previous principal components analyses of the economic, family, and household conditions for 1960 and 1970. Although this does not give the researcher insight into the historical evolution of the Black Community prior to 1960, it does provide a valuable insight into the condition of the Black Community which has reached a stage of maturation prior to the critical 1960s period of major civil rights legislation and urban renewal policy and practice. It, then also, provides insight into the condition of the Black Community after the implementation of this civil rights legislation and influential urban renewal policy and practice. This is a crucial period in the Black Community's evolution; critical because of the magnitude of exogenous influence affecting the development of the Black Community.

Canonical correlation is employed in this analysis because it seeks to maximize the covariance or correlation between each of two derived sets of variables (as sub-dimensions of one ecological condition and sub-dimensions of another) by computing new variates which are linear combinations of the original variables being maximally correlated and resulting in canonical vectors. Two interpretive devices of canonical correlation are employed; 1) the canonical factor structure matrix and 2) the canonical factor scores. The variances extracted from each measurement domain and the redundancy of canonical factors are taken into consideration. Canonical variable factor scores (coordinates) were graphed, classified as to graphic clustering, and mapped as to group classification. The graphs and maps are not included in the paper.

Subdimensions of the Economic Ecological Condition

This subdimensional analysis employed 15 census variables (typically indicative of economic status) for two census years, 1960 and 1970. The analysis revealed that three similar basic subdimensions described most of the variation (69.9% and 79.2% of the total variance, respectively) in economic condition characteristics of the Black Community of Oklahoma City for both years; income structure, education structure, and occupation structure. A minor fourth dimension emerged in the 1960 analysis labeled female unemployment structure. The patterns of variation of each subdimension for 1970 were zonal for the income and occupation structures, and sectorial for the education structure. For 1960 the patterns were zonal for the income structure, and sectorial for the education and occupation structures. Spatial expansion into a much larger more diversified housing market resulted in a change in the

ecological variation of occupation structure. Dissimilar to the typical pattern of economic status derived from the standard factorial ecology is the pattern in variation of the education structure. The convergence of females in the labor force on the income structure in 1970 from an independent dimension in 1960 suggests a growing importance of the black female worker as a major contributor to the economic condition of the black family, both in the case of married couples and females as head of the household.

Subdimensions of the Family Ecological Condition

The family subdimensional analysis employed 10 census variables (typically indicative of family status) for 1960 and 1970. In both census years the analyses revealed that three similar basic subdimensions described much of the variation (87.2% and 81.4% of the total variance, respectively) in family condition characteristics of the Black Community; family size/age structure, social disorganization structure, and residential mobility/migration structure. The patterns of variation for each of these family condition subdimensions for 1970 were zonal for family size/age structure and social disorganization structure, and sectorial for residential mobility/migration structure. The patterns for 1960 were much less distinct with all three subdimensions tending toward zonality. Again as with the economic condition subdimensions, spatial expansion has resulted in a greater degree of distinctive ecological patterns based on family condition subdimensions, and the emergence of a sectorial pattern of differentiation for the residential mobility/migration structure.

Subdimensions of the Household Ecological Condition

The household subdimensional analysis employed 14 census variables (indicative of various household characteristics) for both 1960 and 1970. This analysis revealed that three similar basic subdimensions described much of the variation (82.4% and 74.5% of the total variance, respectively) in household condition characteristics of the Black Community; dwelling population structure, dwelling size and ownership structure, and dwelling value and amenities structure. A minor fourth dimension emerged in the 1970 analysis labeled household affluency which discriminates census tracts of the Black Community on the basis of relatively large expensive housing. The patterns of variation of each subdimension for 1970 were zonal for dwelling population structure and dwelling size and ownership structure, and sectorial for dwelling value and amenities structure. For 1960 a tendency toward zonality was displayed by dwelling value and amenities structure and dwelling size and ownership structure, while dwelling population structure exhibited a somewhat statistically undiscernible pattern of differentiation. As in the economic condition and family condition subdimensional analyses, spatial expansion of the northeast side Black Ghetto resulted in more distinctive and statistically significant patterns of ecological variation, and a change in the pattern of variation based on dwelling value and amenities, from zonal to sectorial. The emergence of the household affluency subdimension in 1970 suggests the emergence of a black affluent elite and the increased availability of appropriate housing for these black families.

Subdimensional Summary

These six multivariate analyses of the three fundamental conditions

of ecological structure (economic condition, family condition, household condition) revealed their more basic subdimensions; their subdimensional structures and spatial patterns. Very similar logical subdimensions emerged for appropriate ecological conditions in both 1960 and 1970. Factor structures of appropriate subdimensions for 1960 and 1970 showed similar variable loadings.

The patterns of spatial differentiation for condition subdimensions generally followed the pattern expressed for the appropriate condition in a factorial ecology, but not always, which suggests that the overall spatial pattern of a condition may generally express one type of pattern while one or more subdimensions of that condition may express a differing spatial pattern. Most of the 1970 subdimensions exhibited significant patterns of spatial variation while many in 1960 exhibited a somewhat undiscernible pattern although tending toward one type of pattern or another.

Subdimensional Association

In the previous section principal components analysis of three major ecological conditions of the Black Community for 1960 and 1970 revealed more fundamental subdimensions for each condition which were very similar for both years. In this section canonical correlation of these subdimensions for appropriate ecological conditions in each year revealed that there were several significant associations of all three conditions.

In the factorial ecology these ecological conditions (dimensions, factors, statuses) are assumed to be relatively independent conditions of the Black Community. From the canonical correlation analysis of the subdimensions of these assumed independent conditions there is considerable

interrelatedness between them through the association of certain condition subdimensions.

Certain condition subdimensions exhibit greater interrelatedness than others in each year and others exhibit similar associations in both years. As to the former, three condition subdimensions show strong multiple associations in 1960; 1) social disorganization structure, a subdimension of the family condition, related to both the income subdimension of the economic condition and the value and amenities subdimension of the household condition, 2) migration, a subdimension of the family condition, related to both the education subdimension of the economic condition and the size and ownership subdimension of the household condition, and 3) income, a subdimension of the economic condition, related to both the social disorganization subdimension of the family condition and the value and amenities subdimension of the household condition. In 1970 only one condition subdimension shows strong multiple associations; the size and age composition subdimension of the family condition with both the occupation subdimension of the economic condition and the population subdimension of the household condition. As to the latter, only three similar associations emerged in both 1960 and 1970; 1) the size and age composition subdimension of the family condition and the population subdimension of the household condition, 2) the size and age composition subdimension of the family condition and the occupation subdimension of the economic condition, and 3) income structure of the economic condition and the value and amenities subdimension on the household condition.

In 1960 and 1970 there was at least one strong association between each of the ecological conditions although these strong associations

differed for the two periods. In 1960 there were two strong associations between each of the three conditions. In 1970 there was a very strong interrelatedness between the family and household conditions as reflected by three strong associations while there was only one strong association between the family and economic conditions and the economic and household conditions. The dissimilar character of these associations in 1960 and 1970 suggests the existence of a complex and dynamic ecological structure. So it might be stated that although the character of associations between condition subdimensions differs over time, the fact that there is significant interrelatedness between ecological conditions is very important.

For the Black Community in Oklahoma City it is suggested that the interrelatedness displayed in 1960 is typical of a mature, growing, expanding Black Community of the pre-1960s civil rights period while that reflected by the 1970 analysis is typical of the post-period. Some distortion of the 1970 associations may be due to exogenous influences as urban renewal and public housing; clearance and relocation. It might be that any differences displayed in associations are not related to exogenous influences at all but due to inherent change within the Black Community. Of course, a third alternative would be the result of both internal and exogeneous influences which is most likely the case. The effect of the implementation of exogeneous policies on black ecological structure and subdimensional associations although only moderately apparent in 1970 will probably be much more apparent by 1980.

Strong subdimensional associations in 1960 are reflected as the following: 1) census tracts which exhibit a high degree of social disorganization are also characterized by low economic status (relatively low educational and income levels), 2) census tracts which exhibit a high

degree of social disorganization are also characterized by lower valued housing which lack typical dwelling amenities and structural soundness, 3) census tracts which exhibit high economic status are also characterized by higher valued housing equipped with typical dwelling amenities, 4) census tracts which exhibit a high occupancy of black migrants from the central city and a low incidence of blacks from other parts of the city are also characterized by a higher educational level and a higher percentage of service workers, 5) census tracts which exhibit a high occupancy of black migrants from the central city and a low incidence of blacks from other parts of the city are also characterized by smaller dwellings, less home ownership, less single family housing, and a greater occurrence of non-relatives in the household, and 6) census tracts which exhibit a high incidence of skilled labor and household workers are also characterized by dwelling overcrowding and large families.

Graphical analysis of the canonical factor scores for each set of subdimensional associations reveals spatial patterns based on black neighborhoods with similar and dissimilar association attributes. In respect to the first strong subdimensional association in 1960, mentioned previously, a basic trichotomy existed. The central city neighborhoods on the northeast side, the various river neighborhoods, and the Green Pastures area exhibit the highest degree of social disorganization and the lowest economic status. The inner city suburbs (26, 27, 28) exhibit moderate levels of social disorganization and economic status. The outer suburbs exhibit the lowest degree of social disorganization and the highest economic status.

The second strong subdimensional association in 1960 exhibited a very similar trichotomy of groups as for the previous association. The

groupings are basically the same. The central city neighborhoods on the northeast side, the river neighborhoods, and the Green Pastures area exhibit the highest degree of social disorganization and the lowest valued housing lacking typical dwelling amenities and soundness. The inner suburbs again exhibited moderate levels on this association while the outer suburbs, especially the outer most suburb (61), exhibited the lowest degree of social disorganization and the highest incidence of high valued housing with typical dwelling amenities and soundness.

The third strong sub-dimensional association in 1960 shows a basic dichotomous pattern. The central city neighborhoods on the northeast side, the river neighborhoods, and the Green Pastures area exhibit low economic status and lower valued housing lacking typical amenities and soundness. The inner and outer suburbs exhibit high economic status and higher valued housing with typical amenities and soundness. Each group in this dichotomy can be separated into subgroups. The low economic status/lower valued housing group can be separated into the river neighborhoods and Green Pastures which rank in the lowest economic status subgroup, and the central city neighborhoods (29, 38, 30) and Westtown which rank in a slightly higher economic status subgroup. The inner suburbs (26, 27, 28) rank in an even higher economic status subgroup while the outer suburbs (13, 14, 79, 61) rank as the highest economic status neighborhoods. These first three strong subdimensional associations form an interrelated triangle touching on all three ecological conditions, centered on income structure and generally on the economic condition.

The fourth strong subdimensional association shows a clear clustering of four groups. The Green Pastures area along with Southtown exhibit a low incidence of black migrants from the central city and a high

incidence of migrants from other parts of the city, a very low educational level, and a low percentage of service workers. Westtown alone exhibits a high incidence of black migrants from the central city and a very low incidence of migrants from other parts of the city, a moderate educational level and a low percentage of service workers. The outermost suburb (61) and Sandtown exhibit a moderate incidence of black migrants from the central city and a low incidence of migrants from other parts of the city, and a variable educational level (61 - high and Sandtown - low) and variable percent service workers (61 - low and Sandtown - moderate). The majority of the black neighborhoods, the inner city (29, 38, 30), the inner suburbs (26, 27, 28), the outer suburbs (13, 14, 79) and Riverside exhibit moderate to high incidence of black migrants from the central city and a low incidence of migrants from other parts of the city, a variable educational level (low-high), and a moderate to high percentage of service workers.

The fifth strong subdimensional association in 1960 shows a basic trichotomy. The Green Pastures area, one of the outer suburbs (79), and Sandtown exhibited a low percentage of black migrants from the central city and a high percentage of black migrants from other parts of the S.M.S.A., a high incidence of home ownership, a high incidence of large households, a high incidence of single family housing, and a lesser occurrence of non-relatives in the household. The older inner city neighborhoods on the northeast side (38, 29, 30, 27) exhibited a high percentage of black migrants from the central city and a low percentage of black migrants from other parts of the S.M.S.A., a low incidence of home ownership, a low incidence of large households, a lower incidence of single family housing, and a greater occurrence of non-relatives in

the household. The inner and outer suburbs, Southtown, Riverside, and Westtown exhibited a moderate ranking on these attributes.

The sixth strong subdimensional association in 1960 shows a basic dichotomy. The Green Pastures area, the outer suburbs (61, 79, 13, 14), Southtown, Sandtown, and Westtown exhibit relatively high percentages of skilled labor and household workers along with a relatively high incidence of dwelling overcrowding and large families. The inner city core, the inner suburbs, and Riverside exhibit relatively low percentages of skilled labor and household workers along with a relatively low incidence of dwelling overcrowding and large families.

Strong subdimensional associations in 1970 are reflected as the following: 1) census tracts which exhibit a low incidence of unskilled workers and a high incidence of skilled workers are also characterized by large young families with a high incidence of children under the age of 18 and a low incidence of elderly and non-related household members, 2) census tracts which exhibit a large young family with a high incidence of youth and a low incidence of elderly and non-related household members are also characterized by a high occurrence of dwelling overcrowding and a low incidence of one person dwellings, 3) census tracts which exhibited a high occurrence of dwelling overcrowding and a low incidence of one person dwellings are also characterized by higher educational levels and a lower incidence of unskilled workers and male unemployment, 4) census tracts which exhibited a high incidence of black migrants from the central city and from outside of the S.M.S.A. are also characterized by higher valued housing with typical dwelling amenities, and 5) census tracts which exhibited a high degree of social disorganization were also characterized by a low incidence of home ownership and single family

housing, and relatively smaller dwellings.

The first strong subdimensional association in 1970 shows considerable variety. There does not appear to be much of a pattern in this association. The extremes exhibited by this association include the public housing tract (73), the outermost suburb on the northeast side (83.01), the inner city on the northeast side (38, 30), and the Green Pastures area. The remainder of the inner and outer suburbs on the northeast side are characterized by moderate attributes on most of the variables in the association. The public housing tract (73) showed large young families with few elderly and very high percentages of service workers and laborers with a low percentage of craftsmen and operatives. The outermost suburb (83.01) is somewhat similar with large young families and few elderly, but with very low percentages of service workers and laborers and a very high percentage of craftsmen and operatives. The inner city (38, 30) exhibited smaller older families with a high percentage of elderly and a low to moderate percentage of service workers and laborers, and a high percentage of craftsmen and operatives. The Green Pastures area shows large families with a moderate occurrence on most other variables in the association.

The second strong subdimensional association in 1970 shows a basic dichotomy. The outer suburbs on the northeast side, the Green Pastures area, and the public housing tract exhibit a high incidence of young large families with few elderly and overcrowded dwelling conditions. The public housing tract, the Green Pastures area, and the outermost suburb (83.01) show the highest incidence of young large families and overcrowding. The central city neighborhoods and inner suburbs exhibited older smaller families with low percentages of overcrowded dwelling conditions. The central city neighborhoods (38, 30, 29) showed the highest

percentages of older smaller families and the lowest percentages of overcrowding.

The third strong subdimensional association in 1970 shows a similar graphic pattern as the first association (family/economic). The extremes exhibited by this association include the public housing tract (73), the Green Pastures area, and the outermost suburb (83.01). The public housing tract shows low educational and income levels with a very low incidence of females in the labor force and a very high incidence of dwelling overcrowding. The Green Pastures area shows low educational and income levels with a low incidence of females in the labor force and a moderate incidence of dwelling overcrowding. The outermost suburb shows high educational and income levels with a moderate incidence of females in the labor force and a high incidence of dwelling overcrowding. The central city and inner suburb neighborhoods exhibit low to moderate educational and income levels with a low to moderate incidence of females in the labor force and a low to very low incidence of dwelling overcrowding.

The fourth strong subdimensional association exhibits a basic dichotomy. Most of the outer suburbs on the northeast side show high percentages of black migrants from the central city and from outside the city with higher valued housing and typical dwelling amenities. The Green Pastures area and some of the inner city neighborhoods exhibit the lowest percentages of black migrants from the central city and from outside the city with low value housing lacking typical dwelling amenities.

The fifth strong subdimensional association generally exhibits a dichotomy. The central city neighborhoods, the inner suburbs, and the public housing tract (73) show high levels of social disorganization with low levels of ownership and smaller dwellings, while the outer suburbs and the

Green Pastures area show low levels of social disorganization with higher levels of home ownership and larger dwellings.

Three similar subdimensional associations emerged as canonical factors in both 1960 and 1970 although none reflected a strong association in both periods. Graphic analysis of canonical factor scores revealed a similarity in the spatial relationship of black neighborhoods for both periods. The association between the size/age composition subdimension of the family condition and the occupation subdimension of the economic condition showed a similar spatial relationship. The education/income subdimension of the economic condition and the value and amenities subdimension of the household condition also showed a similar spatial relation in both years. The third association between the size/age composition subdimension of the household condition showed a somewhat dissimilar spatial relationship of neighborhoods.

These associations for 1960 and 1970 and their expressed spatial structure have added insight into the interrelatedness of the various aspects of black urban ecological structure, its spatial differentiation and change. Similar analyses of 1940 and 1950 might have substantiated the suggestion made here, that the 1960 associations and spatial variations were representative of a maturing but still constrained Black Community under pre-civil rights legislation influence and tradition, and that the associations and spatial structures which emerged for 1970 were influenced by post-civil rights legislation and policy (particularly in the housing market, financing, public housing, clearance and relocation, etc.).

Change Analysis of the Black Community Ecological Structure

The emphasis in this part of the chapter is on investigating change in the ecological structure of the Black Community between 1940 and 1970. Three periods were analyzed for change; 1940 to 1950, 1950 to 1960, and 1960 to 1970.⁶ Two types of change are determined; dimensions of percentage change and change in the relative status of black neighborhoods.

For percentage change a change quotient or index was derived for the change in each variable employed.

$$\text{Change index} = \frac{L - E}{100} \quad \text{or} \quad \frac{30.3 - 15.1}{100} = .152$$

L = percentage value for a variable in the more recent year

E = percentage value for a variable in the earlier year

A positive change index indicates an increase in the percentage value of the variable over time while a negative change index indicates the opposite. Arbitrary upper and lower limits of +9.0 and -9.0 were set in order to partially overcome the distortion of change indexes which resulted from very low percentage values in the earlier year; although few indexes were above +1.0 or below -1.0.

A principal components analysis with a varimax orthogonal rotation was employed in each percentage change analysis. As in the factorial ecology analyses, independent factor dimensions were derived and assigned descriptive labels according to the characteristics of appropriate factors. Factor scores were mapped to obtain a visual spatial differen-

⁶Again, the slight boundary changes in census tracts analyzed for 1940, 1950, 1960, and 1970 are not considered significant enough to affect the analysis.

tiation of each factor and analysis of variance was employed in order to determine the significance of these spatial patterns.

For change in relative status eighteen census variables were individually analyzed. In each case the mean and standard deviation were employed to determine how black neighborhoods were classified as to each socio-economic attribute for each year 1940, 1950, 1960, and 1970. For each attribute in each year, black neighborhoods were classified as very low, low, moderate, high, or very high status. Over time the pattern of relative status for each attribute becomes apparent. The ranking status was mapped and evaluated as to status pattern and change for each time period.

In the three percentage change multivariate analyses performed in this section of the quantitative study of the Black Community ecological structure, the factors derived in each analysis accounted for at least a very high 85 percent of the total variance. The change dimensions which emerged in each analysis display similar factor structures for each period: 1940-1950, 1950-1960, and 1960-1970. These dimensions of change and their factor structures are also similar to dimensions derived from a change analysis of the Black Community of Chicago for 1950 to 1960.⁷

The dimensions derived from the 1940-1950 change analysis are commensurate with change dimensions which emerged in the 1950-1960 and 1960-1970 change analyses. These three fundamental dimensions of change from 1940 to 1970 were family structure change, economic status change, and skilled employment change. Along with these basic factors of change

⁷Christian, Social Areas.

is the trend of change in individual variables as to their relative change in a ranking scheme. The multivariate analyses provide insight into the socio-spatial change which the Black Community experiences in relation to strictly percentage of change. This alone, of course, can be misleading without the perspective provided by relative change and spatial trends in change shown by the relative ranking scheme of change as to neighborhoods which make-up the Black Community.

Numerous internal and external processes are reflected upon by these change dimensions and the relative ranking scheme of change; aging, the family cycle, social disorganization, migration, residential mobility, prejudice and discrimination, rising expectations, segregation, urban sprawl, suburbanization, ghettoization, the housing market, filtering-down of housing, invasion-succession, and public policy. Although reference will be made to these processes, more explicit description and explanation will be the subject of the next chapter as to processes and change in the Black Community ecological structure.

Change in the ecological structure of the Black Community will be discussed as to black neighborhood origin and location. Three categories are identified; 1) the relatively small independent black neighborhoods situated along or near the North Canadian River (Southtown, Riverside, Westtown, and Sandtown), 2) the large, growing, expanding group of black neighborhoods on the northeast side of the city, (collectively, the Black Ghetto), and 3) the black satellite neighborhood on the far northeast side of Oklahoma City, Green Pastures.

The black neighborhoods in the first category exhibit certain independent attributes, but in general are very similar; all originated before 1920 and all were located near employment opportunities during

that early period. The second category of black neighborhoods reflects a large, growing, ever-expanding black population. The black core neighborhood of this area originated before the turn of the century, also, because of employment opportunities and better housing. The third category, Green Pastures, a satellite black neighborhood with both a suburban and rural landscape originated in the late 1930s due to the overcrowded condition of black neighborhoods in Oklahoma City and the initiative of an influential black developer. Although the real interest of this analysis is to uncover the changes which have taken place in the ecological structure of the Black Community between 1940 and 1970, ten year increments provided a more understandable approach since change is not always as consistent as might be suggested by a 1940-1970 analysis.

Percentage Change Dimensions and Relative Status; 1940-1950

In the 1940-1950 change analysis (principal components analysis) three change dimensions emerged; 1) family structure change, 2) occupation structure change (economic status change), and 3) skilled employment change. As to family structure change only one of the eight black neighborhoods in 1940 exhibited a distinct difference in its change trend, Southtown (37). Southtown's distinct change difference is due primarily to a high percentage increase in dwelling overcrowding and population under the age of 18, and an extreme decrease in median education and dwelling ownership. This apparently came about with this neighborhood becoming a major reception area for in-migrating American Indians with large young families and a low educational level. All the other black neighborhoods showed decreased percentages of dwelling overcrowding of which the inner black core (38) and an inner suburb (30) on the northeast

side reflected a very high percentage decrease in dwelling overcrowding, exhibiting the greatest change in family structure other than Southtown.

As to dwelling overcrowding, the inner city core (38) and the inner suburb (30) experienced the greatest percentage of change with a considerable decline in dwelling overcrowding. Bathtown (29) and the outer suburb at that time in 1940 (27) experienced a much lesser decline. Of the river neighborhoods, Westtown (35) exhibited a moderate decline in overcrowding and Sandtown (57) exhibited a small decline. Riverside (40) showed a very slight decline while Southtown experienced a very high increase in overcrowding. From 1940 to 1950 the various river neighborhoods made up a substantial percentage of the black population of the city, about 20 percent.

Relatively, the northeast side inner city core showed a very high degree of dwelling overcrowding in 1940, but only a moderate percentage in 1950. The inner suburb (30) exhibited a relatively moderate degree of overcrowding in 1940 and only a low percentage in 1950. The outer suburb (27) had a very low degree in 1940 compared with a low percentage in 1950. Bathtown (29) was relatively moderate in both years. Over this decade the river neighborhoods exhibited a relative increase in overcrowding. In 1940 the river neighborhoods exhibited a relatively moderate degree of overcrowding with the exception of Sandtown which showed a very high percentage. The newer outer peripheral suburbs (28 and 13) exhibited moderate and very low percentages of overcrowding in 1950. A unique neighborhood for Oklahoma City, although found in most cities with a substantial black population, census tract 17, was and still is a very wealthy white suburb which housed many of the elite of Oklahoma City. Numerous blacks who worked as household servants and laborers lived in backyard

servant's quarters. For 1940 this servant suburb exhibited a very low percentage of overcrowding.

As to population under the age of 18 the northeast side neighborhoods of 1940 (38, 29, 30, and 27) showed a decline or only a slight increase in youth. Only the river neighborhoods of Westtown, Southtown, and Riverside experienced a substantial increase. Sandtown showed a slight decrease.

Relative to the entire Black Community the inner city core (38), the inner city suburb (30), and the outer suburb (27) all exhibited a moderate percentage of youth in 1940 and a low to very low percentage of youth in 1950. The river neighborhoods showed little relative change between 1940 and 1950. The servant suburb (17) showed a very low relative percentage. The newer outer peripheral suburbs on the northeast side exhibited moderate (28) to high (13) percentages of youth.

As to dwellings owner occupied, the northeast side neighborhoods of the inner city core, Bathtown, and the inner suburb (30) exhibited only a slight increase or decrease in home ownership between 1940 and 1950. The outer suburb (27) and Westtown (35) experienced a moderate increase in home ownership. Sandtown (57) showed a small increase while Southtown (37) and Riverside (40) experienced a considerable decline in ownership. Relative to the Black Community all of the black neighborhoods of 1940 experienced either no change or decline in home ownership. The newer outer suburbs (28 and 13) exhibited very high percentages of home ownership in 1950.

Median education increased only slightly for the Black Community from 7.9 years education to 8.6 years during this decade. The greatest increases occurred in the inner black neighborhoods on the northeast side

(38, 29, and 30). All of the black neighborhoods of the city increased in their median education levels with the exception of Southtown. Relatively, from 1940 to 1950 the inner city core (38), Bathtown (29), and the inner city suburb (30) showed a moderate level of median education in both years. The outer suburb (27) exhibited a slight decline from being very high in 1940 and high in 1950. The river neighborhoods remained at about the same relative educational level varying from being very low to moderate in 1950. The newer outer suburbs on the northeast side exhibited the highest levels of education, high to very high.

In regard to percentage of elderly the loading of this variable on this dimension is not very high but a relationship can be seen. What is important here is that all of the black neighborhoods in 1940 except for Riverside and Sandtown experienced considerable percentage increases in elderly. These neighborhoods exhibited relatively moderate to very high percentages of elderly while the newer outer suburbs exhibited very low percentages in 1950.

In general this change dimension expresses the symptoms of growth, intra-city migration, expansion, and evolution. The older neighborhoods, the inner city core, the inner suburbs, and the various dispersed river neighborhoods, generally exhibit a process of aging and intra-city migration resulting in relatively less dwelling overcrowding, a relative decline in youth, a relative increase in elderly, a relative stagnant educational level, and a relative decrease in occupational status. The newer outer suburbs, receiver zones for black migrants, then exhibit moderate levels of overcrowding with relatively high percentages of youth, low percentages of elderly, and relatively high educational levels and high occupational status.

The second change dimension, occupational structure change (economic change) reflects the effect of the aging process, the family life cycle, and out-migration on occupational structure. As to professionals and managers in the labor force most of the older black neighborhoods experienced a decline in percentage professionals and managers. On the northeast side the outer suburb (27) experienced the greatest percentage decline. The inner city core and the inner suburb showed a lesser degree of percentage decrease. Southtown and Westtown experienced very high percentages of decline.

Relative to the entire Black Community the inner city core and Bathtown retained a moderate degree of professionals and managers from 1940 to 1950. The inner city suburb and the outer suburb experienced a relative decline from exhibiting high and very high percentages in 1940 to moderate and high percentages in 1950. All of the river neighborhoods showed a relative decline being moderate to very low in 1950. The newer outer suburbs exhibited relatively high and very high percentage of professionals and managers.

As to change in percentages of laborers and household workers the greatest percentage decline on the northeast side was in the inner city core (38) and Bathtown (29). The inner city suburb (30) showed a low percentage decrease while the outer suburb (27) showed a very low percentage decrease. The various river neighborhoods experienced considerable decline in percentage laborers and household workers.

In general, the change expressed here is that the aging process and the family life cycle process together with residential mobility and the intra-city migration to new peripheral suburbs have created a patterned decrease in elderly and an increase in professionals and managers

with distance from the central city on the northeast side. Highest percentage change occurs in those black neighborhoods which are peripheral suburbs.

Increased elderly is related to the aging population process, the decline in professionals and managers is related to the out-migration of higher occupational status families to newer housing (suburbs) and the decline in laborers and household workers is related to the general trend of a declining percentage of blacks engaged in this occupational category.

A third change dimension, skilled employment change, is primarily oriented toward change in the labor force in respect to craftsmen and operatives. This dimension reflects change in the occupational structure of the Black Community. All black neighborhoods showed considerable percentage increase in craftsmen and operatives in the labor force. Sandtown and Southtown exhibited two of the highest increases. The black neighborhoods on the northeast side also exhibited high percentage increases. The outer suburb (27) exhibited a very high percentage increase. With the exception of Sandtown percentage of professionals and managers decreased in all of these black neighborhoods of 1940. The inner black core (38) and the inner city suburb (30) only exhibited moderate percentage changes.

Relatively, the various river neighborhoods retain a stable status on the percentage of craftsmen and operatives, ranging from moderate to very high levels, while the northeast inner core neighborhoods remain ranked very low to low and the inner suburbs are variable, being ranked low in 1940 and very low (30) and moderate (27) in 1950. The neighborhoods with the highest percentage increase in skilled employment also

show the highest percentage decrease in professionals and managers with the exception of Sandtown. As to relative status on professionals and managers the river neighborhoods vary in ranking from low to very high in 1940 to low to moderate in 1950. The northeast side inner core neighborhoods remain moderate for both years and the inner suburbs decline from a high to very high status to a moderate to high status. The new peripheral suburbs on the northeast side (28 and 13) rank relatively high to very high in 1950 on professional and managers, and moderate to very high on skilled employment. There exists an apparent zonal pattern of relative status and change in the expanding northeast sector.

Much of the orientation of change emphasized in these change dimensions is related to overcrowded household conditions, aging of the black population, advancement in employment and occupational status (especially in skilled labor), opportunity for intra-city migration, and growth and expansion of the Black Community. The overcrowded household conditions which existed in 1940 were due primarily to the constrained housing market and discriminating public and private policy which influenced this situation. The spatial expansion of the various black neighborhoods, especially on the northeast side, although very limited, aided in reducing the overcrowded conditions by 1950. The inevitable neighborhood aging process in 1940 is overshadowed by the constrained character of the Black Community. With growth, expansion, and migration within the Black Community the effect of the aging process is apparent in the spatial variation of youth and elderly among the black neighborhoods of the city. The opening up of labor areas which once limited black entrance is apparent in the large increase in skilled laborers in all of the city's black neighborhoods between 1940 and 1950. The significant decline in blacks

involved as household workers and laborers reflects an upgrading in occupational status. Advancement in occupational status is principally related to the opening up of the labor market for blacks trained and employed as craftsmen and operatives.

Growth and expansion of the Black Community, intra-city migration, and in-migration has provided the vehicle for spatial differentiation in the socio-economic structure of the Black Community. This spatial differentiation is apparent in the relatively lower economic, educational, and occupational statuses of older black neighborhoods and relatively higher such status for newer suburban neighborhoods which emerged in 1950. During this period two new black neighborhoods (28 and 13) emerged due to the filtering down process of housing and the invasion-succession process along the northern periphery of the northeast side expanding black residential ghetto.

An emerging pattern of zonality is apparent for most of the variables analyzed as to black neighborhood relative status and change. Generally, the expansion of the northeast side ghetto has resulted in a distinct outward decrease of overcrowding, elderly, poverty, laborers and household workers, and unemployment, and a distinct increase of population per household, youth, married couples, professionals and managers, female employment, dwellings owner occupied, education, and in-migration. Home ownership and in-migration appear to exhibit sectorial variation.

Percentage Change Dimensions and Relative Status; 1950-1960

Between 1950 and 1960 most of the older black neighborhoods began to decline in black population; Bathtown (29) on the northeast side, and Walnut Grove, Riverside (40), Westtown (35), and Sandtown (57) along

the river; a trend to the present. The only black neighborhood which peaked out in black population before the 1950s was Southtown (37). In 1950 these river neighborhoods made up about twenty-one percent of the city's black population, while in 1960 that percentage had dropped to about six percent and by 1970 it had dropped to less than two percent.

In the 1950-1960 change analysis four dimensions of change emerged; 1) family structure change I (overcrowding), 2) family structure change II (social disorganization), 3) economic status change, and 4) skilled employment change. The change dimensions in this period exhibit a more easily observable pattern of percentage change related to spatial ecological relationships than the 1940-1950 period. This may be due to several factors; the use of more ecological variables, more black neighborhoods to analyze variation, and possibly a more mature, well-developed socio-spatial stratification existent in the Black Community.

As to the first change dimension, family structure change I, the primary underlying factor is dwelling overcrowding. Percentage change in dwelling overcrowding on this dimension is related to the percentage change of youth, median education, and median family income which in itself suggests an association between certain family and economic condition variables. The northeast side black neighborhoods, grouped as to change factor scores, emerged in a concentric pattern outward from the central city; the inner city neighborhoods (38 and 29), the inner suburbs (30 and 27), and the outer suburbs (13 and 28). The inner city neighborhoods experienced a moderate percentage decrease in overcrowding with a moderate increase in youth, a low increase in education and a moderate increase in income. On the northeast side these inner city neighborhoods were the only ones to experience overcrowding decline which was due to

out-migration of black residents from these neighborhoods. The moderate increase in percentage youth was due to a general trend in the Black Community toward an overall increase in youth. Again the increase in educational levels is due to a general trend in higher median education although the increase here is quite small. The moderate increase in income is also due to a general trend due to higher wages and salaries and inflation.

The inner city suburbs showed a slight percentage increase in overcrowding with a high increase in youth, a slight decline or very small increase in education and a low increase in income. The outer suburbs showed a moderate percentage increase in overcrowding with a low to moderate increase in youth and a small to moderate increase in education and income. The groupings of neighborhoods on the basis of factor scores suggests a zonal variation in family structure change as to overcrowding related to distance from the central city.

With the exception of a very slight percentage increase of overcrowding in Westtown, the various river neighborhoods experienced a high percentage decrease in overcrowding although they showed a moderate percentage increase in youth. In relation to this family change dimension all of the river neighborhoods exhibited a moderate to high percentage increase in education and income.

As to relative status and change the river neighborhoods retained their high to very high overcrowded conditions with the exception of Riverside which changed from high to very low on this variable. On the northeast side the inner core neighborhoods changed from a moderate overcrowded condition in 1950 to a low to moderate condition in 1960.

The inner suburbs displayed low to moderate levels of overcrowding in 1950 and moderate levels in 1960 while the outer suburbs in 1950 showed very low levels in both years. The new outer peripheral suburban neighborhoods in 1960 generally displayed moderate to very high levels of overcrowding. Overall the northeast ghetto exhibits a distinct pattern of zonal variance as to overcrowding, youth, education and income.

As to the second change dimension, family structure change II, the primary underlying variable is social disorganization related to aging of the population and husband-wife families. Again, the black neighborhoods on the northeast side exhibited factor score groupings which showed an inner city/periphery pattern of variation. In respect to households headed by married couples in the inner city neighborhoods, the inner suburbs (for the most part), and the 1950 outer suburb (13) experienced a decrease in percentage of husband-wife families. On the northeast side the only neighborhood to show an increase in husband-wife families is the inner suburb of tract 27. Of the river neighborhoods, Riverside and Sandtown showed a large percentage decline while Westtown and Southtown showed a comparable percentage increase. From 1950 to 1960 the inner city, the inner suburbs, and the river neighborhoods increased in levels of social disorganization relative to the entire Black Community. The outer suburb (13) remained relatively the same (very high percent of husband-wife families). The newer outer peripheral suburbs (14, 61, and 79) exhibited a very high percentage of husband-wife families in 1960. The Green Pastures area exhibited low to moderate percentages.

As to population over the age of 65 all of the black neighborhoods increased in percent elderly except for Southtown. A very high

increase in elderly occurred in the inner city resulting in those neighborhoods the highest percentages of elderly in the Black Community. With a low to moderate increase in elderly in the inner suburbs these neighborhoods exhibited a relatively moderate percentage of elderly. The outer suburb (13) experienced the greatest increase in elderly, but still retained a relatively very low percentage of elderly. Riverside and Sandtown exhibited a large percentage increase in elderly while Westtown and Southtown exhibited a moderate increase and a slight decline respectively. The newer outer suburbs in 1960 exhibited relatively very low to low percentages of elderly. The Green Pastures area exhibited a very high percentage of elderly in 1960. Change as to median family income has been discussed under first dimension.

In general the inner city neighborhoods exhibit aspects of the aging process and social disorganization. These neighborhoods show a high level of social disorganization and a very high occurrence of elderly with a relatively low median family income. The inner city suburbs show a relatively moderate occurrence of elderly, and a low to moderate median family income. The outer suburbs exhibited low to very low levels of social disorganization and elderly, and very high levels of median family income. The river neighborhoods are quite variable as to their relative position in the Black Community but all of them generally exhibit increasing social disorganization and percentage elderly, and relatively decreasing median family incomes. The Green Pastures area exhibits relatively moderate to high social disorganization, very high percentages of elderly, and low to very low median family incomes.

The third dimension of change, economic status change, is primarily oriented toward change in degree of poverty. The analysis of this

change dimension is a good example of where percentage change alone can be quite misleading without reference to relative status change of a neighborhood on a particular variable within the Black Community. Income increases not only from advances in employment and occupational status, but also because of inflation so that \$1,999 in 1950 was a much more handsome sum than it was in 1960. Still, this variable should be a fair indicator of poverty in a neighborhood. As to families with income under \$1,999, the percentage in most of the black neighborhoods decreased substantially, most by 30 to 45 percent. As to relative status within the Black Community, the inner city and the inner suburbs actually increased in relative percentages, somewhat less so in the inner city than in the inner suburbs. The relative increase in the inner city went from being moderate to high in 1950 to being moderate to very high in 1960. For the inner suburbs the relative percentage went from being relatively very low and moderate to being high and very high. Of all the black neighborhoods in 1950 the outer suburb (13) experienced the greatest percentage decline in poverty and retained a very low relative percentage from 1950 to 1960. The newer outer suburbs (the new black periphery) all exhibited very low percentages in 1960. The river neighborhoods experienced a relative degree of stability as to percentage poverty ranging from moderate levels in Westtown and Sandtown to high and very high levels in Southtown and Riverside, respectively. In 1960 the Green Pastures area exhibited high to very high relative percentages of poverty.

As to median family income the same general pattern of percentage change and relative change occurred. From 1950 to 1960 median family

income increased from \$1815 to \$3325.⁸ At a five percent a year inflation rate about two-thirds of this increase was eaten away with respect to purchasing power, so the increase really was not that great.

As to percent craftsmen and operatives in the labor force there was a substantial decline of 25 to 40 percent in most of the black neighborhoods from 1950 to 1960. Overall this category of labor decreased from 25.6% in 1950 to 20.0% in 1960. In the relative sense little change, among the black neighborhoods on the northeast side, occurred with the exception of the 1950 outer suburb (13) which drastically declined in relative status from having a very high percentage of craftsmen and operatives in 1950 to a moderate percentage in 1960. The newer outer suburbs in 1960 reflected moderate levels. Of the river neighborhoods Southtown and Riverside reflected a relative decline, but Westtown and Sandtown exhibited an increase and along with the Green Pastures area had the relatively highest percentages of craftsmen and operatives.

The fourth change dimension, skilled employment change, is essentially related to change in percentage skilled labor, and professional and manager types. With the exception of Westtown all of the black neighborhoods declined in percentage craftsmen and operatives. Only the black neighborhoods on the northeast side showed a decline in percentage professionals and managers and all of the river neighborhoods showed an increase. The inner city core (38) exhibited the highest percentage decline in pro-

⁸U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950, Population, Census Tracts, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952); Eighteenth Census of the United States: 1960, Population and Housing, Census Tracts, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961).

professionals with a low percentage decline in skilled labor. The outermost suburb (13) showed the least decline in professionals and the highest decline in skilled labor. The general trend of the labor force between 1950 and 1960 for the Black Community was a decline in percentages of black professionals, managers, and skilled labor. The pattern of change expressed on the northeast side is that with distance from the inner black core greater percentage decreases in skilled labor were experienced and lesser percentage decreases in professionals and managers were experienced. Westtown and Sandtown experienced an increase and a slight decline respectively in skilled labor possibly due to their proximity to skilled labor employment opportunities. Southtown and Riverside displayed a moderate to high percentage decrease in craftsmen and operatives.

As to relative status and change between 1950 and 1960, the river neighborhoods remain quite varied with Sandtown and Westtown displaying a very high percentage of skilled labor in 1960, and Riverside and Southtown displaying low and very low percentages, respectively. In the northeast side ghetto relative status on skilled labor remained about the same, low to very low for the inner core neighborhoods, moderate to very low for the inner suburbs, down to moderate from very high for the outer suburb, and moderate to high for the new peripheral suburbs. Green Pastures, the satellite rural suburb, exhibited a high to very high relative status. With regard to the relative status on professionals and managers, a related variable, all of the river neighborhoods changed from a low to very low percentage in 1950 to a moderate percentage in 1960. The northeast side ghetto showed only minimal status changes; the inner core from a moderate percentage in 1950 to a low-moderate percentage in 1960, the

inner suburbs from a high percentage to a moderate percentage in 1960, the outer suburb (13) of 1950 was unchanged relatively, and the new outer peripheral suburbs exhibited a moderate to very high percentage in 1960, Green Pastures exhibited a low to moderate percentage in 1960.

Percentage Change Dimensions and Relative Status; 1960-1970

In the 1960-1970 change analysis five dimensions of change emerged; 1) economic status change, 2) skilled employment change, 3) social disorganization change, 4) income change, and 5) family structure change (overcrowding). As to the first dimension of change, economic status change, the underlying theme is black family affluence primarily oriented toward families with income over \$8,000, labor force employed as professionals and managers, and median family income. No clear pattern of percentage change is apparent among the black neighborhoods of the city, although zonality is suggested. Census data was not reported specifically for blacks in the several river neighborhoods so they of course are not included in this period change analysis. The newer black suburbs and the Green Pastures area are added census tracts to this third analysis. The complete focus then is on the growing, expanding northeast side ghetto. The trend during this period has been toward a greater percentage of black family affluence in all the black neighborhoods no matter how low the relative economic status of the neighborhood. An added complication to distinguishing spatial patterns is the influence that urban renewal policy and housing authority policy have had on disturbing the natural distribution of percentage change.

The percentage change dimension derived here expressed a change in educational levels, income, occupational status, social disorganization,

and elderly. No significant pattern of percentage change variation emerged for this dimension, although a zonal pattern is suggested by change in certain related variables. The inner core neighborhoods and inner suburbs showed moderate to high percentage increases in black affluence while the outer suburbs displayed low to moderate percentage increases. The Green Pastures area exhibited the greatest percentage gain in black affluence.

As to families with income below \$1,999 (extreme poverty) the inner city black neighborhoods range from having moderate to very high percentages in 1960 while in 1970 they all exhibit very high percentages. The greatest change occurred in the black core neighborhood (38). In these same neighborhoods relative to the whole Black Community median education in 1960 and 1970 ranged from low to moderate. Families with income over \$8,000 in 1960 ranged from low to moderate while in 1970 these tracts ranked as all being low. As to percentage of married couples the ranking remained about the same, that being very low to low, as was the change situation for percent elderly which also remained about the same, that being high to very high. The change in percent professionals and managers also remained about the same with only a small decline relatively. The primary situation expressed here is that the inner city black neighborhoods experienced a decrease in relative income and education levels with a stable situation of very low percentages of husband-wife families, very high percentages of elderly, and a moderate level of professionals and managers in the labor force.

The inner city black suburbs (26, 27, and 28) showed little relative change as to percent of low income families and median education

with the exception of tract 28 which exhibited a relative decrease in percent low income families and a relative increase in educational level. As to percent families with income above \$8,000 a decrease was exhibited by these tracts. Percent married couples and professionals and managers remained relatively about the same. One of the major obvious changes was in the increase in percent of elderly. Overall on this change dimension the inner city black suburbs reflect a relative lowering of income and educational levels, and an aging population with high percentages of elderly.

The intermediate inner black suburbs, (13, 14, 79), those located between the inner and outer suburbs exhibit more of a distinctive change in economic status than the inner black suburbs. A change from 1960 to 1970 is shown by a relative decrease in income levels, educational levels, and occupational status levels, an increase in social disorganization, and an increase in percentage elderly. Census tract 79 appears to be the most stable of this category.

The intermediate outer black suburbs (4, 5, 15) have been occupied by blacks since 1960 so no change has occurred other than the in-migration by black families since 1960. These neighborhoods in 1970 exhibited similar income levels, occupational status levels, and a similar level of social disorganization as the intermediate inner black suburbs. They do exhibit higher levels of education and much lower percentages of elderly.

The outer or peripheral black suburbs (52, 62, 83.01) also recently occupied by blacks since 1960 show the highest degree of economic status in 1970. These neighborhoods exhibit relatively a very low degree of poverty and a very high degree of middle and upper incomes (above \$8,000). Education levels are very high and social disorganization is

very limited. Occupational status is relatively high while percent of elderly is very low. Generally, these neighborhoods exhibit the highest degree of education, income, family stability, occupational status, and the lowest degree of poverty and aging.

The importance of the natural filtering-down process in the housing market and the invasion-succession process are quite apparent in the change exhibited by this economic status change dimension. The Green Pastures area and the various black neighborhoods along the North Canadian River exhibit variable patterns. The Green Pastures area has considerable economic status variation within its confines. Where there was very high percentages of low income, and high percentages of incomes over \$8,000 in 1960, by 1970 this area ranked as relatively moderate as to low incomes and relatively low to moderate as to high incomes. In both periods median education is low and social disorganization is moderate. Occupational status as to professionals and managers decreased from being low to moderate to being from very low to moderate and surprisingly the percent of elderly decreased relative to the rest of the Black Community. Of the four river communities Southtown and Riverside exhibited very similar economic status in 1960 (not reported for in 1970). These exhibited the lowest economic status in 1960 and along with what remains of Westtown, Sandtown, and Walnut Grove probably exhibit the lowest in 1970 although no data is available to document it. Census tract 73 is predominately low-income public housing (multi-family type) and is located in the southeast section of Oklahoma City. This was constructed in 1969. In 1970 it exhibited very low income and occupational status with a moderate level of education, a high degree of social disorganization, and a low percentage of elderly.

