The analysis of trends in black residential mobility was a multi-disciplinary approach that incorporated contributions from sociology, psychology, and geography. However, the issue surrounding African American residential mobility is unique in terms of the number of policy and critical issues.

This research area is intersected by character (et al., 1980). That is, the comprehension of African American residential mobility is best obtained through an examination of contributions from a number of policy and critical issues. The article concludes with an examination of potential and discouraged "convention, and planning/black residential integration and identified, especially in the formal and informal networks of block mobilization, the process and consequences associated with urban articulation, and the actions of individuals and institutions. Local residential integration is the actions of individual homeowners, residents, local organizations, and government officials. The actions of blacks are confined to the actions of individual homeowners, residents, local organizations, and government officials. The actions of blacks are confined to the actions of individual homeowners, residents, local organizations, and government officials. The actions of blacks are confined to the actions of individual homeowners, residents, local organizations, and government officials.

The author's final remarks are that while the study of residential integration and the actions of individual homeowners, residents, local organizations, and government officials is confined to the actions of individual homeowners, residents, local organizations, and government officials, the study of residential integration is also confined to the actions of individual homeowners, residents, local organizations, and government officials. These organizations often operate at an institutional and multi-disciplinary level and often reproduce patterns of segregated urban environments that are viewed from a geographical perspective. The patterns of residential integration during the 20th century and the future during the late 20th and early 21st centuries are examined in terms of economic, environmental, and social geography. However, these patterns of residential integration during the 20th century and the future during the late 20th and early 21st centuries are examined in terms of economic, environmental, and social geography. However, these patterns of residential integration during the 20th century and the future during the late 20th and early 21st centuries are examined in terms of economic, environmental, and social geography. However, these patterns of residential integration during the 20th century and the future during the late 20th and early 21st centuries are examined in terms of economic, environmental, and social geography.
sociology, demography, economics, race relations, social psychology, urban and regional planning, and history, among others.

Second, because of the unique character of Africans' migration to the Americas, and within the Americas, the contemporary nature of Black residential patterns is best understood from an historical perspective. Further, the historical analysis demonstrates that the African American experience has not paralleled the experiences of other immigrant groups from Europe, Asia and Latin America, in a number of ways. Schoenberg (1980), for example, illustrated several differences between an Italian community and a Black community in St. Louis. Important economic and political differences between these two communities led to outcomes of economic development on the one hand, and urban decline on the other. Other investigations also indicate that the comparison of the African American experience with that of other immigrant groups from Europe and Asia is not valid (e.g., Farley, 1976; Geschwender, 1978; Pavalko, 1980; Seig, 1976).

Third, African American mobility patterns deviate from the normative patterns of residential change that are a function of fluctuations in the life cycle of the family, or for purposes of economic upward mobility (e.g., Heaton, Clifford, & Fuguiti, 1981; Woods, 1981). That is, the Black mobility experience is more influenced by externally imposed determinants (e.g., public policy, housing market discrimination, etc.) and constraints than by the internal dynamics of the family (cf. Boehm, 1982; Woods, 1981).

Fourth, at both the macro and micro levels, interracial relations have been, and are, pre-eminent as determinants of African American mobility patterns. At the macro level, African American residential mobility originated with the forced movement of populations during the slave trade. In more recent urban history, it is evident that the choices of African Americans have been constrained by federal and local housing policies (Kushner, 1980; Marshall, 1981), policies and actions of lending institutions (Taggart & Smith, 1981), and activities by real estate brokers (e.g., Pearce, 1979). At the more micro level, issues of race relations were evident in cases of neighborhood racial transition (e.g., Bird, Monachesi, & Burdick, 1952; Schelling, 1972; Wurlock, 1981), and racial attitudes have been influential on both the buyers and sellers of residential properties (Farley & Colasanto, 1980; Logan & Stearns, 1981). In sum, there remains widespread racial discrimination in the housing market (Kern, 1981; Ramadass, 1981).

In view of these issues, we assess a multi-disciplinary body of literature from a social-historical perspective, first presenting a brief historical overview extending from the slave trade through the two World Wars, then examining recent trends of urbanization since the end of World War II. Although the focus is largely on processes and outcomes of "ghettoization," we include discussions of suburbanization, "gentrification," and Latino/Black residential forms.

**THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT**

The Slave Trade

Although the slave trade is the point of departure for this analysis, Black mobility did not begin with the slave trade. Davidson (1961), for example, examines intra-African trade, commerce, and mobility prior to the European invasion and subsequent domination. Similarly, Van Sertima (1976) carefully documents pre-Colombian migratory and trade patterns from West Africa to Latin America and South America.

An examination of early Africa-to-America population movements provides a context for the remainder of the review, and illustrates the early "constraining" or "forced" feature of African American location mobility. Morrill and Donaldson (1976) and Johnson and Campbell (1981) provide excellent and concise reviews of the history of the African slave trade.

The slave trade—initiated by the Spanish and Portuguese in the 1500s, and later monopolized by the Dutch and British from 1700 to the mid-1800s—decimated African populations and contributed to tremendous growth in the slave populations of Brazil, Cuba, the Caribbean area, Latin America, and North America (Davidson, 1961). Davidson (1961) estimates that over fifty million Africans survived the "Middle Passage" (which was a fraction of the total number of Africans affected). This massive immigration of Africans into North America had a demonstrable demographic impact: In 1790, the African percentage of the U.S. population peaked at 19% (Farley, 1970; Morrill & Donaldson, 1976).