The second change dimension, skilled employment change, is principally related to change in percentage craftsmen and operatives in the labor force. For the most part, the black neighborhoods on the north-east side show an increase in percentage skilled labor with the exception of the outermost suburb in 1960 (61) which exhibits a decrease in skilled labor. The Green Pastures area also exhibits a slight decrease in percentage skilled labor. The inner city neighborhoods (38 and 30) displayed a high percentage increase in skilled labor while most of the inner and outer suburbs exhibited low to moderate percentage increases. Bathtown only showed a slight percentage increase in craftsmen and operatives (an area greatly affected by urban renewal clearance and relocation). A secondary characteristic of this change dimension is that the higher the percentage increase in skilled labor the greater the percentage decrease in dwelling overcrowding.

In respect to spatial patterns, of the three variables which load high on this change dimension, (craftsmen-operatives, elderly, and overcrowding), only the percent of elderly shows a distinct pattern of variation which is generally of a high percentage in the inner city, decreasing with distance from the central core. Of the inner core, the inner suburbs, and the intermediate inner suburbs all either remained relatively similar or increased in craftsmen and operatives with the exception of tract 29 which was greatly affected by urban renewal clearance and relocation of population. Where the inner city neighborhoods ranged from very low to very high on this variable all of the intermediate outer suburbs and outer peripheral suburbs exhibited relatively high percentages on craftsmen and operatives. The Green Pastures area showed a considerable decline on this variable relative to the Black Community.

Southtown and Riverside in 1960 exhibit a low to very low ranking on this variable while Westtown and Sandtown exhibit very high percentages of craftsmen and operatives. The public housing tract (73) shows a very low ranking for 1970.

As to dwelling overcrowding (dwellings with 1.01 or more persons per room) the inner core neighborhoods have all declined in overcrowding between 1960 and 1970, the inner suburbs have declined slightly while the intermediate inner suburbs (13 and 14) have increased in percent overcrowding. For 1970 the intermediate outer suburbs and the outer peripheral suburbs exhibit low to moderate percentages of overcrowding.

The Green Pastures area shows an increase in overcrowding. Of the river neighborhoods Southtown, Westtown, and Sandtown exhibited high to very high percentages of overcrowding while Riverside had a very low incidence of overcrowding in 1960. The public housing tract (73) was highly overcrowded in 1970.

The importance of increased employment in skilled labor for all the black neighborhoods is evident in this change dimension. The high percentages exhibited by the intermediate outer suburbs and outer peripheral suburbs reflects the importance of this employment in promoting economic and housing well-being. The very high percentages shown by census tracts 38 and 26 may reflect the importance of certain types of this employment and proximity to the central city. Analysis of variance did not reveal any significant pattern, but change in the relative status of related variables suggests zonality.

The third dimension of change, social disorganization change, shows a more distinct spatial pattern of change than the previous two. The underlying factor is change in home ownership and social disorganization.

Three of the outer suburbs (13, 14, 61) exhibit a moderate percentage decrease in both home ownership and husband-wife families while the inner city neighborhoods actually show a small percentage increase in home ownership with a moderate decrease in husband-wife families. The inner city suburbs exhibited considerable variability. The Green Pastures area showed a small decrease in percentage home ownership and a fairly stable degree of social disorganization.

In regard to the spatial patterns of change the highest incidence of change in home ownership relative to the entire Black Community occurs in the black neighborhoods which are peripheral to the Black Community on the northeast side (13, 14, 79). The inner core and inner suburban neighborhoods exhibit relative home ownership stability while the peripheral zone (in 1960) shows considerable decline in home ownership between 1960 and 1970. The Green Pastures area also exhibits a decline for this period. Where the inner city neighborhoods exhibited very low to moderate percentages of home ownership in 1960 the peripheral tracts at that time (13, 14, 79) exhibited high to very high percentages. Over the decade the inner city percentages remained very low to moderate while the peripheral tracts declined from very high to moderate-high percentages. The peripheral migrant receiver areas during the 1960s exhibited low to moderate percentages of ownership in the intermediate outer suburbs (4, 5, 15) and very high percentages for the outer peripheral suburbs (52, 62, 83.01). The river neighborhoods exhibited low to very low percentages of home ownership in 1960 with the exception of Westtown which was moderate. Of course, the public housing tract (73) ranked with a very low percentage.

The peripheral neighborhoods in 1960 (intermediate inner suburbs

in 1970) also showed the most distinct change or increase in social disorganization. Although the inner core and inner suburbs reflected much greater social disorganization in 1960 this remained at about the same level in 1970 while the peripheral tracts in a relative sense drastically increased in social disorganization. The Green Pastures area exhibited a relatively stable moderate level while the river neighborhoods ranked high to moderate on social disorganization in 1960. In the newly black occupied neighborhoods social disorganization ranked low to moderate for the intermediate outer suburbs and very low for the outer peripheral neighborhoods. The public housing tract exhibited very high social disorganization.

As to income all of the black neighborhoods of 1960 declined in income relative to the Black Community in 1970. The newer black neighborhoods in 1970 reflected moderate to very high incomes. The intermediate outer suburbs exhibit moderate to high incomes while the outer peripheral suburbs exhibit very high relative incomes.

The importance of residential mobility and socio-economic processes are reflected in this change dimension. The high incidence of home ownership is related to a low incidence of social disorganization and a moderate to high level of income. Change is greatly affected by the aging process in neighborhoods, the housing market, and intra-city migration to formerly white dominant neighborhoods peripheral to the Black Community.

The fourth change dimension, income change, is primarily oriented toward change in the degree of poverty. From 1960 to 1970 most of the black neighborhoods experienced a decrease in percentage families with less than \$1,999 and all of them exhibited an increase in median family

income. Again, as in previous decades most of this increase in income was due to rising salary and wages due partially to inflation, and to an advancement in educational level and occupational status. Two of the four outer suburbs (14, 79) in 1960 showed an increase in percentage poverty and only a small increase in median family income. A third outer suburb (13) of 1960 showed a small decrease in poverty level families and a moderate percentage increase in median family income. The outermost suburb (61) showed a low decrease in percent poverty but a high percentage increase in median family income. The inner city and inner suburbs exhibited a moderate to high percentage decrease in percentage poverty level families and increase in median family income. Green Pastures experienced a high decrease in percentage of poverty level families and a high percentage increase in median family income.

As to median family income the inner core neighborhoods exhibited little relative change (a decline) from 1960 to 1970. The inner black suburbs exhibited the highest degree of relative change. The Green Pastures area only showed a moderate change in median family income. In 1960 the river neighborhoods exhibited a relatively moderate median family income which most likely has changed to a low to very low level. The new intermediate outer suburbs exhibited moderate to high incomes in 1970 while the outer peripheral neighborhoods showed very high levels of income. The patterns of percentage change and relative status suggest zonality. The change trend of neighborhoods as to extreme poverty and elderly have been referred to in previous change dimensions.

The fifth change dimension, family structure change, is primarily oriented toward change in percent youth and dwelling overcrowding. Most of the 1960 black neighborhoods experienced a decrease in percentage

youth and all experienced a percentage decrease in dwelling overcrowding. Two outer suburbs (13, 61) showed an increase in percentage youth with a small percentage decrease in dwelling overcrowding. The other two outer suburbs (14, 79) showed a moderate percentage decrease in both youth and overcrowding. The inner city neighborhoods (38, 29) exhibited a very high percentage decrease in youth and a high percentage decrease in overcrowding. The inner suburbs (30, 26, 27, 28) show variability although three of them (26, 27, 28) showed a moderate to high percentage decrease in youth and overcrowding. The general pattern of percentage change in youth and overcrowding appear to be zonal with a high percentage decrease in the inner city, a moderate to high percentage decrease in the inner suburbs, and a moderate percentage decrease or increase in youth with a low to moderate percentage decrease in overcrowding in the outer suburbs.

Green Pastures experienced a moderate decline in percentage youth. As to dwelling overcrowding, generally, it declined for the inner city core, the inner suburbs, and the intermediate inner suburbs, with the greatest incidence of overcrowding in the intermediate suburbs and the outer peripheral suburbs.

In summary this family structure change expresses an aging process in the Black Community resulting in fewer youth and less dwelling overcrowding in the older established black neighborhoods. The inner city and inner suburban neighborhoods have experienced the greatest change with moderate to high percentages of youth and overcrowding.

Percentage Change; 1940-1970

In the three decade change analyses three dimensions of change consistently emerged; family structure change (overcrowding), economic

status change, and skilled employment change. As to family structure change (overcrowding) generally the inner city neighborhoods have experienced the highest percentage decrease in overcrowding between 1940 and 1970. The inner suburbs have not exhibited much of a consistent pattern of percentage change; a high decrease between 1940 and 1950, a slight increase between 1950 and 1960, and a moderate to high decrease between 1960 and 1970. The outer suburbs showed a rather consistent moderate decline in percentage overcrowding over the three decades, but a lesser decrease than exhibited by the inner city neighborhoods.

As to the economic status change dimensions from 1940 to 1970, the 1940-1950 and 1960-1970 dimensions are oriented toward change in affluence while the 1950-1960 dimension is oriented toward change in poverty. From 1940 to 1950 increase in percentage black affluence was higher with distance from the central city, although there was not a distinct pattern of percentage change. From 1950 to 1960 decrease in percentage black poverty was higher with distance from the central city, although there was a considerable percentage decrease of poverty in all neighborhoods. From 1960 to 1970 percentage increase in affluence is generally exhibited by all neighborhoods, with affluence increasing with distance from the central city.

As to the skilled employment change dimensions from 1940 to 1970 the general trend from 1940 to 1950 and from 1960 to 1970 is an increase in percentage skilled labor while from 1950 to 1960 there is a decrease. The general pattern of the degree of percentage change is undiscernible for all three periods, although zonality is suggested. From 1940 to 1950 the inner city exhibited moderate percentage increases, the inner suburbs exhibited a low percentage increase, and the outer

suburbs showed a high percentage increase in skilled labor. From 1950 to 1960 the inner city and inner suburbs exhibited a small to moderate percentage decrease while the outer suburbs showed a high percentage decrease in skilled labor. From 1960 to 1970 the inner city exhibited a high increase, the inner suburbs showed a moderate increase, and the outer suburbs showed a slight decrease in skilled labor.

Relative Change and Status; 1940-1970

Relative change and status among black neighborhoods has been included in this change analysis in order to more fully understand the changing patterns of the major components of the Black Community ecological structure; economic status change, family structure change, occupational structure change, and migration change. A much clearer pattern of change becomes apparent from this supplemental analysis. Other than the twelve variables employed in the percentage change analysis six more variables were utilized in this analysis. These eighteen variables can be categorized as generally being indicators of one of the four ecological dimensions previously mentioned. This categorization is given on page 387. Reference should also be made to Appendix E in order to understand the changing nature of neighborhood classification as to inner city, inner suburbs, intermediate suburbs, and outer suburbs.

As to economic status change six variables are analyzed; families with income under \$1,999, median family income, dwellings owner occupied, median education, males unemployed, and families with over \$8,000. For the 1940 to 1950 period income levels are not reported in the census. The pattern exhibited by the relative change and status of black neighborhoods as to variables indicative of economic status change

is zonal. Throughout this period from 1940 to 1970 the relative income levels of the older established black neighborhoods have consistently declined with the highest income levels always being exhibited by the newer outer peripheral suburbs. Relative dwelling ownership and educational levels have also followed this trend.

As to family structure change, six variables again are analyzed; dwellings with 1.01 or more persons per room, population per household, husband-wife families, population under the age of 18, population over the age of 65, and females in the labor force. The pattern exhibited by relative change and status is again zonal. Dwelling overcrowding as indicated by the first two variables suggests a consistent tendency for the older established black neighborhoods to decline in overcrowding over this period. An interesting difference in the relative status pattern is suggested by these variables during this period. In 1940 and 1950 the inner city core (38) exhibited a very high degree of overcrowding while the inner suburbs and outer suburb exhibited moderate to very low overcrowding. A reversal pattern is reflected in 1960 and 1970 where the inner city core exhibited a low degree of overcrowding while the outer suburbs exhibited a moderate to high degree of overcrowding.

Degree of neighborhood youthfulness reflected by population under the age of 18 is also often indicative of overcrowding and large young families. A zonal pattern of relative change and status is also apparent in regard to percentage youth. The older, established black neighborhoods show continued decline in percentage youth while the newer outer suburbs exhibit the highest percentage of youth. Degree of neighborhood elderliness reflected by population over the age of 65 reflects an increase of elderly in the older established neighborhoods while the

newer suburbs always exhibit the lowest percentage of elderly.

Change in females in the labor force is probably a partial indicator of economic status change and family structure change. In 1940 and 1950 there appeared to be little differentiation as to percent females in the labor force among the black neighborhoods. In 1960 and 1970 this had changed to a pattern of considerable variation with generally low to moderate percentages in the older established neighborhoods and moderate to very high percentages in the newer outer suburbs.

As to occupational status change four variables were analyzed; professionals and managers, craftsmen and operatives, laborers, and household workers. The pattern of high occupational status as indicated in 1940, percentage increasing with distance from the central city core, continued throughout the thirty year period. Relative change and status as exhibited by skilled employment (craftsmen and operatives) showed a much different pattern. Over time the older established black neighborhoods of the inner city and inner suburbs showed a marked increase in percentage skilled labor while the outer suburbs retained essentially a stable percentage and the newer outer suburbs were quite varied usually displaying a relatively high or moderate percentage of skilled labor. Low occupational status as indicated by percentage laborers and household workers increased throughout this period for the inner city neighborhoods (38, 29, 27) and remained relatively stable for the inner suburbs and outer suburbs.

Migration change is reflected by two variables, population from outside the S.M.S.A. and population from a different house in the S.M.S.A. In 1950 migrants from outside the S.M.S.A. apparently showed much greater preference for the outer suburbs (30, 27) and only low to moderate prefer-

ence for the inner city neighborhoods (38, 29). Of the river neighborhoods Westtown and Southtown were also high preference areas (Southtown due primarily to American Indians and not blacks). In 1950 these older established neighborhoods showed a decline as a migrant preference. Preference continued to shift to the newer neighborhoods. Preference of intra-city migrants followed a similar pattern; a lesser preference for the older established neighborhoods and a greater preference for the newer outer suburbs by black families of moderate to high economic status and for public housing by black families of low economic status.

As to most socio-economic variables, considerable change occurs within the outer suburbs in the transistional racial housing market. These patterns of change, both percentage change and relative change and status, are related to various dynamic internal and external processes at work in our society. These will be analyzed and discussed in the context of ecological structure and change in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VII

BLACK COMMUNITY ECOLOGICAL STRUCTURE AND CHANGE; A SYNTHESIS

Introduction

Black Community ecological structure and change has been analyzed directly and indirectly through the employment of qualitative and quantitative methods in the previous chapters. A synthesis of these analyses is the subject of this chapter.

One of the primary objectives of this study has been the determination of ecological structure and change in the Black Community; an area of research which has received little serious attention in the past. The type and degree of ecological heterogeneity within the Black Community on the metropolitan and ghetto levels is evaluated here from a social spatio-temporal perspective.

Due to data source limitations a multivariate analysis was limited to the 1940-1970 period of the Black Community's development. Determination of the ecological structure prior to 1940 had to depend on a variety of quasi-reliable sources, interviews, and literature survey. The 1940-1970 analysis was chiefly dependent upon census data with some influence from interviews and literature survey. The objective here was not only to determine the spatio-ecological differentiation of the Black Community, basically a taxonomic and phenomenological exercise, but to also describe and explain the social, spatial, and temporal aspects of this

differentiation. Borrowing from previously formulated social/ecological theory and with the modification of some of that theory an interpretation of the findings of this study shall be made.

The Prerequisite Condition for Black Urban Ecological Differentiation

For a differentiated urban ecological structure to be manifested socially and or spatially there is a fundamental prerequisite: a social system with an effectively ordered stratification system. If all individuals of an urban population were ethnically and racially homogeneous, certain operational criteria would establish a socio-ecological hierarchy whereby a social position could be determined for an individual or group which defined roles and statuses. This social position then would carry with it a certain level of prestige recognized by society. For an urban society this ranking partially determines and is partially determined by the arrangement of occupations, the way of living and the location in urban space of subpopulations that evolve.

For a differentiated urban ecological structure to be manifested spatially there is a second fundamental prerequisite: a segregation of subpopulations in the housing market in accordance with their identified social position (socio-economic status). Along with these two prerequisites, the Anglo-American social system provides a dynamic aspect which strongly influences socio-ecological change in the urban scene; social mobility. This is a functional mechanism which allows an individual or group in society to improve on its level of social position; a basic American right. To maintain a relatively status quo socio-ecological hierarchy, social distance, social position ordained housing segregation, and limited social mobility certain social control mechanisms are developed.

These mechanisms function to curb social competition, conflict, and chaos in urban society.

The increasing scale of urbanization in a modernized and industrialized urban society brings on an increasing complexity in the organization of society. With the introduction into urban society of a visible minority, in this case blacks, an even more complex situation develops within the structure of the urban social system. With a growing black urban population a social and geographic caste system is institutionalized to deal with the urbanization of blacks; to subordinate them socially, economically, and politically, and to isolate them residentially. With almost complete dependence on the dominant urban society, blacks turned inward to organize their own institutions and quasi-institutions in order to provide for some of the social and economic demands of the black urban community. An urban sub-culture had evolved. A highly complex organization of urban social structure had developed; a system within a system.

An important component of urban ecological differentiation is based on "familism": family characteristics related to stages in the family cycle, lifestyles, and the housing market. Families in the urban ecological structure vary as to fertility characteristics, size, social disorganization, age characteristics, extendedness, and housing needs. A modern non-discriminatory urban society which allocates economic resources on a relatively equal opportunity basis ideally distributes families in the housing market as to their family housing needs. Generally, in this typically ideal urban society the inner city is characterized by older age characteristics, low fertility, small families in the later stages of the family life cycle, a high incidence of social disorganization, and a dominance of multi-family housing. The suburbs are characterized by

younger age characteristics, larger families, higher fertility, families in the early or middle stages of the family life cycle, a low incidence of social disorganization, and a dominance of single-family housing although multi-family housing is becoming more common. Again, with the introduction of a minority group as blacks into an already established housing market along with the socio-economic, political discriminations and residential restrictiveness, deviations from this ideal pattern of "familism" differentiation occurs. Often certain indicators of economic status and familism are interrelated especially among sub-populations as blacks.

Urban ecological structure is also greatly influenced by the attributes of urban physical space: topography and the built-up infrastructure. Physical determinism can have a very strong effect upon the evolution of an ecological structure; high ground, landscape aesthetics, drainage ways, low ground, flood susceptibility, ruggedness, etc. The built-up environment, including transportation routes, the housing market, commercial, industrial and institutional structures, and miscellaneous structures and land uses, plays an equally important role in influencing ecological differentiation, if not more so. Prominent among these is the housing market.

In an unrestricted open housing market, all other factors equal, individuals and families seek and obtain housing in accordance with their particular needs. Containment policies restricting black residence supported by the complexities of socio-economic discrimination policies greatly limits the opportunity for fulfilling black family housing needs. This situation distorts the expected patterns of socio-economic and familism differentiation and associations which are generally portrayed by the

dominant urban society. Poor black families must take what they can afford and middle-class well-to-do black families can only take the better housing available in the restricted black housing sub-market. The filtering down of housing along the periphery of black neighborhoods previously occupied by white families and housing (public and private) specifically built for black occupance are the primary sectors of the housing market which are available to a growing expanding black population. This increasing housing market for black residential expansion also has significant implications for change in the pattern of black urban ecological structure. The variety and quality of the black housing market together with the economic resources of the black family and its housing needs primarily determine intra-urban and inter-urban black migration, and manifest patterns of black ecological structure.

Early Pattern of Differentiation

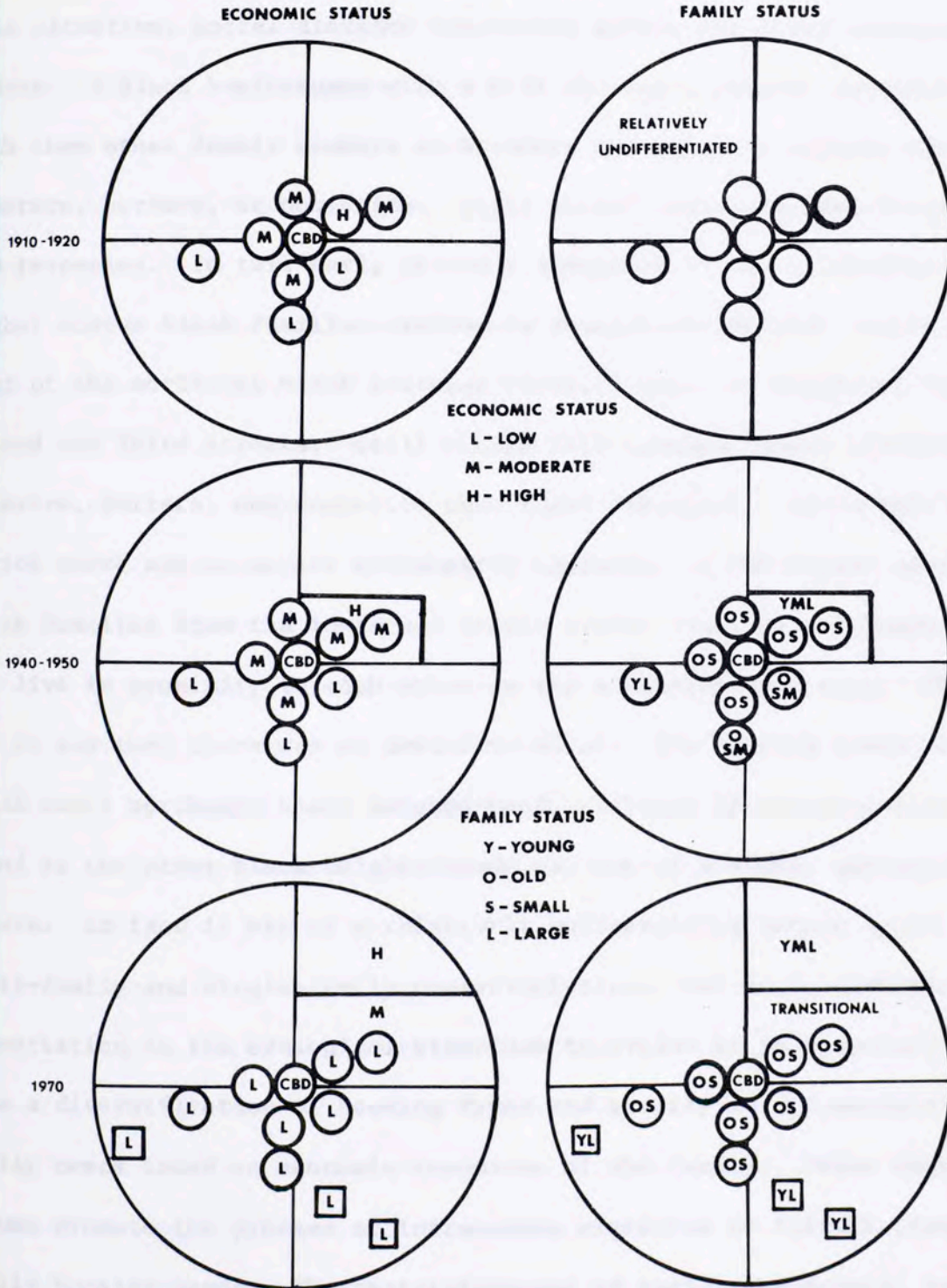
In the early period of Oklahoma City's growth and evolution two basic mechanisms of social control were employed by the dominant urban society in dealing with black urbanization; social segregation policies in education, transportation, accommodations, and other public situations, and racial residential segregation. Overall these policies greatly limited life opportunities for blacks socially, economically, and politically. The ecological structure of the Black Community during this early period can be viewed from two perspectives; one as being relatively homogeneous, and the other as being relatively heterogeneous. The first, a more conservative observation, recognizes the Black Community as an element of the Oklahoma City urban structure which is composed of several non-contiguous black residential areas of which one is perceptively the growth

node for black urbanization. Although it is recognized that black families span a range of socio-economic status and "familism" characteristics, the overbalanced concentration of black families in the lower socio-economic category and in the large extended family category stereotypes blacks as being relatively undifferentiated. The latter view, a more liberal observation, recognizes the Black Community as an element of the urban structure which is composed of several non-contiguous black neighborhoods of which one, the northeast core, is perceptively the growth node for black urbanization. Contrary to the previous view, a diversified black ecological structure is recognized as an important functional component of the black urban social structure, although there is an overbalanced concentration of black families in one ecological category. The former view is one generally expressed by the non-objective dominant urban society and the latter a more objective analytical view.

General ecological structure and change of the Black Community is depicted in Figure 7-1. In the earliest period 1910-1920 "familism" between black neighborhoods is considered to be relatively homogeneous primarily because there is no data or source which specifies otherwise and because of the early period in the city's history being characterized by many black migrants arriving between 1906 and 1910 (Statehood). From the analysis of one variable, occupation, it was determined that the black neighborhoods which buttressed the central business district made up the high and middle economic status black residential areas and those black neighborhoods further out from the CBD were of lower economic status. The northeast core black neighborhood was readily recognizable as displaying the highest economic status. This was the residence of most of the professionals and businessmen of the Black Community. Of course, it should

BLACK COMMUNITY ECOLOGICAL DIFFERENTIATION, 1910-1970

OKLAHOMA CITY



SOURCE: AUTHOR

FIGURE 7-1

be pointed out that by far the majority of even this highest status black neighborhood were of low economic status.

Black doctors and teachers lived next door to black laborers. In this situation, social distance functioned within the Black Community among blacks. A black businessman with a wife who was a teacher may have living with them other family members as brothers or uncles or sisters who were laborers, porters, or domestics. Still social positions were recognized and respected. In this early period a semblance of the clustering of higher status black families evolved in several residential blocks to the east of the northeast black business district core, on Northeast First, Second and Third Streets. Still within this somewhat loose clustering laborers, porters, and domestics made their residence. So in this early period there was no strict residential isolation of the higher status black families from the lower and middle status families, although many did live in proximity to each other in the northeast core area. This is not to say that there was no desire to do so. The housing stock in this still small northeast black neighborhood, although of better quality than found in the other black neighborhoods was not of a highly diversified nature. In fact it was of a relatively undiversified nature apart from multi-family and single-family characteristics. For socio-economic differentiation in the ecological structure to evolve it is necessary to have a diversification of housing types and quality to accommodate varying family needs based on economic resources of the family. Urban American values promote the process of intra-urban migration to fulfill changing family housing needs. The restrictiveness of racial residential segregation greatly limited that process among blacks in this early period when black population was moderately increasing, but the black housing

market was rigidly contained.

In this period, 1890-1940, no real social or economic gains were made by blacks in Oklahoma City. Educational levels, income levels, and occupational status levels somewhat improved absolutely for blacks, but no real gain was made relative to the overall urban society. One very important advancement had been made though and this was the strength of an urban black sub-culture supported by a black social structure and black institutions.

With a variety of circumstances arising in urban society conducive to greater housing opportunities on the northeast side of the city this "Black Ghetto" began to expand areally to the north and northeast between 1940 and 1950. In Figure 7-1 familism shows signs of differentiation as does economic status. As to familism moderate size middle-aged families are located in the newly expanded housing market north of the northeast core and Bathtown neighborhoods. The older established black neighborhoods of the northeast core, Bathtown, Southtown, Riverside, Walnut Grove, and Westtown show signs of an aging population with a dominance of families in their later stages of the family cycle. Sandtown portrays a neighborhood in its early stages of the family cycle - probably rejuvenated by lower status black migrants. As to economic status differentiation, it is still apparent along with change. The newly expanded black housing market on the northeast side has taken on the highest economic status role. The northeast core has declined to moderate economic status and Southtown has declined to low economic status. Westtown and Bathtown retained moderate economic status while Riverside, Walnut Grove, and Sandtown retained low economic status. A discriminant classification of black neighborhoods obtained from a factorial ecology of 1940 is shown in Figure

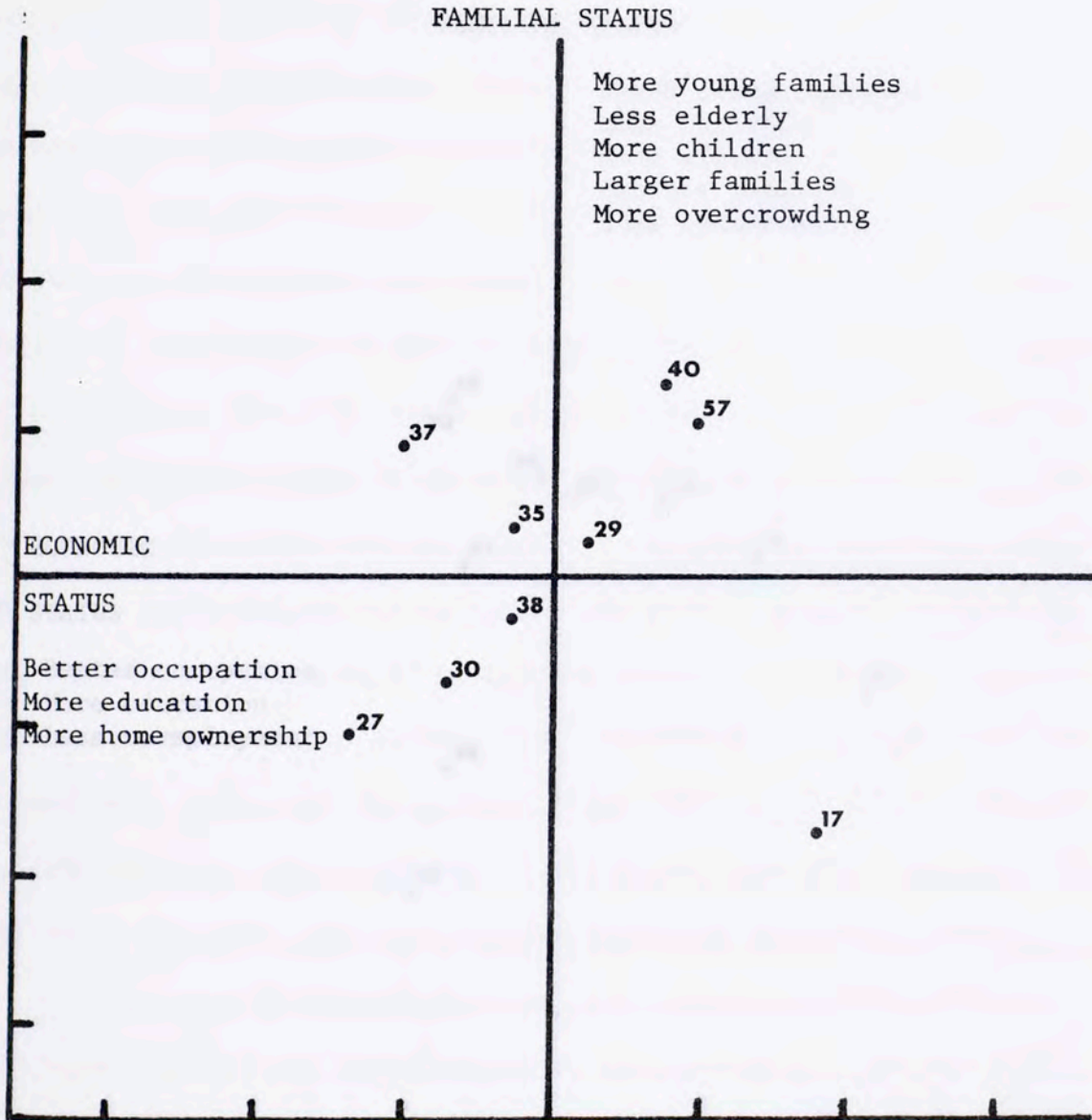
7-2. Five ecological categories appear:

- 1) high economic status with families in the early and middle stages of the family life cycle with moderate-sized households and a high incidence of upper occupational status and a low incidence of lower occupational status - the newly filtered housing on the northeast side (27, 30) and the newly constructed housing for blacks (27).
- 2) high economic status with families in the later stages of the family cycle with small families and individuals (unmarried) with a high incidence of upper occupational status and lower occupational status - Southtown (37).
- 3) moderate economic status with families in the early and middle stages of the family life cycle with large families and individuals (unmarrieds) with a low incidence of upper occupational status and a high incidence of lower occupational status - Northeast core, Bathtown, Westtown (38, 29, 35).
- 4) low economic status with families in the early stages of the family life cycle with moderate sized families and a low incidence of upper occupational status and a high incidence of lower occupational status - Riverside and Sandtown (40, 57).
- 5) low economic status with families in the later stages of the family cycle with very small families and a very high incidence of lower occupational status - black live-in servants in elite white neighborhood (17).

This established pattern of black ecological differentiation in 1940 sets the structural-behavioral foundation from which black neighborhood expansion and ecological change evolved through to 1970.

1940

DISCRIMINANT CLASSIFICATION: ECOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS*



Black Neighborhoods (Census Tracts)

27 Outer Suburb	37 Southtown
29 Bathtown	38 Northeast Core
30 Inner Suburb	40 Riverside
35 Westtown	57 Sandtown

*Source: Compiled from principal components factor scores based on data from U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census Tracts, Oklahoma City, 1942. Reference may be made to map of census tracts in Figure 6-1.

FIGURE 7-3

1950

DISCRIMINANT CLASSIFICATION: ECOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS*

FAMILIAL STATUS

Fewer young families
Less children
More elderly
Smaller families
Less overcrowding

ECONOMIC

STATUS

Better occupation
More education
Less unemployment

Black Neighborhoods (Census Tracts)

13	Outer Suburb	30	Inner Suburb	40	Riverside
27	Inner Suburb	35	Westtown	57	Sandtown
28	Inner Suburb	37	Southtown		
29	Bathtown	38	N.E. Core		

*Source: Compiled from principal components factor scores based on data from U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census Tracts, Oklahoma City, 1952.

Spatial and Dimensional Maturation of Ecological Structure

Between the late 1940s and 1970 the housing market on the northeast side began to slowly open up and more rapidly filter down to the black population which was consistently increasing with the city's population. Several circumstances and policies influenced this change which have been previously described and to which explanation will further be given. The ecological structure of the Black Community for 1970 shown in Figure 7-1 depicts the socio-spatial manifestation of this structure. Number-wise and proportionally the population of the various black residential areas in the city outside of the northeast sector have become of minimal importance to the Black Community as a whole. Also, new black residential areas have been established in the form of public housing outside of the northeast sector. In 1970 all of the black neighborhoods which were formed prior to 1920 declined considerably in population; Northeast core, Bathtown, Walnut Grove, Southtown, Riverside, Westtown, and Sandtown. Where did the growing black population reside in 1970? They resided in the greatly expanded northeast side inner and outer suburbs, Green Pastures and a small proportion were in public housing.

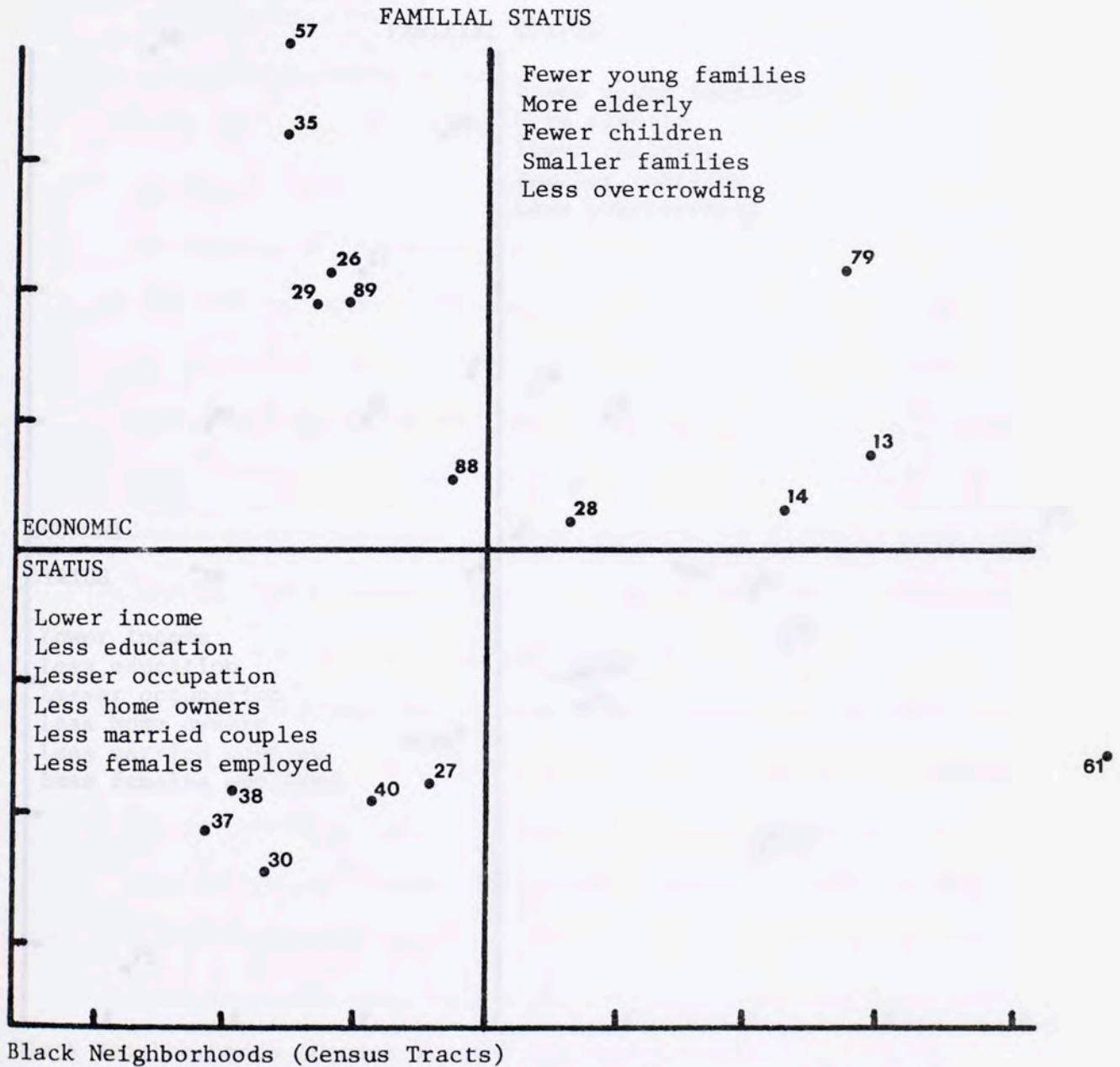
What type of black ecological structure had evolved since 1940? As to "familism" all of the older black neighborhoods exhibited aging populations with small families in the later stages of the family life cycle. The inner and outer suburbs and the Green Pastures area of the northeast sector, newly filtered housing, exhibited young populations with larger families in the early and middle stages of the family life cycle. The public housing areas exhibited very young populations with large families in the early stage of the family life cycle. As to economic status, all of the older black neighborhoods exhibit low economic

status as do the public housing areas, and the expanded northeast sector suburbs and Green Pastures exhibit moderate to high economic status. Utilizing a discriminant analysis of black neighborhoods in 1960 and 1970 based on factorial ecologies shown in Figures 7-4 and 7-5, the following groups emerged:

- 1) very high economic status with large families in the early and middle stages of the family life cycle - a low to moderate incidence of social disorganization - a high incidence of upper occupational status, a low incidence of lesser occupational status, and a high incidence of females in the labor force - the four outermost suburbs on the northeast side (52, 61, 62, 83); outer peripheral suburbs.
- 2) moderately high economic status with moderately large families in the middle stages of the family life cycle - a moderately high incidence of overcrowding and a moderately low incidence of social disorganization - moderate incidence of upper occupation status, a moderately high incidence of skilled laborers, and a low incidence of lesser occupational status, and a moderately high incidence of females in the labor force - the four intermediate outer suburbs (4, 5, 13, 79).
- 3) moderate economic status with small families in the middle and later stages of the family life cycle - a moderately low incidence of overcrowding and a moderate level of social disorganization - a varied incidence of upper occupation status, skilled laborers, and lesser occupational status, and a moderate incidence of females in the labor force - the three

1960

DISCRIMINANT CLASSIFICATION: ECOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS*



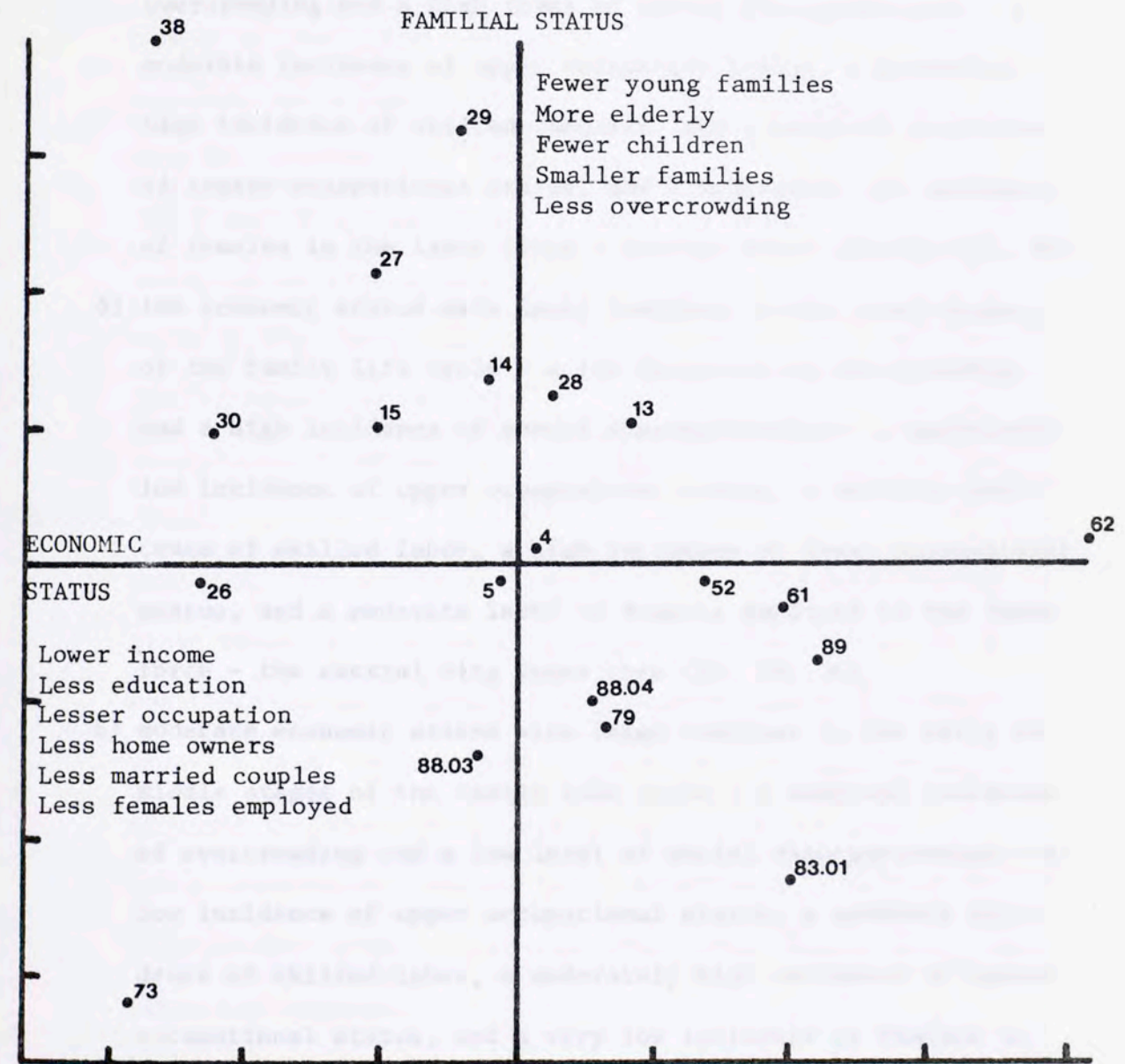
13 Outer Suburb	28 Inner Suburb	37 Southtown	61 Outer Suburb
14 Outer Suburb	29 Bathtown	38 Northeast Core	79 Outer Suburb
26 Inner Suburb	30 Northeast Core	40 Riverside	88 Green Pastures
27 Inner Suburb	35 Westtown	57 Sandtown	89 Green Pastures North

*Source: Compiled from principal components factor scores based on data from U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census Tracts, Oklahoma City, 1961.

331
FIGURE 7-5

1970

DISCRIMINANT CLASSIFICATION: ECOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS*



4 Intermediate Outer Suburb	28 Intermediate Inner Suburb	73 Public Housing Southeast
5 Intermediate Outer Suburb	29 Inner City Core	79 Intermediate Outer Suburb
13 Intermediate Outer Suburb	30 Inner City Suburb	83.01 Outer Suburb
14 Intermediate Inner Suburb	38 Inner City Core	88.03 Green Pastures
15 Intermediate Inner Suburb	52 Outer Suburb	88.04 Green Pastures East
26 Inner City Core	61 Outer Suburb	89 Green Pastures North
27 Inner City Core	62 Outer Suburb	

*Source: Compiled from principal components factor scores based on data from U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census Tracts, Oklahoma City, 1972.

intermediate inner suburbs (14, 15, 28).

- 4) low economic status with small families in the later stages of the family life cycle - a moderately low incidence of overcrowding and a high level of social disorganization - a moderate incidence of upper occupation status, a moderately high incidence of skilled laborers, and a moderate incidence of lesser occupational status, and a moderately low incidence of females in the labor force - the two inner suburbs (26, 30).
- 5) low economic status with small families in the later stages of the family life cycle - a low incidence of overcrowding and a high incidence of social disorganization - a moderately low incidence of upper occupational status, a variable incidence of skilled labor, a high incidence of lower occupational status, and a moderate level of females employed in the labor force - the central city inner core (27, 29, 38).
- 6) moderate economic status with large families in the early to middle stages of the family life cycle - a moderate incidence of overcrowding and a low level of social disorganization - a low incidence of upper occupational status, a moderate incidence of skilled labor, a moderately high incidence of lesser occupational status, and a very low incidence of females in the labor force - the satellite suburb of Green Pastures.
- 7) low economic status with large families in the early to middle stages of the family life cycle - a moderate incidence of overcrowding and a moderate level of social disorganization - a low incidence of upper occupational status, a very low incidence of skilled labor, a very high incidence of lesser

occupational status, and a moderate incidence of females in the labor force - residences peripheral to the Green Pastures area.

- 8) very low economic status with large families in the early stages of the family life cycle - a high incidence of overcrowding and a high incidence of social disorganization - a very low incidence of upper occupational status, a very low incidence of skilled labor, a very high incidence of lesser occupational status, and a moderately low incidence of females in the labor force - public housing project outside of the northeast sector (73).

As to other various black residential areas based on 1960 data and trends in 1940-1960 data:

- 9) generally, low economic status with small families in the later stages of the family life cycle - a low incidence of overcrowding and a moderate incidence of social disorganization - a very low incidence of upper occupational status, a moderate incidence of skilled labor, a high incidence of lower occupational status, and a moderate incidence of females in the labor force - Southtown, Riverside, Walnut Grove, Westtown, and Sandtown.

Evidence of a Maturation Process

How did this socio-spatial change in the Black Community ecological structure evolve from the 1940 pattern? How does one go about elucidating this ecological change? An interpretation has been drawn from the qualitative and quantitative analyses employed from the previous study chapters.

Outline of Quantitative Findings

The factorial ecologies of the Black Community of Oklahoma City for the years of 1940, 1950, 1960 and 1970 provide valuable insight into a changing ecological structure within the scope of an expanding physical space; that primarily being the housing market. This mode of analysis provides a foundation from which to uncover the nature and causes of this ecological pattern and the change in this pattern. Strictly, factorial ecologies alone only provide a somewhat sterile static taxonomic and or phenomenological description of the situation in one time period. Analysis of an ecological structure over time by employing factorial ecology provides insight into a changing ecological taxonomic pattern but still only superficially alludes to the processes which have brought about changing patterns displayed by a temporal interpretation of factorial ecologies.

Many such analyses usually of only one time period have provided a rather shallow interpretation of the processes behind these patterns. Still, the factorial ecology inherently furnishes significant patterns for further analysis and interpretation, and can play an important role in a more sophisticated comprehensive analysis. This was the intention of this research study. From the temporal analysis by factorial ecology basic patterns of black ecological structure differentiation and change could initially be determined. Not only patterns of ecological differentiation could be determined by mapping factor scores, but the factor structures of relatively independent factorial dimensions could be analyzed as to their specific attributes in any one time period or over time. Another important aspect of the employment of factorial ecology was to compare results of this study with previous black urban factorial ecologies.

The analytic reasoning for this study was to carry the factorial ecology several steps further; a principal components analysis of the primary ecological conditions, a canonical correlation analysis of the subdimensions derived from this, and the change analysis of black ecological structure along with a thorough review of sociological and urban social geographical literature. Findings suggest a maturation process in the evolution of the black ecological structure.

Further steps in analysis led to the formulation of Tables 7-1, 7-2, and 7-3, and Figures 7-6, 7-7, and 7-8. These tables and figures attempt to illustrate certain aspects of black ecological structure and change as revealed by the Oklahoma City situation.

The initial gross findings of these further quantitative analyses were:

A) Principal components analysis of primary ecological conditions;

1. sub-dimensions of each ecological condition emerged and through analysis of variance several displayed significant patterns of differentiation.
2. economic condition sub-dimensions - income, occupation, education.
3. family condition sub-dimensions - size and age characteristics, social disorganization, migration/residential mobility.
4. household condition sub-dimension (black housing sub-market) - dwelling population, dwelling size and ownership, dwelling value and amenities.

B) Canonical correlation of ecological condition sub-dimensions;

1. it was determined that significant associations existed

between the classically assumed independent ecological conditions in 1960 and in 1970.

2. the inter-relatedness exhibited by associations was somewhat different for each time period.
 3. economic condition - family condition association (1970)
 - a) family size and age structure associated with occupational status.
 - b) migration/residential mobility associated with educational status.
 4. family condition - household condition association (1970)
 - a) family size and age structure associated with dwelling population.
 - b) social disorganization associated with dwelling size and ownership.
 - c) migration/residential mobility associated with dwelling value and amenities.
 5. economic condition - household condition association (1970)
 - a) educational status associated with dwelling population.
- C) Change analysis of ecological structure:
1. ecological dimensions of change emerged from relative percentage change indices of ecological change and through analysis of variance only pattern trends emerged.
 2. analysis of the change in relative neighborhood ecological status cartographically recognizes patterns of relative ecological status change, generally being zonal.
 3. relative percentage change indices of ecological change.

- a) 1940-1950: Family structure change (overcrowding)
Occupational structure change
Skilled employment change
- b) 1950-1960: Family structure change (overcrowding)
Family structure change (social disorganization)
Economic status change
Skilled employment change
- c) 1960-1970: Family structure change (overcrowding)
Family structure change (social disorganization)
Economic status change
Skilled employment change
Income change

4. change in relative neighborhood ecological status was significantly indicated by the following indicator variables of ecological structure

- a) median family income
- b) families with income under \$1,999
- c) families with income over \$8,000
- d) professionals and managers in the labor force
- e) craftsmen and operatives in the labor force
- f) laborers in the labor force
- g) household workers in the labor force
- h) males unemployed
- i) female labor force
- j) median education

- k) dwellings owner occupied
- l) husband-wife families
- m) population under age 18
- n) population over age 65
- o) dwelling overcrowding
- p) population per household
- q) intra-city migration
- r) in-migration from outside S.M.S.A.

The Factorial Ecology

One type of ecological change analysis can be made by interpreting factorial ecologies for several sequential periods as 1940, 1950, 1960, and 1970; change in factor structures and factor patterns. The 1970 (16 variable) economic status factor structure is basically oriented toward income, occupation, and education indicators. Certain family status indicators also load on this dimension; married couples, population over age 65, and females in the labor force. This indicates the importance of certain family condition variables toward economic status. Greater economic status is achieved in stable black families (married couples) with females employed in the labor force. No economic status indicators loaded on the family status dimension.

The importance of certain economic and family status variables are apparent on the residential mobility dimension. Higher educational levels, income levels, and occupational status along with more females in the labor force and fewer elderly appear to influence black residential mobility potential and patterns of migration. The family income dimension also exhibits the importance of both economic and family indicators.

Again the importance of females in the labor force and family stability appear to affect income achievement.

As for 1970, the 1960 (16 variable) economic status factor dimension is oriented primarily toward income, occupation, and education. Similar family status indicators loaded on the economic status dimension; married couples, population over 65, and population per household. Overall the economic status factors for 1960 and 1970 are very similar.

Unlike the family status dimension in 1970, the 1960 dimension is oriented toward familism characteristics and occupational indicators. Residential mobility is exhibited on both the third and fourth dimensions; residential mobility/intra-city and female employment/inter-city migration. Variable loadings on these two dimensions in 1960 are quite similar to those on the single residential mobility dimension for 1970.

The nine variable analysis of 1970 revealed two distinct dimensions; family status and economic status. Median education, generally an economic status indicator, loads moderately on both dimensions as does population over the age of 65, generally a family status variable.

In the nine variable analysis of 1960 economic and family status factor structures exhibit typical variable loadings with the exception of dwellings owner occupied loading on the family status dimension. A third dimension (segregation) is typified by percent black population and male unemployment.

The 1950 (9 variable) factorial ecology portrays quite a mixture of indicators on the economic and family status dimension structures. Population per household and population under the age of 20 loaded on both statuses as did labor force employed as professionals and managers and dwellings owner occupied.

For 1940 (9 variables) the analysis revealed that economic and family status variables exhibit a slight mixture of indicator loadings. Median education loads on both statuses as does population per household. Dwellings owner occupied and population under the age of 20 loaded on the segregation dimension with percent black population.

The trend shown by loadings between 1940 and 1970 is a lessening of the mixture of economic and family indicator variables and the emergence of relatively distinct factorial dimensions. On the economic status dimension the importance of certain family status indicators (population per household, population under age 20) lessened considerably and on the family status dimension the importance of certain economic status indicators (dwellings owner occupied, median education, males unemployed) also lessened. This lessening of mixture can be contributed partially to the continued spatial expansion of black residential areas in Oklahoma City which provides a greater variety of housing choice to fulfill the needs of black families with diverse economic and family characteristics. A greater familial economic differentiation has evolved along more distinct ecological dimensions within a larger spatial context promoted by a more diversified, more open housing market.

In the more detailed 16 variable analysis of 1960 and 1970 a better overview of this factor structure change is apparent. A mixture of certain variable indicators are revealed on both economic and family status dimensions for 1960 and only on the economic status dimension for 1970. For 1960 family status indicators which loaded on the economic status dimension were population per household, married couples, and population over 65 while economic status indicators which loaded on the family status dimension were dwellings owner occupied, professionals and

managers, and craftsmen. For 1970 family status indicators which loaded on the economic status dimension were married couples, population over 65, and females in the labor force while no economic status indicators loaded on the family status dimension. Family stability, stage in the family life cycle, and female employment appear to be important contemporary determinants of economic status along with traditional income, occupational, and educational attributes. No economic status indicators loaded on the family status dimension in 1970.

As to dimensional spatial patterns more statistically significant patterns of ecological differentiation have evolved from 1940 to 1970. Economic status and family status although cartographically zonal in differentiation for 1940 and 1950 do not appear statistically significant until the 1960 and 1970 years of analysis. Residential mobility and migration patterns first significantly zonal for 1960 revealed a significant sectorial pattern for 1970.

Subdimensional Analysis

A second mode of ecological change analysis can be made by interpreting subdimensional structures and patterns of the three ecological conditions for 1960 and 1970; economic condition, family condition, and household condition. In both 1960 and 1970 the economic condition of the black ecological structure factored into three subdimensions; income structure, occupation structure, and education structure with female labor force as a fourth factor in the 1960 analysis. Remarkable similar factor structures were derived in both years with the exception of the females in the labor force variable which basically displayed dimensional independence in the 1960 situation.

The occupational condition of the black ecological structure for 1960 and 1970 is very similar, but a basic underlying difference is exhibited. The 1960 occupational subdimension is strictly occupational oriented with little influence from education and income variables revealing the fact of discrimination in employment and salaries. In 1970 education and income variables are much more an integral part of this subdimension revealing the influence that social change has had upon the occupational opportunity afforded blacks during this period.

The education structures for 1960 and 1970 are also quite similar being oriented toward education variables and certain occupation variables in each case. The 1960 structure reflects a limited influence of educational levels on occupational status, a primary influence being discrimination in hiring practices of society and an overbalance of blacks in the lower educational level category; high school level or below. By 1970 much had improved. In 1970 the education structure shows much more influence of educational levels in occupational status attainment due chiefly to a much higher percentage of blacks with a high school and college education and more equal opportunity in hiring practices by society. Overall the much greatly improved economic condition of blacks is reflected in the factor structures of each subdimension and this is manifested spatially by certain patterns of economic differentiation which have evolved from an earlier relatively undifferentiated contained Black Community.

In 1960 and 1970 the family condition of the black ecological structure factored into three subdimensions; size/age structure, social disorganization, and migration/residential mobility. The size/age factor structure is very similar in 1960 and 1970. Although this subdimension

is chiefly oriented toward family size and age attributes influence is revealed by social disorganization and residential mobility variables. Between 1960 and 1970 the major difference lies on the female head variable and some on the migration variables. In 1960 families headed by a female are related more to the aging process, widows, and to divorcees and separatees with small families while the 1970 situation is influenced by less family stability (greater percentage of divorcees and separatees with larger younger families); a general sign of the times in society. This also points out the increasing problem of illegitimacy among blacks. Migration of blacks in relation to family size and age characteristics reflects the need of the younger larger family for new housing, conventional and public housing stimulated by social and economic legislation.

The social disorganization structures of the family condition for 1960 and 1970 were also quite similar with certain slight exceptions. Incidence of social disorganization in 1960 appears to be related basically to the aging process and widows, although divorcees, separatees, and unwed mothers are very influential. A greater incidence of divorcees, separatees and unwed mothers contribute to the 1970 condition. Black family stability in both years is promoted and sustained by the middle stage of the family life cycle which one would expect.

The migration/residential mobility structure of the family condition exhibits very similar factor structures in both 1960 and 1970. The major orientation is toward the source and destination of black families. Migration is influenced in both cases by stage in the life cycle with the middle stage related positively to the out-migration of central city families to the suburbs and public housing and the in-migration of

out of the city families to the suburbs and public housing. Migration of black families from other parts of the city have been dominated by residence in the Green Pastures area.

The household condition (black housing market) of the black ecological structure factored into three subdimensions for 1960 and 1970; dwelling population, value and amenities, size and ownership, and a fourth for 1970, affluency. The dwelling population subdimension in both years is oriented chiefly toward overcrowding related to large families and insufficient dwelling size. Even with the considerable expansion of black residential areas between 1950 and 1970 and the construction of public housing, overcrowding continued to be present among many lower and middle class black families.

The dwelling size and ownership structure for 1960 and 1970 is very similar. There is a slightly greater influence of overcrowding characteristics and family extendedness in the 1960 case. Basically, dwelling ownership is related positively to larger single family dwellings and moderate to large families in both years.

For the value and amenities subdimension the factor structures are relatively identical for both years. Simply the better and more expensive the housing, the greater the associated amenities.

Ecological condition subdimensions for 1970 exhibited significant patterns of spatial variation while many for 1960 exhibited somewhat undiscernible patterns although tending toward zonality or sectoriality. Figure 7-6 attempts to illustrate the generalized ecological structure exhibited by the Black Community situation of Oklahoma City as derived from multivariate analyses for 1960 and 1970.

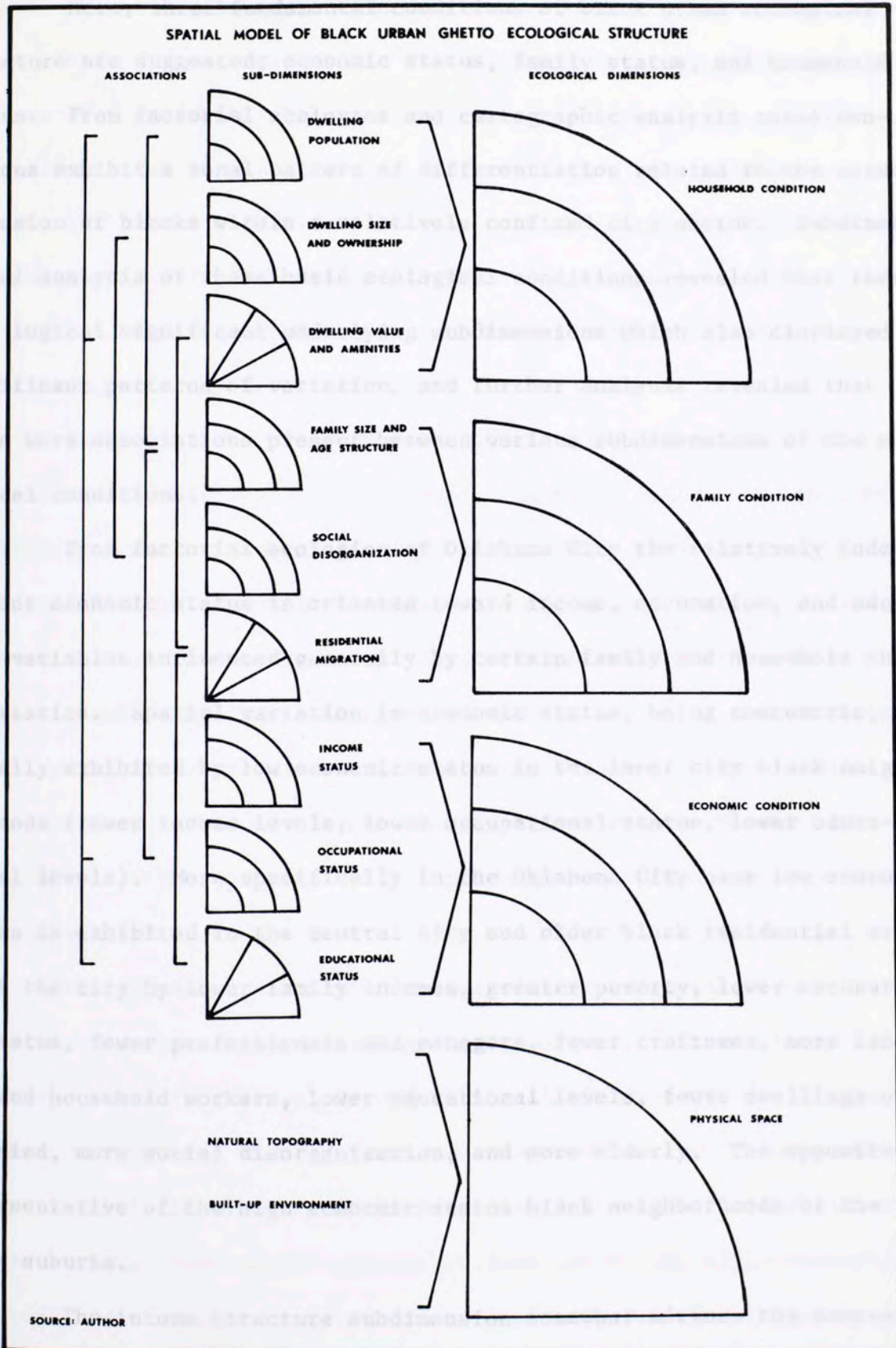


FIGURE 7-6

Here, three fundamental conditions of black urban ecological structure are suggested; economic status, family status, and household status. From factorial ecologies and cartographic analysis these conditions exhibit a zonal pattern of differentiation related to the outward expansion of blacks within a relatively confined city sector. Subdimensional analysis of these basic ecological conditions revealed that there were logical significant underlying subdimensions which also displayed significant patterns of variation, and further analysis revealed that there were associations present between various subdimensions of the ecological conditions.

From factorial ecologies of Oklahoma City the relatively independent economic status is oriented toward income, occupation, and education variables influenced generally by certain family and household characteristics. Spatial variation in economic status, being concentric, is generally exhibited by low economic status in the inner city black neighborhoods (lower income levels, lower occupational status, lower educational levels). More specifically in the Oklahoma City case low economic status is exhibited in the central city and older black residential areas about the city by lower family incomes, greater poverty, lower occupational status, fewer professionals and managers, fewer craftsmen, more laborers and household workers, lower educational levels, fewer dwellings owner occupied, more social disorganization, and more elderly. The opposite is representative of the high economic status black neighborhoods of the outer suburbs.

The income structure subdimension somewhat mirrors the concentric variation displayed by the economic condition; that is, income becoming greater with distance from the central city within the expanding ghetto

sector. More specifically, income structure is differentiated by low income status in the central city (lower family income levels, few moderate to high income levels, greater poverty, lower educational levels, high incidence of very limited, if any, education, low incidence of females in the labor force, lower occupational status, fewer professionals and managers, fewer clerical workers and craftsmen, more laborers, service workers, and household workers). The opposite is representative of the black outer suburbs.

The occupation structure subdimension also mirrors the concentric variation exhibited by the economic condition and the income structure; occupational status increasing with distance from the central city. More specifically, occupation structure is differentiated by low occupational status in the central city (lower occupational status, fewer professionals and managers, fewer clerical workers and craftsmen, more laborers, service workers, and household workers, lower family income, greater poverty, lower educational levels, fewer females in the labor force, and higher male unemployment) and high occupational status in the outer suburbs.

The education structure subdimension is an exception to this concentric economic differentiation, being sectorial in variation. Undoubtedly, there is a strong dichotomy zonally between the inner city and the outer suburbs with much lower educational levels in the inner city, but statistically sectors of educational level differentiation has emerged with the western and central sectors exhibiting higher educational levels and the easternmost sector a relatively low educational level. Low educational status is exhibited specifically by low educational levels, fewer high school graduates, much fewer college graduates, much

more limited, if any, education, more males unemployed, much fewer professionals and managers, fewer craftsmen, more laborers and household workers, lower incomes, greater poverty, much fewer moderate and upper income families.

Family status revealed by factorial ecologies of Oklahoma City's Black Community is oriented toward family size, age characteristics, type of household head, overcrowding influenced by certain labor force characteristics, and inter-city migration. Spatial variation in family status, being concentric, is generally exhibited by a central city zone dominated by smaller families in the later stages of the family life cycle, a higher incidence of social disorganization related to the aging process (widows) chiefly, a lower incidence of family stability, and a lower incidence of overcrowding with more laborers and household workers and a lesser incidence of black in-migrants from outside the city, and the opposite for the outer suburbs.

The size/age structure and social disorganization subdimensions both exhibit concentric patterns of differentiation. As to the size/age structure generally with distance from the central city through the ghetto sector family size increases and family member ages become younger. More specifically, the inner city exhibits fewer youth, more elderly, more families in their later stages of the family life cycle, much fewer families in the early and middle stages of the family life cycle, a greater incidence of social disorganization and family extendedness, and a lesser incidence of black in-migrants from other parts of the city and from outside the city. The outer suburbs display opposite characteristics.

With distance from the central city the social disorganization subdimension generally exhibits increasing family stability with more

families in the early and middle stages of the family life cycle, with fewer elderly and less family extendedness. The migration/residential mobility subdimension displays a differentiation pattern of sectoriality. This subdimension is contrasted between sectors of in-migration from blacks in the central city and from outside the city, and in other parts of the city influenced by family age characteristics and the family life cycle. The easternmost sector is dominated by migrants from parts of the city other than the central city with smaller families in the later stages of the family life cycle and more elderly while the remaining two sectors are dominated by black migrants from the central city and from outside the city (higher incidence of families in the middle stage of the family life cycle, less elderly).

The household condition is representative of the black occupied housing market and as such differentiates the black built-up residential infra-structure on the basic dwelling size, value, and associated amenities influenced by tenure type and certain dwelling population attributes. Generally, the household condition overall displays a zonal variation through the black housing sector of the city. With distance from the central city one finds larger dwelling units, more home ownership, more single family housing, higher home values, greater associated dwelling amenities, less deterioration, less obsolescence, larger families, more overcrowding, and more black affluence.

The size and ownership subdimension and the dwelling population subdimension are concentric in differentiation as the household condition. The size and ownership subdimension is oriented toward dwelling size and tenure type influenced by housing type, associated amenities, and family size. More specifically, with distance from the central city there are

larger dwelling units, more home ownership, more single family housing, more amenities, and larger families. The dwelling population subdimension is oriented chiefly toward family size and overcrowding influenced by dwelling size, type of dwelling, and associated amenities. Specifically, with distance from the central city there are larger families, more overcrowding, more single family housing, larger newer housing, and more amenities.

The dwelling value and amenities subdimension exhibits a sectorial pattern of differentiation through the black housing sector. This is oriented toward dwelling unit value and associated amenities influenced by dwelling size, family size, and dwelling age. Specifically, the contrast between sectors reveals that more expensive dwellings with more amenities are associated with larger newer dwellings and larger families.

Subdimensional Association

Economic status, family status, and household characteristics are assumed to be relatively independent dimensions in factorial ecology. Subdimensions of these ecological conditions revealed from separate factor analysis and analyzed through canonical correlation show that there are certain significant associations or relationships between these primary status dimensions. The associational focus of the ecological structure appears to be centered on the family condition which in the 1970 analysis revealed significant associations with two economic condition subdimensions and three household condition subdimensions. The family condition subdimensions, migration/residential mobility and size and age structure, associate with the economic condition subdimensions, educational status and occupational status, respectively.

The association between migration/residential mobility and educational status suggested by canonical correlation is also reflected by factorial ecologies for 1960 and 1970 in which the median education loads the highest of the non-migration variables on the residential mobility dimension. Higher educational attainment is influential in residential mobility. Migrants of differing educational levels move to differing sectors of the housing market. Both subdimensions display sectorial differentiation. Still, a considerable zonal dichotomy exists between the inner and outer city neighborhoods; much lower educational levels in the central city and much higher educational levels in the outer suburbs.

The association between family size and age structure and occupational status suggested by canonical correlation is partially reflected by factorial ecologies for 1960 and 1970 in which certain labor force variables load on the family status dimension which is oriented primarily toward family size and age characteristics. Both subdimensions display zonal differentiation.

In respect to the household condition, the family condition subdimensions, migration/residential mobility, social disorganization, and family size and age structure associate with dwelling value and amenities, dwelling size and ownership, and dwelling population, respectively.

The association between migration/residential mobility and dwelling value and amenities suggested by canonical correlation reflects the sectoriality of housing values, rents, and associated amenities related to housing preference and family characteristics of black migrants. Both exhibit a sectorial pattern of differentiation.

Social disorganization and dwelling size and ownership, both zonal in differentiation, exhibit association by canonical correlation

analysis. Greater black family stability appears to be related to larger families in the middle stage of the family life cycle living in larger single family owner occupied homes of relatively new construction with associated amenities and a lessening of family extendedness.

The association between family size and age structure and dwelling population is quite obvious since both are influenced by similarly oriented variables. The zonal differentiation of both indicates the incidence of large families related to overcrowding generally in single family housing in both the homes of married couples and female heads. Although not a major problem within most of the Black Community, overcrowding is limited in the central city and outer suburbs with a greater incidence in the intermediate inner and outer suburbs and the Green Pastures area (1970).

On one associational linkage or canonical factor (1970) two household condition subdimensions (dwelling population and dwelling value and amenities) associate with two economic condition subdimensions (educational status and occupational status). For the 1960 analysis income status associated with value and amenities. The change in association reflects the increased opportunities afforded blacks over the decade and the emergence of education and equal opportunity in employment as more basic determinants of income and subsequent life opportunities as related to home value and amenities and to the household condition (black housing market).

The physical space as shown in Figure 7-6 represents the built-up infrastructure of the black ghetto space apart from the black housing market (transportation network, commercial, institutional, industrial and other land uses) and the natural and modified terrain features. These

influence and are influenced by the ecological structure of ghetto space.

From the model in Figure 7-6 the superimposition of three fundamental ecological conditions of the black ecological structure on the physical ghetto space can be seen as a complex set of inter-related ecological condition subdimensions influenced in their associations by inherent and exogenous circumstances; the culmination of a complex dynamic urbanization/ghettoization process affected by public and private policy and tradition in a temporal context. If it were possible to analyze the black ecological structure over time by multivariate analysis some associations may remain consistent while others may change due to social change in society and spatial expansion of the black urban population.

Change Analysis

Change in the ecological structure of the Black Community was revealed by a change analysis of Oklahoma City's Black Community for the period 1940 to 1970. Two aspects of change were analyzed; 1) percentage change and 2) relative status change. A change quotient was utilized in the percentage change analysis while means and standard deviations were employed in the relative status change analysis. Together with cartographic interpretation these revealed a trend toward concentric change in percentage change and relative status change, generally with the greatest percentage change in derived change dimensions occurring in the mixed black/white neighborhoods along the fringe of the northeast black ghetto.

Three similar dimensions of change were apparent in each decennial analysis; family structure change, economic status change, and skilled employment change. Appropriate reference should be made to Figures 7-7 and 7-8. As in the factorial ecologies for 1940 and 1950, the 1940-1950

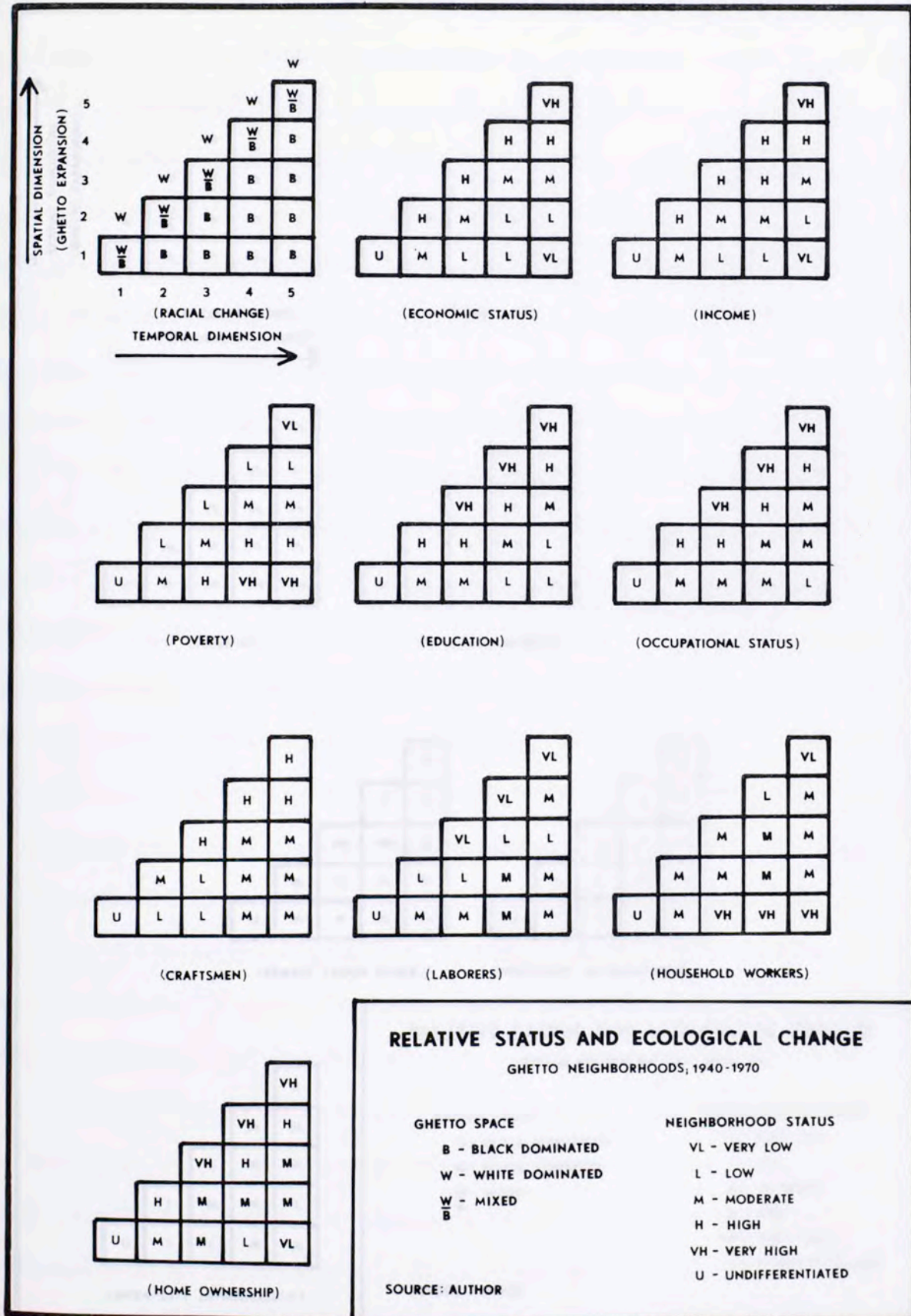


FIGURE 7-7

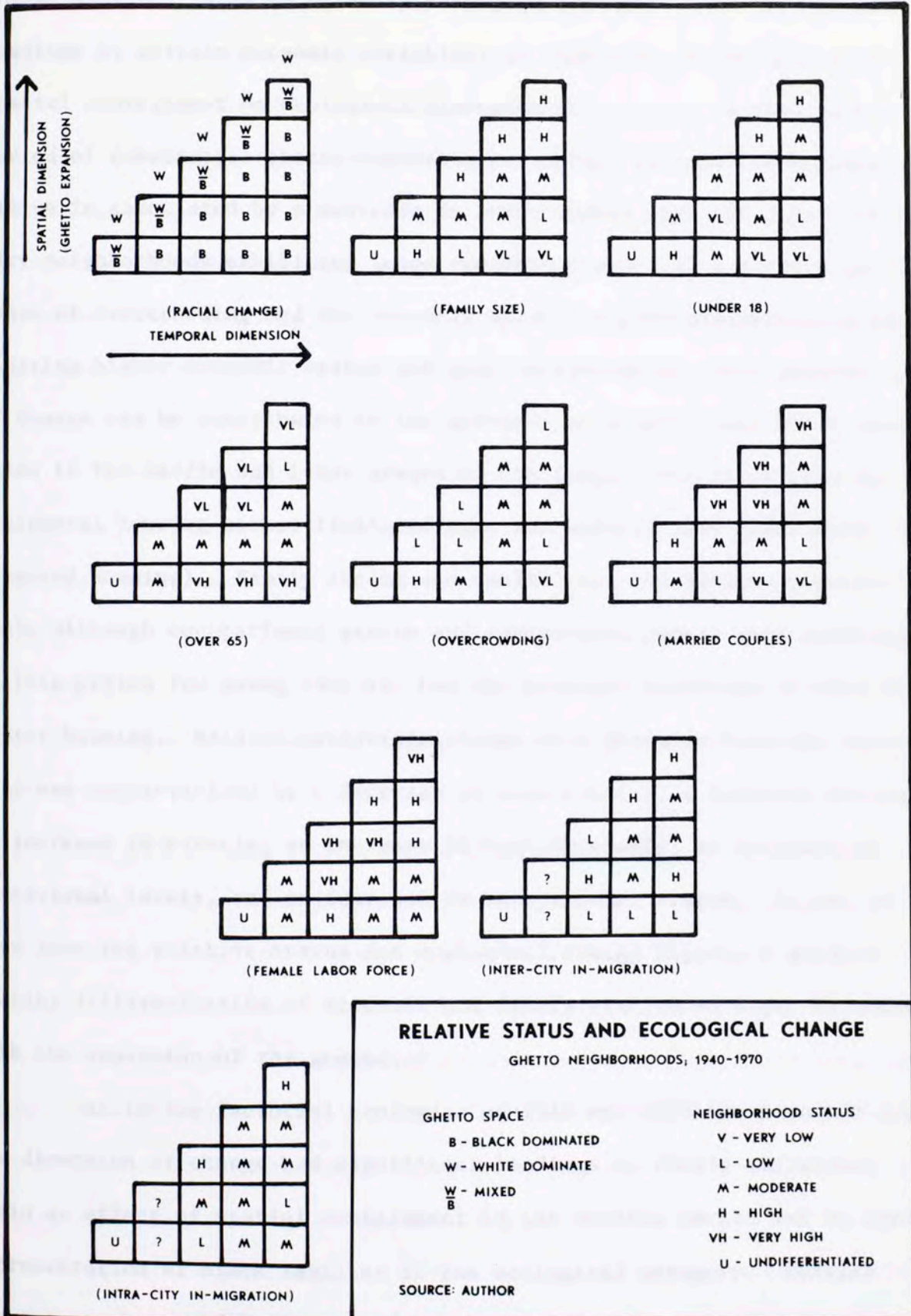


FIGURE 7-8

change analysis revealed a family structure dimension with significant loadings by certain economic variables; an indicator of the effect of spatial containment on ecological dimension structure. In this early period of substantial ghetto expansion percentage increase in economic status is associated by a decrease in overcrowding with the older inner city neighborhoods exhibiting lower economic status and a greater incidence of overcrowding and the recently black occupied neighborhoods exhibiting higher economic status and less overcrowding. This pattern of change can be contributed to the movement of middle-class black families in the middle and later stages of the family life cycle into the peripheral housing market (filtered down and specifically black constructed housing). Family income and wealth were the primary determinants although occupational status and educational levels were important. At this period few young families had the economic resources to move to better housing. Related percentage change with distance from the central city was characterized by a decrease in overcrowding, a decrease in youth, an increase in elderly, an increase in home ownership, an increase in educational levels, and an increase in occupational status. As can be seen from the relative status and ecological change figure, a greater spatial differentiation of economic and family attributes began to emerge with the expansion of the ghetto.

As in the factorial ecologies of 1940 and 1950 the economic status dimension of change had significant loadings by family variables; again an effect of spatial containment in the housing market and an overrepresentation of black families in one ecological category. Related percentage change with distance from the central city was characterized by increased income levels, increased educational levels, increased

occupational status, increased home ownership, decreased overcrowding, decreased family size, a decrease in youth, and an increase in elderly.

The third change dimension, skilled employment change, showed a greater percentage increase in professionals, managers and craftsmen in the newer peripheral black neighborhoods indicating the importance of these occupational categories in promoting economic resources for blacks and better housing attainment, especially the increase of black employment in the skilled labor category and the decrease of employment as laborers and domestics.

In the 1950-1960 change analysis two family structure change dimensions emerged; overcrowding change and social disorganization change. A reversal in percentage overcrowding was apparent with the migration of young families to the peripheral neighborhoods. Related percentage change here was characterized by decreased overcrowding in the central city along with a decrease in youth, an increase in elderly, an increase in social disorganization, and a decrease in educational and income levels. As to percentage change in economic status the older central city black neighborhood witnessed a decrease in income and educational levels, an increase in poverty, and decrease in craftsmen, laborers, and household workers. As to percentage change in skilled employment the central city experienced a decline in professionals and craftsmen and an increase in social disorganization. Again, as indicated by relative status and ecological change greater spatial expansion of ghetto space reveals a more complex differentiated black urban ecological structure.

For 1960-1970 family structure change is again revealed on two dimensions similar to those derived in the 1950-1960 analysis. Decreasing overcrowding with a decreasing percentage of youth is found in the central

city and inner suburb neighborhoods along with a decrease in income, a decrease in home ownership and an increase in social disorganization. Economic status change is revealed on two change dimensions; basic economic status change and family income change. The inner city neighborhoods and inner suburbs are characterized by decreasing incomes and educational levels, decreasing occupational status, increasing poverty, and increasing social disorganization and elderly. Skilled employment change is characterized by a decrease in craftsmen in neighborhoods exhibiting an increase in elderly and overcrowding.

An interesting aspect of the percentage change analysis dimensions is the bilateral or multi-lateral characteristics of the three consistent change dimensions. This further suggests the association between basic ecological conditions revealed in the canonical correlation of ecological condition subdimensions. Although each change dimension is clearly oriented toward family status, economic status, and skilled employment structure, there is considerable influence by a variety of variables. The significant association expressed in the 1960 canonical correlation of ecological condition sub-dimensions between social disorganization and income and between family size and age structure and occupational structure are apparent in the 1960-1970 change dimension structures. The subdimensional associations expressed on the change dimensions of 1950-1960 and 1960-1970 are quite similar suggesting a close consistent change in the spatio-ecological structure of the Black Community from 1950 to 1970. Somewhat different although still very similar change dimensions were revealed in the 1940-1950 analysis due partially to an analysis of a lesser number of variables and a contained study area. The dimensions derived from these change analyses are quite

similar to those derived in Charles Christian's study of social areas and spatial change in Chicago's Black Community between 1950 and 1960.

Indexes of Black Ecological Structure and Change

One approach at viewing and analyzing black ecological structure and its change in the urban context is illustrated in Tables 7-1, 7-2, and 7-3. The format of this black urban ecological change generally follows the familiar Shevky "construct formation and index construction" for social area analysis, but the specific purpose and orientation is much different. Postulates and hypotheses are not proposed in this case, but rather, trend indexes of ecological conditions are suggested as logical relevant indicators of social change in the urban social system.

Tables 7-1, 7-2, and 7-3 propose three fundamental ecological conditions; economic status, family status, and household status. Each ecological condition is supported by three trend indexes (condition sub-dimensions) which in turn are supported by a number of indicator variables. With this foundation both a quantitative and qualitative perspective of ecological structure and change can be made by incorporating changes in the structure of the social system and trends of change with statistics related to change.

The Black Community of Oklahoma City has been and is a dynamic growing expanding component of the urban socio-physical morphology, but only in the last two or three decades has black spatial expansion been commensurate with black population growth. Also, only in the last couple of decades have obstacles to black economic and social equality been substantially eliminated or lessened. The present spatio-ecological situation

TABLE 7-1

INDEXES OF BLACK ECONOMIC STRUCTURE AND CHANGE

<u>Trend Index</u>	<u>Variables Related to Conditions</u>	<u>Ecological Conditions</u>	<u>Changes in Structure in Social System</u>	<u>Interrelated Trends of Change</u>
1. Income	Families with less than \$1,999 Families with over \$8,000 Median family income Families below the poverty level		Changes in income structure related to change in educational structure and occupational structure and increased opportunities.	Changing Public Policy: Decreasing de jure and de facto discriminatory policies in education, salaries, and employment.
2. Occupation	Professionals and managers Clerical workers Craftsmen, foremen, operatives Laborers Service workers Private household workers	Economic Status (social rank)	Changes in occupational structure related to change in the division of labor of society and to increased opportunities in education and employment.	Changing distribution of needed skills in society: Lessening importance of manual productive operations - growing importance of clerical, supervisory, management operations. Changing policies in employment opportunity.
3. Education	Median school years completed High school graduates 1 to 4 years education and no schooling		Changes in educational structure related to changes in income structure and occupational structure and to increased opportunities.	Changing Societal Attitudes: Increasing acceptance of blacks into the overall occupational and educational structures. The implementation of forced educational integration and special educational programs. Changing policies in educational opportunity.

TABLE 7-2

INDEXES OF BLACK FAMILY STRUCTURE AND CHANGE

<u>Trend Index</u>	<u>Variables Related to Conditions</u>	<u>Conditions</u>	<u>Changes in Structure of Social System</u>	<u>Interrelated Trends of Change</u>
1. Size/Age Structure	Population under age 18 Population over age 65 Population per household Household members not related to household head		Change in family composition related to change in the economic structure. Changes in the way of living - change in fertility preference - female employment and longevity.	Changing relation of the black population to the economy: Changing family unit economic role related to a differentiation of functions in the city, and improved educational and occupational opportunities. Changes in the function and structure of the family related to a changing economic structure resulting in trends toward smaller families, fewer extended families, family planning, and an increase in female employment.
2. Social Disorganization	Husband-wife families Female head of family Population age 25-44	Family Status	Change in family stability characteristics related to changing marital attitudes and change in the economic structure. Changes in the way of living - breakdown of traditional roles and attitudes of family members and other societal institutions.	Changing societal attitudes: Changes in the function and structure of the family related to a changing economic structure.

Table 7-2 (cont.)

3. Migration/ Residential Mobility	Families from central city Families from other part of SMSA Families from outside the SMSA	Change in black family residential mobility and migration character- istics related to change in the economic structure and the household struc- ture (black housing mar- ket). Changes in the way of living - change in housing preference com- mensurate with economic resources and family needs.	Changing Public Policy: Decreasing discriminatory policies in housing and an improved economic structure. Distortion of conventional home selection by the black poor and elderly with the provision of public housing.
Trend Index	Condition	Condition	Condition
1. Population	Median persons per dwelling Roomer dwellings Overcrowded dwellings Structural age	Change in family household needs re- lated to change in the economic structure and housing market policies. Changes in housing pref- erence commensurate with family needs. Changes in the way of living dictated by a more gen- eral, although still stagnant by certain tra- ditional conservative and discriminatory policies.	Changing policies of a previous discriminatory nature affecting social and especially economic opportunities for blacks. Changing public and private policies of a previous discriminatory nature affecting the black housing market. Changing policies of a more general nature affecting economic opportunities for blacks and social conditions in general.
2. Value & Amortization	Dwellings less than \$5,000 Dwellings over \$20,000 Median home value Median contract rent Dwellings with air conditioning Dwellings with central heating Dwellings with 2 or more cars	Change in family household needs re- lated to change in the economic structure and housing market policies. Changes in housing pref- erence commensurate with family needs. Changes in the way of living dictated by a more gen- eral, although still stagnant by certain tra- ditional conservative and discriminatory policies.	Changing policies of a previous discriminatory nature affecting social and especially economic opportunities for blacks. Changing public and private policies of a previous discriminatory nature affecting the black housing market. Changing policies of a more general nature affecting economic opportunities for blacks and social conditions in general.
3. Size and Characteristics	Dwellings over applied Dwellings with 1 room or less Median size dwelling Non-unit dwellings	Change in family household needs re- lated to change in the economic structure and housing market policies. Changes in housing pref- erence commensurate with family needs. Changes in the way of living dictated by a more gen- eral, although still stagnant by certain tra- ditional conservative and discriminatory policies.	Changing policies of a previous discriminatory nature affecting social and especially economic opportunities for blacks. Changing public and private policies of a previous discriminatory nature affecting the black housing market. Changing policies of a more general nature affecting economic opportunities for blacks and social conditions in general.

INDEXES OF BLACK HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE AND CHANGE

<u>Trend Index</u>	<u>Statistics Related to Conditions</u>	<u>Condition</u>	<u>Changes in Structure of Social System</u>	<u>Trends of Change</u>
1. Population	One person dwellings Six or more person dwellings Median persons per dwelling Roomer dwellings Overcrowded dwellings Structural age			
2. Value & Amenities	Dwellings less than \$5,000 Dwellings over \$20,000 Median home value Median contract rent Dwellings with air conditioning Dwellings with central heating Dwellings with 2 or more autos	Household Status (Black Housing Market)	Change in family household needs related to change in the economic structure and housing market policies. Changes in housing preference commensurate with economic resources and family needs. Changes in the way of living promoted by a more open society, although still affected by certain traditional segregative and discriminatory forces.	Changing policies of a previous discriminatory nature affecting social and especially <u>economic</u> opportunities for blacks. Changing public and private policies of a previous discriminatory nature affecting the black housing market. Changing policies promoting general metropolitan suburbanization, black suburbanization, and racial residential integration
3. Size and Ownership	Dwellings owner occupied Dwellings with 2 rooms or less Median size dwelling One unit dwellings			

in which the Black Community finds itself is the culmination of a multitude of processes and circumstances which interrelatedly and separately played a role in the formation of the present spatio-ecological condition.

Firstly, continued growth of the black population in Oklahoma City partially led to the spatial growth in the various black residential areas of the city. De jure and de facto containment policies drastically limited this black residential expansion up until the late 1940s when directly oriented de jure containment was for the most part eliminated. De facto residential segregation continued and to some extent remains in effect today. Along with residential containment legal and extra-legal segregation policies limited social, economic, and political equality for blacks. These unjust discriminatory policies of society kept the black subordinated as a second-class citizen and relegated him to a life of limited opportunity and quality.

Beginning in the late 1940s and subsequently there has been an overriding trend of change toward eliminating social, economic, and political inequality in American society with an underlying emphasis on blacks (being the major minority). There has also been a trend toward more open housing. Neither have been totally realized, but major gains have been made through recent social change.

In respect to the income structure of the economic ecological condition changing public policy and to some extent private policy have resulted in a considerable decrease in de jure and de facto discriminatory policies in education, salaries, and employment. Changing societal attitudes have promoted an increased acceptance of blacks into the overall educational and occupational structures of our social system. Not only has educational improvement affected the occupational structure of

the Black Community but also technological change and modernization which have influenced a changing occupational demand because of a changing distribution of needed skills in society. The need for laborers, domestics, and semi-skilled workers is much less than it was a few decades ago with a greater need for technologically skilled workers, clerical types, management types, and professionals. Over the past two decades blacks have been making moderately consistent in-roads into these occupational categories and improving their social, economic, and political bases in society.

The family ecological condition is influenced considerably by the overall processes of urbanization in society and by ghettoization specifically. Generally, change in the way of living and changes in the function and structure of the black family have closely paralleled those of urban society. Changes in the relation of the black population to the urban economy and lessening of discriminatory policies have promoted these changes in fertility preference, female employment, family composition, marital attitudes, housing preference, and residential mobility. With changes in the way of living emerge changes in the function and structure of the black family; a decrease in family size and extendedness, and an increase in female employment, divorce and separation, the life span, and residential mobility.

Changes in the way of living, improvement in the economic condition, and decreasing discriminatory policies in housing have had far reaching implications for the household ecological condition. A larger more diverse housing market has been opened to the Black Community whereby housing needs can be satisfied dependent upon the economic resources of the individual family.

The role of suburbanization of the overall urban population has played a major part in filtering down of housing peripheral to the expanding black ghetto. Rapid suburban housing construction in Oklahoma City since the end of World War II (and more recently in satellite towns) has allowed white families in the path of black expansion to escape to less threatened neighborhoods while black families quickly infiltrate and soon dominate peripheral residential blocks, satisfying their needs for better housing and a better neighborhood environment. With the continuance of open housing and equal life opportunities, the black ecological structure, dimensionally and spatially, is more and more taking on the appearance of the typical overall metropolitan ecological structure.

Socio-ecological change in the Black Community and the spatial manifestation of that change has been greatly influenced by a consistent urbanization of blacks and change in public and private policies affecting improved life opportunities and an expanding black housing market which promote: 1) values permitting and favoring black mobility to maximize housing efficiency for blacks unencumbered by frictions set by a prejudices value system and policy restrictions, and 2) a relatively full range of housing types for black families of certain economic statuses in varied stages of the family cycle even if the housing is located within an area relatively characterized as a racial ghetto. The maturation of black ecological differentiation is closely related to Black Community growth and the role of policies influencing the black housing market and socio-economic well-being.

CHAPTER VIII

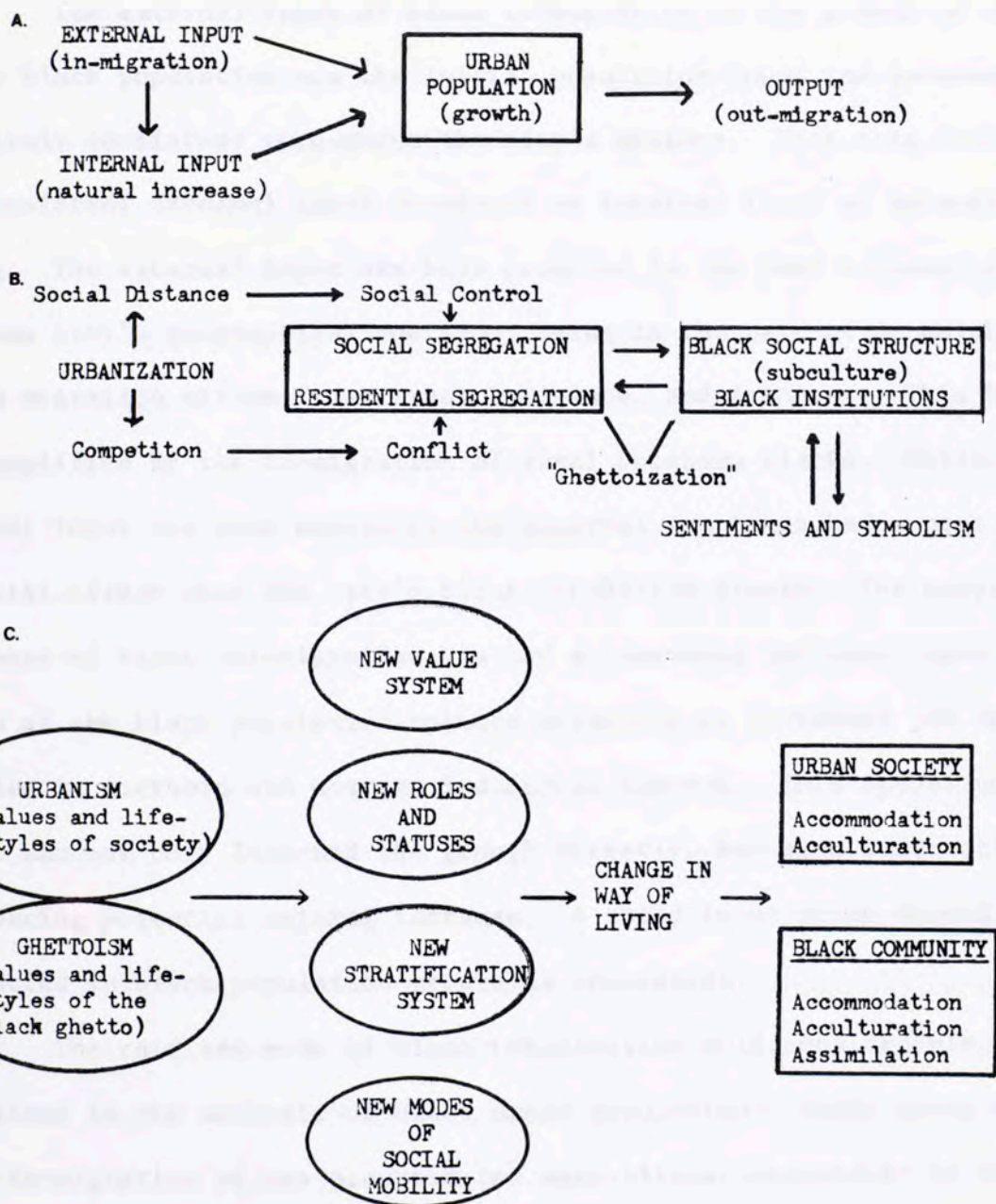
BLACK COMMUNITY LOCATION, FORMATION, AND EVOLUTION: A SYNTHESIS

The primary subject of this research is the urban Black Community in the Anglo-American metropolis; its formation, its maintenance, its evolution, and its internal attributes. The study area, Oklahoma City, has provided an excellent laboratory for analyzing urban phenomena related to black residential neighborhood formation and development. Many of the classical and contemporary forces uncovered in the review of geographic and sociological literature have come to light in this research study. Based on this analysis of Oklahoma City, a synthesis of the findings related to Black Community location, formation, and evolution is presented in this chapter.

Urbanization and Ghettoization

The basic concepts and processes exemplified in Chapter II are illustrated in Figure 8-1 as expressed by the Oklahoma City situation. Part A of Figure 8-1 simplistically illustrates the process of black urban population concentration in Oklahoma City for any decennial period in the city's history and for the city's entire past from 1889 to 1970. With the settlement of only a few hundred blacks at the city's birth in 1889, Oklahoma City's black population had grown to over 50,000 in 1970. Decennially, from 1900 to 1970 Oklahoma City's black population has ranged from 8 to 14 percent of the total population. The rate of

BLACK URBANIZATION



SOURCE: AUTHOR

FIGURE 8-1

black urbanization has remained relatively proportional to the overall rate of urbanization for Oklahoma City over this seventy year period.

The external input of black in-migration to the growth of the city's black population was the initial population input and remained relatively consistent throughout the city's history. With this initial and consistent external input developed an internal input of natural increase. The external input has been promoted in the past because of Oklahoma City's geographical position; being in the path of an established migration stream from Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas. This has been amplified by the in-migration of rural Oklahoma blacks. While the external input has been moderate, the internal input has had a near exponential effect upon the city's black population growth. The output component of black out-migration has had a lessening influence upon the growth of the black population related primarily to perceived job opportunities in northern and western industrial centers. This output component has not only lessened the growth directly, but also indirectly by reducing potential natural increase. A third input which should be considered in black population growth is annexation.

The rate and mode of black urbanization hold considerable implications in the analysis of black urban population. Rapid rates of black in-migration as has occurred for many cities, especially in the North and Far West, appear not to allow easily observable patterns of social and spatial change. It is this author's contention that these patterns are more easily discernable in the Oklahoma City case because of its moderately consistent balance between in-migration, natural increase, and out-migration with steady growth and the absence of periods of abrupt increase or decline.

In Part B of Figure 8-1 urbanization is viewed in its relation to ghettoization and other fundamental social processes. Urbanization has far-reaching implications for an evolving urban social system. In this case study the urban social structure of Oklahoma City has been viewed from an historical evolutionary perspective from the time of its first settlement. This has primarily been accomplished through the analysis of Black Community development and race relations. The embryonic signs of ghettoization are apparent in the first decade of the city's history essentially from social control legislation and obvious residential segregation. The actual birth of the rigid ghetto might be dated from 1916 with the first racial residential zoning ordinance in Oklahoma City. The following three decades witnessed a maturation of this process, until in the late 1940s legal aspects of its social control began to break down through the federal and state judicial systems.

In a society of already established institutional racism two basic concepts evolve in the simultaneous urbanization of whites and blacks as in the Oklahoma City situation; social distance and competition for limited resources. Where a conventional racial social distance is ambiguous but perceived to be threatened, physical distance is established or reinforced. In the case of Oklahoma City social segregation was institutionalized in order to publicly establish socio-physical distance as in transportation, accommodations, education, etc. Residential segregation was also established as a social control to further physically isolate the "undesirable element" from society; to not only isolate this element from white neighborhoods but also isolate it from society's institutions and therefore rigidly limit any unacceptable patterns of interracial interaction. This in effect "kills two birds with one stone," for

it also limits the black population's share in the competition for limited resources as quality education, equal employment and occupational opportunity, adequate housing, etc., which limit its pursuit for a quality life. This both reduces and arouses social conflict. It reduces competition conflict but often increases racial conflict.

Over a temporal period this forced isolation leads to the development of an urban subculture supported by the formation of a black urban social structure and supporting black institutions. With maturation of this black subculture sentiments and symbolism become significant internal components of the system reinforcing the subculture and segregation. This might be viewed as the climax in the ghettoization process whereby the isolated black population although highly dependent upon the greater society economically as a "labor force exploitation resource" coexists as a separate but subordinate social entity.

Part C of Figure 8-1 depicts the change of lifestyle through the socialization effects of urbanism (values of society) and ghettoism (values of the ghetto). Black migrants to the city are introduced to two social systems, that of the greater society and that of the Black Community. Full acceptance can be afforded by one, but only partial acceptance can be granted from the other. In urban and ghetto society, new systems have evolved involving a new value system, new roles and statuses, a new stratification system, and new modes for social mobility. A perplexing situation arises here whereby the black migrant attempts to satisfy both systems. Change in the way of living is paramount for survival and generally inevitable. This striving for adaptation to a new way of life leads to accommodation and acculturation in the greater society and usually assimilation into the Black Community.

Initial Ghetto Formation and Location

The qualitative analysis of the initial formation and location of black residential areas expressed by Chapter III emphasized the significance of certain determinants; employment opportunity, the housing market, and values attached to the area by society. The key to the early location of black residential areas was the availability of housing in proximity to employment opportunity. Centers of employment were the stimuli to the search for housing within reasonable proximity. The availability of housing was generally a function of economics and social values (cost or rent and an undesirable white value). Circumstances were that low cost-rental housing (single family and multi-family types) was available in a concentric zone surrounding the central business district (more to the east, south, and west than the north). Areas of low cost-rental housing emerged on the south side of Oklahoma City and along the North Canadian River east and west of the city due primarily to flood susceptibility (several major floods occurred in these areas between 1890 and 1930) and railroad/industrial activities while the near northeast side also became undesirable by whites due to railroad/industrial activities. Since there were very few middle class black families, the great majority of black families were from the beginning limited in their choice for housing to lower status neighborhoods. Indications are that over 90% of the black labor force at statehood was employed as laborers and domestics.

The urban infrastructure early exhibited by Oklahoma City greatly influenced the patterning of black residential areas. As can be seen from Figure 8-2 several of the areas of black residence evolved near the fringe of the central business district which provided diversified

ORIGIN OF BLACK RESIDENTIAL AREAS

OKLAHOMA CITY

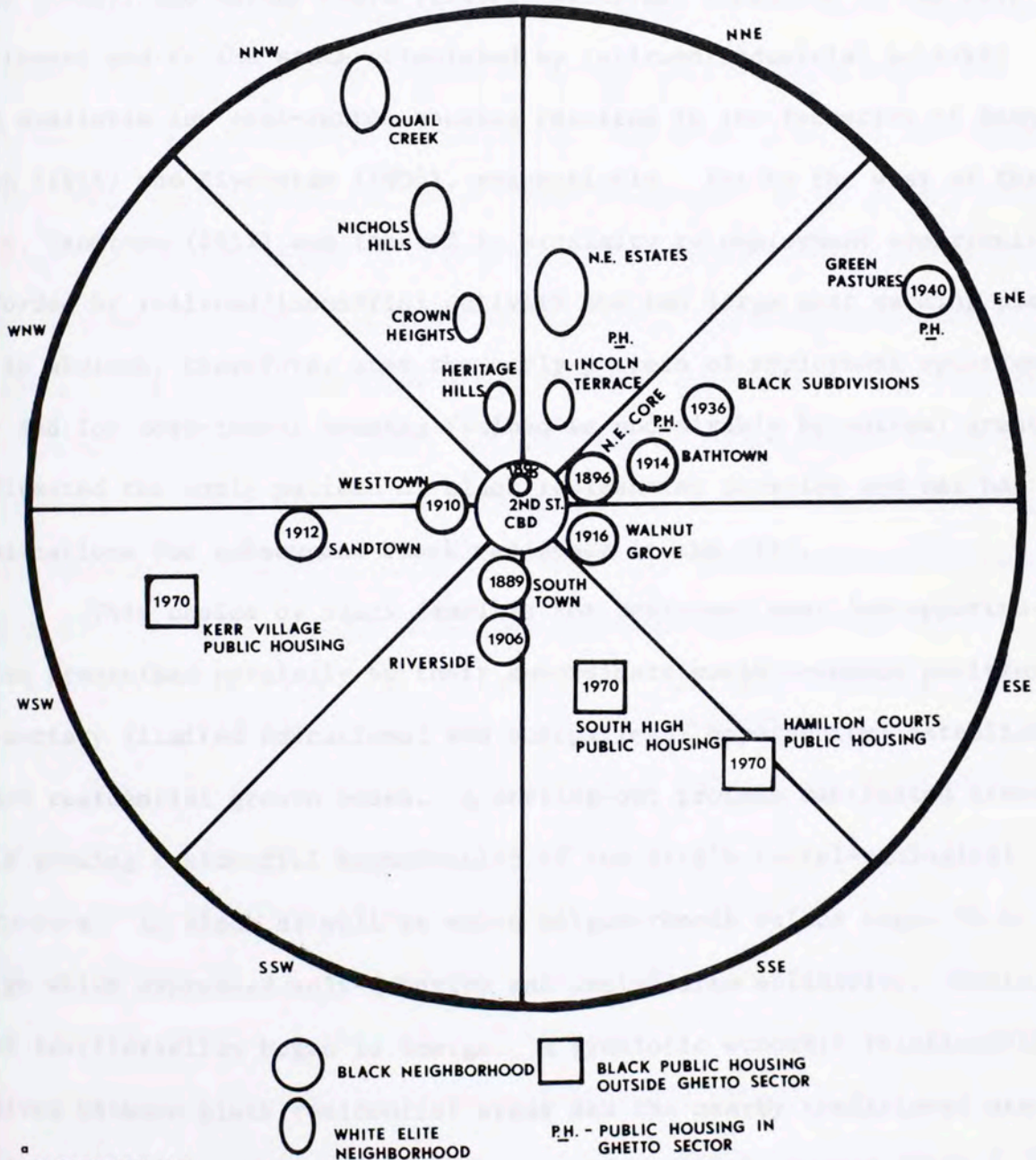


FIGURE 8-2

employment for blacks. Along with proximity to central business district employment these black residential areas were also along or near railroad/industrial districts which provided further employment opportunities. These early black residential areas along the CBD fringe are Southtown (1889), the Northeast Core (1896), West Second Street area (1896), Westtown (1910), and Walnut Grove (1916). Sectorial expansion to the east northeast and to the south stimulated by railroad/industrial activity and available low cost-rental housing resulted in the formation of Bathtown (1914) and Riverside (1906), respectively. Far to the west of the city, Sandtown (1912) was located in proximity to employment opportunities afforded by railroad/industrial activity and two large meat packing plants. It is obvious, therefore, that the early pattern of employment opportunity and low cost-rental housing (valued as undesirable by whites) greatly influenced the early pattern of black residential location and has had implications for subsequent black residence in the city.

This choice by black families for residence near job opportunities prescribed partially by their subordinate socio-economic position in society (limited educational and occupational opportunity) established black residential growth nodes. A sorting-out process manifested itself in a growing residential segmentation of the city's racial-ecological structure. In black as well as white neighborhoods values began to emerge which expressed self-identity and social area solidarity. Social area territoriality began to emerge. A symbiotic economic relationship evolved between black residential areas and the nearby traditional provision of employment. Black workers provided a hard-working cheap labor source while the providers of employment sustained subsistence black neighborhoods.

All of the early black residential areas could be characterized as mixed residential areas with at least several blocks dominated by black occupance. Although these neighborhoods may have been relatively mixed racially, social distance was maintained publicly by social control legislation which segregated the races in education, accommodations, transportation, etc.; a social control mechanism which existed for many decades. With the continued influx of blacks into Oklahoma City, especially just after statehood, and natural increase, more and more housing became black dominated in the established black residential areas. The greater density and number of blacks made these areas a perceptable threat to white dominance and social distance control. This phenomenon of increasing black urbanization has been referred to by several researchers as a causative factor in society establishing legal sanctions to black residence. In other words, a tolerance threshold is reached whereby the greater society finds it necessary to legislate racial residential segregation in order to re-establish social distance control.

Pattern of Ghetto Locational Development

The initial formation and location of early black residential areas prior to 1920 for Oklahoma City have been established. Although the northeast black core neighborhood was the major growth pole for the black population by the turn of the century, all of these early black neighborhoods grew in population and expanded in area up till the 1940s. Although growth continued in these neighborhoods the northeast core/Bathtown area showed a considerably greater increase in population (with a disproportionately low increase in areal extent) as is shown in Table 5-1. Between 1910 and 1940 the northeast core neighborhoods

accounted for 55% to 72% of the city's black population. With a slowly growing population between 1910 and 1940 for the various other initial black neighborhoods the proportional black population decreased from 32% to 13%. By 1970 the expanded northeast black ghetto with its suburbs accounted for 83% of the city's black population with only about 3% accounted for by the various other early formed black residential areas. Since 1940 new black residential areas appeared in different sections of the city's landscape which accounted for another 8% of the black population in 1970.

The initial polynuclear pattern of black residential areas in Oklahoma City has been accounted for. Why the differential growth patterns in these areas? Three major reasons have partially accounted for the population growth characteristics of these various black residential areas; characteristics of the peripheral white neighborhoods, black values (sentiments and symbolism) associated with these black residential areas, and public policy. First of all, researchers of the urban black have found that black expansion into bordering white neighborhoods occurs at a much faster rate when that bordering white neighborhood is middle class than when it is a lower class or working class white neighborhood (greater resistance and conflict). Greater residential mobility based on available economic resources has been attributed to the middle class white, rather than less neighborhood solidarity. Solidarity, sentiments, and symbolism may initially support a strong stand by a middle class white neighborhood in the path of black expansion, but generally it will be the middle class neighborhood which breaks its stand first allowing the infiltration of black families seeking more suitable housing. This may have been a factor supporting the pattern of differential black

residential area growth in Oklahoma City. Certainly, the criteria is met. Much of the area bordering the several early black neighborhoods was undeveloped or non-residential in land use characteristics. Of all the early black neighborhoods only the northeast core area and Bathtown bordered middle-class white neighborhoods (to the north). All of the other various early black neighborhoods bordered lower class or working class white neighborhoods.

As to the second factor the northeast black core neighborhood became the dominant black business and social node of the Black Community by 1916. Most of the early leaders of the Black Community, professionals and businessmen, made their residence in this neighborhood, and it was considered to hold prominence in the social hierarchy of the black residential areas. Few black businesses and little urban social life evolved in the confines of the various other black neighborhoods. It was in the northeast core and Bathtown neighborhoods that the black institutions and community life of the city's Black Community was born and developed.

As for the third factor, public policy in the form of legal racial residential sanctions applied to all of the black residential areas with an unwritten emphasis on limiting expansion of the northeast core and Bathtown neighborhoods to the north and northwest. Planned allowance for black population growth and expansion on the northeast side was proposed in Oklahoma City's "City Plan of 1930." Planning consultants perceived the conflict that would arise in the near future of the city if black population continued to grow without the provision of needed housing. This insight led these planning consultants to propose the development of a "future Negro area" in the suburbs to the northeast of Bathtown north of the Fairgrounds Park. Only a few years passed until black developers

with the aid of the city's financial institutions planned and developed several new single family residential subdivisions specifically for black occupancy (1930s and 1940s). In the 1940s new black residential subdivisions were planned and developed three miles further to the northeast (Green Pastures). These public policy actions undoubtedly led to the sectorial growth of the Black Community in the east northeast sector of the city.

It was not until the voidance of the "Restrictive Covenant" by the U. S. Supreme Court in 1949 that black expansion to the north was really effective in providing housing to black families. This was a very major decision against housing restrictions which will be discussed in greater detail in the next section on the "housing market." A continued opening up of the housing market on the northeast side due to a multitude of complex situations over the next two decades resulted in considerable expansion and growth to the north into the outer suburbs of the city. An added black housing phenomenon in the post-1964 era was the clearance of large black residential tracts in the northeast core area and the construction of public housing (black) and subsidized housing on the northeast side and public housing (black) in three areas of the southside of Oklahoma City. As can be seen from Table 5-1 a distinct change in the locational distribution of the black population occurred between 1940 and 1970 with the decline in black population in the northeast core and Bathtown neighborhoods from 72% in 1940 to only 11% in 1970 and the resulting increase in the inner and outer northeast suburbs from about 6% to 72% over the same period.

The Housing Market: A Ghetto Supporting Mechanism

Basic to the urban infrastructure is residential land use which sets the location and pattern of the city's housing stock. If all households of a city were equal socially, economically, and politically and if the housing market was ideally "open" then all families would be able to compete for housing, in accordance with their needs on a relatively equal basis. But of course, this is not the case in either situation. All families in Oklahoma City are not equal as to social, economic, and political status and the housing market is not and never has been a truly open system. In fact a chief characteristic of the housing market is its segmentation as to socio-economic differentiation. This in effect establishes the housing market of a city as being fragmented into a series of sub-housing markets based on the interrelatedness of several factors; age of dwelling, tenure type of dwelling, living space pattern of dwelling, dwelling quality, neighborhood environmental quality, various family characteristics, and proximity to family needs.

The more immediate issue, the ghettoization process of blacks, historically has been manifested in the operation of Oklahoma City's housing market in the framework of public and private policy stimulated by a concern over sharing social space with blacks. Over the decades institutional, quasi-institutional, and informal pressures initiated and maintained a highly organized, quasi-open housing market which supported the maintenance of the ecological order. An early pattern of ecological order as expressed by the economics of the housing market depicts a sectorial pattern of low, moderate, and high rent housing. The primary upper income family housing districts were (and are) situated in the north northwest sector, and in the west portion of the north northeast sector.

These upper income oriented districts are situated in a multiple nuclei pattern with surrounding housing and interstitial housing being chiefly middle income oriented. The west northwest sector was middle income oriented while the south southwest sector and the south southeast sector were lower income/working class income oriented and the west southwest, the east southeast and the east northeast were oriented toward the lowest income populations. Newer suburbs in these lower sectors have taken on a more middle income housing appearance. In Figure 8-2 these sectors of the housing market can be seen in light of early black neighborhood formation, expansion, and relocation.

As has been pointed out previously a socio-spatial structuring mechanism, the caste system, was transplanted from the South in the form of social control legislation. With the perceived threat of a growing black population, especially on the northeast side of the city, local public policy in the form of racial residential zoning ordinances were created. Conflict arose between institutional forces at different levels of government on this "racial zoning" issue where between 1916 and 1936 each of the several ordinances enacted at the city government level was proclaimed unconstitutional within a few years of their enactment by either the state or federal Supreme Court. Although each ordinance was only effective for a few years, each helped perpetuate the containment of black neighborhoods. Public policy concern over black encroachment into middle class white neighborhoods on the northeast side climaxed with the highest public official of the state, the Governor, mandating a segregation line in 1935 restricting black geographic mobility northward. Of course, it might be observed that the State Capitol Complex, the Governor's Mansion, and the high income Lincoln Terrace neighborhood near the capitol

complex were in the path of this threatening black expansion with the white middle class neighborhoods acting as a buffer zone between them and the black neighborhoods.

Social control legislation together with its more private take-offs as prejudicial treatment, discrimination, and subordination by urban society in the competition for social, economic, and political resources strengthened the containment of black households in the east northeast sector of the housing market. Other public policy in the form of "city planning" promoted the contained sectorial growth of the northeast black neighborhoods with the suggestion for needed new housing for blacks in the suburbs of that sector (in 1930 and 1949 Plans). Other important agents which also supported this public containment policy were the real estate brokers and boards, the financial lenders, and the Federal Housing Administration (up to 1949). Probably, the single most important influence supporting this ghettoization process was the values and attitudes of the majority of the urban white society. It was just a fact of life that whites and blacks did not associate socially in public or private and that mixed neighborhoods just could not be acceptable in urban society. In that perspective white neighborhood protective associations were formed on the northeast side in order to organize against black encroachment. After legal racial zoning was dealt its final blow by the State Supreme Court in 1935, the "restrictive covenant" became the primary tool for limiting black residential expansion up until 1948 when the U. S. Supreme Court found this unconstitutional. With the voidance of the restrictive covenant the containment responsibility was placed indirectly on the shoulders of the quasi-institution as the lending agencies and real estate industry, and the still active neighborhood

protective associations. Ever since, economics and public relations have necessitated that these quasi-institutions maintain a certain degree of housing discrimination when dealing with black households.

As in most metropolitan centers with growing black residential areas, these areas are maintained by public, quasi-public, and private interests. Occasionally, in the development of a black neighborhood unforeseen circumstances arise which stimulate expansion into bordering white neighborhoods. This was the case in Oklahoma City. With the discovery of petroleum on the east side of the city in 1929 intensive leasing and drilling began up to and beyond Northeast Thirteenth Street between 1929 and 1936. This resulted in a conflict of interests between white landowners; those who wanted to maintain their white neighborhoods even with the introduction of drilling activities with their noises, noxious odors, and fire susceptibility, and those who wished to move because of this residential environmental deterioration and its detrimental effects upon property values. This rift of interests allowed a slow but consistent migration of black families into these neighborhoods. Many of the fine two-story white middle class homes along the periphery of the northeast side black ghetto became multi-family rental property for whites and blacks, slowly becoming black dominated.

Over the forty-five years between 1896 and 1940 the growth of the Black Community on the northeast side was more a growth in the number of blacks than an increase in neighborhood living space. Whatever spatial growth there was occurred sectorially with the continued growth in black population in the northeast core and Bathtown neighborhoods and in the new inner suburban black residential subdivisions. Most of the housing in the northeast core and Bathtown neighborhoods was originally

built for and inhabited by white households and subsequently "filtered down" to in-migrating black families. As can be seen from the black population location and distribution maps in Chapters III and IV, the "filtering process" of housing from whites to blacks was a very slow and limited one over the first five decades of the city's history.

De jure and de facto impediments to black spatial growth produced a "piling up" effect where the overcrowding of residences in black neighborhoods was extremely acute by 1940. This overcrowded environment has been attributed with being a major factor in the development of ghetto social pathologies characteristic of inner city black neighborhoods. With the voidance of the "restrictive covenant" the "filtering down" of housing increased considerably. Between 1948 and 1960 block after block of relatively good middle class housing was filtered down to those black households which could afford the costs of this newly opened housing market.

Still, a somewhat slow succession and dominance by blacks occurred as reflected by the population graphs in Figures 8-3 and 8-4. As can be observed from these graphs inner city neighborhoods on the northeast side were relatively mixed with even a high black/white ratio of 3:1 in the inner city core neighborhoods; northeast core and Bathtown. It was not until the 1950s that abrupt changes began to occur in the racial characteristics of the northeast inner city neighborhoods. A drastic reduction in the white population and increase in the black population occurred in the inner northeast suburbs between 1950 and 1960. Several causal factors influenced this abrupt change which focused on the operation of the housing market; the end of World War II, a massive rejuvenation of the nation's economy, an attitudinal desire for change,

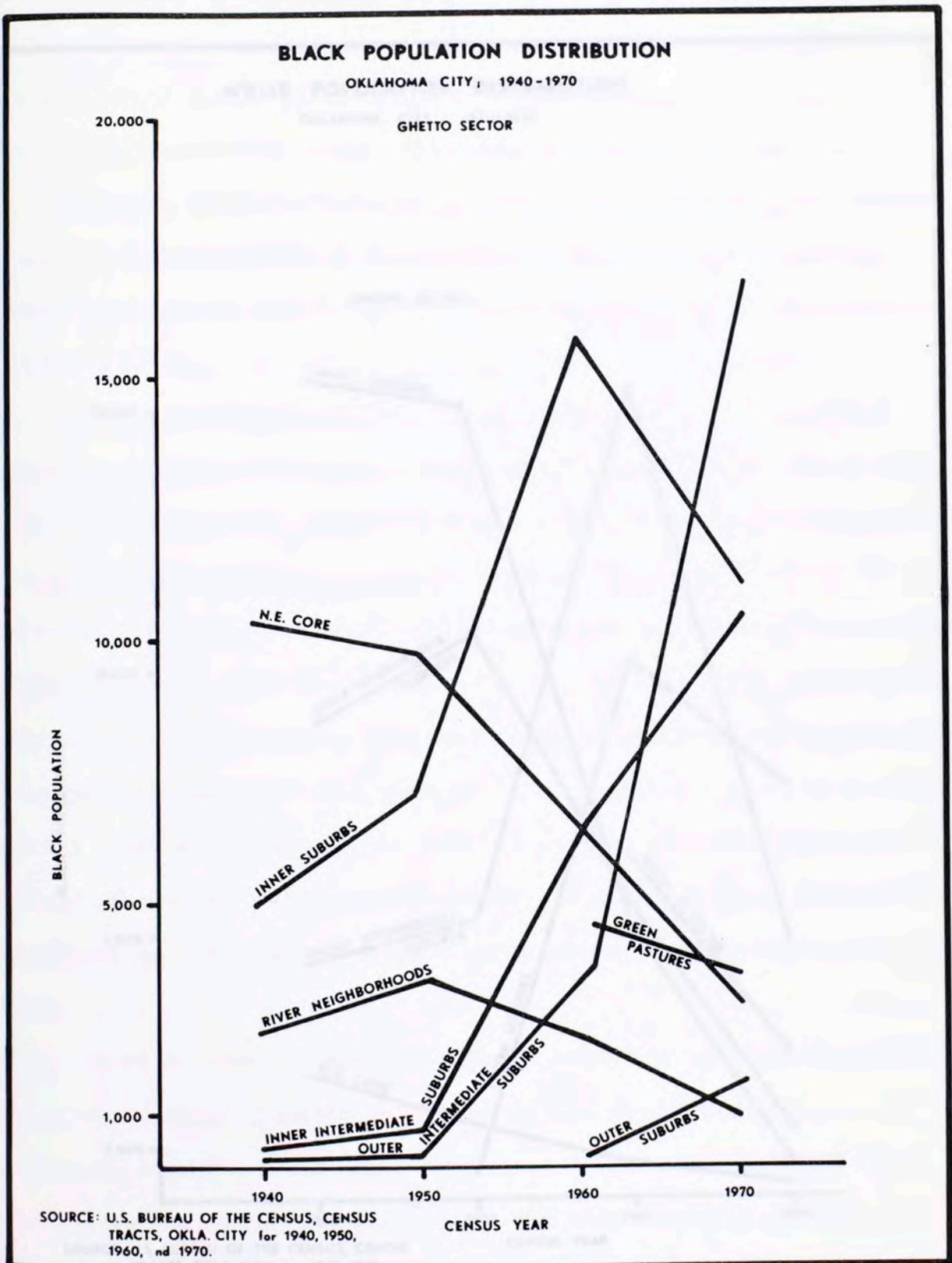


FIGURE 8-3

WHITE POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

OKLAHOMA CITY, 1940-1970

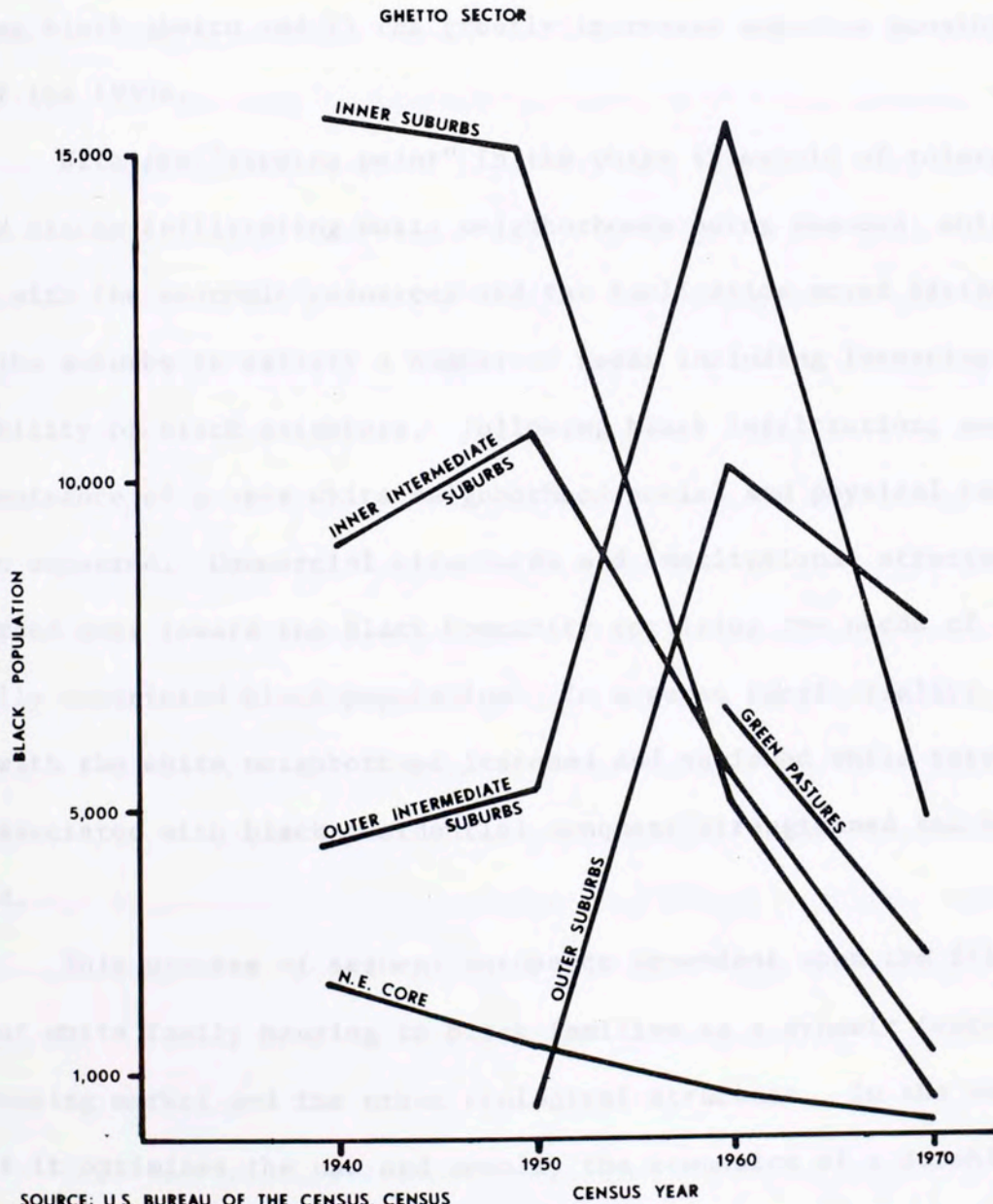


FIGURE 8-4

a sudden increase in suburban residential development promoted by federal policies and the construction industry, and the historic threat of black infiltration of old established white neighborhoods on the fringe and in the path of perceived black residential expansion. The two most direct influences on the Oklahoma City housing market affecting the change in racial characteristics of the northeast side were; 1) the growing expanding black ghetto and 2) the greatly increased suburban housing market of the 1950s.

With the "tipping point" in the white threshold of tolerance toward blacks infiltrating white neighborhoods being reached, white families with the economic resources and the inclination moved farther out into the suburbs to satisfy a number of needs including lessening the probability of black neighbors. Following black infiltration, succession, and dominance of a once white neighborhood social and physical reorganization occurred. Commercial structures and institutional structures were converted over toward the Black Community servicing the needs of a still socially restricted black population. In a sense territoriality associated with the white neighborhood lessened and vanished while territoriality associated with black residential conquest strengthened and then dominated.

This process of sequent occupance dependent upon the filtering down of white family housing to black families is a dynamic feature of the housing market and the urban ecological structure. In the housing market it optimizes the use and usually the economics of a durable aging deteriorating product by providing sequent occupant shelter for less affluent users. In the ecological structure it increasingly differentiates an increasingly complex urban society.

The decade of the sixties witnessed the continuance of these same urban processes in the operation of the city's housing market. The entire northeast quarter of Oklahoma City became black dominated with the exception of the outer peripheral suburbs which show a trend toward black dominance by 1980. A multitude of federal and subsequent state civil rights' legislation was enacted and enforced in the 1960s. Major aspects of this legislation were oriented toward equality of life for minorities and the poor in American society, especially blacks. A complexity of organization evolved from this legislation in the form of numerous public and private agencies, in most cases unrelated formally in the decision-making process of policy toward improving this quality of life.

Table 5-1 in Chapter V and the graphs in Figures 8-3 and 8-4 illustrate the racial population change in the northeast sector of the city. The northeast outer suburbs have experienced an abrupt decline in white population with an increase in black population similar to the pattern shown by the inner suburbs from 1950 to 1960. A rapid out-migration of white families from these outer suburbs has been labeled "white flight." Among the black neighborhoods in 1960 a considerable decline in black population was experienced by the northeast core and inner city suburbs by 1970. Rapid expansion of this northeast black ghetto had occurred with increased black opportunity for economic resources and housing.

One very significant influence upon the Black Community was urban renewal and inner city redevelopment policies. These policies led to the clearance of several large tracts of housing in black inner city and inner suburb neighborhoods on the northeast side. Thousands of

black families, most of low socio-economic order, were relocated to the remaining low income oriented black neighborhoods, Green Pastures, newly constructed public housing and subsidized housing, and some out further into the suburbs. This also led to some black families relocating in low income neighborhoods outside of the realm of black dominance. This led to a sudden decrease in businesses, black and white owned and operated, some being eliminated and some relocated to the suburbs. Little residential and no commercial redevelopment has occurred in this inner city area. Redevelopment policy so far has been primarily oriented toward expanding the "Medical Center" district in this area including public and private interests and the construction of a major expressway and connector boulevards from north to south through the area. Intuitively, this researcher foresees the complete or nearly complete removal of blacks from the inner city neighborhoods south of Northeast Thirteenth Street between the CBD and Kelley Avenue. So far policies and actions have had a devastating effect upon neighborhood life in this area. Other black neighborhoods about the city were also affected by redevelopment in the form of institutional development and highway construction. The construction of Interstate 40 east-west through the city minimally affected the Walnut Grove and Southtown areas, but greatly disrupted the Westtown and Sandtown black neighborhoods. The construction of a new large federal post office affected the Southtown area.

In the late 1960s public housing of low-income families was built. Some multi-family public housing and most of the single-family subsidized housing was provided on the northeast side within black residential areas. Three other large multi-family public housing projects were constructed on the southside of the city in white lower class/working class neighborhoods;

a multitude of conflicts and social pathologies have resulted. These public housing projects outside of the northeast side only housed some 4% of the city's black population in 1970. One of these, Hamilton Courts, has already fallen by the wayside due to considerable defacement, destruction, and vandalism, and a second one, Kerr Village, is nearing that stage.

Diversity and Change; Internal Attributes of the Black Community

As is apparent from the previous chapters the Black Community is far from being a socio-spatial entity which can be characterized as homogeneous or static. General stereotypes by society greatly overshadow the dynamic character of the Black Community, and its socio-economic heterogeneity and infrastructural diversity.

With a more open housing market it is becoming increasingly apparent that diversity and change in the Black Community is very similar to that found for the entire growing metropolitan area. With continued black urbanization and substantial natural increase, black residential areas change in size and shape with black families seeking housing and neighborhood environments which appropriately fit their social and economic circumstances. This expansion most often along the fringe of black residential areas is greatly dependent upon white family attitudes, behavior, mobility, and resources. Attitudes and policies which promote white family residential mobility, indirectly influence the rate of black residential expansion, and attitudes and policies which do not promote white family residential mobility hinder black residential expansion. The latter situation along with a relatively small black population promoted the rigid containment of black residential areas, a "piling up"

effect (overcrowding), and the lack of a distinct spatially manifested socio-economic diversity. As apparent from the qualitative analysis of Black Community evolution and the quantitative ecological analysis, the former situation along with a large growing black population perforated the walls of the black ghetto and allowed the rather rapid spatial manifestation of socio-economic and infrastructural diversity comparable to that of the overall metropolitan area.

With the expansion and growth of a huge black residential area on the northeast side of Oklahoma City and the emergence of a distinct spatially manifested black social stratification, socially segregated residential patterns still remain with pseudo-integrated neighborhoods along the fringe. This is due principally to the massive out-migration of white families in the path of black residential expansion and the almost complete lack of white family in-migration into neighborhoods which have become partially black occupied. This can be attributed partially to the continuance of white desire for social distance and the perceived need for complete racial residential separation. This desire continues to be furthered by white misconceptions and stereotypes of the Black Community, and of blacks as individuals.

As portrayed over the past few decades Black Community ecological structure will continue to diversify if spatial expansion is allowed, and there is no real reason to see that it would not without future implementation of containment policies, a stoppage in the construction of white middle and upper-middle income oriented suburbs, and or a severe recession. Expansion will continue outwardly and laterally approximately at the rate of black population increase. Although there may be an increase in the occurrence of partially integrated neighborhoods (5-10%

black), the pattern of black residence will be dominated by the continuously expanding neighborhoods of the "Black Ghetto." Black families will eventually occupy most of the inner core and inner suburban neighborhoods with one or more huge black residential sectors which extend outward into the relatively new and affluent outer suburbs of the city.

Models of the Locational and Social Spatial Aspects of the Origin and Evolution of the Black Community

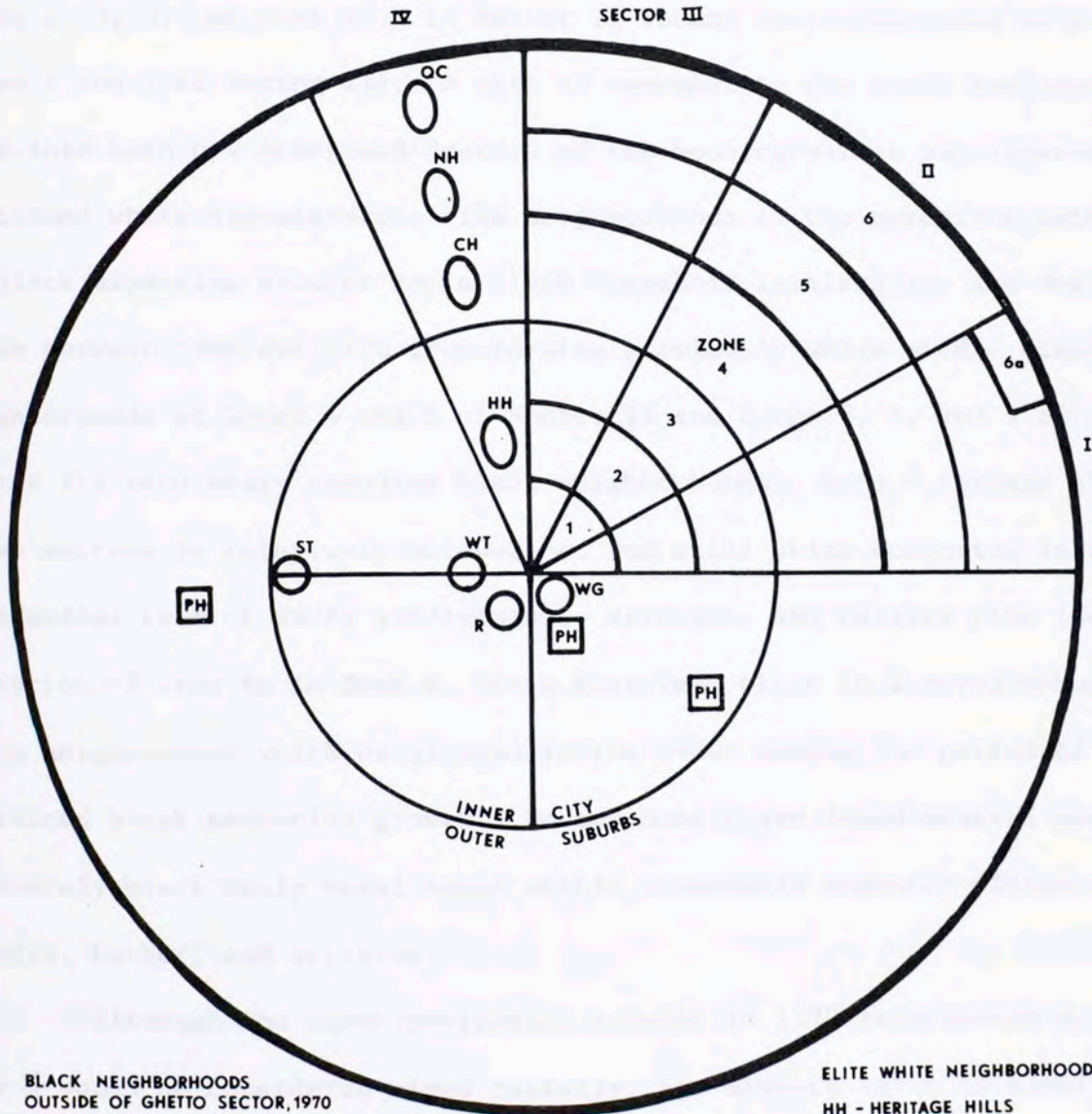
In this section of the chapter several generalized models have been formulated in order to describe and explain Black Community location, formation, maintenance, and evolution along with ecological structure and change.

Model of Black Residential Expansion in Oklahoma City

Figure 8-5 is a summary illustrative model of Black Community spatial evolution in Oklahoma City. Early black residential area formation resulted in a number of black neighborhoods scattered about the central business district. At the turn of the century the black neighborhood on the near northeast side began to grow and slowly expand and soon became the dominant growth pole for the city's black population. Due to containment policies and to inherent and exogenous social and economic circumstances the northeast black ghetto expanded outward through Sector I prompted also by suburban black residential subdivisions constructed between the 1930s and 1950. Only very limited black expansion infiltrated into Zones 1 and 2 of Sector II before 1940. The U. S. Supreme Courts voidance of "racial residential zoning" in the 1930s and of the "restrictive covenant" in 1948 along with the environmental degradation of white residential areas in the inner city of

BLACK RESIDENTIAL EXPANSION

OKLAHOMA CITY, 1889 - 1970



BLACK NEIGHBORHOODS
OUTSIDE OF GHETTO SECTOR, 1970

WG - WALNUT GROVE

WT - WEST TOWN

ST - SAND TOWN

R - RIVERSIDE

PH - PUBLIC HOUSING

ELITE WHITE NEIGHBORHOODS

HH - HERITAGE HILLS

CH - CROWN HEIGHTS

NH - NICHOLS HILLS

QC - QUAIL CREEK

SOURCE: AUTHOR

FIGURE 8-5

Sectors II and III by petroleum exploration and production led to the moderate expansion of black households into Zones 1 and 2 of Sector II between 1940 and 1950. The development of white middle-class oriented suburbs led to a rapid out-migration of white families in neighborhoods along this expanding black residential fringe and between 1950 and 1960 Zones 1, 2, 3, and part of 4 in Sector II became black dominated as did Zones 1 and 2 of Sector III. A path of movement to the north and northwest into both new Zones and Sectors of the housing market was apparent. Continued white out-migration from neighborhoods in the perceived path of black expansion brought rapid black household infiltration and dominance between 1960 and 1970 transforming previously white middle class neighborhoods of Zones 4 and 5 of Sector II and Zones 3, 4, and 5 of Sector III into newly occupied black neighborhoods. Zone 6 through all three sectors is relatively undeveloped and still white dominated in the residential form of small subdivisions, acreages, and estates with the exception of area 6a in Zone 6, Green Pastures, which is a rural/suburban black neighborhood which originated in the 1940s during the period of contained black sectorial growth. Beyond Zone 6 are found several predominately black truly rural towns within reasonable commuter distance; Arcadia, Luther, and Wellston.

Although the outer peripheral suburbs in 1970 represented by Zone 5 would be considered mixed racially, its mixture ratio is slowly becoming black dominated (greater than 50%) and it would be misleading to categorize these fringe neighborhoods as truly mixed or integrated neighborhoods. In 1970 less than 2 percent (1,000) of the city's black population could be considered to be living in integrated neighborhoods. During the first half of the 1970s black residential expansion

has continued into Zone 5 and into the eastern fringe of Sector IV. Black migration trends indicate that a substantial percentage of black families will be present in Sector IV by 1980. This is rather ironic since much public and private policy before the 1950s and some since the 1950s has been oriented toward excluding or at least limiting black infiltration of this sector. Inner city low economic status neighborhoods in the northwest quadrant have become black migrant receiver areas (also American Indians and Mexican Americans) in the 1970s with the drastic reduction in low-rent/cost housing in the northeast quadrant inner city neighborhoods due to urban renewal clearance projects. In the early 1970s hundreds of black families have also migrated to the city's southside, but chiefly to large multi-family public housing projects which are characterized by very low family incomes, large young families, social disorganization due to divorce and separation, high unemployment, poverty, and despair.

Not only have the racial characteristics of the northeast quadrant changed and the differentiation of black ecological structure become more apparent, but the physical infrastructure has also seen many modifications. The well-developed commercial structure of the inner city neighborhoods (Zones 1 and 2) in the northeast quadrant in 1960 which exhibited a substantial number of black owned and or operated businesses had declined drastically by 1970. The core of black business migrated from Northeast Second and Fourth Streets to Northeast Twenty-third Street (Zone 4) between 1960 and 1970. Much of the reduction in the commercial structure of the inner city during this decade was due to urban renewal clearance of residential and commercial land uses and the relocation of the population and the partial relocation of businesses. Clearance has

continued through the early 1970s.

Three major urban renewal/city planning department projects have been instituted in the inner city neighborhoods of the northeast quadrant (Zones 1 and 2); the John F. Kennedy project, the Medical Center project, and the Harrison-Walnut project. Each project has experienced considerable clearance with limited residential redevelopment and no commercial redevelopment. Major redevelopment can be seen in the expansion and rejuvenation of the medical center project, the clearance preparation for a new expressway through the Harrison-Walnut project, and the construction of wide boulevards through the Medical Center and Harrison-Walnut projects connecting the Capitol Complex and Medical Center with the new expressway. Undoubtedly, certain aspects of these projects have had seriously disturbing implications for the families that still reside in these neighborhoods.

Another distinct characteristic of the land use system of the northeast quadrant is the large tracts of undeveloped land in Zones 5 and 6, especially in Sector III. In a sense this has acted as a partial barrier to black encroachment into the outer suburbs of Sector IV, along with the Broadway Extension, an expressway with a business office/industrial ribbon development, and the Sante Fe Railroad tracts.

Early evidence from city directories and interviews suggests black ecological diversity among the several early formed black residential enclaves scattered about the city; Southtown, Riverside, Westtown, Sandtown, Walnut Grove, and the near northeast side. Before 1920 the near northeast side black neighborhood held prominence as to economic status, followed by Westtown and Southtown. Further from the central business district of the city were Walnut Grove, Riverside, Sandtown, and

Bathtown which held a lower level of economic status. This pattern of economic status differentiation is similar to that found for the traditional Third World city. There is no evidence of spatio-ecological variation based on family status in this early period.

With the expansion of black families in the northeast sector greater ecological diversity was becoming apparent. To begin with black families mostly in the middle and late stages of the family life cycle migrated to newly filtered down housing (in Zones 1 and 2 of Sector II) and newly constructed single family housing developed specifically for blacks (in Zone 3 of Sector I). These were black families of moderate to high economic status. With the limited outward migration of black families, the older inner core neighborhoods of the northeast side displayed a lower relative economic status and a high percentage of families in both the early stage and the late stage of the family cycle.

With the continued expansion outward into further suburban zones and laterally into other sectors of diversified housing, in each time period, the newly black occupied neighborhoods displayed relatively higher economic status with higher income levels, higher occupational status, and higher educational levels. Family status also became more distinctly differentiated with the older black neighborhoods becoming increasingly aged with relatively less youth, smaller families, greater incidence of social disorganization, and less overcrowding.

By the 1950s the various other isolated black residential enclaves also began to age, taking on similar family characteristics as did the northeast side inner core neighborhoods. Along with aging and a drastic decrease in black population these neighborhoods all exhibited low economic status and little in-migration which continued to 1970.

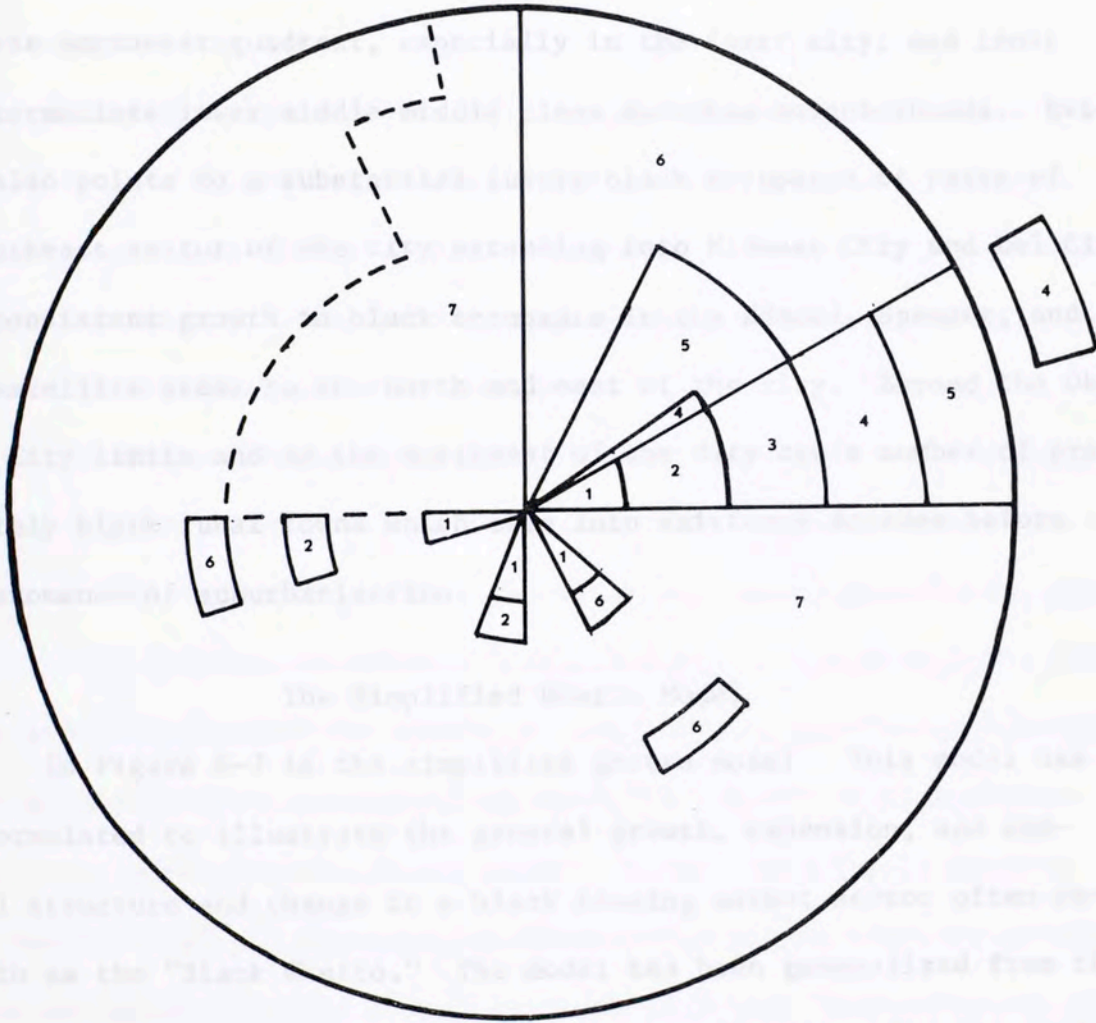
Between 1950 and 1970 successive suburban zones became black dominated with the outer zones of infiltration displaying the highest economic status with young large families and limited social disorganization. In each outer zone of succession the greatest percentage change in economic and family characteristics was experienced, and relatively lower economic status and aging was experienced by the earlier black dominated zones.

In Figure 8-6 is a supplementary model which illustrates the areas of black spatial expansion and the paths of intra-city migration of blacks in Oklahoma City. From this model the pattern of migration and subsequent black residential succession is apparent for six periods after the initial formation of several black residential enclaves between 1889 and 1910; early period of sectorial expansion (1900-1920), early containment period expansion (1920-1940), late containment period expansion (1940-1950), quasi-open period expansion (1950-1960), open period expansion (1960-1970), and future target expansion (1970-1990).

Four sectors of black residence in the housing market evolved, although only one was really the focus of contiguous black population growth and expansion (northeast quadrant). The characteristics of its growth and expansion have been described and explained. This sector originated with the near northeast core and Bathtown neighborhoods and includes the black satellite suburb of Green Pastures. A second sector to the south of the CBD originated and climaxed with the growth and decline of Southtown and Riverside. A third sector to the west and non-contiguous originated with Westtown soon followed by Sandtown and six decades later by a large multi-family public housing project, Kerr Village. A fourth sector also made up of non-contiguous black neighborhoods

BLACK RESIDENTIAL EXPANSION PERIODS

OKLAHOMA CITY



PERIODS OF EXPANSION

- 1 - EARLY BLACK SETTLEMENT, 1889-1910
- 2 - EARLY PERIOD OF SECTORIAL EXPANSION, 1910-1920
- 3 - EARLY CONTAINMENT EXPANSION, 1920-1940
- 4 - LATE CONTAINMENT EXPANSION, 1940-1950
- 5 - QUASI-OPEN EXPANSION, 1950-1960
- 6 - OPEN EXPANSION, 1960-1970
- 7 - FUTURE EXPANSION, 1970-1990

SOURCE: AUTHOR

FIGURE 8-6

originated with Walnut Grove followed decades later by succession into a small white working class neighborhood across the river and by two large multi-family public housing projects of which one has been closed down due to a multitude of problems. The primary target expansion area is in the northwest quadrant, especially in the inner city, and inner and intermediate lower middle-middle class suburban neighborhoods. Evidence also points to a substantial future black occupancy of parts of the southeast sector of the city extending into Midwest City and Del City, and a consistent growth in black occupancy in the Edmond, Spencer, and Jones satellite areas to the north and east of the city. Beyond the Oklahoma City limits and to the northeast of the city are a number of predominately black rural towns which came into existence decades before the phenomenon of suburbanization.

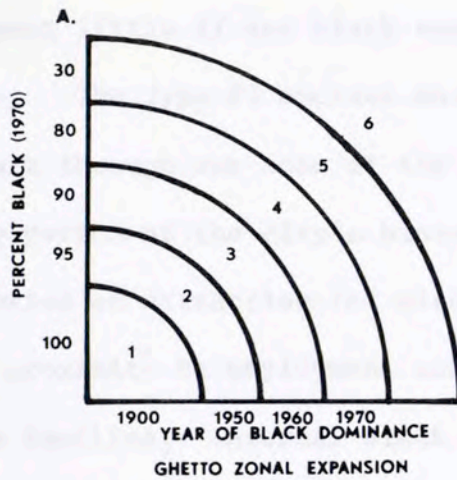
The Simplified Ghetto Model

In Figure 8-7 is the simplified ghetto model. This model has been formulated to illustrate the general growth, expansion, and ecological structure and change in a black housing market sector often referred to as the "Black Ghetto." The model has been generalized from the Oklahoma City situation which has comparable implications for the evolution and differentiation of Black Communities throughout much of urban America. In Figure 8-8 is the hypothetical model of Black Community evolution. Both models are used to describe and explain characteristics of the evolution of the urban Black Community.

First of all, it should be recognized that the Black Community, and its contemporary attributes in Oklahoma City or any other city of urban America, is socio-spatially the result of a culmination of urban and ghetto processes which have influenced its evolution up to what one

SIMPLIFIED GHETTO MODEL

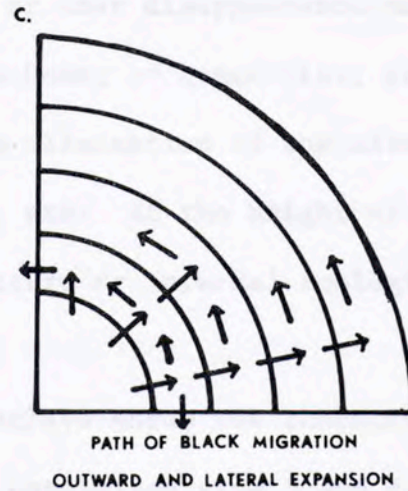
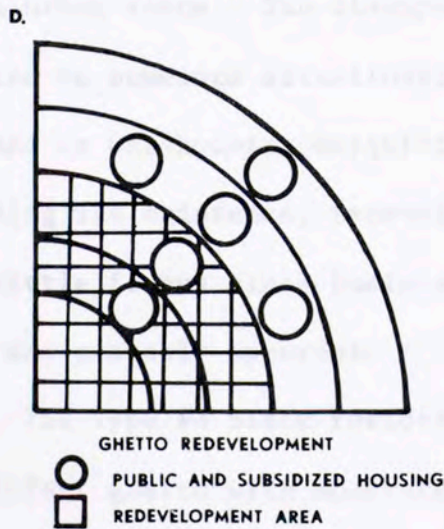
OKLAHOMA CITY CASE



- 1 - CORE
- 2 - INNER SUBURBS
- 3 - INTERMEDIATE INNER SUBURBS
- 4 - INTERMEDIATE OUTER SUBURBS
- 5 - OUTER SUBURBS
- 6 - RURAL AND SATELLITE TOWNS



- 3 - MULTI-FAMILY FILTERED-DOWN
- 2 - SINGLE-FAMILY FILTERED-DOWN
- 1 - SINGLE-FAMILY BLACK SUBDIVISIONS



SOURCE: AUTHOR

FIGURE 8-7

observes it to be today. Any initially formed black residential enclave in a city has the potential for growth and expansion which could result in the development of a full fledged ghetto with social and spatial attributes which increasingly become distinctively similar to those of the greater metropolitan area.

The simplified ghetto model exemplifies the general characteristics of such a full-fledged urban black ghetto. The model has four major components; 1) Part A depicts concentric zonation, 2) Part B shows sectorial variation, 3) Part C portrays paths of black residential movement, and 4) Part D shows redevelopment.

For the contemporary period, concentric zonation of the ghetto in Part A depicts zonation of certain aspects of the housing market, the land use system, black expansion, and black ecological structure. As to housing, with distance from the initial core enclave in zone 1 the following generally becomes increasingly prevalent; single-family housing, larger dwelling units, more dwelling amenities, a better neighborhood environment, more expensive housing, more modern housing, and better multi-family housing. Although the transition may be somewhat subtle between two adjacent zones a very distinct dichotomy exists between the inner three zones, the inner city and suburbs, and the outer two zones, the outer suburbs.

As to the land use system, disregarding recent disruptions by redevelopment, a more subtle zonation of land use patterns is apparent. Zones of commercial and professional services emerge to serve the needs of the families of each zone or group of zones. The most prominent ones are in the core-inner suburb zones, in the intermediate suburban zones, and in the outer suburb zone. These business districts are in the form

of both large business clusters and ribbon developments. The modern shopping center being prevalent in the outer suburbs.

Black expansion in this model can be viewed as principally zonal although expansion is both lateral and outward. Still, black succession and dominance of filtered down housing is principally zonal in nature.

Along with the distinct zonation of certain aspects of the housing market is zonation of most attributes of the black ecological structure. In regard to economic status variation, with distance from the initial core zone the following becomes increasingly prevalent; higher family income, higher occupational status, higher educational levels, a greater occurrence of home ownership, and less unemployment. As to family status variation, with distance from the initial core there is exhibited a greater percentage of families in the early and middle stages of the family cycle with children, a greater percentage of youth, larger families and overcrowding, a lesser incidence of social disorganization, and a greater incidence of females in the labor force.

A very distinct dichotomy exists between the inner city neighborhoods with a high incidence of elderly, social disorganization, poverty, low occupational status, low educational levels, rental housing, young families with children at a low level of economic status, unmarried males, unemployment and welfare assistance, and the outer suburbs. The intermediate suburbs of zones 3 and 4 exhibit transistional ecological attributes between the inner city and outer suburbs. Much of the trend in the change of this black ecological structure follows a zonal transistion.

Part B depicts sectorial variation of certain other aspects of the housing market, the land use system, black expansion, and black

ecological structure superimposed upon concentric zonation. In the full-fledged ghetto as portrayed here, a distinct zonation of certain aspects of the ghetto housing market may be apparent. At least three distinct sectors have emerged in the Oklahoma City case; 1) the initial sector of growth and expansion promoted by containment policies and specific development of housing for black families, 2) a sector of primarily "filtered down" single family housing, and 3) a sector dominated by "filtered down" multi-family housing and single-family housing largely converted over to multi-family housing.

Other than the housing market, certain characteristics of the land use system display sectorial variation, primarily commercial ribbon development, although not as distinct as its zonal counterpart. Black residential expansion also shows signs of sectoriality in that not only a sector expands in a concentric manner, but adjacent sectors are infiltrated laterally from the initially expanded sector as is shown in Part C, paths of black residential movement.

Some characteristics of black ecological structure show a sectorial pattern of differentiation, although most exhibit zonal variation. A primary influence on this sectoriality appears to be the housing market. One of each of the fundamental black ecological conditions displays this statistically significant sectorial variation; dwelling value and amenities, black residential migration, and educational status. The black sector adjacent to the middle-upper middle class white sector displays relatively higher housing values with a greater incidence of amenities which draws a high percentage of black migrants, many with relative higher educational levels. The black sector furthest from this white middle-upper middle class sector, in the initial black sector adjacent

to a white working class-lower middle class sector displays relatively lower housing values with a lesser incidence of amenities, less recent black in-migration, and lower educational levels.

Part C simply portrays the paths of black intra-city movement. Initially, black residential expansion is zonal through a rigidly contained sector of the city's housing market, promoted by containment policies and housing subdivisions built specifically for black families. With a lessening of containment policies and a rapidly growing black population, adjacent sectors become infiltrated and eventually black dominated. The expansion of the ghetto is not simply an outward succession of concentric zones, but also lateral succession which results in a full-fledged ghetto characterized by the zonal and sectorial variations previously described.

The most recent phenomenon in the changing morphology of the black ghetto is redevelopment. To a certain extent redevelopment has resulted in disrupting the natural expansion and differentiation of the ghetto. This has been suggested in other studies of black ecological structure. The process of redevelopment begins with the clearance of large residential tracts in the inner city, particularly in the core and inner suburb zones. Housing rehabilitation is often concurrently employed. With initial clearance hundreds if not thousands of black families, most of low economic status in various stages of the family cycle, are relocated to other areas in the city's housing market characterized by low cost-rental dwellings and to newly constructed public and subsidized housing. Black families with appropriate resources may relocate further out into the suburbs of the ghetto. Public and subsidized housing is located both within and outside of the ghetto although

the majority is often situated in the ghetto.

A result of extensive clearance and the relocation of black population is the devastation of the commercial structure of the inner city ghetto. Most businesses, black and white owned and operated, are subsequently relocated or liquidated.

Actual redevelopment in the inner neighborhoods of the ghetto may take a decade or more. In the Oklahoma City case nearly a decade has passed with no substantial redevelopment except for the medical center complex. In fact, clearance and relocation is still slowly progressing. In some cases multi-family public housing has been a recent failure.

The characteristics of black residential expansion and subsequent change in the ghetto land use system and black ecological structure can be described and explained from the simplified ghetto model. The full-fledged "Black Ghetto" which has evolved between the rigid containment era of the pre-1940s and the more open housing market of the 1970s has experienced several distinct stages of growth and expansion; 1) period of initial formation, 2) growth and limited expansion, 3) period of contained sectorial expansion, 4) period of quasi-open expansion, and 5) period of open expansion.

The initial location and formation of the black residential enclave may be due to one or more of the following circumstances; 1) proximity to employment, 2) low cost-rental housing, and 3) an area of the housing market perceived as undesirable by white families resulting from flood susceptibility, undesirable activities as the encroachment of industry and warehousing, etc. The further growth and limited expansion of this enclave is dependent upon further black population growth and urbanization together with the continued attraction of this particular

enclave for black in-migration.

If the situation promotes continued black population growth and in-migration the enclave in its limited expansion may become perceived as a threat to social distance attitudes of adjacent stable white neighborhoods. Formal containment in the form of local ordinances of racial residential segregation are employed to limit this expansion. With strict confinement black population begins to grow at a much greater rate than the rate of residential expansion resulting in a "piling up" effect of excessive overcrowded conditions which become recognized as influencing poor health conditions and increasing detrimental social pathologies.

A plan of containment allowing for limited sectorial growth of the ghetto is devised and promoted by the formal and informal white institutions of the city in cooperation with black real estate brokers and contractors, which includes suburban housing built specifically for blacks. From this there results a succession of black expansion outward through zones of a relatively narrow sector as in sector 1 of Part B in the model.

With the realization of the greater society that this manner of segregation is unfair and unjust formal containment by law is voided allowing black families to live at least legally anywhere they can afford. This is the period of quasi-open expansion. In this period, although legal sanction to residential segregation is no more in force, informal and private sanctions remain. White neighborhood associations form in adjacent neighborhoods in the face of the possibility that black families will begin infiltrating these domains. White neighborhood solidarity, intimidation toward blacks, and the housing subdivision "restrictive

covenant" further limit black expansion laterally into the sector adjacent to the large expanded black sector.

If no circumstance arises whereby the invisible wall between the adjacent white and black sectors is compromised, the black population will be limited to further outward sectorial expansion or begin migrating to another black enclave within the city or to a satellite community. The following promotes these latter alternatives for black residence; a lack of disruption to the environmental quality of the adjacent white housing sector, a shortage in housing about the city, very high financing of new housing, a white population with very limited resources, and very strong sentiment and symbolism within the adjacent white neighborhoods.

If the adjacent white neighborhoods do become environmentally degraded as by intensive petroleum exploration or if there is not a shortage of housing about the city or if the financing of new housing is not out of line or if the white families are categorized as being of moderate to high affluence or if there exists a lack of sentiment and symbolism in the white neighborhoods or a combination of these, then the path is partially opened to black infiltration and succession. Under such a situation the rigidly contained black sector begins to overflow into adjacent white neighborhoods as into sector 2 of Part B in the model.

The situation exhibited by the contemporary period of open expansion is a continuance of the circumstances that promoted the expansion into sector 2 from sector 1 along with the voidance of the "restrictive covenant" and the implementation and enforcement of recent civil rights and open housing legislation, and the improved economic condition of blacks.

In the initial formation and limited expansion of this black residential enclave developed a center of black social and economic activity. Black business districts and socially oriented institutions evolved. A migration of these activities followed black expansion outward through the contained sector and then laterally and outwardly through the zones of sectors 2 and 1. With the continued black residential expansion much of the former white oriented commercial and institutional infrastructure converted over to a black orientation. Contemporary patterns have been greatly influenced by inner city redevelopment; clearance and relocation of population, businesses, and institutions.

The pattern in the variation of black ecological structure has also changed with the evolution in the growth and expansion of the "Black Ghetto." With the initial formation in zone 1 the pattern of variation within the enclave is relatively indistinct with higher economic status black families occupying the better housing of the area, that is if there is any distinguishably diversified housing types. No pattern of variation is usually apparent during the early period of limited growth and expansion. During the period of contained expansion the ecological structure begins to exhibit spatial differentiation between the successive zones of expansion outward through the eventually fully developed black housing sector of containment, sector 1. During the following periods of quasi-open and open expansion the pattern of variation in the black ecological structure becomes increasingly distinct zonally, and also takes on sectorial characteristics of ecological differentiation. The contemporary full-fledged ghetto portrays a complex highly diversified black ecological structure; the result of considerable black population growth and the expansion of that population into an increasingly diversified housing market.

Model of Black Community Spatial Evolution

How can this understanding of the socio-spatial evolution of the "Black Ghetto" be projected to elucidate characteristics in the socio-spatial development of the entire Black Community?

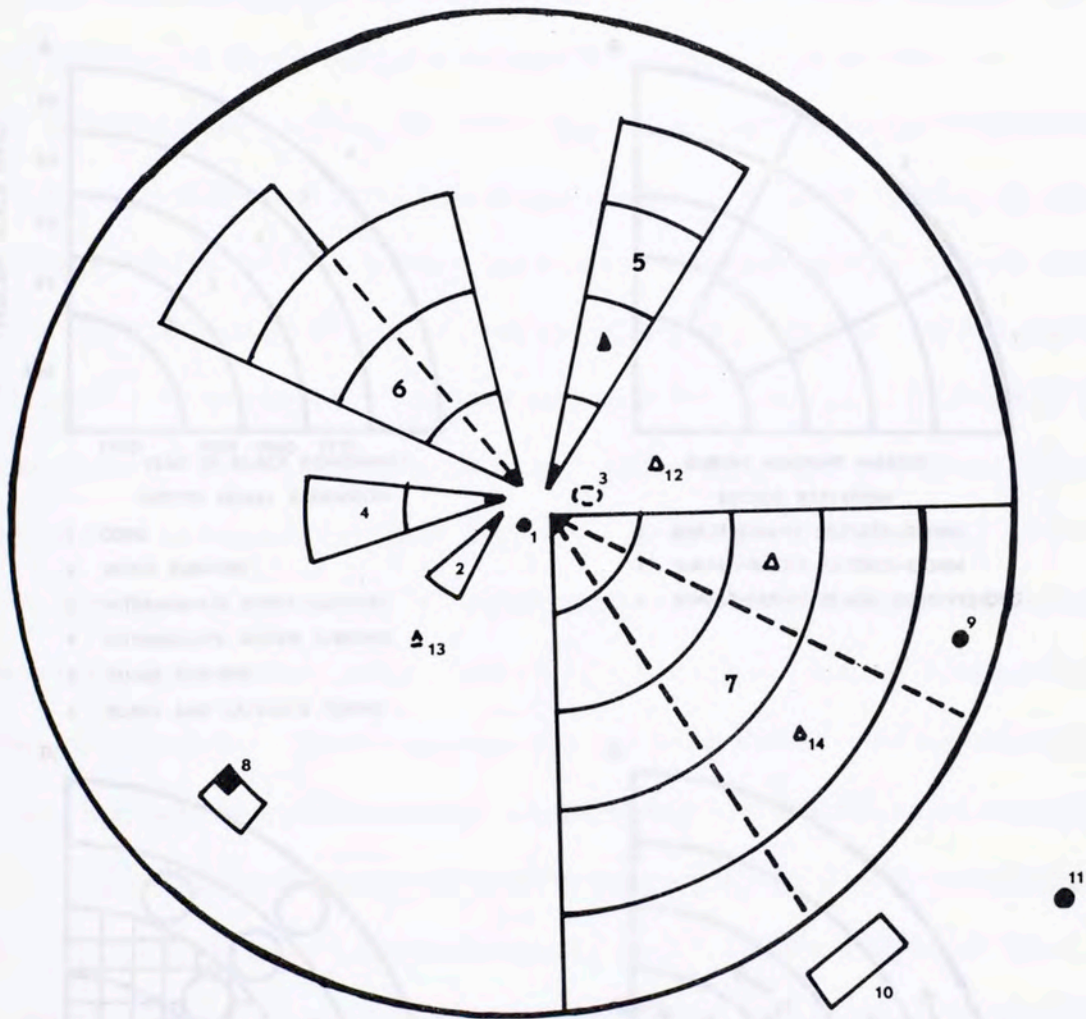
There are numerous variations in the spatial pattern of black residential enclaves in the cities of North America. A literature survey of studies on black residential enclaves suggests certain characteristics which appear to be historically regional in nature, others are specifically unique to the particular city, and some are universal in nature.

This model of Black Community spatial evolution generally exemplifies the variety of black residential enclaves in cities of North America outside of the South, most particularly in the Border States. The form of each enclave and the pattern of all the enclaves can be viewed as a contemporary situation or as stages in the evolution of the urban Black Community by utilizing the synthesis of the findings from the Oklahoma City case study which are generalized in the simplified ghetto model.

Figure 8-8 depicts fourteen types of black residential enclaves of which several or all are present in the contemporary North American city. Most of these are presently or have been apparent in Oklahoma City. Most if not all the enclaves which formed near the city's CBD did so in an early period of the city's history.

The Type #1 black residential enclave is small in black population and area, and has experienced very limited growth during its existence. It formed initially in the early period of the city's history probably due to its favorable proximity to employment opportunities.

MODEL OF BLACK COMMUNITY SPATIAL EVOLUTION



TYPES OF BLACK RESIDENTIAL
AREAS AND THEIR SOCIO-SPATIAL
ATTRIBUTES ARE DESCRIBED
IN THE CONTEXT(pp.

SOURCE: AUTHOR

FIGURE 8-8

The contemporary enclave may exhibit a recent drastic decline in black population and lack of further black in-migration. Although the enclave may have exhibited a small black business district at one time, little if any semblance presently exists. Because of its extreme spatial confinement little if any black ecological diversity is apparent.

The Type #2 enclave shows a limited spatial sectorial expansion outward through one zone of the housing market. It also formed in the early period of the city's history and grew and expanded during an earlier period of attraction for black migrants due principally to its favorable proximity to employment and low cost-rental housing undesirable to white families. Internal black business and ecological diversity is similar to the situation of Type #1; little, if any.

The Type #3 enclave, contemporarily, is only a mere remnant of what it was in an earlier period or it may have disappeared completely from the urban scene. The disappearance or near disappearance may be attributed to numerous situations; encroachment of commercial, industrial, and or warehousing activities, the elimination of the attraction maintaining its existence, redevelopment, etc. At the height of its growth little if any black business structure or internal ecological diversity was probably apparent.

The Type #4 black residential enclave shows the characteristics of the infant ghetto with moderate black population growth and outward spatial sectorial expansion. A small to moderate black business structure may have evolved over the years of its existence and there is the beginning of a zonal variation in the black ecological structure. The older inner core neighborhood exhibits the effects of aging and relatively low economic status. The more recently infiltrated housing of the outer

zone exhibits higher economic status and families in the early and middle stages of the family cycle with larger families and less social disorganization as found in the inner zone.

The Type #5 enclave is basically an extension of the Type #4 enclave. Through rigid containment policies and planning this initial enclave formed near the CBD and expanded outward through a sector of the city's housing market out into or near the outer suburbs. A variety of circumstances have limited any major lateral expansion of this ghetto. A moderate size black business structure has evolved and a very distinct zonal black ecological structure has manifested itself in a more diversified housing market. There exists a very distinct zonal dichotomy in ecological structure, the housing market, and the ghetto land use system between the inner city neighborhoods and the outer suburbs.

The black residential enclave labeled Type #6 is a further extension of Type #5. This enclave type has grown and expanded outward into a succession of zones of one sector and laterally into an adjacent sector of the housing market. The difference here is that an increasingly diversified housing market is open to the needs of the black population and consequently the evolution of a more distinct and diversified black ecological structure. Certain aspects of black ecological structure begin to display signs of sectoriality although most are distinctly zonal in variation.

Contemporary black enclave types 4, 5, and 6 may be unstable growing expanding ghettos, continuing outward and eventually lateral expansion, or any one or more of them may have stabilized due to a lack of in-migration and consistent out-migration limiting further expansion.

Type #7 is a full-fledged ghetto; a further extension of Type #6, a

mature complex-diversified ghetto. With the expansion of an initially formed enclave near the CBD, contained expansion through one sector of the housing market led to lateral and outward expansion into adjacent sectors during quasi-open and open expansion periods resulting in a ghetto which spans three sectors (a quadrant) of the city's housing market from the inner core zone out through the inner, intermediate, and outer suburbs. The black business structure is exhibited by large distinct business districts and ribbon developments. The available black housing market is more diversified than ever and the black ecological structure reflects that diversity by greater distinct differentiation both zonally and sectorially. Potential for further lateral expansion is apparent, which will further supply the demands of a growing diversified black population.

The Type #8 enclave is a black residential area which has evolved over the years in a small to moderate size town once miles from the original limits of the large city which has expanded to engulf the smaller town. Type #9 is an all-black town which has been also engulfed by the expansion of the city, in this case by the outward expansion of a black ghetto. The all-black town although small in size may contain a distinct black business structure and a spatially diversified ecological structure. Type #10 is a dominately black town, rural-suburban in nature and still located beyond the confines of the urban sprawl of the city. This type of black residential area has experienced considerable growth and expansion. Many blacks commute to the city to work from this enclave. Others are agriculturally oriented in the region's labor force. Type #11 is also a small all-black town rurally oriented with a small black business structure, a declining population and a limited degree

of internal ecological diversity.

Black residential enclave Types #12, #13, and #14 are all multi-family public and subsidized housing oriented toward lower economic status families. Type #12 depicts such housing located within white inner city neighborhoods, usually working class-lower middle class in nature. Type #13 is a similar situation where the problems became so acute that the housing project was shut-down. Type #14 is the same, only located in a neighborhood which is at least partially black, and is in the path of black expansion. Fewer serious problems have been associated with this type public housing enclave. These multi-family public and subsidized housing types are primarily oriented toward the large young black family of low economic status often with a high incidence of social disorganization, and toward the elderly. Recent projects of inner ghetto clearance, a resultant need to relocate displaced black families, in-migrating black families of low economic status, and a shortage of low cost-rental housing have provided a market for these public and subsidized housing projects.

Obviously, there is quite a variety of black residential enclave types as suggested by Figure 8-8. The model, here, aids in understanding how and why black residential enclaves vary as to growth and expansion characteristics and subsequently manifested socio-spatial and infrastructural patterns of differentiation. A fundamental derivation is that with the continued consistent growth and in-migration of black population into an established black enclave and the outward and lateral expansion into the outer zones and adjacent sectors of the city's housing market a greater variety of housing types will be available to the black population enabling and promoting greater black spatio-social diversity similar to that experienced by the metropolitan area.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has looked at certain aspects of one major consequence of institutionalized racism in urban America, racial residential segregation of blacks. This phenomenon which was born out of black urbanization in the late 19th and early 20th centuries persists today, even with the elimination of Jim Crow laws, legally sanctioned racial residential segregation, the voidance of the "restrictive covenant," and the enactment of considerable civil rights legislation, some promoting racial integration. Small black residential areas of a relatively homogeneous character have evolved over the decades into huge rapidly growing "Black Ghettos," displaying considerable internal diversity. Not only has a dual urban social system evolved in most American metropolises, but also a dual city based on spatial allocation, black urban America and white urban America.

Summary

The primary goal of this study was to determine the locational and social spatial aspects of the origin and evolution of the Black Community in Oklahoma City. This has been determined by the ascertainment of 1) the location and formation of black residential areas, 2) the aspatial development of the Black Community, and 3) the ecological structure and change in the Black Community of Oklahoma City from the city's

origin in 1889 to the present, 1974.

In the determination of the location and formation of black residential areas a resolution was made of the origin of black enclaves, the growth and or decline of these areas, the locational evolution of the overall Black Community, and the influence that public policy had on this locational evolution. Twelve black residential enclaves have originated in Oklahoma City. Eight of these formed in the early period of the city's history, prior to 1920; Southtown (1889), West Second Street (1892), Northeast Second Street (1896), Riverside (1906), Westtown (1910), Sandtown (1912), Bathtown (1914), and Walnut Grove (1916). All of these appear to have originated due to a combination of factors; proximity to employment, low cost-rental housing, and dwelling undesirability by white families (areas of environmental degradation due to flood susceptibility, and railroad, industrial, warehousing activities.)

Another black residential area, Green Pastures, formed around 1940 about seven miles northeast of downtown Oklahoma City in the Spencer area. The formation of this black enclave was influenced by the need to release overcrowded conditions in the near northeast side black neighborhoods promoted by a city plan to expand black residence out through the east northeast sector of the city's housing market, and the provision of employment with the railroads and in agricultural activities in this rural satellite setting.

The remaining three black enclaves are isolated multi-family public housing situated in areas of white working class-lower middle class residence, built in the late sixties-early seventies in the southside of Oklahoma City; Hamilton Courts complex in the southeast, the South High complex in the south central, and the Kerr Village complex

in the southwest sector of the city. The purpose for these was to provide modern adequate shelter to the minority poor.

With a consistent in-migration of blacks from the South and rural Oklahoma, black urbanization, most of these black residential enclaves began to grow moderately in population, but slowly in area. The West Second Street area grew moderately during the 1890s, but with the removal of railroad tracks through the city along West Second Street, the relocation of related activities, and the encroachment of commercial and institutional land uses, the West Second Street area slowly declined in black residences until the enclave had disappeared by the 1930s.

Southtown began to decline in black population during the 1940s which continued until the present due initially to the encroachment of central business district activities and the in-migration of American Indians and Mexican-American into this neighborhood. Later the closure of the Rock Island railroad terminal and clearance and redevelopment in the construction of an expressway and a large central branch post office resulted in black relocation. Westtown, Sandtown, Riverside, and Walnut Grove grew in black population up until the 1960s when each experienced a drastic decline except Riverside which declined only moderately. Although one reason for this sudden decline may be related to a decline of available employment in traditional jobs near these areas, a major cause appears to be an out-migration to the northeast quadrant, to public subsidized housing, and a lack of any significant in-migration by black families.

The near Northeast Second Street enclave and the Bathtown neighborhood grew rapidly, and began to merge in the early 1920s. By 1930 they were perceptively one large continually growing racial enclave,

the beginnings of a full-fledged 20th century "Black Ghetto." Aided and promoted by city institutions and black developers, several single-family residential subdivisions were constructed for black families to the northeast of the Bathtown area extending black expansion to the east northeast during the late thirties and forties. The northeast side of the city became the dominant growth node for black urbanization and ghettoization. Further black in-migration and natural population increase has expanded the spatial extent of the northeast side ghetto to include most of the northeast quadrant of the city's housing market. Black residential expansion is continuing into adjacent white neighborhoods, particularly into the city's north northwest housing market sector. The locational evolution of the overall Black Community in Oklahoma City has witnessed a relatively strong uniform polynuclear pattern of black enclaves situated about the central business district prior to 1920 and a weak remnant of that pattern with the addition of a rural black satellite neighborhood, several isolated public housing enclaves, and a very prominent northeast side ghetto in the 1970s.

Public policies were important influences on the locational evolution of Oklahoma City's Black Community. Some were formal while others were informal. In the very early years of the city's history informal policy dictated by custom was probably the means by which the greater urban society maintained racial residential segregation. With increased black population and perceptively growing black residential areas in urban space more formal measures were pursued and enacted beginning in 1916. A series of local racial residential zoning ordinances and even an executive order by the Governor establishing a segregation line along specific streets and enforced by martial law attempted to

keep neighborhoods racially segregated, particularly the growing northeast ghetto. This means of maintaining rigidly segregated black enclaves was especially common in cities of the Border states and parts of the North. During this period white neighborhood associations were formed among white families in neighborhoods adjacent to the northeast ghetto to voice active support for segregation and to act as an interest group to bring pressure on the elected and appointed city, county, and state officials. The State Capitol was only a mile and half to the north.

Further public policy in the form of "city planning" policy recognized the need for the expansion of the overcrowded conditions of the northeast side black enclave in 1930 and proposed expansion to the east northeast sector. This planning proposal was implemented with the development of several black subdivisions in the 1930s and 1940s, and Green Pastures several miles to the northeast. The United States Supreme Court's voidance of racial zoning ordinances in the late thirties did little to alleviate the confinement of black residential choice because of the effectiveness of the "restrictive covenant" and strong white neighborhood associations.

One important circumstance undermined the effectiveness of black containment; the environmental degradation of much of the northeast side during the 1930s due to extensive petroleum exploration, a well in almost every block. This brought about housing property devaluation and a moderate out-migration of white families allowing black infiltration. The late 1940s witnessed the United States Supreme Court's voidance of the "restrictive covenant" and a boom in the housing construction industry promoted by local, state, and federal policies oriented toward financing low interest middle-class single-family housing. This influenced

the lateral expansion of the northeast side black enclave into the adjacent white sector to the north. Further open housing and civil rights legislation in the 1950s and 1960s influenced further lateral and outward expansion throughout the northeast quadrant while many white families moved to newer suburban neighborhoods to the north and other sections of the city.

In the late sixties and early seventies Urban Renewal policies of clearance and redevelopment of the northeast side inner city resulted in the relocation of thousands of families and many businesses. Housing Authority policies located and established several multi-family public housing projects about the city, some in established black dominated areas, some in neighborhoods predominately white but in the path of black expansion, and others isolated in white working class neighborhoods. Local, state, and federal policies promoted the construction of the Interstate-40 crosstown expressway which considerably disrupted areas of the Walnut Grove, Westtown, Sandtown, and Southtown neighborhoods. Recent local policies and private interests have hindered the development of residential subdivisions in the northeast quadrant resulting in a limitation to further outward black expansion, promoting lateral infiltration into sectors adjacent to the northeast quadrant, particularly the north northwest sector of the city's housing market. Less than five miles directly north of the expanded northeast ghetto are the outskirt suburbs of the recent rapidly growing town of Edmond which is a predominately white commuter satellite sprawling toward the south.

To determine the aspatial development of the Black Community these were ascertained; the social and economic condition of the Black Community, race relations, and related public policy. During the first

decades of the city's history employment for blacks was heavily concentrated in menial labor; manual workers, domestics, unskilled workers, and in personal service. Such employment was provided by the railroads, meat packing plants, mills, warehouses, hotels and restaurants, rooming houses, and white homes. Although over 75% of the black labor force was concentrated in the manual/domestic employment category, there were a number of black professionals and businessmen; doctors, dentists, teachers, and ministers, primarily. An early black business district, oriented toward commercial personal service, was apparent near the Sante Fe railroad terminal in 1899.

Being concentrated in the lowest levels of the occupational division of labor and having businesses concentrated in the lower levels of the business status structure, provided a condition of family economic subsistence and a severe limitation on black business potential. Subsistence incomes often dictated residence in substandard overcrowded housing and a severe limitation to enjoying the amenities of life enjoyed by the white middle and upper classes of the city.

Socially, black churches were established in those early years as was a school for black children. The churches became the early focus of Black Community fellowship and social life. With the distinct formation of the various black enclaves about the city prior to 1920, additional schools were provided by the city Board of Education, more black churches were organized, and more black businesses formed principally to service the black population of each enclave. Two major black business districts evolved, one near the Sante Fe terminal and the other on Northeast Second Street. From 1899 to 1920 the black population of the city had grown from about 1,200 to over 8,200, and the black business structure

reflected this change, fourteen black businesses in 1899 and 126 in 1920. By the twenties the near northeast side of the city had become the dominant growth node for black population growth, black business, and black social life.

The only institutions provided to the Black Community by the city were segregated schools and charitable organizations along with local government which had functional limitations due to the prevailing institutionalized racism of those times. Since restrictions seriously limited functioning within white institutions of the city the Black Community turned inward to develop its own hospitals, supplementary educational and welfare services, commercial services, and social clubs. This parallel social and economic evolution under the dominance of the white society and its institutions reflected an apartheid situation. The Black Community became a quasi-independent social and spatial entity.

By 1940 black population had grown to nearly 20,000 and the northeast side ghetto was a prominent spatial phenomenon, two square miles in area. The employment profile for the black labor force had changed very little by the forties. Still, over 75% were employed as laborers, domestics, or in personal services. Wages remained quite low and poverty pervaded. Born out of overcrowded substandard housing conditions, economic subsistence, lack of life amenities, and despair were social pathologies. Development of the black business structure resulted in ever-increasing number of establishments to serve the Black Community, 276 commercial/professional oriented businesses and services, and three industries. All but sixteen were on the northeast side. Of course, there was also a considerable increase in Black Community churches and social organizations whose activities were daily reviewed by the city's

black owned and operated paper, The Black Dispatch.

Over the next three decades considerable social change occurred in American society which at least minimally influenced the evolution of an improved black social and economic condition in Oklahoma City. Between 1940 and 1970 the educational level increased from 8.0 to 11.4 years, the median family income level increased from less than \$1,500 to almost \$6,000, and percentage of highschool graduates or better increased from 16.4% to 44.5%. Dwelling conditions and neighborhood environments were much improved outside of the inner core slums. The black labor force made substantial inroads, entering non-traditional fields of employment; a major decrease in labor-domestic-personal service oriented jobs (78% to 43%), and a significant increase in skilled labor jobs, sales, clerical work, management, and semi-professional/professional jobs.

Recent clearance and redevelopment of much of the inner city ghetto resulted in a large relocation of black population and the relocation or liquidation of much of the black business structure. There were 221 black businesses in 1971, and 313 in 1974.

The manner of race relations during the early territorial days of Oklahoma City prior to statehood, was dictated by customary traditional mechanisms of social distance with the underlying premise that as long as blacks "know their place" race relations are harmonious. Customary social distance was the dogma of race relations. White institutions and leaders of the city expressed a conservative philosophy on the race issue; that blacks were a different breed of man, subordinate and inferior, but functionally important to the society's division of labor. There probably existed quite a diversity of individual attitudes toward blacks since the new white settlers and subsequent migrants were from all parts

of the country, although chiefly from Kansas, Missouri, Arkansas, Texas, and Louisiana. From the beginning there were both libertarian advocates of black civil rights and strongly conservative segregationists.

Early segregation was not legalized except in education. In 1890 the city's voters approved a "separate but equal" plan for educating the black and white children of the city. This segregation practice was rooted in past Southern custom. The segregated educational system with a black administration and faculty subordinate to the city's Board of Education was far more separate than equal.

Although the city fathers disapproved of the reactionary views of the Ku Klux Klan which had a substantial foothold in the territory, the KKK and more subtle segregationists supported racist legislation in the Territorial government. Jim Crowism, de jure segregation which reached out to almost all aspects of life and which originated in the Deep South during the 1890s, spread to Oklahoma Territory and Oklahoma City in the following decade. The previous Territorial legislature and the new State legislature after 1907 enacted Jim Crow legislation which resulted in the segregation of transportation, accommodations, restaurants, taverns, dance halls, and almost all manner of public interaction; a mode of social control which replaced obsolete customary mechanisms. In 1910 the state legislature went further in passing the "grandfather clause," which effectively disenfranchised the black voter by requiring absurd qualifications. Subtle but conscious standards applied to race relations suddenly changed to rigidly enforced criteria in racial interaction.

This newly sanctioned segregation of public racial interaction soon included locally legislated racial residential zoning ordinances which strictly established boundaries and criteria to limit the expansion of black residential areas into white neighborhoods. This was seen as the final step in walling off the black population and containing and controlling its areal growth. Three such racial zoning ordinances were enacted by the city between 1916 and 1936 and each within a few years of its enactment was outlawed by either the United States Supreme Court or the State Supreme Court. White residents of neighborhoods adjacent to the northeast black area, considering the voidance of legal racial zoning, formed a neighborhood association to limit black infiltration of their neighborhood. Tension mounted between this group and its supporters and the Black Community and its supporters. Although intimidation was often apparent, few hostile incidents occurred. White residents utilized the "restrictive covenant" in limiting black expansion until its voidance by the United States Supreme Court in 1948.

Little, if any, social change was apparent in race relations up to World War II. No substantial civil rights legislation had been enacted since the 1860s and 1870s. After emancipation and the reconstruction period the black social and economic condition and racial relations were regressive and repressive. Not until the late forties did government deliberately commence with policies and actions which reinterated the "equality" of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution. The Truman Administration took steps to desegregate the armed services in the late forties, the "restrictive covenant" was outlawed in 1948 along with "separate but equal" education in 1954 by the United States Supreme Court, and a policy of school desegregation was also implemented.

Desegregation of the armed services was the beginning of a social change which would soon begin filtering through American society. Judicial outlawing of racial zoning and the "restrictive covenant" did away with much of the de jure segregation in the city's housing market. Although not enforceable in the courts "voluntary adherence covenants" were considered legal but not binding, so they were relatively symbolic, but still effective as protection for white neighborhoods against black expansion. More de facto residential segregation has been in private discrimination in selling to blacks, the white attitude that to sell or rent to a black family is traitorous to the well-being of one's neighbors and that one will be ostracized for such an action. Further "de facto" has been greatly influenced by restrictions set in mortgage lending (red-lining) and in real estate circles (filtering blacks into certain predetermined sections of the city). Club membership and neighborhood association membership with stiff qualifications have limited choice of residence and social interaction. These "de facto" restrictions remain apparent today together with more subtle sophisticated mechanisms in the housing market and social groups. Three inherent reasons for the continuance of what appears to be black residential segregation in Oklahoma City are 1) the lack of economic resources by the majority of black families, 2) the lack of a desire to reside isolated in a white neighborhood unless there are a substantial number of black families also in that neighborhood, and 3) the lack of a desire for potential conflict.

Jim Crowism and its transference down through the decades to the sixties was not without organized opposition. First assaulted in the early part of the century by the N.A.A.C.P. and later by the Urban League and supporters, a social movement was born to establish the black

man as a first class citizen. With the first real victory in the desegregation of schools strong support was gained from churches, political parties, labor unions, civic organizations, and further judicial rulings, presidential executive orders, and congressional enactments. Black protest in Oklahoma City became stronger and more overt during the late fifties and early sixties. Civil rights marches, rallies, and sit-ins soon resulted in a desegregation of city public facilities and led to the voidance of discriminatory city policies. This was a period of rather tense race relations. The conservative elements of the city could not conceive of such rapid social change and fought hard to restrict it, but it was inevitable. Many whites, led by many of the city's prominent churches, supported desegregation and an elimination of the old customs which significantly affected race relations. Greater racial interaction evolved promoting better race relations.

The perserverance of blacks and their supporters, through persistent and organized effort, made social change happen in Oklahoma City and across the country. This protest continued through the 1960s and culminated in the enactment of several major pieces of civil rights legislation which have greatly benefited the black social and economic condition and race relations. Certain aspects of public policy espoused integration: a new trend from desegregation in furthering positive race relations; integration of blacks into higher status occupations (skilled, clerical, sales, professional), integration into previously all-white social organizations and churches, integration into elected and appointed political office, and integration in education. Residential integration has progressed very little, if any.

Partial "de facto" segregation is still apparent in the recent formation of private, often church affiliated, white schools in response to forced busing, in certain businesses and occupational types, in certain social organizations, and in the operation of the city's housing market. These attempts have hindered the furtherance of positive race relations. In a city with three to five times as many whites as blacks in a similar disadvantaged economic situation social change in improving race relations can not be expected to manifest itself suddenly, and not without a certain amount of white indifference, indignation, and hostility, and black impatience, dissatisfaction, and frustration.

Effective civil rights legislation and judicial rulings of the fifties and sixties have overall greatly improved the social and economic condition of blacks in Oklahoma City. Although there has been considerable gains in educational levels, occupational status, and social acceptance, the most prominent gain has been economic. Relative to whites, blacks during the 1960s achieved greater percentage gains in income, education, skilled employment, semi- and professional occupations, and home ownership, and greater percentage decreases in poverty and low occupational status as in domestic, labor, and service employment. Still, at the rate of such equalization it would be nearly a century before blacks would maintain parity with whites. The recession of the early seventies may have been a temporary set back to that equalization process, a set back to improved race relations.

The enduring powerlessness of the poor black family in Oklahoma City is reflected by what some social scientists have labeled "Black Removal Programs" in the redevelopment of the inner city. Urban Renewal, the City Housing Authority, the city government, and the Chamber of

Commerce with good but misdirected humane objectives influenced by private interests and an inherent misunderstanding, have implemented clearance and redevelopment projects in inner city black neighborhoods, and relocation projects in the form of public and subsidized housing. Redevelopment in the inner city for blacks has not occurred, so far, although plans still exist. Priority in redevelopment has been toward private and government interests, medical center development, capitol complex development, and expressway development. Overall public and subsidized housing has provided modern adequate shelter not previously enjoyed by the poor, but several such projects stand as monumental disasters basically because of the ignorance of policy-makers and planners in understanding the functional and social-psychological needs of lower class black families, and poor project management. Future harmonious and improved race relations in Oklahoma City cannot be based on the old conservative philosophy of the black man "knowing his place," it can only be based on a more rapid persistent promotion of the equalization process of blacks along with similarly effective programs to improve the social and economic condition of disadvantaged lower class whites, and all citizens of the city.

In the determination of ecological structure and change in the Black Community of Oklahoma City five supportive objectives were ascertained: the factorial ecology of the Black Community, the sub-dimensional structure of the ecological structure, associations of black ecological structure, and public policy which has influenced ecological structure and change in the Black Community.

The early pattern of Black Community ecological structure and change prior to 1940 sets the foundation for the pattern of ecological

structure which evolved between 1940 and 1970. The initial black residential enclaves that formed about the central business district probably reflected relatively similar socio-economic attributes during the first couple decades of the city's history. Occupational structure began to reflect a certain degree of differentiation among these black neighborhoods, with the northeast area exhibiting a relatively higher degree of occupational status and therefore economic status, and generally the black enclaves nearest the CBD displayed relatively higher economic status than those situated further away. Family status, age and size characteristics, appear to have been relatively undifferentiated. Social stratification of the Black Community, as suggested by the occupational category, depicts a very large black lower class-working class (80%+) and a small middle class (15%) and upper class (5%).

By 1940 the older black enclaves near the CBD, although still growing in population, showed signs of the aging process. This was more a situation of a greater incidence of elderly than a lack of young families. The older black enclaves further from the CBD did not show signs of aging as yet, and the newly expanded black neighborhoods of the northeast side reflected a low incidence of elderly and a high percentage of youth and families in the early and middle stages of the family life cycle. Still, the pattern of economic status variation remained about the same with the older inner city displaying higher economic status than those situated further from the CBD. The newly black occupied areas on the northeast side reflected the highest economic status. This pattern of early black ecological variation is shown in Figure 7-1 of Chapter 7.

Factorial ecologies of the Black Community for the decennial years between 1940 and 1970 showed that ecological dimensions and factor

structure emerged with somewhat similar characteristics as found in other black ecological studies and in other metropolitan ecological studies. Economic status and family status emerged as the most important dimensions in each year for the explanation in the variation of black ecological structure. Residential mobility/migration emerged as an important third dimension in 1960 and 1970. Other dimensions which emerged were segregation female labor force, and craftsmen/operatives. From 1940 to 1970 the factor structures became more pure with less mixture, especially between economic and family status variables. Spatially, more distinct statistically significant patterns of ecological differentiation evolved. Strictly zonal variation gave way to significant patterns of both zonality and sectoriality; zonality in economic status and family status variations, and sectoriality in residential mobility/migration variation.

The older black enclaves, formed prior to 1920, experienced considerable aging between 1940 and 1970, out-migration to the northeast side, a dramatic reduction in population, overcrowding, large families, and youth, and a consistent relative decline in economic status. The real diversity of ecological structure became more and more apparent with the black population growth and spatial expansion of the northeast side black residential area from decade to decade. From this growth and expansion several distinct concentric zones have been ecologically identified. Generally, with distance from the initially formed black residential area on the northeast side higher economic status is exhibited; higher median income, less poverty, higher incidence of affluence, higher occupational status with high incidence of professionals and low incidence of laborers, domestics, and service workers, greater

incidence of home ownership, and higher levels of education. As to family status, with distance from the initial core area there is higher incidence of large families, youth, families in the early and middle stages of the family life cycle, and overcrowding, and a lesser incidence of small families, elderly, families in the late stage of the family life cycle, overcrowding and social disorganization. The early pattern of variation in migration was concentric with greater intra-city migration and city in-migration to the outer zones while the most recent pattern is sectorial with greater in-migration into the sector of the black housing market nearest the white middle-upper middle class sector of the city. The importance of female employment and skilled occupations are reflected in the fact of their dimensional emergence, but no distinct patterns of variation have been apparent.

The subdimensional analysis of three basic black ecological conditions, economic, family, and household (black housing market), revealed the emergence of distinct logical factor structures and significant patterns of variation in 1960 and 1970 for each condition. The economic ecological condition was represented by subdimensions income structure, occupational structure, and education structure. For the family ecological condition the basic subdimensions were family size and age structure, social disorganization, and migration structure. Subdimensions of the household condition emerged as dwelling population, dwelling size and ownership, and dwelling value and amenities. A more detailed evaluation of black ecological structure, factor structures and patterns of variation, was provided by this subdimensional analysis. With the lateral expansion of the northeast side black neighborhoods out of the initial sector of outward expansion zonality in the pattern

of variation of ecological subdimensions has trended toward continued patterns of zonality for most, but sectoriality has become more distinct for at least one subdimension of each black ecological condition; the education structure (economic), the migration structure (family), and the dwelling value and amenities structure (household). This strongly suggests that through continued outward and lateral expansion into further filtered down zones and sectors of the city's housing market, the pattern of black ecological differentiation is approaching that displayed by the sections of the housing market occupied by whites. From this perspective, the infrastructure of the city basically the housing market and related activities, and the forces which have created variation in the housing market based on family needs and economic resources, is a dominant influence on past, present, and future patterns of black ecological structure.

The analysis of subdimensional association between the general ecological conditions revealed that there did exist significant social and spatial relationships; that the ecological conditions are not as independent as assumed by factorial ecology. Between 1960 and 1970 certain aspects of social change are apparent in the emergence of somewhat different associations. Again, the change in associations and patterns of variation appear to be related to social change and black spatial expansion through the housing market as in the cases of factorial ecologies and subdimensional analyses. The subdimensional associations suggest that the inter-relatedness of the black ecological conditions are focused principally on subdimensions of the family condition. Family condition subdimensions are associated with economic condition subdimensions and the subdimensions of the black housing market with a less significant

association between the economic and household conditions. Figure 7-6 in Chapter VII, Spatial Model of Black Urban Ghetto Ecological Structure, illustrates the superimposition of the subdimensions of the black ecological condition on physical space, and the association of these subdimensions.

The analysis of change in the ecological structure of the Black Community involved two approaches other than the evaluation of change exhibited by factorial ecologies, subdimensional analysis, and association analysis over time; relative percentage change and relative status change among black neighborhoods between 1940 and 1970. Three similar dimensions of percentage change were apparent in each decennial analysis; family structure change, economic status change, and skilled employment change. As to family structure change, one percentage change dimension emerged in the 1940-1950 analysis, overcrowding, and two in the 1950-1960 and 1960-1970 analyses, overcrowding and social disorganization.

Although there is an exception for the 1940-1950 change analysis, the general trend in percentage change was that the greatest percentage changes for blacks occurred in the peripheral racially mixed neighborhoods. The subsequent period after black infiltration shows relatively higher percentages of decline in income levels, occupational status, family overcrowding, and family stability for the peripheral ghetto neighborhoods compared to that experienced by the older established black residential areas. Generally, the pattern of variation in percentage change tends to be zonal and each successive period effectuates in the successively black dominated neighborhoods decreased relative overcrowding, family size, youth, family stability, income,

education, and occupational status, and increased relative social disorganization, elderly, poverty, welfare assistance, and housing deterioration.

In each time period the various black residential areas which comprise the Black Community display relative status as to black ecological structure. Over time socio-economic variables, which are indicators of black ecological structure, together represent relative status change among the black neighborhoods of Oklahoma City. Relative status change primarily illustrates the pattern of change in the distribution of socio-economic attributes of the continually growing and expanding northeast side ghetto. Models of relative economic and family status change are given in Figures 7-7 and 7-8 of Chapter 7.

Generally, with the expansion of a black residential area the most recently black occupied peripheral neighborhoods exhibit the highest economic status with large families in the early to middle stages of the family life cycle; exhibiting also a relatively high incidence of youth, overcrowding, family stability, females in the labor force, intra-city and in-migration, affluence, higher educational levels, higher occupational status, higher home ownership, larger dwellings with amenities, and better neighborhood environments. The older inner ghetto black neighborhoods exhibit the continuation of the process of population and infrastructural aging; the continuance of an increasingly higher incidence of elderly, social disorganization, poverty, rental tenure, and infrastructural deterioration. As each zone of black expansion progresses outward into the next zone the aging process commences, an inevitable consequence of black suburbanization similar to that experienced by general metropolitan suburbanization.

Public policy has been influential in the evolution of black ecological structure in Oklahoma City. Early policies which grew out of Jim Crowism were of three types; those that segregated blacks and whites in formal and informal social and public activities, those that subordinated blacks in the labor force and therefore economically, and those that promoted racial residential segregation. With confinement of formal and informal social and public activities, such interaction for blacks became centered in the Black Community. Low levels of education due partially to unequal educational opportunities and concentration of blacks primarily in unskilled/domestic divisions of the labor force maintained a black social stratification system characterized by a very large black lower class and small middle and upper classes. Racial residential segregation not only further limited racial interaction, particularly as to more intimate neighborhood interaction, but established a territorial base for Black Community business and social activity.

In the early period of the city's history the various black residential enclaves were ecologically differentiated primarily as small isolated neighborhoods. With the focus of black business and social life on the near northeast side, this enclave became the growth node for black urbanization in the city. Containment policies only allowed outward expansion in a narrow sector of the city's housing market. This resulted in not only ecological diversity among the various non-contiguous black enclaves situated about the city, but also in ecological variation among the black neighborhoods of the expanded northeast side. From 1940 to 1970 policies began to slowly whittle away at previous segregation policies in desegregating public interaction, to provide advanced educational and employment opportunities, and to eliminate de jure residential

segregation. This has resulted in an increased diversification of the black population severely lessening the concentration of blacks in the lower end of income, occupational, and educational status; a moderate lower class, a large middle class, and still small upper class. This greater socio-economic diversification of the black population also becomes manifested spatially in increasingly more distance and significant patterns of ecological variation. This urban phenomenon has been modelled and explained from Figures 8-7 and 8-8.

The determination of these three objectives, and the description and explanation of the supportive objectives of each, have lead to a furtherance in the understanding of the locational and social spatial aspects of the origin and evolution of the Black Community. Several models have been formulated in this study to aid in the description and explanation of Black Community location, formation, maintenance, ecological structure, and evolution, and are presented in the synthesis chapters, Chapters VII and VIII.

Conclusion

That the Black Community is a common and widespread phenomenon of the Anglo-North American metropolis has been well established and documented. The Black Community has become recognized as both a social and spatial urban phenomenon. Basically, the social structure of the Black Community, although lagging temporally in its development, characterized by similar criteria and manifestations, has been separate from and subordinate to the social structure of the dominant White Community of the metropolis. In the first half of the twentieth century limited educational opportunity, prevalent economic subsistence, social segregation,

employment and apprenticeship discrimination, prejudice, and tradition kept the majority of the black labor force concentrated in the lower occupational status categories, primarily in unskilled and domestic occupations. This produced both a distinct social and economic separation of black and white society in the metropolitan social system, which in effect reinforced the continuance of subordinization and exploitation. Thusly, the Black Community evolved a social stratification system based on inherited and acquired roles and statuses applicable to the individual and family.

Together with social and economic separation the Black Community was and for the most part remains spatially segregated in the city's housing market. With black urbanization several black residential enclaves formed about the city due to metropolitan and Black Community social forces. Metropolitan social forces projected a customary safeguard to social distance and neighborhood racial interaction. Social forces of the Black Community probably originated with a need for security, to limit conflict, and to further cooperation and Black Community social life. This could only be found among other black families in the same situation with similar backgrounds and experiences. They understood each other's problems and helped each other survive. The early location of these black enclaves were predominately dependent upon an area in proximity to traditional employment, an area of low cost-rental housing, and an area of the housing market held in low esteem by the White Community. Still, in localities occupied by blacks and lower-class working class whites, there existed competition for such housing, keeping such a black enclave limited in areal expansion, although black population growth may have increased substantially. Early "de facto" racial

residential segregation, with legalized public social segregation of blacks, soon became "de jure" with the passage of city racial zoning ordinances.

With firm socio-spatial segregation, the early Black Community as a quasi-apartheid, internally developed a social structure and a territorial base. In a sense the various black residential enclaves which have made up the Black Community have been both colonies and reservations; a colony in the sense that it is exploited for its resources, it is a market for its goods, and it provides unequal rights, opportunities, and services, with underpolitical representation, and a reservation in the sense of residential confinement and the withholding of equal rights.

With a slow, but persistent social change in race relations, especially since 1940, have evolved changes in the socio-spatial structure of the Black Community. A black social structure characterized by a very large lower class and small middle and upper classes has shifted to a moderate-sized lower class, and a large middle class with a still small upper class. This shift has been greatly influenced by improvements toward equality in education, employment, and compensation, and by the functioning of a multitude of government and private agencies operating to further improvements in life opportunities for blacks. This has also led to a certain degree of mergence between the separate racial social structures, allowing improved social acceptance and partial assimilation into the overall metropolitan society.

Co-existent with social change in race relations over the past three decades, spatial expansion of black residential areas has been commensurate with the growth in black population. Black residential

expansion outward into the city's suburbs and laterally into other sectors of the city's housing market has resulted in an increasingly distinct spatial manifestation of Black Community socio-economic differentiation, ecological structure, patterns of which display increasing similarity to that of the overall metropolitan ecological structure. Improved conditions allowed greater black residential mobility. A more open housing market was available to black family residential preference based on need and resources. Still, by far the majority of black migration has been between or within established black residential areas and into white neighborhoods along the fringe of black areas.

General conclusions derived from this case study of the locational and social spatial aspects of the origin and evolution of the Black Community are put forth in the following conclusionary outline.

As to the early origin and location of black residential enclaves, and related aspatial development and ecological structure;

- 1) the social origin has been dependent upon a race relations situation based on a system of institutionalized racism.
- 2) in this context metropolitan community social forces (involuntary) and Black Community social forces (voluntary) have interacted to influence origin and location of black residence.
- 3) the locational origin has been dependent upon employment proximity, cost-rent attributes of the housing market infrastructure, and values attributed to these areas by the White Community.
- 4) the locational origin is a by-product of the social origin, a direct consequence of customary and "de jure" segregation

policy.

- 5) the social and locational origins are reinforcing mechanisms for continued segregation.
- 6) public and intimate social racial interaction is severely restricted by traditional adherence to avoidance and recognized racial social distance.
- 7) black residence is moderately segregated from white residence. A lack of rigid residential segregation is socially overcome by the rigid recognition of social distance adherence and is due principally to the early period in a city's history; no established policies for racial residential segregation.
- 8) the black social and economic condition is subordinate, reflecting a very large lower class with a very small middle and upper class system of social stratification, due to a heavy concentration of blacks employed in unskilled/domestic occupational categories.
- 9) the black business structure is small and limited chiefly to personal services and everyday retail need. Clientele are both black and white although certain businesses customarily cater to a black clientele as rooming houses, hotels, and taverns. Churches and schools are often from the beginning segregated by tradition.
- 10) the pattern of black ecological structure within and between black residential enclaves is relatively undifferentiated due principally to a young black population and a very large black lower class, although there certainly exists a diversity of age and family size characteristics, occupational

status, and wealth. There just has not been time to allow the maturation of an established black social structure or the spatial manifestation of that structure.

- 11) although racial activity systems overlap, for the average white and black citizen two urban worlds exist based on recognized social distance, traditional avoidance, and recognized roles.

As to subsequent Black Community formation and evolution, and related ecological structure and aspatial development:

Early formation and maintenance;

- 1) formation (growth or decline) of black residential enclaves is dependent upon black urbanization (in-migration and natural increase), susceptibility of adjacent housing market to black infiltration, and black preferential attractiveness.
- 2) social and spatial segregation is maintained by formal and informal modes of institutionalized racism (public policy, neighborhood associations, restrictive covenants, real estate and financial institutions, and traditional avoidance.)
- 3) ghettoization is an integral part of the black urbanization experience.
- 4) black residential expansion is controlled formally by local public policy and informally by the pressures of racism on a city's social, economic, and political structure.
- 5) black residential expansion is principally sectorial involving limited infiltration of previously white occupied housing and the occupance of newly constructed subdivisions for black families.

- 6) de jure control of black residential expansion of an established black enclave often results in acutely overcrowded conditions and detrimental socio-psychological pathologies.
- 7) the housing market becomes highly segregated as to race.
- 8) social segregation legislation (public policy) effectively minimizes public and private social interaction. This establishes de jure social distance standards.
- 9) the black social and economic condition is formally subordinate, still reflecting a very large lower class with a very small middle and upper class due to the continuance of a concentration of blacks employed in unskilled/domestic occupational categories.
- 10) the black business structure remains small and limited chiefly to personal services and everyday retail need. Clientele is almost entirely black.
- 11) during the early formation and development of the Black Community there exists a polynuclear pattern of various black residential areas.
- 12) during the early formation and development of the Black Community at least one of the various black residential areas takes on a dominant role as the growth node and black sub-cultural focal point of the Black Community.
- 13) during the early formation and development of the Black Community socio-economic differentiation evolves in the following manner,
 - a. economic status appears higher for those black residential areas nearest the central business district

in the earliest period of formation.

- b. with the maturation of the Black Community during the early period of development, the dominant black growth mode evolves from a relatively homogeneous inner city neighborhood into a dichotomous pattern of inner city low economic status and outer city high economic status.

14) the early spatial pattern of relative socio-economic homogeneity (1890 - 1920) among various black neighborhoods is due primarily to

- a. the spatial containment of black residential choice.
- b. the high concentration of blacks in the lower category of economic status.
- c. discrimination and segregation in almost all aspects of societal life.

Early Black Community maturation and maintenance;

- 1) points given in the "early formation and maintenance" which continue to be applicable are 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9.
- 2) the Black Community turned inward to partially meet social, economic and political needs not satisfactorily provided by the external white society (formation of large black business districts and black social organizations).
- 3) the black business structure is large and more diversified with an orientation still toward personal services and everyday retail needs. Clientele is almost entirely black.
- 4) there are significant variations in socio-economic characteristics between black neighborhoods.

- 5) ecological variation between the various black residential enclaves is based primarily on the differentiation of economic status and family status.
- 6) ecological variation between the various black residential enclaves is substantially influenced by characteristics of the housing market.
- 7) in-migration and intra-city migration of black families is substantially influenced by characteristics of the housing market, ecological attributes of the black migrants, and ecological attributes of the various black neighborhoods.
- 8) ecological variation between the various black residential enclaves is substantially influenced by public policy decisions.
- 9) the sectorial suburbanization of black families is related to a growing black population, an increased housing market, and a need to lessen overcrowded conditions, and to improve one's residential environment.
- 10) there exists a clear dichotomy of ecological structure between the inner city ghetto zone and the outer or suburban zones of black neighborhoods in the expanded black sector.
- 11) the early evolution of socio-economic differentiation (1920-1950) in the Black Community was partially influenced by the maturation and the solidification of the Black Community and limited spatial expansion of black housing choice along with limited improvement in economic opportunity.

Social change and Black Community expansion;

- 1) social and spatial desegregation and integration is greatly

influenced by effective public policies which partially eliminate the formal and informal modes of institutionalized racism.

- 2) potential for intimate public and private social racial integration and residential integration can be greatly influenced negatively or positively by public policy.
 - 3) traditional social distance attitudes, prejudice, discriminatory practices, and stereotypes persist even with short-term positive social change influenced by public policy.
- Public policy can only minimize social and spatial segregation and attempt to maximize desegregation and integration. It remains up to individuals as family members, as employers, as union members, as church members, and as social organization members to effectively maximize the recognition of black equality by setting private and quasi-public policy which actively encourages social and spatial integration.
- 4) social change in race relations has come about through the persistent determination of a well organized social movement.
 - 5) partial elimination of social segregation mechanisms has resulted in greatly improved opportunity potential for social, economic, and political equality.
 - 6) partial elimination of spatial segregation mechanisms has resulted in a greatly expanded but contiguous area of the housing market occupied by blacks, residential desegregation with little integration.
 - 7) partial elimination of social and spatial segregation has been viewed by a substantial portion of the White Community

with indifference and indignation and by a substantial portion of the Black Community with frustration and disappointment.

- 8) intimate social racial integration and residential integration remain very limited.
- 9) later more pronounced socio-economic differentiation (1950-1970) in the Black Community is primarily influenced by greatly increased spatial expansion of black housing choice along with improved potential for economic opportunity.
- 10) increased differentiation of black urban ecological structure is influenced by a lessening of the concentration of blacks in the lower category of economic status and the increase in black housing choice (diversified housing accommodations for families in different stages of the family life cycle at different educational, occupational, and income levels).
- 11) the basic factorial dimensions of the black ecological structure are inter-related through subdimensional associations.
- 12) that societal constraints on black housing availability is partially responsible for the association between family status and economic status attributes among the black population.
- 13) increased spatial expansion of black housing choice and improved potential for economic opportunity has been initially influenced by public policy at all levels of government oriented toward social legislation and the housing market.

- 14) although conventional housing built specifically for black families and public housing have been important markets for black housing choice, the filtering down of white housing has by far provided the greatest addition to black housing choice.
- 15) family status differentiation in the contemporary Black Ghetto, the greatly expanded black growth node, has evolved from a relatively homogeneous pattern to a trend toward zonal variation to a statistically significant pattern of zonal differentiation.
- 16) economic status differentiation in the contemporary Black Ghetto has evolved from a relatively homogeneous pattern to a trend toward zonal variation to a statistically significant pattern of zonal differentiation.
- 17) contemporary patterns of migration into and within the Black Ghetto exhibit a statistically significant sectorial differentiation.
- 18) subdimensions of the three general ecological conditions (economic, family, household) exhibit contemporary patterns of neighborhood differentiation within the Black Ghetto;
 - a. Economic condition
 1. Income structure - zonal
 2. Occupation structure - zonal
 3. Education structure - sectorial
 - b. Family condition
 1. Age and size structure - zonal
 2. Social disorganization - zonal

3. Migration - sectorial

c. Household condition

1. Dwelling population - zonal

2. Size and ownership structure - zonal

3. Value and amenities structure - sectorial

19) as the transistion in the pattern of ecological dimensions derived from factorial ecologies, the subdimensions of the general ecological conditions also exhibit a transistion from a relatively undifferentiated pattern to a trend in pattern to a statistically significant pattern.

20) from a simple dichotomy of Black Ghetto neighborhoods in the early period of formation and development (inner city/suburbs) zonal socio-economic differentiation has evolved into six discriminating concentric zones; the inner core, inner suburbs, intermediate inner suburbs, intermediate outer suburbs, peripheral outer suburbs, and the rural/satellite zone.

21) a more observable pattern of socio-economic differentiation evolves.

22) black families tend to be less concentrated in the lower economic status category.

23) in recent decades three consistent dimensions of percentage change have been economic status change, family structure change, and skilled employment change which exhibit a trend toward zonal variation.

24) relative status change of socio-economic and demographic indicators in the Black Ghetto is primarily zonal.

25) rigidly contained outward black residential expansion through

a sector of the city's housing market reflects a distinct zonal variation in black ecological structure. A transitional period of lateral and outward expansion into adjacent sectors reflects significant zonal ecological variation along with a tendency toward sectorial variation. The contemporary period shows that black residential expansion through several adjacent sectors reflects significant ecological patterns of zonal and sectorial variation similar to that exhibited by the White Community.

An important conclusion of this study is related to the significance of a satisfactorily thorough understanding of the specific historical evolution of a particular city's Black Community and surrounding metropolitan area. Without such insight the evaluation of patterns of black residence and conditions of the black population is severely limited.

Illustrative models have been formulated and presented in the synthesis of the description and explanation of the locational and social spatial aspects of the origin and evolution of the Black Community. These models attempt to further our knowledge of the origin, formation, and evolution of the Black Community. A multitude of assumptions, statements, hypotheses, and conclusions of other similarly oriented studies have been at least partially substantiated by this case study and some new insights have been uncovered, while some findings of other studies could not be substantiated.

The historical geography of race relations in Oklahoma City does not appear to deviate from the race relations situation experienced in other cities of the Border States and in many of the cities of the

North, West, and South and therefore, the synthesis of the findings in this study and the generalized models developed from that synthesis may present a satisfactory representation of the general locational and socio-spatial aspects of the Black Community in the Anglo-North American metropolis.

Final Discussion - Retrospect and Prospect

It should be clear from the content of this research that the aim of this author has been to provide a detailed historical study in the subfield of urban social geography of the Black Community of Oklahoma City. It has not been my intention to condemn, condone, or unjustly criticize the circumstances under which the Black Community has evolved and manifested itself. The Oklahoma City case appears not to be characterized by exceptional circumstances and influences, but by rather typical ones. The one only truly unique feature is related to Oklahoma City's origin. The date being only a few decades after emancipation and the location being a border area to the South. This allowed the settlement of both whites and free blacks from the very beginning with the formation of a substantial Black Community within the first decade of the city's existence. It might be thought of as one of only a few new cities, frontier cities, where everything had the chance for new beginnings between blacks and whites. It was not a city of the South or the North, and it was not an established Border city. It had the chance to incorporate the ideas, the philosophies, the aspirations, and the prejudices of the melting pot of peoples from all over the country. In this way the history of race relations in Oklahoma City has been unique, but the outcome has been rather typical. Could a fresh start for blacks in a

newly settled frontier city result in a greater chance for life opportunities and equality? The answer is no as portrayed by the Oklahoma City situation. The seeds of institutional racism which swept into the Border States and the North from the South also germinated in Oklahoma Territory. Similar pains of subordination and exploitation experienced by blacks in Birmingham, Louisville, and Chicago were felt by blacks in Oklahoma City. The legacy of those experiences remain with us. Their consequences for both races are too numerous to mention. For most of the nearly nine decades since those early years of settlement, race relations changed but little, if any. In only recent years have public policies shifted from a role of guardian of the status quo to a role as initiator of social change. To what extent race relations will really change and to what extent blacks will be able to secure better access to life opportunities and true equality are questions which can only be answered in some future generation. Experiences of the past and the present suggest that change definitely will not come over night. It most likely will be a slow, but hopefully, a rewarding process.

The problems which the majority of Oklahoma City blacks presently face are similar to those problems generally plaguing urban blacks across the country; a lack of social, economic, political, and psychological security brought on by the legacy of the past and feed by the continued subtleties of racism in the present. The problem is as complex as ever there was one.

The operation of the housing market which has been focused on in this research is a good example of how far change has occurred and how much further it has to go. It by far is no simple problem and therefore will not be solved by simple short-term answers.

Table 1. Rotated Factor Matrix for 1960
(120 variable factorial analysis)

This author feels that the crux of the equality problem has roots deeply implanted in the value system of our society and that the basis is primarily economic. With the implementation of private and public policies oriented toward greater minority access and disadvantaged white access to life opportunities, race relations may greatly improve and blacks may overcome the burden of race. Above all, policies should continually promote racial interaction and enhance mutual respect and admiration.

1. Single white female 18-24	0.834	-0.101	-0.065
2. Married couples	0.777	0.217	-0.014
3. Pop. under 18	0.768	-0.211	-0.077
4. Pop. over 65	0.665	0.032	0.177
5. Labor force-grocery stores & restaurants	0.671	0.154	-0.189
6. Labor force-refined and operatives	0.674	0.175	-0.061
7. Labor force-laborers	-0.572	-0.242	0.107
8. Labor force-household workers	-0.241	0.154	0.208
9. Male labor force unemployed	-0.238	0.222	0.074
10. Vehicle labor force	0.221	0.176	-0.091
11. Families with income over \$6,000	0.228	-0.050	-0.101
12. Pop. outside SMSA in 1955	-0.182	-0.202	-0.011
13. Pop. in different house in 1955 in 1960	0.071	-0.168	-0.017
14. Armed dwellings	0.154	-0.067	0.029
15. Non-white (%)	-0.195	0.089	0.110
Eigenvalue	4.71	3.67	1.20
% Common Variance	27.5	21.7	7.2
% Total Variance	24.9	22.8	11.1
Contribution % of total variance	24.0	46.9	49.1
Deviation % of common variance	27.5	31.0	11.4
Analysis of Variance (significance level)			
One-Way	0.07	0.04	0.009
Total	Total	Total	Between
Two-Way	0.05-0.10	0.01-0.10	0.01-0.05
Total	Total	Total	Between

APPENDIX A. FACTORIAL ECOLOGIES; ROTATED FACTOR MATRICES

Table 1. Rotated Factor Matrix for 1970
(20 variable factorial ecology)

VARIABLES	ECONOMIC STATUS	FAMILY STATUS	RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY/ MIGRATION
1. Families with income under \$1,999	-0.882	0.128	0.184
2. Median family income	0.256	-0.162	0.132
3. Dwellings with 1.01 or more persons per room	-0.184	-0.903	0.124
4. Dwellings owner occupied	0.897	-0.165	0.321
5. Median school years completed	0.419	-0.263	-0.639
6. Population per household	0.230	-0.903	-0.098
7. Households headed by married couples	0.859	-0.207	-0.063
8. Pop. under 18	0.066	-0.952	-0.196
9. Pop. over 65	-0.465	0.632	0.327
10. Labor force-profes- sionals & managers	0.673	0.153	-0.549
11. Labor force-craftsmen and operatives	0.256	0.179	-0.021
12. Labor force-laborers	-0.479	-0.332	0.237
13. Labor force-household workers	-0.140	0.754	0.369
14. Male labor force un- employed	-0.280	0.222	0.273
15. Female labor force	0.549	0.176	-0.591
16. Families with income over \$8,000	0.779	-0.050	-0.434
17. Pop. outside SMSA in 1965	-0.185	-0.395	-0.701
18. Pop. in different house in SMSA in 1965	0.095	-0.168	-0.837
19. Sound dwellings	0.152	-0.165	-0.305
20. Non-whites (%)	-0.195	0.586	0.610
Eigenvalue	4.73	4.49	3.50
% Common Variance	27.5	26.1	20.3
% Total Variance	24.0	22.8	17.7
Cumulation % of total variance	24.0	46.8	64.5
Cumulation % of common variance	27.5	53.6	73.9
Analysis of Variance (significance level)			
One-Way	0.07	0.04	0.005
	Zonal	Zonal	Sectorial
Two-Way	0.05-0.10	0.05-0.10	0.05-0.01
	Zonal	Zonal	Sectorial

Table 1. (cont.)

SOUND HOUSING	CRAFTSMEN/ OPERATIVES	COMMUNALITY
0.283	-0.164	0.935
-0.885	0.093	0.901
-0.053	-0.178	0.899
-0.038	0.195	0.974
-0.423	0.222	0.882
-0.211	-0.092	0.930
-0.193	0.341	0.937
-0.121	-0.004	0.964
0.362	-0.070	0.858
0.073	0.282	0.863
0.014	0.853	0.827
0.184	-0.606	0.797
0.020	-0.327	0.832
0.169	-0.742	0.782
-0.479	0.055	0.914
-0.300	0.202	0.930
-0.306	0.057	0.779
0.024	0.307	0.833
-0.802	0.054	0.789
-0.114	0.219	0.815
2.18	2.31	
12.7	13.4	
11.1	11.7	
75.6	87.3	
86.6	100.0	

0.34

0.10-0.20

Zonal
TrendNo
Trend

Table 2. Rotated Factor Matrix for 1970
(16 variable factorial ecology)

VARIABLES	ECONOMIC STATUS	FAMILY STATUS	RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY/ MIGRATION	FAMILY INCOME	COMMUNALITY
1. Families with income under \$1,999	-0.780	-0.104	0.207	-0.502	0.915
2. Median family income	0.167	0.219	-0.009	0.796	0.710
3. Dwellings with 1.01 or more per room	-0.190	0.952	0.071	-0.048	0.950
4. Dwellings owner occupied	0.863	0.152	0.302	0.306	0.952
5. Median school years	0.377	0.222	-0.730	0.430	0.909
6. Population per household	0.151	0.925	-0.153	0.238	0.958
7. Households headed by married couples	0.882	0.175	-0.140	0.334	0.940
8. Pop. under 18	0.083	0.937	-0.253	0.063	0.954
9. Pop. over 65	-0.436	-0.601	0.387	-0.352	0.825
10. Labor force-profes- sionals & managers	0.650	-0.240	-0.522	0.140	0.773
11. Labor force-crafts- men & operatives	0.723	-0.255	-0.173	-0.322	0.722
12. Females in labor force	0.379	-0.179	-0.598	0.595	0.886
13. Families with income over \$8,000	0.684	0.021	-0.476	0.475	0.920
14. Pop. outside SMSA 1955	-0.178	0.380	-0.775	0.122	0.792
15. Pop. different resi- dence in SMSA 1955	0.198	0.108	-0.884	-0.116	0.845
16. Labor force-laborers & household workers	-0.702	-0.179	0.565	-0.019	0.845
Eigenvalue	4.68	3.51	3.52	2.20	
% Common Variance	33.6	25.2	25.3	15.9	
% Total Variance	29.3	21.9	22.0	13.7	
Cumulative % of total variance	29.3	51.1	73.1	86.9	
Cumulative % of common variance	33.6	58.8	84.1	100.0	
Analysis of Variance (significance level)					
One-Way	0.02	0.013	0.001		
	Zonal	Zonal	Sectorial		
Two-Way	0.05-0.01	0.05-0.01	0.01		
	Zonal	Zonal	Sectorial		
				No Trend	

Table 3. Rotated Factor Matrix for 1960
(16 variable factorial ecology)

VARIABLES	ECONOMIC STATUS	FAMILY STATUS	RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY/ INTRA-CITY	LABOR FORCE/ FEMALE EMPLOYMENT	COMMUNAL I
1. Families with income under \$1,999	-0.868	-0.160	0.111	-0.296	0.880
2. Median family income	0.891	0.150	-0.011	0.309	0.912
3. Dwellings with 1.01 or more per room	-0.269	0.535	0.656	0.383	0.936
4. Dwellings owner occupied	0.780	0.301	0.287	-0.385	0.930
5. Median education	0.814	-0.095	-0.476	0.268	0.970
6. Population per household	0.592	0.750	0.264	0.073	0.988
7. Household headed by married couple	0.938	0.104	-0.022	0.087	0.898
8. Pop. under 18	0.111	0.924	0.230	-0.172	0.948
9. Pop. over 65	-0.748	-0.176	0.027	-0.577	0.925
10. Labor force-profes- sionals & managers	0.741	-0.463	-0.111	0.300	0.866
11. Labor force-crafts- men & operatives	-0.033	0.878	-0.197	-0.261	0.878
12. Females in labor force	0.157	-0.215	-0.122	0.790	0.709
13. Families with income over \$8,000	0.924	-0.177	-0.059	0.179	0.920
14. Pop. outside SMSA 1955	0.394	-0.310	0.137	0.438	0.462
15. Pop. different resi- dence in SMSA 1955	0.011	0.008	-0.949	0.195	0.939
16. Labor force-laborers, household workers	-0.459	0.126	0.092	-0.654	0.663
Eigenvalue	6.48	3.07	1.87	2.40	
% Common Variance	46.9	22.2	13.5	17.4	
% Total Variance	40.5	19.2	11.7	15.0	
Cumulative % of total variance	40.5	59.7	71.4	86.4	
Cumulative % of common variance	46.9	69.1	82.6	100.0	
Analysis of Variance (significance level)					
One-Way	0.04	0.33	0.12		
	Zonal	Zonal	Zonal		
Two-Way	0.05-0.10		0.01-0.05		
	Zonal		Zonal		
		No Trend		No Trend	

Table 4. Rotated Factor Matrix for 1970
(9 variable factorial ecology)

VARIABLES	FAMILY STATUS	ECONOMIC STATUS	COMMUNALITY
1. Dwellings owner occupied	-0.198	0.527	0.317
2. Median school years completed	-0.518	0.676	0.726
3. Population per household	-0.890	0.130	0.810
4. Population under 20	-0.894	0.114	0.813
5. Population over 65	0.780	-0.454	0.816
6. Labor force professionals and managers	0.372	0.657	0.570
7. Male labor force unemployed	0.110	-0.887	0.799
8. % Negro population	0.802	-0.078	0.649
9. Labor force laborers and household workers	0.382	-0.787	0.765
Eigenvalue	3.45	2.38	
% Common Variance	59.2	40.8	
% Total Variance	41.2	28.4	
Cumulative % of total variance	41.2	69.6	
Cumulative % of common variance	59.2	100.0	
Analysis of Variance (significance level)			
One-Way	0.16	0.02	
	Sectorial	Zonal	
	0.26		
	Zonal		
Two-Way	0.05-0.1	0.01	
	Sectorial	Zonal	
	0.05-0.1		
	Zonal		

Table 5. Rotated Factor Matrix for 1960
(9 variable factorial ecology)

VARIABLES	ECONOMIC STATUS	FAMILY STATUS	SEGREGATION	COMMUNALITY
1. Dwellings owner occupied	-0.245	0.678	0.552	0.824
2. Median school years completed	-0.908	0.076	0.242	0.889
3. Population per household	-0.269	0.955	0.039	0.986
4. Population under 20	0.270	0.940	-0.034	0.958
5. Population over 65	0.852	-0.407	0.062	0.895
6. Labor force profes- sionals & managers	-0.875	-0.184	0.233	0.854
7. Male labor force unemployed	0.256	-0.207	-0.815	0.773
8. % Negro population	0.172	-0.091	0.779	0.645
9. Labor force laborers & household workers	0.790	-0.014	0.352	0.748
Eigenvalue	3.24	2.51	1.82	
% Common Variance	42.8	33.2	24.0	
% Total Variance	36.0	27.9	20.2	
Cumulative % of total variance	36.0	63.9	84.1	
Cumulative % of common variance	42.8	76.0	100.0	
Analysis of Variance (significance Level)				
One-Way	0.23 Zonal	0.06 Zonal	0.09 Sectorial	
Two-Way	0.05-0.10 Zonal	0.05-0.10 Zonal	Sectorial Trend	

Table 6. Rotated Factor Matrix for 1950
(9 variable factorial ecology)

VARIABLES	ECONOMIC STATUS	FAMILY STATUS	COMMUNALITY
1. Dwellings owner occupied	-0.225	-0.921	0.899
2. Median school years completed	-0.863	-0.226	0.796
3. Population per household	0.742	-0.576	0.880
4. Population under 20	0.749	-0.468	0.780
5. Population over 65	0.164	0.934	0.900
6. Labor force professionals and managers	-0.715	-0.560	0.824
7. Male labor force unemployed	0.910	0.070	0.833
8. % Negro population	-0.303	0.494	0.336
9. Labor force laborers and household workers	0.785	0.045	0.618
Eigenvalue	3.98	2.88	
% Common Variance	58.0	42.0	
% Total Variance	44.3	32.0	
Cumulative % of total variance	44.3	76.3	
Cumulative % of common variance	58.0	100.0	
Cartographic Pattern	No Trend River Enclaves Vs. N.E. Side	Zonal Trend	

Table 7. Rotated Factor Matrix for 1940
(9 variable factorial ecology)

VARIABLES	FAMILY STATUS	ECONOMIC STATUS	SEGREGATION	COMMUNALITY
1. Dwellings owner occupied	0.356	-0.206	0.740	0.716
2. Median school years completed	-0.913	-0.299	-0.024	0.924
3. Population per household	0.513	-0.779	0.247	0.930
4. Population under 20	0.817	-0.163	0.520	0.964
5. Population over 65	0.916	-0.079	0.068	0.851
6. Labor force profes- sionals & managers	-0.151	-0.946	0.005	0.918
7. Male labor force unemployed	0.926	-0.004	0.239	0.914
8. % Negro population	0.028	0.039	0.860	0.743
9. Labor force laborers & household workers	0.086	0.966	-0.036	0.943
Eigenvalue	3.62	2.60	1.68	
% Common Variance	45.8	32.9	21.3	
% Total Variance	40.2	28.9	18.7	
Cumulative % of total variance	40.2	69.1	87.8	
Cumulative % of common variance	45.8	78.7	100.0	
Cartographic Pattern	No Trend River Enclaves vs. N.E. Side	No Trend	No Trend River Enclaves vs. N.E. Side	

Table 1. Rotated Factor Matrix for 1970
(15 variable factorial ecology of economic characteristics)

VARIABLES	EDUCATION/ INCOME	OCCUPATION	EDUCATION	COMMUNALITY
1. Median school years	0.711	0.122	-0.650	0.943
2. % Highschool graduates	0.684	0.347	-0.599	0.948
3. % with no high-school and 1-4 years	-0.768	-0.037	0.393	0.746
4. Males in labor force unemployed	-0.213	-0.559	0.574	0.688
5. Females in labor force	0.846	0.300	-0.178	0.838
6. % professionals & managers	0.408	0.597	-0.428	0.706
7. % clerical	0.654	0.476	0.027	0.654
8. % craftsmen, foremen, operatives	-0.109	0.830	-0.238	0.758
9. % laborers	-0.429	-0.797	0.042	0.821
10. % service workers	-0.268	-0.895	-0.145	0.894
11. % private household workers	-0.090	0.029	0.901	0.821
12. % less than \$1,999	-0.664	-0.474	0.269	0.738
13. % over \$8,000	0.754	0.432	-0.382	0.902
14. Median family income	0.722	-0.036	0.027	0.523
15. % families below poverty level	-0.777	-0.496	0.249	0.911
Eigenvalue	5.33	3.67	2.62	
% Common Variance	45.9	31.6	22.5	
% Total Variance	36.3	25.1	17.8	
Cumulative % of total variance	44.8	75.7	97.7	
Cumulative % of common variance	45.9	77.5	100.0	
Analysis of Variance (significance level)				
One-Way	0.006	0.24	0.14	
	Zonal	Zonal	Sectorial	
Two-Way	0.01-0.005	0.05-0.10	0.05-0.10	
	Zonal	Zonal	Sectorial	

Table 2. Rotated Factor Matrix for 1970
(10 variable factorial ecology of family characteristics)

VARIABLES	SIZE/AGE STRUCTURE	SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION	MIGRATION/ RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY	COMMUNALITY
1. Population under 18	-0.947	0.119	0.228	0.964
2. Population over 65	0.704	0.356	-0.448	0.823
3. Population per household	-0.952	0.040	0.134	0.926
4. Population 25-44	-0.153	-0.641	0.698	0.921
5. Husband-wife families	-0.386	-0.864	0.087	0.904
6. Female head	-0.334	0.892	0.208	0.950
7. % in household not related to head	0.642	0.333	0.212	0.568
8. % in central city of SMSA 1965	-0.138	-0.119	0.857	0.767
9. % in other part of SMSA	-0.287	-0.384	-0.635	0.632
10. % outside SMSA 1965	-0.388	0.179	0.705	0.680
Eigenvalue	3.25	2.40	2.49	
% Common Variance	39.9	29.5	30.6	
% Total Variance	32.5	24.0	24.9	
Cumulative % of total variance	39.9	69.4	100.0	
Cumulative % of common variance	39.9	69.4	100.0	
Analysis of Variance (significance level)				
One-Way	0.009	0.10	0.003	
	Zonal	Zonal	Sectorial	
Two-Way	0.05-0.10	0.05-0.10	0.01-0.05	
	Zonal	Zonal	Sectorial	

Table 3. Rotated Factor Matrix for 1970
(18 variable factorial ecology of household characteristics)

VARIABLES	POPULATION	VALUE & AMENITIES	SIZE & OWNERSHIP
1. % owner occupied	-0.116	-0.100	-0.892
2. % with 2 rooms or less	0.527	0.268	0.687
3. % with 7 or more rooms	-0.120	-0.137	-0.110
4. Median size dwelling	-0.399	-0.416	-0.604
5. % 1 person per dwelling	0.713	0.471	0.395
6. % 6 or more per dwelling	-0.930	-0.003	-0.225
7. Median persons per dwelling	-0.872	-0.329	-0.307
8. % units with roomers, etc.	0.608	-0.319	0.431
9. % with 1.01 persons or more	-0.933	0.233	0.075
10. % homes under \$5,000	-0.072	0.918	-0.098
11. % homes over \$20,000	0.080	-0.406	-0.212
12. Median home value	-0.022	-0.791	-0.158
13. Median contract rent	-0.210	-0.837	-0.011
14. % 1 unit	-0.402	0.039	-0.867
15. % structures built before 1949	0.755	0.299	0.397
16. % with air conditioning	0.113	-0.807	-0.483
17. % with built in central heating	-0.527	-0.772	-0.286
18. % with 2 or more autos	-0.291	-0.414	-0.597
Eigenvalue	5.000	4.604	3.797
% Common Variance	31.8	29.3	24.2
% Total Variance	27.8	25.6	21.1
Cumulative % of total variance	27.8	53.4	74.5
Cumulative % of common variance	31.8	61.1	85.3
Analysis of Variance (significance level)			
One-Way	0.02	0.08	0.03
	Zonal	Sectorial	Zonal
Two-Way	0.05	0.05-0.10	0.01
	Zonal	Zonal	Zonal

Table 3. (cont.)

UPPER CLASS	COMMUNALITY
0.313	0.916
-0.019	0.822
0.811	0.876
0.452	0.901
-0.105	0.897
0.186	0.950
0.163	0.989
-0.105	0.669
-0.184	0.965
-0.124	0.873
0.573	0.544
0.539	0.942
0.247	0.806
0.055	0.916
-0.089	0.824
0.132	0.914
0.080	0.961
0.576	0.943
2.311	
14.7	
12.8	
87.3	
100.0	
0.17	
Zonal	
0.18	
Sectorial	
0.05-0.10	
Zonal-Sectorial	

Table 4. Rotated Factor Matrix for 1960
(15 variable factorial ecology of economic characteristics)

VARIABLES	BASIC ECONOMIC STATUS	OCCUPATION STRUCTURE	EDUCATION STRUCTURE
1. Median school years completed	-0.846	0.031	-0.436
2. % highschool graduates	-0.446	0.068	-0.711
3. % with no education and 1-4 years	0.631	-0.059	0.690
4. Males in labor force unemployed	0.689	0.470	0.127
5. Females in labor force	-0.181	0.071	-0.337
6. % professionals and managers	-0.696	0.355	-0.234
7. % clerical	-0.849	0.351	-0.183
8. % craftsmen, foremen, operatives	0.036	-0.862	0.143
9. % laborers	0.716	-0.022	0.382
10. % service workers	0.049	0.263	-0.819
11. % private household workers	0.156	-0.745	0.220
12. % less than \$1,999	0.802	-0.025	-0.013
13. % over \$8,000	-0.886	0.125	-0.275
14. Median family income	0.873	0.140	-0.044
15. % families below poverty level	-0.815	0.080	0.014
Eigenvalue	5.237	1.894	2.353
% Common Variance	46.4	16.8	20.8
% Total Variance	38.6	14.0	17.3
Cumulative % of total variance	38.6	52.6	69.9
Cumulative % of common variance	46.4	63.2	84.0
Analysis of Variance (significance level)			
One-Way	0.16	0.10	0.24
	Zonal	Zonal	Sectorial
Two-Way	0.10-0.20		
	Zonal	Zonal Trend	Sectorial Trend

Table 4. (cont.)

FEMALE
LABOR
FORCE

COMMUNALITY

0.201 0.947

0.341 0.825

-0.289 0.963

0.390 0.864

0.758 0.726

0.276 0.741

-0.217 0.924

0.099 0.774

-0.123 0.674

0.034 0.742

-0.457 0.836

-0.462 0.858

0.185 0.910

-0.034 0.786

0.487 0.908

1.809 Variance

16.0 (significance level)

13.3

One-Way

83.2

100.0 Two-Way

0.21

Zonal

Zonal

Trend

Table 5. Rotated Factor Matrix for 1960
(10 variable factorial ecology of family characteristics)

VARIABLE	SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION	MIGRATION/ RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY
1. Population under 18	-0.358	-0.373
2. Population over 65	-0.654	-0.293
3. Population per household	0.173	-0.245
4. Population 25-44	0.850	0.328
5. Husband-wife families	0.666	0.141
6. Female head	-0.773	0.096
7. % in household not related to head	-0.315	-0.136
8. % in central city of SMSA 1955	0.017	0.881
9. % in other part of SMSA 1955	-0.153	-0.903
10. % outside SMSA 1955	0.857	-0.019
Eigenvalue	3.207	2.031
% Common Variance	36.8	23.3
% Total Variance	32.1	20.3
Cumulative % of total variance	32.1	52.4
Cumulative % of common Variance	36.8	60.1
Analysis of Variance (significance level)		
One-Way	0.22	0.22
	Zonal	Zonal
Two-Way	0.05-0.10	0.05
	Zonal	Zonal

Table 5. (cont.)

SIZE/AGE
CHARACTERISTICS COMMUNALITY

1. -0.816	0.935
2. 0.612	0.888
-0.925	0.946
3. -0.228	0.882
-0.671	0.913
0.554	0.913
5. 0.858	0.854
6. 0.055	0.779
7. -0.084	0.843
8. 0.142	0.755
9. 3.471	
39.9	
34.8	
10. 87.2	
11. 100.0	
12. 100.0	
13. 100.0	
14. 100.0	

Eigenvalue

1 0.07

2 0.10

Cumulative 1 of total

var 0.10

Cumulative 1 of common

variance

Analysis of Variance

(significance level)

One-Way

0.01-0.05

Zonal

Two-Way

0.01-0.05

Zonal

0.01-0.05

Zonal

Table 6. Rotated Factor Matrix for 1960
(14 variable factorial ecology of household characteristics)

VARIABLES	VALUE & AMENITIES	SIZE & OWNERSHIP	POPULATION	COMMUNALITY
1. % owner occupied	0.252	-0.920	0.137	0.928
2. % with 2 rooms or less	-0.196	0.829	0.371	0.863
3. Median size dwelling	0.384	-0.818	-0.373	0.956
4. % 1 person per dwelling	0.035	0.882	-0.002	0.779
5. % 6 persons or more per dwelling	-0.106	-0.640	0.702	0.914
6. Median persons per dwelling	0.436	-0.426	-0.667	0.817
7. % non-relatives & other relatives	-0.076	0.732	0.056	0.545
8. % with 1.01 or more persons per room	-0.180	0.107	0.881	0.820
9. % homes less than \$5,000	-0.883	-0.024	0.313	0.878
10. Median home value	0.951	-0.054	-0.203	0.949
11. Median contract rent	0.941	-0.132	-0.210	0.947
12. % 1 unit dwelling	-0.108	-0.705	0.080	0.514
13. % deteriorating housing	-0.841	0.214	-0.120	0.768
14. % lacking some plumbing	-0.719	-0.082	0.573	0.852
Eigenvalue	4.294	4.689	2.544	
% Common Variance	37.3	40.7	22.0	
% Total Variance	30.7	33.5	18.2	
Cumulative % of total variance	30.7	64.2	82.4	
Cumulative % of common variance	37.3	78.0	100.0	
Analysis of Variance (significance level)				
One-Way	0.02 Zonal			
Two-Way	0.01-0.05 Zonal	0.05-0.10 Zonal		
			Zonal Trend	

APPENDIX C. SUBDIMENSIONAL ASSOCIATION ANALYSES;

CANONICAL FACTOR STRUCTURE MATRICES

Table 1. Canonical Factor Structure Matrix
Family Condition/Economic Condition; 1970

VARIABLES	CANONICAL FACTORS		
	I	II	III
ECONOMIC			
1. Education/income	-0.007	-0.998	0.055
2. Occupation	0.789	0.028	0.614
3. Education	-0.615	0.048	0.787
FAMILY			
1. Size & demographic	-0.809	0.189	-0.557
2. Social disorganization	0.574	0.047	-0.817
3. Migration	-0.128	-0.981	-0.147
Canonical Correlation	0.659	0.417	0.080

Table 2. Canonical Factor Structure Matrix
Family Condition/Household Condition; 1970

VARIABLES	CANONICAL FACTORS		
	I	II	III
FAMILY			
1. Size - demographic	-0.947	-0.125	0.188
2. Social disorganization	0.216	-0.286	0.933
3. Migration	-0.063	0.950	0.306
HOUSEHOLD			
1. Population	-0.982	-0.167	-0.079
2. Value and amenities	0.146	-0.965	0.219
3. Size and ownership	-0.113	0.203	0.973
Canonical Correlation	0.970	0.909	0.712

Table 3. Canonical Factor Structure Matrix
Economic Condition/Household Condition; 1970

VARIABLES	CANONICAL FACTORS		
	I	II	III
ECONOMIC			
1. Education/income	-0.303	-0.908	0.290
2. Occupation	0.656	0.022	0.755
3. Education	-0.692	0.419	0.588
HOUSEHOLD			
1. Population	-0.799	0.596	0.081
2. Value and amenities	0.580	0.800	-0.152
3. Size and ownership	0.156	0.076	0.985
Canonical Correlation	0.657	0.246	0.012

Table 4. Canonical Factor Structure Matrix
Family Condition/Economic Condition; 1960

VARIABLES	CANONICAL FACTORS		
	I	II	III
FAMILY			
1. Social disorganization	-0.901	0.368	0.229
2. Migration	-0.295	-0.907	0.300
3. Size and age	0.319	0.203	0.926
ECONOMIC			
1. Basic Economic Status	0.900	0.024	0.436
2. Occupation	-0.382	0.529	0.758
3. Education	0.212	0.848	-0.485
Canonical Correlation	0.868	0.675	0.509

Table 5. Canonical Factor Structure Matrix
Family Condition/Household Condition; 1960

VARIABLES	CANONICAL FACTORS		
	I	II	III
FAMILY			
1. Family head	0.145	0.810	-0.569
2. Migration	0.770	0.269	0.579
3. Size and age	0.622	-0.522	-0.584
HOUSEHOLD			
1. Value and amenities	0.178	0.938	-0.296
2. Size and ownership	0.754	-0.324	-0.572
3. Population	-0.632	-0.122	-0.765
Canonical Correlation	0.962	0.886	0.516

Table 6. Canonical Factor Structure Matrix
Economic Condition/Household Condition; 1960

VARIABLES	CANONICAL FACTORS		
	I	II	III
ECONOMIC			
1. Basic economic status	-0.789	0.001	-0.614
2. Occupation	0.388	0.776	-0.497
3. Education	0.476	-0.630	-0.613
HOUSEHOLD			
1. Value and amenities	0.918	0.343	0.200
2. Size and ownership	0.088	0.316	-0.945
3. Population	0.387	-0.885	-0.259
Canonical Correlation	0.972	0.682	0.107

APPENDIX B. FACTORIAL CHANGE ANALYSES; ROTATED FACTOR MATRICES

Table 1. Rotated Factor Matrix for 1940-1950 Change Analysis
(8 variable factorial ecology)

VARIABLES	FAMILY STRUCTURE CHANGE	OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE CHANGE	SKILLED EMPLOYMENT CHANGE	COMMUNALITY
1. Dwellings with 1.01 or more per room	0.964	-0.017	0.260	0.997
2. Dwellings owner occupied	-0.668	-0.386	0.068	0.600
3. Median education	-0.901	0.161	-0.322	0.941
4. Population under 18	0.881	-0.095	-0.308	0.879
5. Population over 65	-0.334	-0.887	-0.136	0.916
6. Professionals and managers	-0.533	0.542	0.591	0.927
7. Craftsmen and operatives	0.164	-0.092	0.961	0.959
8. Household workers and laborers	0.246	-0.711	0.165	0.594
Eigenvalue	3.45	1.78	1.59	
% Common Variance	50.6	26.1	23.3	
% Total Variance	43.1	22.2	19.9	
Cumulative % of total variance	43.1	65.3	85.2	
Cumulative % of common variance	50.6	72.8	100.0	
Pattern of variation	- No discernible trend			

Table 2. Rotated Factor Matrix for 1950-1960 Change Analysis
(10 variable factorial ecology)

VARIABLES	FAMILY STRUCTURE CHANGE I	FAMILY STRUCTURE CHANGE II	ECONOMIC STATUS CHANGE
1. Families with income under \$1,999	-0.126	0.124	0.862
2. Median family income	0.541	0.428	-0.634
3. Dwelling with 1.01 or more per room	-0.837	0.216	-0.200
4. Median education	0.821	-0.082	-0.302
5. Husband-wife families	-0.098	0.868	-0.089
6. Population under 18	-0.827	0.045	0.373
7. Population over 65	0.180	-0.923	-0.126
8. Professionals and managers	0.195	-0.063	-0.195
9. Craftsmen and operatives	-0.147	-0.060	0.652
10. Laborers and house- hold workers	-0.091	-0.010	0.895
Eigenvalue	2.48	1.88	2.70
% Common Variance	29.2	22.0	31.6
% Total Variance	24.8	18.7	26.9
Cumulative % of total variance	24.8	43.5	70.4
Cumulative % of common variance	29.2	51.2	82.9
Pattern of variation	-	No discernible trend	

Table 2. (cont.)

	SKILLED EMPLOYMENT CHANGE	COMMUNALITY	ECONOMIC STATUS CHANGE	SKILLED EMPLOYMENT CHANGE	HOUSING OWNERSHIP CHANGE
1. Family with income under \$999	-0.020 0.193	0.775 0.915	-0.374 -0.091	-0.007 -0.097	-0.036 0.422
2. Median family income	-0.017	0.788	-0.091	-0.097	0.422
3. Families with 1. or more room	0.047	0.774	-0.136	-0.093	-0.113
4. Families owner occupied	-0.421 -0.134	0.948 0.843	-0.067 0.730	0.006 -0.048	-0.447 -0.109
5. Male education	-0.151	0.922	0.730	-0.048	-0.109
6. Households headed by married couples	0.936	0.956	0.467	-0.150	0.778
7. Population under	0.559	0.763	-0.032	-0.117	-0.064
8. Population over 65			-0.002	-0.217	0.092
9. Labor force - pro- fessionals & managers	-0.153	0.832	0.607	-0.113	0.013
10. Labor force - craftsmen & operatives	1.47 17.2		-0.142	0.008	0.067
11. Families with over \$3,000	14.6		0.087	-0.020	0.341
12. Labor force - household workers - laborers	85.1		-0.137	-0.156	-0.811
Eigen.	100.0		3.81	1.76	2.32
% Common Variance			37.1	16.8	23.5
% Total Variance			23.4	16.8	19.4
Cumulative % of total variance			21.4	27.6	37.3
Cumulative % of common variance			27.2	44.2	66.7
Analysis of Variance					
(significant level)					
One-Way			0.44	0.48	
			Total	Total	
Two-Way					
			Total	Total	Total
			Trend	Trend	Trend

Table 3. Rotated Factor Matrix for 1960-1970 Change Analysis
(12 variable factorial ecology)

VARIABLES	ECONOMIC STATUS CHANGE	SKILLED EMPLOYMENT CHANGE	HOUSING OWNERSHIP CHANGE
1. Families with income under \$1,999	-0.374	-0.007	-0.036
2. Median family income	-0.091	-0.097	0.422
3. Dwellings with 1.01 or more per room	-0.116	-0.693	-0.133
4. Dwellings owner occupied	-0.067	0.008	0.847
5. Median education	0.790	-0.048	0.106
6. Households headed by married couples	0.447	-0.150	0.778
7. Population under 18	-0.032	-0.117	-0.086
8. Population over 65	-0.609	-0.537	0.092
9. Labor force - profes- sionals & managers	0.809	-0.173	0.015
10. Labor force - craftsmen & operatives	-0.242	0.908	0.067
11. Families with over \$8,000	0.847	0.030	0.341
12. Labor force - household workers - laborers	-0.137	-0.258	-0.811
Eigenvalue	2.81	1.74	2.32
% Common Variance	27.3	16.9	22.5
% Total Variance	23.4	14.5	19.4
Cumulative % of total variance	23.4	37.9	57.3
Cumulative % of common variance	27.3	44.2	66.7
Analysis of Variance (significant level)			
One-Way	0.44	0.41	
	Zonal	Zonal	
Two-Way			
	Zonal Trend	Zonal Trend	No Trend

Table 3. (cont.)

INCOME CHANGE	FAMILY STRUCTURE CHANGE	COMMUNALITY
-0.878	0.185	0.947
0.830	0.816	0.920
-0.179	0.599	0.902
0.147	-0.399	0.902
-0.071	0.151	0.665
0.031	-0.003	0.827
0.051	0.918	0.867
-0.416	-0.027	0.842
0.176	-0.321	0.819
-0.206	-0.078	0.936
0.227	-0.070	0.891
-0.174	-0.080	0.781
1.85	1.57	
18.0	15.3	
15.4	13.1	
72.7	85.8	
84.7	100.0	

No
Trend

Zonal
Trend

APPENDIX E. RELATIVE STATUS AND CHANGE OF BLACK COMMUNITY NEIGHBORHOODS; 1940-1970*

Table 1. 1940-1950 Relative Status and Change

		Dwellings with 1.01 or more per room	Dwellings Owner Occupied	Median Education	Population Under 18
Inner Core Neighborhoods					
	38	VH-M	L-L	M-M	M-L
	29	M-M	H-M	M-M	H-M
Inner Suburbs					
	30	M-L	M-L	H-H	M-VL
	27	VL-L	H-M	VH-H	M-VL
River Neighborhoods					
	37	M-VH	L-VL	L-VL	M-H
	40	M-H	M-M	VL-VL	M-M
	35	M-M	M-M	M-M	M-M
	57	VH-VH	VH-H	VL-VL	VH-VH
Servant Suburb					
	17	VL-	VL-	VH-	VL-
Newer Outer Neighborhoods in 1950					
	28	M	VH	VH	M
	13	VL	VH	H	H

*Explanation: First symbol indicates status of appropriate neighborhood for the earlier time period while the second symbol indicates status for the later time period.

VL - Very low H - High
L - Low VH - Very high
M - Moderate

Table 1. (cont.)

Table 2. 1950-1960 Relative Status and Change

Population Over 65	Professionals and Managers	Craftsmen and Operatives	Median Family Income	Housing with 1.01 or more per room	Median Education
Inner Core Neighborhoods					
M-H	M-M	VL-VL	1-4	7-9	M-M
H-M	M-M	L-L	1-2	5-6	H-L
Inner Suburbs					
M-H	H-M	L-VL	2-3	1-4	H-M
VL-M	VH-H	L-M	2-3	2-3	H-M
Outer Suburbs					
H-M	VH-M	VH-VH	4-5	5-6	H-M
VH-M	L-VL	M-M	4-5	5-6	H-M
H-VH	M-L	VH-H	4-5	5-6	H-M
M-M	L-L	M-M	4-5	5-6	H-M
Outer Core					
VL-	VL-	M	4-5	5-6	H-M
Far Suburbs					
VL	H	M	4-5	5-6	H-M
VL	VH	VH	4-5	5-6	H-M

Table 2. 1950-1960 Relative Status and Change

Husband-wife Families	Population Under 18	Families with income under \$1,999	Median Family Income	Dwellings with 1.01 or more per room	Median Education
Inner Core Neighborhoods					
38		M-M	L-L	M-L	M-M
29		H-VH	L-L	M-M	M-L
Inner Suburbs					
30		M-VH	M-L	L-M	H-M
27		M-H	M-M	L-L	H-M
28		VL-VH	VH-M	M-M	VH-H
Outer Suburbs					
13		VL-VL	VH-VH	VL-VL	H-H
River Neighborhoods					
37		VH-H	VL-	VH-VH	VL-VL
40		VH-VH	L-	H-VL	VL-L
35		M-M	M-	M-H	M-M
57		M-M	M-	VH-VH	VL-VL
Newer Outer Neighborhoods in 1960					
26		H	L	M	M
14		VL	VH	L	VH
61		VL	VH	M	VH
79		VL	VH	VH	H
88		VH	VL	M	L
89		H	L	H	VL

Table 2. (cont.)

Husband-wife Families	Population Under 18	Population Over 65	Professionals and Managers	Craftsmen and Operatives
VL-VL L-VL	L-VL M-L	H-VH M-VH	M-L M-M	VL-L L-L
L-L M-M VH-M	VL-VL VL-VL M-M	H-M M-M VL-L	M-H H-M H-M	VL-VL M-L M-M
VH-VH	H-M	VL-VL	VH-VH	VH-M
VL-L VH-M M-M H-L	H-VL M-M M-M VH-VH	M-M M-VH VH-H M-M	M-M VL-M L-M L-	VH-VL M-L H-VH M-VH
M VH VH VH M L	H M L VH H VH	L L VL VL VH VH	L VH VH M M VL	H M M M VH H

Table 3. 1960-1970 Relative Status and Change

	Families with Income Under \$1,999	Median Family Income	Dwelling Owner Occupied
Inner Core Neighborhoods			
38	M-VH	L-L	VL-VL
29	H-VH	L-M	L-L
30	VH-VH	L-L	VL-VL
Inner Suburbs			
26	H-H	L-VL	VL-VL
27	H-H	M-L	M-M
28	VH-M	M-M	M-M
Intermediate Inner Suburbs			
13	VL-L	VH-H	VH-M
14	VL-M	VH-M	H-M
79	VL-M	VH-H	VH-H
61	VL-VL	VH-VH	VH-H
Green Pastures			
88	VH-M	VL-M	VH-H
89	H-M	L-L	VH-H
River Neighborhoods			
35	M-	M-	L-
37	H-	M-	VL-
40	VH-	L-	L-
57	M-	M-	M-
New Census Tracts			
15	M	M	L
4	M	M	M
5	M	H	M
52	VL	VH	VH
62	VL	VH	VH
83.01	VL	VH	VH
73	VH	L	VL

Table 3. (cont.)

Median Education	Families with Income Over \$8,000	Dwellings with 1.01 or more per room	Married Couples	Population Under 18
M-VL L-L M-M	M-L M-L L-L	L-VL M-L M-L	VL-VL VL-VL L-L	VL-VL L-VL VL-L
M-M M-M H-M	M-L M-L M-M	M-M L-L M-L	M-L M-M M-M	H-M VL-VL M-L
H-M VH-M H-M VH-H	VH-H H-M VH-M VH-VH	VL-L L-M VH-H M-M	VH-M VH-M VH-H VH-H	M-M M-M VH-M L-M
L-L VL-VL	H-M M-L	M-VH M-M	M-M M-H	H-M H-H
M- VL- L- VL-	L- L- L- VL-	H VH VL VH	M L M L	M VL M VH
M H H H VH VH VH M	M M H VH VH H L	L M M M L M VH	M M H VH VH VH VL	L H H M M VH VH

Table 3. (cont.)

Population Over 65	Professionals Managers	Craftsmen Operatives
-----------------------	---------------------------	-------------------------

VH-VH	L-L	L-VH
VH-VH	M-M	L-VL
M-H	H-M	VL-M

L-M	L-M	H-VH
M-VH	M-M	L-L
L-M	M-L	M-M

VL-M	VH-M	M-M
L-M	VH-M	M-M
VL-M	M-M	M-H
VL-M	VH-VH	M-L

VH-VH	M-M	VH-H
VH-M	M-VL	VH-M
VH-M	VL-L	H-VL

H	M	VH
M	M	VL
VH	M	L
M	VL	VH

M	H	H
L	M	H
L	M	M
L	M	H
VL	VH	H
VL	H	H
L	VL	VL

*Books, periodicals, unpublished works, and special studies, reports, and plans are given in alphabetical order by author's surname while newspaper accounts, directories, and government sources are given in chronological order by publication date.

BIBLIOGRAPHY*

Books

- Alihan, Milla A. Social Ecology. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938.
- Allen, Francis R. Socio-Cultural Dynamics: An Introduction to Social Change. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1971.
- Anderson, Martin. The Federal Bulldozer. Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1964.
- Anderson, Nels. "Aspects of Urbanism and Urbanization." In Urbanism and Urbanization, pp. 1-6. Edited by Nels Anderson. Leiden, Netherlands: E. F. Brill, 1964.
- Banks, Roger W. "Between the Tracks and the Freeway: The Negro in Albuquerque." In Minorities and Politics, pp. 113-132. Edited by Charles E. Woodhouse and Henry J. Tobias. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1969.
- Bartholomew, H. Land Uses in American Cities. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955.
- Berry, Brian J. L., and Horton, Frank E. Geographic Perspectives on Urban Systems. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970.
- _____, and Tennant, Robert J. Commercial Structure. Chicago: Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission, 1965.
- Bertrand, Alvin L. Basic Sociology. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1973.
- Beyer, Glenn H. Housing: A Factual Analysis. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1958.
- Blalock, Hubert M., Jr. Social Statistics. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1972.

*Books, periodicals, unpublished works, and special studies, reports, and plans are given in alphabetical order by author's surname while newspaper accounts, directories, and government sources are given in chronological order by publication date.

- Blaustein, Albert P., and Znambrando, Robert L., eds. Civil Rights and the Black American. New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1968.
- Boyce, Ronald. The Bases of Economic Geography. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1974.
- Burgess, E. W. "The Growth of the City: An Introduction to a Research Project." In The City, pp. 47-62. Edited by R. E. Park, E. W. Burgess, and Roderick D. McKenzie. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1925.
- Buttimer, Anne. "Social Geography." In International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, pp. 134-145. Edited by David Sills. 1968.
- Campbell, Angus. White Attitudes Toward Black People. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1971.
- _____, and Schumann, Howard. "Racial Attitudes in Fifteen American Cities." In Supplemental Studies for the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968.
- Carter, Harold. The Study of Urban Geography. London: Edward Arnold Limited, 1972.
- Champion, Dean J. Basic Statistics for Social Research. Scranton, Pennsylvania: Chandler Publishing Co., 1970.
- Chapin, F. Stuart, Jr. Urban Land Use Planning. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972.
- _____, and Shirley F. Weiss. Factors Influencing Land Development. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, 1962.
- Chombart de Lauwe, P. H. Paris et l'agglomération parisienne. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1952.
- Christian, Charles M. Social Areas and Spatial Change in the Black Community of Chicago: 1950-1960, Geography Graduate Student Paper No. 2. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois, 1972.
- Clark, Kenneth. Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1965.
- Climard, Marshall B. Slums and Community Development. New York: The Free Press, 1966.
- Converse, Philip E. "Survey Research and the Decoding of Patterns in Ecological Data." In Quantitative Ecological Analysis in the Social Sciences, pp. 459-486. Edited by Mattei Dogan and Stein Rokkan. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1969.

- Coombs, Norman. The Black Experience in America. New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1972.
- Daniels, Jack. In Freedom's Birthplace; A Study of the Boston Negroes. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1914.
- Davis, George, and Donaldson, O. Fred. Blacks in the United States: A Geographic Prespective. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1975.
- Davis, John P., ed. The American Negro Reference Book. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966.
- Dixon, William J., ed. BMD: Biomedical Computer Programs. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.
- Downie, N. M., and Heath, R. W. Basic Statistical Methods. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1974.
- Drake, St. Clair and Cayton, Horace R. Black Metropolis. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1945.
- DuBois, W. E. B. Dusk of Dawn. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1940.
- _____. The Philadelphia Negro. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1899.
- Duncan, Otis D., and Duncan, Beverly. The Negro Population of Chicago. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957.
- Firey, Walter. Land Use in Central Boston. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947.
- Foote, Nelson N. Housing Choices and Housing Constraints. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1960.
- Foner, Eric. America's Black Past: A Reader in Afro-American History. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1970.
- Forman, R. Black Ghettoes, White Ghettoes, and Slums. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971.
- Franklin, John H., and Stan, Isidore. The Negro in Twentieth Century America: A Reader on the Struggle for Civil Rights. New York: Vintage Books, 1967.
- Frazier, E. Franklin. Black Bourgeoisie. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1957.
- _____. The Negro in the United States. Toronto: The Macmillan Company, 1957.

- Frieden, Bernard. "Blacks in Suburbia: The Myth of Better Opportunities." In Minority Perspectives. Edited by Lowdon Wingo. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1972.
- _____, and Morris, Robert, eds. Urban Planning and Social Policy. New York: Basic Books, 1968.
- Furstenberg, George M. von; Harrison, Bennett; and Harowitz, Ann R. Patterns of Racial Discrimination, Volume I: Housing. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1974.
- _____. Patterns of Racial Discrimination, Volume II: Employment and Income. Lexington Books, 1974.
- Fusfeld, Daniel R. The Basic Economics of the Urban Racial Crisis. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1973.
- Gist, Noel P., and Halbert, L. A. Urban Society. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1956.
- Grant, Robert B. The Black Man Comes to the City. Chicago: Nelson-Hall Company, 1972.
- Greenberg, Jack. Race Relations and American Law. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959.
- Greer, Scott. Urban Renewal and American Cities. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1965.
- Grigsby, William G. Housing Markets and Public Policy. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963.
- Hadden, Jeffrey K., and Borgatta, Edgar F. American Cities: Their Social Characteristics. Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1965.
- Halebsky, Sandor, ed. The Sociology of the City. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973.
- Haring, L. Lloyd, and Lounsbury, John F. Introduction to Scientific Geographic Research. Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Co., 1971.
- Hartman, Chester W. Housing and Social Policy. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1975.
- Harvey, David. "Revolutionary and Counter-Revolutionary Theory in Geography and the Problem of Ghetto Formation." In Perspectives in Geography 2: Geography of the Ghetto: Perceptions, Problems, and Alternatives, pp. 1-26. Edited by Harold M. Rose. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1972.
- _____. Social Justice and the City. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1973.

- Hauser, Philip M. "Urbanization: An Overview." In The Study of Urbanization, pp. 1-48. Edited by Philip M. Hauser and Leo F. Schnore. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965.
- Hawley, Amos. Human Ecology: A Theory of Community Structure. New York: Ronald Press, 1950.
- Heiss, Jerold. The Case of the Black Family: A Sociological Inquiry. New York: Columbia University Press, 1975.
- Helper, Rose. Racial Policies and Practices of Real Estate Brokers. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1969.
- Henryson, S. Applicability of Factor Analysis in the Behavioral Sciences. Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksells, 1957.
- Herbert, David T. "Principal Components Analysis and Urban-Social Structure: A Study of Cardiff and Swansea." In Urban Essays: Studies in The Geography of Wales, pp. 70-100. Edited by Harold Carter and W. K. D. Davies. London: Longmans, 1970.
- _____. Urban Geography: A Social Perspective. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973.
- House, Peter. The Urban Environmental System, Modeling for Research Policy-Making and Education. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1973.
- Hoyt, Homer. The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1939.
- Hurd, R. M. Principles of City Land Values. New York: The Record and Guride, 1924.
- Isard, Walter. Location and Space Economy. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1956.
- Jackson, J. A. Social Stratification. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968.
- Janson, Carl-Gunnar. "Some Problems of Ecological Factor Analysis." In Quantitative Ecological Analysis in the Social Science, pp. 301-341. Edited by Mattei Dogan and Stein Rokkan. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1969.
- Johnson, Charles S. Patterns of Negro Segregation. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1943.
- Johnson, H. M. Sociology; A Systematic Introduction. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1960.
- Johnston, R. J. "Introduction: The Study of Urbanization." In Urbanization in New Zealand, pp. 3-14. Edited by R. J. Johnston. London: Reed Education, 1973.

- _____. "Neighborhood Patterns Within Urban Areas." In Urbanization in New Zealand, pp. 204-227. Edited by R. J. Johnston. London: Reed Education, 1973.
- Jones, E. A. A Social Geography of Belfast. London: Oxford University Press, 1960.
- Kennedy, Robert F. "Policies to Combat Negro Poverty." In Goals for Urban America. Edited by Brian J. L. Berry and Jack Meltzer. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967.
- Kerr, W. F., and Gainer, Ina. The Story of Oklahoma City. Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1922.
- Kinloch, Graham C. The Dynamics of Race Relations: A Sociological Analysis. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1974.
- King, Leslie J. Statistical Analysis in Geography. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969.
- Kolstoe, Ralph H. Introduction to Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences. Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1973.
- Konvitz, Milton R. Bill of Rights Reader. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1968.
- Kusmer, Kenneth L. A Ghetto Takes Shape: Black Cleveland, 1870-1930. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976.
- Lampard, Eric E. "Historical Aspects of Urbanization." In The Study of Urbanization, pp. 519-554. Edited by Philip M. Hauser and Leo F. Schnore. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965.
- Lauer, Robert H. Perspectives on Social Change. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1973.
- Liebertson, Stanley. Ethnic Patterns in American Cities. New York: The Free Press, 1963.
- Lindblom, Charles. The Policy-Making Process. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1968.
- Lindbloom, Carl G., and Farrah, Morton. The Citizen's Guide to Urban Renewal. West Trenton, New Jersey: Chandler-Davis Publishing Co., 1968.
- Lofland, John. Analyzing Social Settings: A Guide to Qualitative Observations and Analysis. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1971.
- Losch, August. The Economics of Location. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954.

- Lowry, Ira S. A Model of Metropolis. Santa Monica, California: The Rand Corporation, 1964.
- Lynch, Hollis R. The Black Urban Condition. New York: Thomas T. Crowell Co., 1973.
- Mabogunje, A. L. Urbanization in Nigeria. London: University of London Press, 1968.
- Mack, Raymond W. Race, Class, and Power. New York: American Book Company, 1963.
- Martin, Leslie and March, Lionel. Urban Space and Structures. London: Cambridge University Press, 1972.
- McElrath, Dennis C. "Societal Scale and Social Differentiation." In The New Urbanization, pp. 33-52. Edited by Scott Greer, Dennis C. McElrath, and Peter Orleans. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1968.
- McEntire, Davis. Residence and Race. Berkely: University of California Press, 1960.
- Meadows, Paul, and Mizruchi, Ephraim. Urbanism, Urbanization, and Change: Comparative Perspectives. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969.
- Meier, Richard. A Communication Theory of Urban Growth. Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1962.
- Meir, August, and Rudwick, Elliott M. From Plantation to Ghetto. New York: Hill and Wang, 1966.
- Merton, Robert. Social Theory and Social Structure. New York: The Free Press, 1957.
- Meyer, David R. Spatial Variation of Black Urban Households, Research Paper No. 129. University of Chicago, Department of Geography, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970.
- Miller, S. M., and Reissman, Frank. Social Class and Social Policy. New York: Basic Books, 1968.
- Moynihan, Daniel P. "Employment, Income, and the Ordeal of the Negro Family." In The Negro American, pp. 134-159. Edited by Talcott Parsons and Kenneth B. Clark. Boston: Beacon Press, 1967.
- Muraskin, William A. Middle-Class Blacks in a White Society. Berkely: University of California Press, 1975.
- Murdie, Robert A. Factorial Ecology of Metropolitan Toronto, 1951-1961. University of Chicago, Department of Geography, Research Paper No. 116, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.

- Musil, F. "The Development of Prague's Ecological Structure." In Readings in Urban Sociology, pp. 232-259. Edited by R. E. Pahl. New York: Pergamon Press, 1968.
- Muth, Richard F. Cities and Housing. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969.
- Myrdal, Gunnar. An American Dilemma. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishing, 1962.
- _____. Rich Lands and Poor. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1957.
- National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. Report of the National Commission on Civil Disorders. New York: Bantam, 1968.
- Nelson, Lowry; Ramsey, Charles E.; and Verner, Coolie. Community Structure and Change. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1960.
- Nourse, Hugh O., ed. The Effect of Public Policy on Housing Markets. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1973.
- Pahl, R. E. "Sociological Models in Geography." In Models in Geography, pp. 217-242. Edited by Richard J. Chorley and Peter Haggett. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1967.
- Paine, Frank T. Strategy & Policy Formation: An Integrative Approach. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1974.
- Park, Robert E. Human Communities. New York, 1952.
- Pendleton, William W. "Blacks in Suburbs." In The Urbanization of Suburbs, pp. 171-184. Edited by Louis H. Masotti and Jeffrey Hadden. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1973.
- Pinkney, Alphonso. Black Americans. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969.
- Poplin, Dennis C. Communities: A Survey of Theories and Methods of Research. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1972.
- Rainwater, Lee. Behind Ghetto Walls: Black Families in a Federal Slum. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1970.
- Rapkin, Chester and Grigsby, William G. The Demand for Housing in Racially Mixed Areas. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960.
- Rees, Philip H. "Concepts of Social Space." In Geographic Perspectives on Urban Systems, pp. 306-394. Edited by B. J. L. Berry and F. E. Horton. Englewood, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970.
- _____. "The Factorial Ecology of Metropolitan Chicago." In Geographic Perspectives on Urban Systems, pp. 319-385. Edited by B. J. L. Berry and F. E. Horton. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970.

- Robson, B. T. Urban Analysis: A Study of City Structure with Special Reference to Sunderland. London: Cambridge University Press, 1969.
- Rose, Harold M. Black Suburbanization: Access to Improved Quality of Life or Maintenance of the Status Quo? Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1976.
- _____. The Black Ghetto: A Spatial Behavioral Perspective. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1971.
- Roseman, Curtis C.; Christian, Charles M.; and Bullamore, Henry W. "Factorial Ecologies of Urban Black Communities." In Perspectives in Geography 2: Geography of the Ghetto: Perceptions, Problems, and Alternatives, pp. 239-256. Edited by Harold M. Rose. DeKalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 1972.
- Ross, Arthur. "The Negro in the American Economy." In Employment, Race, and Poverty. Edited by Arthur Ross and Herbert Hill. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1967.
- Rossi, Peter. Why Families Move. New York: The Free Press, 1955.
- _____. et al. "Between White and Black: The Facts of American Institutions in the Ghetto." In Supplemental Studies for the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office.
- Rummel, Rudolph J. Applied Factor Analysis. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1970.
- Sanders, Irwin R. The Community: An Introduction to a Social System. New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1966.
- Schmid, Calvin F. "Research Techniques in Human Ecology." In Scientific Social Surveys and Research, pp. 429-462. Edited by Pauline V. Young. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956.
- Schnore, Leo F. "On the Spatial Structure of the City." In The Study of Urbanization, pp. 347-398. Edited by Philip Hauser and Leo Schnore. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965.
- _____. The Urban Scene: Human Ecology and Demography. New York: The Free Press, 1965.
- _____, and Fagin, Henry. Urban Research and Policy Planning. Vol. I, Urban Affairs Annual Reviews, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1967.
- Scott, Angelo C. The Story of Oklahoma City. Oklahoma City: Times-Journal Publishing Co., 1936.
- Sherif, Muzafer and Sherif, Carolyn W. Groups in Harmony and Tension: An Integration of Studies on Intergroup Relations. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1953.

- Shevky, Eshref, and Williams, Marilyn. The Social Areas of Los Angeles. Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1949.
- _____, and Bell, Wendell. Social Area Analysis. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1955.
- Shirk, Lucyl. Oklahoma City; Capitol of Soonerland. Oklahoma City: Oklahoma City Board of Education, 1957.
- Smith, Wallace F. "Filtering and Neighborhood Change." In Internal Structure of the City, pp. 170-179. Edited by Larry S. Bourne. London: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- Spear, Allen H. Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto, 1890-1920. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967.
- Stimson, R. J. "The Social Structure of Large Cities." In Urbanization in Australia, pp. 147-164. Edited by J. H. Burnley. London: Cambridge University Press, 1974.
- Sweetser, Frank L. "Ecological Factors in Metropolitan Zones and Sectors." In Quantitative Ecological Analysis in the Social Sciences, pp. 413-456. Edited by Mattei Dogan and Stein Rokkan. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1969.
- _____. The Social Ecology of Metropolitan Boston: 1950. Boston: Massachusetts Department of Mental Health, 1961.
- _____. The Social Ecology of Metropolitan Boston: 1960. Boston: Massachusetts Department of Mental Health, 1962.
- _____. Patterns of Change in the Social Ecology of Metropolitan Boston, 1950-1960. Boston: Massachusetts Department of Mental Health, 1962.
- Taaffe, Edward; Garner, B. J.; and Yeates, M. H. The Peripheral Journey to Work. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1963.
- Tabb, William K. The Political Economy of the Black Ghetto. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1970.
- Taeuber, Karl E., and Taeuber, Alma F. Negroes in Cities. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965.
- Teall, Kaye M. Black History in Oklahoma: A Resource Book. Oklahoma City: Oklahoma City Public Schools, 1971.
- Timms, Duncan. The Urban Mosaic: Towards a Theory of Residential Differentiation. London: Cambridge University Press, 1971.
- Tobin, James. "Improving the Economic Status of the Negro." In The American Negro. Edited by Talcott Parsons and Kenneth B. Clark. Boston: Beacon Press, 1967.

- Tryon, Robert C. Identification of Social Areas by Cluster Analysis: A General Method with an Application to the San Francisco Bay Region. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955.
- Tumin, Melvin M., ed. Readings on Social Stratification. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970.
- Weaver, Robert C. The Urban Complex: Human Values in Urban Life. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1964.
- Webber, Melvin M. "The Urban Place and the Nonplace Urban Realm." In Explorations in Urban Structure. Edited by Melvin M. Webber. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964.
- Weinstien, Allen and, Gatell, Frank, eds. The Segregation Era, 1863-1954. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.
- Wilhelm, Sidney. Urban Zoning and Land Use Theory. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962.
- Williams, Robin M. Jr. Strangers Next Door. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Publishers, 1964.
- Wingo, Lowden Jr. Transportation and Urban Land. Washington, D. C.: Resources for the Future, Inc., 1961.
- Woodhouse, Charles E. "Minorities and Politics: An Introduction." In Minorities and Politics, pp. 1-18. Edited by Charles E. Woodhouse and Henry J. Tobias. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1969.
- Woodward, C. Vann. The Strange Career of Jim Crow. New York: Oxford University Press, 1966.
- Yeates, Maurice. An Introduction to Quantitative Analysis in Human Geography. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1974.
- _____, and Garner, Barry. The North American City. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1971.
- Young, Pauline V. Scientific Social Surveys and Research. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956.

Periodicals

- Abu-Lughod, Janet L. "Testing the Theory of Social Area Analysis: The Ecology of Cairo, Egypt." American Sociological Review, 34, No. 2 (April, 1969), 198-212.
- Aiken, Michael, and Alford, Robert R. "Community Structure and Innovation: The Case of Urban Renewal." American Sociological Review, XXXV, No. 4 (August, 1970), 650-664.

- Aldrich, Howard. "Ecological Succession in Racially Changing Neighborhoods." Urban Affairs Quarterly, 10, No. 3 (March, 1975), 327-348.
- Alonzo, William. "The Historic and the Structural Theories of Urban Form: Their Implications for Urban Renewal." Land Economics, XL, No. 2 (May, 1964), 227-231.
- Anderson, Theodore R. and Egeland, Janice A. "Spatial Aspects of Social Area Analysis." American Sociological Review, 26, No. 3 (June, 1961), 392-398.
- _____, and Bean, L. L. "The Shevky-Bell Social Areas: Confirmation of Results and a Re-Interpretation." Social Forces, 40, No. 2 (December, 1961), 119-124.
- Bailey, Martin J. "Effects of Race and Other Demographic Factors on the Values of Single-Family Homes." Land Economics, 42, No. 1 (February, 1966), 215-220.
- _____. "Note on the Economics of Residential Zoning and Urban Renewal." Land Economics, 35, No. 3 (August, 1959), 288-292.
- Beckham, Barry. "Factors Influencing Fertility Among Urban Negroes." Social Science, 45, No. 3 (June, 1970), 170-171.
- Bennett, Don C. "Segregation and Racial Interaction." Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 63, No. 1 (March, 1973), 48-57.
- Berry, Brian J. L. "Internal Structure of the City." Law and Contemporary Problems, 30, No. 1 (Winter, 1965), 111-119.
- _____. "Introduction: The Logic and Limitations of Comparative Factorial Ecology." Economic Geography, 47, (1971), 209-219.
- _____, and Rees, Philip H. "The Factorial Ecology of Calcutta." American Journal of Sociology, 74, No. 5 (March, 1969), 445-491.
- Birdsall, Stephen S. "Introduction to Research on Black America: Prospects and Preview." Southeastern Geographer, XI, No. 2 (November, 1971), 85-89.
- Blauner, Robert. "Internal Colonialism and Ghetto Revolt." Social Problems, 16, No. 4 (Spring, 1969), 393-408.
- Blood, Robert O., Jr. "School Integration and Occupational Achievement of Negroes." American Journal of Sociology, 75, No. 4 (January, 1970), 593-606.
- Blumberg, Leonard. "Little Ghettos: A Study of Negroes in the Suburbs." Phylon, XXVII, No. 2 (Summer, 1966), 117-131.
- Blumenfeld, Hans. "Tidal Wave of Metropolitan Expansion." Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 20 (1954), 3-14.

- Borchert, J. R. "American Metropolitan Evolution." Geographical Review, 57, No. 3 (July, 1967), 301-323.
- Brown, Lawrence A., and Holmes, John. "Intra-Urban Migrant Lifelines: A Spatial View." Demography, 8, No. 1 (February, 1971), 103-122.
- Brown, Lawrence E., and Horton, F. E. "Social Area Change: An Empirical Analysis." Urban Studies, 7, No. 3 (October, 1970), 271-288.
- Brunn, Stanley and Hoffman, Wayne. "The Spatial Response of Negroes and Whites Toward Open Housing: The Flint Referendum." Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 60, No. 1 (March, 1970), 18-36.
- Buttimer, Anne. "Social Space in Interdisciplinary Perspective." Geographical Review, 59, No. 3 (February, 1969), 417-426.
- Calef, Wesley C., and Nelson, Howard J. "Distribution of Negro Population in the United States." Geographical Review, XLVI, No. 1 (January, 1956), 82-97.
- Caplan, Eleanor K., and Wolf, Eleanor P. "Factors Affecting Racial Change in Two Middle Income Housing Areas," Phylon, XXI, No. 3 (Fall, 1960), 225-233.
- Carey, George W. "The Regional Interpretation of Manhattan Population and Housing Patterns through Factor Analysis." The Geographical Review, LVI, No. 4 (October, 1966), 551-569.
- _____. "Density, Crowding, Stress, and the Ghetto." American Behaviorist, 15, No. 4 (March-April, 1972), 495-510.
- Carter, Wilmoth A. "Negro Main Street as a Symbol of Discrimination." Phylon, XXL, No. 3 (Fall, 1960), 234-239.
- Clark, Colin. "Urban Population Densities." Journal of Royal Statistical Society, Serial A, 114, No. 4 (1951), 490-496.
- Clemence, Theodore G. "Residential Segregation in the Mid-Sixties." Demography, 4, No. 2 (1967), 562-568.
- Cloward, Richard A., and Piven, Francis F. "Ghetto Redevelopment: Corporate Imperialism for the Poor." The Nation, 205, No. 12 (October, 1967), 365-367.
- Colby, Charles. "Centrifugal and Centripetal Forces in Urban Geography." Annals of the Association of American Geographers, XXXIII, No. 1 (March, 1933), 1-21.
- Connolly, Harold. "Black Movement into the Suburbs." Urban Affairs Quarterly, 9, No. 1 (September, 1973), 91-111.
- Cottingham, Phoebe H. "Black Income and Metropolitan Residential Dispersion." Urban Affairs Quarterly, 10, No. 3 (March, 1975), 273-296.

- Crain, Robert L. "School Integration and Occupational Achievement of Negroes." American Journal of Sociology, 75, No. 4 (January, 1970), 593-606.
- Davies, Shane and Huff, David. "Impact of Ghettoization on Black Employment." Economic Geography, 48, No. 4 (October, 1972), 421-427.
- _____, and Fowler, Gary L. "The Disadvantaged Black Female Household Head: Migrants to Indianapolis." Southeastern Geographer, XI, No. 2 (November, 1971), 113-120.
- Davis, Otis A., and Whinston. "The Economics of Urban Renewal." Law and Contemporary Problems, 26, No. 4 (Winter, 1961).
- Dawson, A. H. "Warsaw: An Example of City Structure in Free Market and Planned Socialist Environments." Tijdschrift voor Economische en Social Geographie, 62, No. 2 (April, 1971), 104-113.
- Deskins, Donald R., Jr. "Race as an Element in the Intra-City Regionalization of Atlanta's Population." Southeastern Geographer, XI, No. 2 (November, 1971), 90-100.
- _____. "Interaction Patterns and the Spatial Form of the Ghetto." Special Publication No. 3, Department of Geography, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, 1969.
- _____. "Race, Residence, and Workplace in Detroit, 1880 to 1965." Economic Geography, 48, No. 1 (January, 1972), 79-94.
- Donaldson, O. Fred. "The Geography of Black America: Three Approaches." Journal of Geography, LXXI, No. 7 (October, 1972), 414-420.
- Downs, Anthony. "Alternative Futures for the American Ghetto." Daedalus, 97, No. 4 (Fall, 1968), 1331-1378.
- Dudas, John J., and Longbrake, David B. "Problems and Future Directions of Residential Integration: The Local Application of Federally Funded Programs in Dade County, Florida." Southeastern Geographer, XI, No. 2 (November, 1971), 157-.
- Duncan, Beverly, and Duncan, Otis D. "The Measurement of Intra-City Locational and Residential Patterns." Journal of Regional Science, 2, No. 2 (Fall, 1960), 37-54.
- Duncan, Otis D., and Duncan, Beverly. "Residential Distribution and Occupational Stratification." American Journal of Sociology, LX, No. 5 (March, 1955), 493-503.
- Edwards, Ozzie. "Patterns of Residential Segregation Within a Metropolitan Ghetto." Demography, 7, No. 2 (May, 1970), 185-192.
- Eyles, J. D. "Social Theory and Social Geography." Progress in Geography, Vol. 6 (1974), 27-88.

- Farley, Reynolds. "Fertility Among Urban Blacks." Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, XLVIII, No. 2 (April, 1970), 183-206.
- _____. "The Changing Distribution of Negroes within Metropolitan Areas: The Emergence of Black Suburbs." American Journal of Sociology, 75, No. 4 (January, 1970), 512-529.
- _____, and Hermalin, Albert I. "Family Stability: A Comparison of Trends Between Blacks and Whites." American Sociological Review, 36, No. 1 (February, 1971), 1-17.
- Ford, Richard G. "Population Succession in Chicago." American Journal of Sociology, LVI, No. 2 (September, 1950), 156-160.
- Form, William H. "The Place of Social Structure in the Determination of Land Use: Some Implications for a Theory of Urban Ecology." Social Forces, 32, No. 4 (May, 1954), 317-323.
- Frazier, E. Franklin. "Negro Harlem: An Ecological Study." American Journal of Sociology, XLIII, No. 1 (July, 1937), 72-88.
- Gans, Herbert J. "The Failure of Urban Renewal." Commentary, 40, No. 1 (July, 1965), 72-80.
- Gauthier, H. L. "Transportation and the Growth of the Sao Paulo Economy." Journal of Regional Science, 8, No. 1 (Summer, 1968), 77-94.
- Gittus, Elizabeth. "The Structure of Urban Areas." Town Planning Review (April, 1964), 5-20.
- Glenn, Norval. "Negro Prestige Criteria: A Case Study in the Bases of Prestige." American Journal of Sociology, LXVIII, No. 6 (May, 1963), 645-657.
- Glick, Paul C. "The Life Cycle of the Family." Marriage and Family Living, XVII, No. 1 (February, 1955), 3-9.
- _____. "Marriage and Marital Stability among Blacks." Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, XLVIII, No. 2 (April, 1970), 99-116.
- _____, and Parke, Robert, Jr. "New Approaches in Studying the Life Cycle of the Family." Demography, 2, No. 1 (1965), 187-202.
- Goldstein, Sidney. "City Directories as Sources of Migration Data." American Journal of Sociology, LX, No. 2 (September, 1954), 167-176.
- _____, and Mayer, Kurt. "The Impact of Migration in the Socio-Economic Structure of Cities and Suburbs." Sociology and Social Research, 50, No. 1 (October, 1965), 5-23.
- Gosnell, H., and Schmidt, M. "Factorial and Correlational Analysis of the 1934 Vote in Chicago." Journal of the American Statistical Association, 31 (1936), 507-518.

- Grier, George, and Grier, Eunice. "Obstacles to Desegregation in America's Urban Areas." Race, VI, No. 1 (July, 1964), 3-17.
- Gronholm, L. "The Ecology of Social Disorganization in Helsinki." Acta Sociologica, 5, No. 1 (1960), 31-41.
- Guest, Avery M. "Patterns of Family Location." Demography, 9, No. 1 (February, 1972), 159-171.
- Guttenberg, Albert Z. "Urban Structure and Urban Growth." Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 26, No. 3 (May, 1960), 104-110.
- Harris, Chauncy, and Ullman, Edward. "The Nature of Cities." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 242 (1945), 7-17.
- Harries, Keith D. "An Inter-Ethnic Analysis of Retail and Service Functions in Los Angeles County, California." Proceedings of the Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 2 (1970), 62-67.
- Harrison, Bennett. "Education and Underemployment in the Urban Ghetto." American Economic Review, 62, No. 5 (December, 1972), 776-812.
- Hart, John Fraser. "Negro Migration in the United States." Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 48, No. 3 (September, 1958), 268.
- _____. "A Rural Retreat for Northern Negroes." Geographical Review, L, No. 2 (April, 1960), 147-168.
- Hartshorn, Truman A. "Inner City Residential Structure and Decline." Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 61, No. 1 (March, 1971), 72-96.
- Hatt, Paul. "The Concept of Natural Area." American Sociological Review, 11, No. 4 (August, 1946), 423-427.
- Hauser, Philip M. "Demographic Factors in the Integration of the Negro." Daedalus, 94, No. 4 (Fall, 1965), 847-877.
- Hawley, Amos, and Duncan, Otis D. "Social Area Analysis: A Critical Appraisal." Land Economics, XXXIII, No. 4 (November, 1957), 337-345.
- Hays, William O., and Mindel, Charles H. "Extended Kinship Relations in Black and White Families." Journal of Marriage and the Family, 35, No. 1 (February, 1973), 51-57.
- Heiss, Jerold. "On the Transmission of Marital Instability in Black Families." American Sociological Review, 37, No. 1 (February, 1972), 82-92.
- Herbert, David T. "Principal Components Analysis and British Studies of Urban-Social Structure." The Professional Geographer, 20, No. 4 (July, 1968), 280-283.

- _____. "Social Area Analysis: A British Study." Urban Studies, 4, No. 1 (February, 1967), 41-60.
- Hermalin, Albert J., and Farley, Reynolds. "The Potential for Residential Integration in Cities and Suburbs: Implications for the Busing Controversy." American Sociological Review, 38, No. 5 (October, 1973), 595-610.
- Herzog, Elizabeth. "Is There a 'Breakdown' of the Negro Family?" Social Work, 11, No. 1 (January, 1966), 3-10.
- Hiltner, John. "Negro Migration in a Section of Toledo, Ohio." Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 51, No. 7 (March, 1967), 177.
- Himes, Joseph S. "Some Characteristics of the Migration of Blacks in the United States." Social Geology, 18, No. 4 (December, 1971), 359-366.
- Hoyt, Homer. "Recent Distortions of the Classical Models of Urban Structure." Land Economics, XL, No. 2 (May, 1964), 199-212.
- Hunter, Alfred. "Factorial Ecology: A Critique and Some Suggestions." Demography, 9, No. 1 (February, 1972), 107-117.
- Hyman, Herbert H. "Black Matriarchy Reconsidered: Evidence From Secondary Analysis of Sample Surveys." Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXIII, No. 3 (Fall, 1969), 346-354.
- Janson, C. G. "The Spatial Structure of Newark, New Jersey." Acta Sociologica, 11, No. 3 (1968), 144-169.
- Johnson, R. J. "Some Limitations of Factorial Ecologies and Social Area Analysis." Economic Geography, 47, (1971), 314-323.
- _____. "Zonal and Sectoral Patterns in Melbourne's Residential Structure." Land Economics, XLV, No. 4 (November, 1969), 463-467.
- Jones, F. L. "A Social Profile of Canberra, 1961." The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology, 1, No. 2 (October, 1965), 107-120.
- Kain, John F. "Housing Segregation, Negro Employment, and Metropolitan Decentralization." Quarterly Journal of Economics, LXXXII, No. 2 (May, 1968), 175-197.
- _____, and Quigley, John M. "Housing Market Discrimination Homeownership, and Savings Behavior: Reply." American Economic Review, LXIV, No. 1 (March, 1974), 230-231.
- King, Thomas, and Mieszkowski, Peter. "Racial Discrimination, Segregation, and the Price of Housing." Journal of Political Economy, 81, No. 3 (May, 1973), 590-606.

- Kiser, Clyde, ed. "Demographic Aspects of the Black Community." The Milbank Memorial Fund, XLVIII, No. 2 (April, 1970).
- Lerner, Max. "The Negro American and His City: Person in Place in Culture." Daedalus, 97, No. 4 (Fall, 1968), 1390-1408.
- Leslie, Gerald R., and Richardson, Arthur H. "Life-Cycle, Career Pattern, and the Decision to Move." American Sociological Review, 26, No. 6 (December, 1961), 894-902.
- Lewis, Pierce F. "Impact of Negro Migration on the Electoral Geography of Flint, Michigan, 1932-1956." Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 55, No. 1 (March, 1965), 1-25.
- Lowry, Ira S. "Filtering and Housing Standards: A Conceptual Analysis." Land Economics, XXXVI, No. 4 (November, 1960), 362-370.
- Lowry, Mark II. "Racial Segregation: A Geographical Adaptation and Analysis." Journal of Geography, LXXI, No. 1 (January, 1972), 28-40.
- Lynch, Kevin, and Rodwin, L. "A Theory of Urban Form." Journal of the American Institute of Planners, (November, 1958), 201-214.
- Mack, Dolores E. "The Power Relationship in Black Families and White Families." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 30, No. 3 (September, 1974), 409-413.
- Maher, C. A. "Spatial Patterns in Urban Housing Markets: Filtering in Toronto, 1953-1971." The Canadian Geographer, XVIII, No. 2 (Summer, 1974), 108-124.
- McElrath, Dennis C. "The Social Areas of Rome: A Comparative Analysis." American Sociological Review, 27, No. 3 (June, 1962), 376-390.
- McKenna, Joseph P., and Werner, Herbert. "The Housing Market in Integrating Areas." The Annals of Regional Science, 4 (1970), 127-133.
- Meyer, David R. "Implications of Alternative Urban Strategies for Black Residential Choice." Proceedings of Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 4 (1973), 128.
- _____. "Interurban Differences in Black Housing Quality." Annals of the Association of American Geographer, 63, No. 3 (September, 1973), 347-352.
- Monmonier, M. S. "A Spatially-Controlled Principal Components Analysis." Geographical Analysis, 2, No. 2 (April, 1970), 192-195.
- Moore, Eric G. "Comments on the Use of Ecological Models in the Study of Residential Mobility in the City." Economic Geography, 47, No. 1 (January, 1971), 73-85.

- _____. "The Structure of Intra-Urban Movement Rates: An Ecological Model." Urban Studies, 6, No. 1 (February, 1969), 17-33.
- Morgan, Barrie S. "The Segregation of Socio-Economic Groups in Urban Areas: A Comparative Analysis." Urban Studies, 12, No. 1 (February, 1975), 47-60.
- Morrill, Richard L. "The Negro Ghetto: Problems and Alternatives." Geographical Review, LV, No. 3 (July, 1965), 339-361.
- Morrill, Richard L. "The Persistence of the Black Ghetto as Spatial Separation." Southeastern Geographer, XI, No. 2 (November, 1971), 149-156.
- Nathason, Constance A. "Moving Preferences and Plans Among Urban Black Families." Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 40, No. 5 (September, 1974), 353-359.
- Nelson, Howard J. "The Form and Structure of Cities: Urban Growth Patterns." Journal of Geography, LXVIII, No. 4 (April, 1969), 198-207.
- Niedercorn, J. H. and Hearle, E. F. R. "Recent Land Use Trends in 48 Large American Cities." Land Economics, XL, No. 1 (February, 1964), 105-110.
- Nourse, Hugh O. "The Effect of Public Housing on Property Values in St. Louis." Land Economics, XXXIX, No. 4 (November, 1963), 433-441.
- Orleans, Peter. "Robert Park and Social Area Analysis: A Convergence of Traditions in Urban Sociology." Urban Affairs Quarterly, 1, No. 4 (June, 1966), 5-19.
- Parker, Seymour, and Kleiner, Robert J. "Characteristics of Negro Mothers in Single-headed Households." Journal of Marriage and the Family, 28, No. 4 (November, 1966), 507-513.
- Perry, Stewart E. "Black Institutions, Black Separatism, and Ghetto Economic Development." Human Organization, 31, No. 3 (Fall, 1972), 271-278.
- Pred, Allen. "Business Thoroughfares as Expressions of Urban Negro Culture." Economic Geography, 39, No. 3 (July, 1963), 217-233.
- Pryor, Frederic L. "An Empirical Note on the Tipping Point." Land Economics, XLVII, No. 4 (November, 1971), 413-417.
- Quinn, James A. "The Nature of Human Ecology: Reexamination and Redefinition." Social Forces, 18, No. 2 (December, 1939), 161-168.
- Ray, D. M. "From Factorial to Canonical Ecology: The Spatial Interrelationships of Economic and Cultural Differences in Canada." Economic Geography, 47 (1971), 344-355.

- Rees, Philip H. "Factorial Ecology: An Extended Definition, Survey, and Critique of the Field." Economic Geography, 47 (1971), 220-233.
- Ritter, Frederic. "Toward A Geography of the Negro in the City." Journal of Geography, LXX, No. 3 (March, 1971), 150-156.
- Robinson, W. S. "Ecological Correlation and the Behavior of Individuals." American Sociological Review, 15, No. 3 (June, 1950), 351-357.
- Robson, B. T. "An Ecological Analysis of the Evolution of Residential Areas in Sunderland." Urban Studies, 3, No. 1 (February, 1966), 120-142.
- Rose, Arnold M. "Neighborhood Reactions to Isolated Negro Residents: An Alternative to Invasion and Succession." American Sociological Review, 18, No. 5 (October, 1953), 497-507.
- Rose, Harold. "The All-Negro Town: Its Evolution and Function." Geographic Review, LV, No. 3 (July, 1965), 362-381.
- _____. "The Black Ghetto as a Territorial Entity." In Special Publication No. 3. Edited by Donald R. Deskins, Jr. Department of Geography, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, 1969.
- _____. "The Development of an Urban Subsystem: The Case of the Negro Ghetto." Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 60, No. 1 (March, 1970), 1-5.
- _____. "Metropolitan Miami's Changing Negro Population, 1950-1960." Economic Geography, 40, No. 3 (July, 1964), 221-238.
- _____. "The Origin and Pattern of Development of Urban Black Social Areas." Journal of Geography, LXVIII, No. 6 (September, 1969), 326-332.
- _____. "Social Processes in the City: Race and Urban Residential Choice." Commission on College Geography, Association of American Geographers, Resource Paper No. 6 (1969) 2.
- _____. "The Spatial Development of Black Residential Subsystem." Economic Geography, 48, No. 1 (January, 1972), 43-65.
- _____. "The Structure of Retail Trade in a Racially Changing Trade Area." Geographical Analysis, II, No. 2 (April, 1971), 135-138.
- Rummel, Rudolph J. "Understanding Factor Analysis." Journal of Conflict Resolution, XI, No. 4 (December, 1967), 444-480.
- Salisbury, Howard G. "The State Within a State: Some Comparisons Between the Urban Ghetto and the Insurgent State." Professional Geographer, XXIII, No. 2 (April, 1971), 105-112.

- Sanders, Ralph A., and Adams, John S. "Age Structure in Expanding Ghetto Space, Cleveland, Ohio, 1940-1965." Southeastern Geographer, XI, No. 2 (November, 1971) 121-132.
- Schmid, C. F. and Tagashira, K. "Ecological and Demographic Indices: A Methodological Analysis." Demography, 1, No. 1 (1964), 195-211.
- Schnore, Leo F. "The City as a Social Organism." Urban Affairs Quarterly, 1, No. 3 (March, 1966), 58-69.
- Scoville, Warren C. "Minority Migrations and the Diffusion of Technology." Journal of Economic History, XI, No. 4 (Fall, 1951), 347-360.
- Seig, Louis. "Concepts of 'Ghetto', A Geography of Minority Groups." Professional Geographer, XXIII, No. 1 (January, 1971), 1-4.
- Shevky, Eshref, and Bell, Wendell. "The Social Areas of the San Francisco Bay Region." American Sociological Review, 18, No. 1 (February, 1953), 39-47.
- Sikorsky, Igor. "Deterrent to Discriminant Zoning." Civil Rights Digest, 5, (1972), 16-19.
- Simmons, James W. "Changing Residence in the City: A Review of Intra-Urban Mobility." Geographical Review, 58, No. 4 (October, 1968), 622-651.
- Speare, Alden, Jr. "Home Ownership, Life Cycle Stage and Residential Mobility." Demography, 7, No. 4 (November, 1970), 449-458.
- Staples, Robert. "Towards a Sociology of the Black Family: A Theoretical and Methodological Assessment." Journal of Marriage and the Family, 33, No. 1 (February, 1971), 119-138.
- Sweetser, Frank L. "Factorial Ecology: Helsinki, 1960." Demography, II, (1965), 372-385.
- _____. "Factor Structure as Ecological Structure in Helsinki and Boston." Acta Sociologica, 8, No. 3 (1965), 205-225.
- Taeuber, Irene B. "Migration, Mobility, and the Assimilation of the Negro." Population Bulletin (November, 1958), 137-138.
- Taeuber, Karl E. "The Effect of Income Redistribution of Racial Residential Segregation." Urban Affairs Quarterly, IV, No. 1 (September, 1968), 5-14.
- _____, and Taeuber, Alma. "White Migration and Socio-economic Differences Between City and Suburbs." American Sociological Review, 29, No. 5 (October, 1964), 718-729.
- TenHouten, Warren. "The Black Family: Myth and Reality." Psychiatry, 33, No. 2 (May, 1970), 145-173.

- Time Magazine. "America's Rising Black Middle Class." (June 17, 1974), 19-28.
- Tisdale, Hope. "The Process of Urbanization." Social Forces, 20, No. 3 (March, 1942), 311-316.
- Tower, J. Allen. "The Negro Exodus from the South." Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 45, No. 3 (September, 1955), 301-302.
- Tumin, Melvin. "Some Principles of Stratification: A Critical Analysis." American Sociological Review, 18, No. 4 (August, 1953), 387-394.
- Urdu, J. R. "Increasing Scale and Spatial Differentiation: New Tests of Two Theories from Shevky and Bell." Social Forces, 42, No. 4 (May, 1964), 403-413.
- _____. "Marital Instability by Race and Income Based on 1960 Census Data." American Journal of Sociology, 72, No. 6 (May, 1966), 673-674.
- _____. "Marital Instability by Race, Sex, Education, and Occupation Using 1960 Census Data." American Journal of Sociology, 72, No. 2 (September, 1966), 203-209.
- Uzeki, Eugene S. "Residential Distribution and Stratification, 1950-1960." American Journal of Sociology, LXIX, No. 5 (March, 1963), 491-498.
- Van Ardsol, M. D.; Camilleri, S. F.; and Schmid, C. F. "The Generality of Urban Social Area Indices." American Sociological Review, 23, No. 3 (June, 1958), 277-284.
- Weaver, Robert C. "Class, Race, and Urban Renewal." Land Economics, XXXVI, No. 3 (August, 1960), 235-251.
- Wheeler, James O. "The Spatial Interaction of Blacks in Metropolitan Areas." Southeastern Geographer, XI, No. 2 (November, 1971), 101-112.
- _____. "Work-Trip Length and the Ghetto." Land Economics, XLIV, No. 1 (February, 1968), 107-112.
- _____, and Brunn, Stanley. "An Agricultural Ghetto: Negroes in Cass County, Michigan, 1845-1968." Geographical Review, (July, 1969), 317-329.
- Wirth, Louis. "Urbanism as a Way of Life." The American Journal of Sociology, XLIV, No. 1 (July, 1938), 1-24.
- Wolf, Eleanor P. "The Invasion-Succession Sequence as a Self-Fulfilling Prophecy." Journal of Social Issues, XIII, No. 4 (1957), 7-20.
- Wolpert, Julian. "Behavioral Aspects of the Decision to Migrate." Papers and Proceedings of the Regional Science Association, XV, (1965), 159-169.

Wolpert, Julian. "Migration as an Adjustment to Environmental Stress." Journal of Social Issues, XXII, No. 4 (October, 1966), 92-102.

Unpublished Works

Baker, June A. "Patterns of Black Residential Segregation in Oklahoma City: 1890 to 1960." Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1970.

Brand, Ralph. "A History of the Oklahoma City School System, 1889-1907." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1938.

Crossley, Mildred. "A History of the Negro Schools of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1939.

Fulkerson, Fred G. "Community Forces in a Negro District in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma." Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1946.

Hatcher, Ollie. "The Development of Legal Controls in Racial Segregation in the Public Schools of Oklahoma, 1865-1952." Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1954.

Knowles, Malachi. "A Study of Non-White Population Distribution and Housing Characteristics in Oklahoma City, 1940-1960." Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1965.

Krause, Paul. "Residential Location of Age Groups: Distributions and Dynamics in an Urban Area." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1974.

Mahar, Janette I. "Social Changes in Oklahoma City from 1889 to 1930." Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1933.

Robertson, Leo. "Geographical Changes Resulting From Oil Development in Oklahoma City and Vicinity." Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1937.

Saxe, Allen. "The Early Development of State Policy on Desegregation of Public Schools in Oklahoma." Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1963.

Slief, Golda. "Health and Social Conditions in One Hundred Families." Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1948.

Tolson, Arthur. "The Negro in Oklahoma Territory, 1889-1907: A Study in Racial Discrimination." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1966.

Special Studies, Reports, and Plans

- Associated Consultants. A Street Transportation Plan for Oklahoma City. Oklahoma City, 1954.
- Bartholomew, Harland and Associates. The Comprehensive City Plan, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Oklahoma City: City Planning Commission, 1949.
- Carter and Burgess Planners and Engineers. John F. Kennedy Urban Renewal Program, Oklahoma R.-35, Oklahoma City. Oklahoma City: Urban Renewal Authority, 1966.
- Development Planning Associates, Inc. Section One: Economic and Market Studies; Oklahoma City Community Renewal Program. San Francisco, 1963.
- Georges, Daniel E. A Pilot Study of Black Business: Baltimore and the Nation. Baltimore: Center for Metropolitan Planning and Research, John Hopkins University, 1974.
- Hare and Hare, City Planning Consultants. Report of the City Planning Commission, Oklahoma City. Oklahoma City: City Planning Commission, 1931.
- National Urban League. A Study of the Social and Economic Conditions of the Negro Population of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (by Harvey Keans). Oklahoma City: Council of Social Welfare, 1945.
- National Urban League. Report of the Health Consultant for Oklahoma City, Oklahoma (by Paul Cornely). Oklahoma City: Council of Social Welfare, 1945.
- Oklahoma City Planning Commission. Oklahoma City's Program of Community Renewal. Oklahoma City: Planning Commission, 1964.
- Oklahoma City Department of Planning. City of Oklahoma City Community Development Program. Oklahoma City: Department of Planning, 1965.
- Oklahoma City Department of Planning. Oklahoma City Comprehensive Plan Series. Oklahoma City: Department of Planning, 1974.
- _____. The Relationship of Oil Wells to Substandard Conditions, Oklahoma City. Oklahoma City: Department of Planning, 1966.
- Oklahoma City University Business Research Center. A Preliminary Study of Business Relocation: John F. Kennedy Urban Renewal Project Area (contract with Urban Renewal Authority). Oklahoma City: Oklahoma City University Business Research Center, 1966.
- Oklahoma City Urban Renewal Authority. The Oklahoma City University Medical Center Urban Renewal Program. Oklahoma City: Urban Renewal Authority, 1964.

Study and Action Committee. Preliminary Report on Services & Facilities in Low Income Neighborhoods. Oklahoma City: Community Council of Oklahoma City and County, 1967.

Works Project Administration. Indian-Pioneer History, Project 5-149 (Foreman Collection). Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1937.

Newspaper Accounts

1. Black Dispatch

"The Jolt We Need." September 21, 1917.

"Why Black Organization Fails - Failure of Unity." September 28, 1917.

"Our Schools." September 28, 1917.

"The Bloody Fangs of Jim Crow." October 5, 1917.

"Segregation Invaded Due Process Clause." November 9, 1917.

"Our Rights." November 23, 1917.

"Governor Replies' Have Tried to be Fair to the Negro Race in Oklahoma." December 7, 1917.

"Jim Crow Democracy." February 22, 1918.

"Rock Island Porters Fight New Rule." February 22, 1918.

"Needs of the Separate Schools in Oklahoma City District." April 5, 1918.

"National Ass'n for the Advancement of Colored People to Investigate." June 28, 1918.

"Negroes in Monster Parade 5000 Negroes in Line; Practically Entire Citizenry at Riverside Park." July 19, 1918.

"Black Men In Oklahoma Demand that Their Voice be Heard in Their Own Government." July 26, 1918.

"City Commissioners Ignore Decision of High Tribunal; Attempt Segregation." August 2, 1918.

"Harlow's Weekly Says Negro Suffrage Question Is Pertinent Now." October 25, 1918.

"What Black Men Are Thinking Today 'Ballot Rights, Freedom of Movement and Personal Safety!'" January 10, 1919.

"Governor Hears Race Plea." February 7, 1919.

- "Governor Hears Black Men Talk." February 14, 1919.
- "Women Denied Registration." March 7, 1919.
- "Editor Roscoe Dunje Jailed." April 4, 1919.
- "Negro Policeman Appointed." April 11, 1919.
- "Negroes Fight Unfair Ordinance." May 23, 1919.
- "Judge Cottrell Jolts City's Vicious Ordinance 'Bumps Segregation.'" May 30, 1919.
- "Federal Court Smites City." June 6, 1919.
- "Defies Justice 'White Attorney Says Favorable Decision for Blacks Will Mean a Lot of Dead Niggers.'" June 13, 1919.
- "Red-handed Murderers Attempt to Take Life of Defenseless Colored Woman." September 19, 1919.
- "Race Conference at Capitol." October 10, 1919.
- "Thousands Attend Opening of New Aldridge." February 7, 1920.
- "Fortune Sends Anti-Lynching Bill to Governor." February 28, 1920.
- "Negroes to File Injunction Against Case City 'Will Take City Fathers to Court.'" November 10, 1921.
- "Chamber of Commerce Plans Race Uplift." November 14, 1919.
- "City Students Tell of Emancipation." January 5, 1928.
- "Eating with Negroes." June 7, 1928.
- "Demos to Inject Negro Issue." June 21, 1928.
- "The Lincoln Park Zoo." May 8, 1930.
- "Bill Murray's Record." May 22, 1930.
- "Man Defies Negro Cop." June 12, 1930.
- "East Second Street Block Jammed with Ten Thousand Dance Fans at Woodmen Meet." June 26, 1930.
- "United States Charges Filed Against Whites Alleged to Have Driven Negroes from Homes." July 24, 1930.
- "DePriest Lamblasts Klan, Social Equality Bogey and Uncle Tom Negroes in City Address." January 1, 1931.

- "Negroes Join in Local Food Rioting." January 22, 1931.
- "The Separate School Law." February 5, 1931.
- "Police Terrorize Business Men Councilmen Hear." June 25, 1931.
- "White Prejudice." October 1, 1931.
- "Finding the Negro Community and Working in It." November 21, 1931.
- "Saloneirate When Dunjee Attacks Separate School Laws." February 9, 1933.
- "Murray Order Creates Ghetto." May 4, 1933.
- "Alleged East Side Disturbances are Without Foundation." May 4, 1933.
- "Decision of Supreme Court of U.S.A. on Segregation - Published for the Information of Governor William H. Murray." May 4, 1933.
- "Segregation Boundary Set by Governor Murray in Spite of Constitutional Guarantee." May 4, 1933.
- "A Sane and Safe City Council." May 4, 1933.
- "A Statement by the Oklahoma City Branch of the N.A.A.C.P." May 4, 1933."
- "The East Sixth Street Trouble." May 11, 1933.
- "Segregation Plans Get Indefinite Jolt When Brought Before City Council Tuesday." May 25, 1933.
- "Negroes Refuse to Enter Conference Which would Set Segregation Boundaries in City." June 1, 1933.
- "The New Park." June 8, 1933.
- "Whites in Row at City Hall, Negroes Send Message." June 15, 1933.
- "Governor's Military Order Stops Dedication of New Negro Park." June 15, 1933.
- "Zoning Board Hears Segregation Debate Between Warring Factions in Second Ward." July 20, 1933.
- "Dunjee Menace to Society Says Article in Organ of the East Side Civic League." July 27, 1933.
- "Segregation Obtrudes Its Ugly Head." September 14, 1933.
- "Jim Crow Not Policy of City Chamber of Commerce, Owens Tells N.A.A.C.P. Group." September 21, 1933.
- "Council Adopts Jim Crow Zone Defining Lines Where Negroes May 'Occupy' Property." September 28, 1933.

"Meeting Thrown In Uproar When Dunjee Objects to Vile Slush of Race Zone Advocate." September 28, 1933.

"Threats Against Lives and Property Demand Adoption of Race Zone Says Henderson." September 28, 1933.

"The Advantage in a Disadvantage." September 28, 1933.

"Pickens Addresses Inter-Racial Meeting at St. Lukes." June 2, 1934.

"A Voluntary Negro Community in Oklahoma City." June 9, 1934.

"Race Zone Advocates Win First Round in Scrap-Heap of Constitution; Case is Appealed." July 12, 1934.

"City Negroes to Fight Segregation." August 9, 1934.

"Segregation Decision Appealed to U.S. Circuit Court." August 16, 1934.

"Federal Jurisdiction." August 16, 1934.

"Teachers' Salary Differentials." March 13, 1943.

"The Funk of Jim Crow." December 2, 1944.

"Oklahoma City School Board and Freeman Attorney's Agree Current Salaries Not Equal." June 14, 1947.

"Public Libraries." September 13, 1947.

"Federal Court Declares O.U. Jim Crow Illegal." October 2, 1948.

"Judge Throws Out Covenant Suit." October 9, 1948.

"VA Grants Subsistence Payments to L.U. Extension Students at Douglass." October 16, 1948.

"Unequal Teacher's Salaries Violate 14th Amendment, Court Rules in Freeman Case." October 23, 1948.

"The Court Invalidated Segregation." October 23, 1948.

2. Daily Oklahoman

"Oil Extension Opponents to Seek Sentiment of Northeast Property Owners." April 1, 1934.

"Racial Bans on Real Estate Are Illegal, City Judge Rules." October 5, 1948.

"Negro Will Try Again For O.U. Graduate Work." October 5, 1948.

"Equal Pay Ordered In Negro Schools." October 17, 1948.

3. Oklahoma City Times

"Segregation of Negroes in St. Louis Ordered." March 1, 1916.

"To Segregate Negroes and Whites Under Law Which is Passed Today." March 28, 1916.

"Segregation to Aid Race, Claim." March 29, 1916.

"Supreme Court Denies Ruling on Segregation." May 25, 1926.

"Murray Halts Negro Encroachment." May 1, 1933.

"Council Action on 'Race Zone' up to Duepre." May 2, 1933.

"Negro Woman Shot at Produce House." July 1, 1933.

"Problem of Settling East Side Dispute on Negro Encroachment is Held Duty of City Hall." July 7, 1933.

"Murray 'Bans' Negro Renters in New Order." July 7, 1933.

"Negroes Hold 90 City Blocks, Survey Shows." March 1, 1934.

"Negro Residence Map Reveals Crowded Conditions in Race's Cramped District." March 16, 1934.

"An Injustice to the Negroes." (Editorial) March 17, 1934.

"Oil Trust Starts Fight for Immediate Drilling on Fourth Street Well." May 21, 1934.

"State Alloted \$340,502 For Aid in High Schools." August 11, 1939.

Directories

Smith's Directory of Oklahoma Territory, 1890. Guthrie: James W. Smith Publisher, 1891.

Chittendon's Directory of Oklahoma City, 1899. St. Louis: Chittendon Directory Company, 1899.

Warden-Ebright Directory of Oklahoma City, 1903. Oklahoma City: Warden-Ebright Printing Company, 1904.

Warden-Ebright Directory of Oklahoma City, 1905. Oklahoma City: Warden-Ebright Printing Company, 1905.

Wardine-Hoffhine Directory of Oklahoma City, 1910. Oklahoma City:
Wardine-Hoffhine Printing Company, 1910.

Worley-Friss City Directory of Oklahoma City, 1916. Oklahoma City:
Worley-Friss Oklahoma Directory Company, 1916.

Polk's City Directory of Oklahoma City, 1920. Kansas City, Missouri:
R. K. Polk & Company, 1920.

Polk's City Directory of Oklahoma City, 1923. Kansas City, Missouri:
R. K. Polk & Company, 1923.

Scott, T. P., ed. Negro City Directory of Oklahoma City, 1941-42.
Oklahoma City: Negro Chamber of Commerce, 1942.

Progress Association for Economic Development. 1971 Directory of Minor-
ity-Owned Businesses in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Oklahoma City,
1971.

Progress Association for Economic Development. 1974 Directory of Minor-
ity-Owned Businesses in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Oklahoma City,
1974.

Government Sources

1. Oklahoma City

Oklahoma City Board of Commissioners, Emergency Ordinance, To Prevent Ill
Feeling Between White and Colored, Number 1824, Oklahoma City,
March 28, 1916.

Oklahoma City Board of Commissioners, Emergency Ordinance, A Segregation
Ordinance for Oklahoma City, Number 1825, Oklahoma City, March 28,
1916.

Oklahoma City Board of Commissioners, Emergency Ordinance, A Segregation
Ordinance for Oklahoma City, Number 2027, Oklahoma City, July 30,
1918.

Oklahoma City Council, Emergency Ordinance, To Separate White and Negro
Races, Number 4502, Oklahoma City, September 25, 1933.

Oklahoma City Council, Emergency Ordinance, Racial Zoning Ordinance for
Oklahoma City, Number 4524, Oklahoma City, March 7, 1934.

The City of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, Charter and Revised General Ordi-
nances, January 1, 1913. Printers Publishing Co., 1913.

The City of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, Supplement to the Revised General
Ordinances, January 31, 1914. Consolidated Printing Co., Oklahoma
City, 1914.

Oklahoma City General Ordinances Revised, Harlow Publishing Co., 1928.

Oklahoma City General Ordinances, 1936 Revision, Harlow Publishing Corp., 1936.

Revised Ordinances, 1960, Of The City of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, Senco Color Press, Oklahoma, 1960.

Oklahoma City Clerk's Office, "Oklahoma City Ordinances," Volume 1, Numbers 1-4782 (unpublished).

Oklahoma City Clerk's Office, "Oklahoma City Ordinances," Volume 2, Numbers 4783-9216 (unpublished).

2. Oklahoma

The Statutes of Oklahoma, 1890, Guthrie: The State Capital Printing Co., 1891.

The Statutes of Oklahoma, 1893, Guthrie: The State Capital Printing Co., 1893.

Wilson's Revised and Annotated Statutes of Oklahoma, 1903, Guthrie: The State Capital Co., 1903.

Revised Laws of Oklahoma, 1910, St. Paul, Minn.: The Pioneer Co., 1912.

Compiled Statutes of Oklahoma, 1921, Annotated, Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1922.

Oklahoma Statutes, 1931, Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Co., 1932.

Harlow's Supplement to the Oklahoma Statutes Since 1931, 1940, Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Co., 1940.

Oklahoma Statutes, 1951, St. Paul, Minn.: West Pub. Co., 1951.

Oklahoma Statutes, 1961, St. Paul, Minn.: West Pub. Co., 1961.

Oklahoma Statutes, 1971, St. Paul, Minn.: West Pub. Co., 1971.

3. United States

United States Department of the Interior. Census Office. Eleventh Census: 1890, Part I, Population. Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1895.

United States Department of the Interior. Census Office. Twelfth Census: 1900, Volume I, Part I, Population. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1901.

United States Department of Commerce and Labor. Bureau of the Census.
Bulletin 89: Population of Oklahoma and Indian Territory, 1907.
 Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1907.

United States Department of Commerce and Labor. Bureau of the Census.
Thirteenth Census: 1910, Abstract with Supplement for Oklahoma.
 Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1913.

United States Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Fourteenth
Census: 1920, Volume III, Population. Washington, D.C.: U.S.
 Government Printing Office, 1922.

United States Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Fifteenth
Census: 1930, Volume III, Population. Washington, D. C.: U.S.
 Government Printing Office, 1931.

United States Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Sixteenth
Census: 1940, Population and Housing, Census Tracts, Oklahoma City,
Oklahoma. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1942.

United States Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Sixteenth
Census: 1940, Volume II, Characteristics of the Population, Part
5. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943.

United States Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Sixteenth
Census: 1940, Volume III, Housing, Part 3. Washington, D.C.:
 U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943.

United States Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Seventeenth
Census: 1950, Housing, Block Statistics, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
 Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1951.

United States Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Seventeenth
Census: 1950, Population, Census Tract, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
 Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952.

United States Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Eighteenth
Census: 1960, Population, Census Tracts, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
 Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961.

United States Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Eighteenth
Census: 1960, Housing, City Blocks, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Wash-
 ington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961.

United States Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Nineteenth
Census: 1970, Housing, Block Statistics, Oklahoma City, Urbanized
Area. Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971.

United States Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Nineteenth
Census: 1970, Population and Housing, Census Tracts, Oklahoma City,
S.M.S.A. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972.

United States Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Nineteenth Census: 1970, Metropolitan Housing Characteristics, Oklahoma City, S.M.S.A. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972.

United States Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census. Nineteenth Census: 1970, Employment Profiles of Selected Low-Income Areas, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972.

Personal Interviews*

Black, J. L.

Brown, Louis

Duncan, Arthur

Grove, Ellen

Hawkins, Willie

Hayes, Hythe

Hooks, John

Johnson, Luther

Lowe, Robert

Thower, T. R.

*Of twenty-two elderly black interviewees twelve preferred to remain unnamed. All resided in the following nursing homes or senior citizen centers in Oklahoma City; Brown's Nursing Home, Grayson Nursing Home, The Elma Boarding House, Terrace Garden Nursing Home, and McGuire Plaza. All interviews were made in the Fall of 1974.