**Emancipation**

The Emancipation Proclamation of 1865 may have done a great deal for African Americans psychologically, but did little to enhance their freedom of economic pursuits and geographic mobility. Indeed, for the majority of freed slaves, there developed a land-based, permanently-indebted peasantry, a condition bordering on serfdom (Morrill & Donaldson, 1976). After emancipation, African Americans remained as a cheap, controllable (i.e., immobile) source of labor (Geschwender, 1978).
Nevertheless, there emerged at least four migratory trends which became increasingly prominent toward the end of the century. Hart (1976) identifies three of these trends or migratory “streams” which reflected a general South-to-North pattern: (1) from the Southeast U.S. to the Mid-Atlantic States including New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey; (2) from the Delta and Black Belt regions of Mississippi and Georgia to Midwest urban areas such as Chicago, Indianapolis, Cleveland, and Cincinnati; and (3) from the Southwest states of Texas and Louisiana to the Pacific states. Roof (1972) and others (e.g., Johnson & Campbell, 1981) have identified a fourth trend: movement from the rural South to the urban South.

The Great Migration and Two World Wars

The tremendous rise in American industrialization at the turn of the century led to a massive and sudden population shift from the rural South to the urban North. Stimulated by the growing military industry and the curtailment of foreign immigration, this huge influx of African Americans became known as the “Great Migration,” and peaked in 1915 (Thornbrough, 1961). In Chicago, for example, the African American population grew from 30,000 to over 110,000 between 1900 and 1920 (Daniel, 1980).

The foundations for contemporary urban residential arrangements were laid during this period. Laws were passed that imposed racial exclusions in virtually every aspect of social life: parks, recreation centers, restaurants, and housing (cf. Kushner, 1980; Thornbrough, 1961). Although residentially dispersed prior to 1900, from the turn of the century through the 1940s, African Americans were severely constricted in housing opportunities (Daniel, 1980; Thornbrough, 1961). With racial zoning in practice until 1917, and “restrictive covenants” imposed thereafter (Kushner, 1980), residential mobility for Blacks was typified by constrained opportunity and spatial segregation.

These racially consigned areas, likened to “internal colonies” (Blauner, 1969; Daniel, 1980; Morrill & Donaldson, 1976), were the basis of segregation in all areas of urban life: politics, education, occupations, and virtually every other area of social interaction (Daniel, 1980). It has been argued that this spatial segmentation of American society served to institutionalize racial inequality by manipulating the locational placement of economic and social resources and opportunities (Roof, 1972). The participation of African Americans in the industrial centers of the North, South, and West was, at the outset, in terms of inferior caste-like positions.

Black Mobility

Residential segregation and labor market segmentation were the chief tools in establishing and maintaining the race-based social structure.

These “apartheid policies” (Kushner, 1980) were imposed by federal and local governments, and enforced locally by organizations created for the specific purpose of limiting Black residential mobility (Daniel, 1980). As a result, Black communities were marked by high density and overcrowded living conditions, and rapid deterioration of the built environment (Daniel, 1980; Snow & Leary, 1980). A variety of social pathologies (e.g., crime and delinquency and drug abuse) emerged in concert with this process of ghettoization. The development and persistence of urban ghettos has characterized Black residential life since the turn of the century.

GHETTO MAKING

The creation of ghetto areas has varied over time and region. Indeed, each Black urban area in the U.S. undoubtedly has a unique history in formation and characteristics. Ford and Griffin (1979) review four classes of ghettos, and posit a fifth. The “early southern” ghetto was characterized by dispersed pockets of African Americans who lived in “alley dwellings” and worked primarily as servants and laborers for an openly hostile White society. The “early northern” ghetto was typified by clear geographic boundaries, and was marked by high density. The “classic southern” ghetto, born out of explicit segregation policies, was the result of housing developments that were “reserved for Negroes.” The “classic northern” ghetto was created by processes of “White flight.” A newly emergent trend, “ghettos of the fifth kind” (Ford & Griffin, 1979), are middle- to upper-middle-class neighborhoods with “suburban-like” qualities. Rose's (1976) analysis of ghetto types underscores this heterogeneity. He reports “major” and “minor” ghettos, and notes that there are cities with only a single cluster, and other cities with two or more clusters, or “ghettolets” (Rose, 1976).

Despite this diversity in ghetto forms, a common denominator is the fact of racial segregation. In virtually every large metropolitan area in the country, racial segregation in housing is the norm. Despite federal legislation outlawing racial discrimination in housing in 1968, several recent studies of demographic trends document the increasing segregation of Blacks in America’s central cities (Denowitz, 1980; Farley & Colasanto, 1980; Johnson & Campbell, 1981; Rose, 1976; Uyeki, 1980).

Hermelin and Farley (1973) punctuate these urbanization trends by noting the two-fold increase in the percentage of Blacks in urban areas from 1950 to 1970 (increasing from 13% to 26%). While the residential segrega-
tion of many ethnic groups has been noted, including that of White European ethnics (Guest & Weed, 1976; Pavalko, 1980; Schoenberg, 1980), segregation by race has been the most persistent characteristic of the spatial living arrangements in large metropolitan areas. We will illustrate the vast interplay of “ghetto makers” (Ford & Griffin, 1979) by examining White flight, public policy, housing market discrimination, and the attitudes and behaviors of Blacks themselves.

White Flight

Pre-eminent among the causal factors associated with ghetto development is what is known as “White flight,” the situation where the initial “penetration” of White neighborhoods is followed by the wholesale abandonment of the neighborhood by Whites, and the rapid transition of the neighborhoods into a predominantly Black area. This racial transition of neighborhoods, sometimes referred to as an “invasion-succession” phenomenon (e.g., Denowitz, 1980; Snow & Leahy, 1980; Wilson, 1972), has received a great deal of empirical attention. Several recent demographic studies document the continuing pattern of rapid movement of Whites from cities to suburbs (e.g., W. Clark, 1980; Farley & Colasanto, 1980; Guest & Zuiches, 1971; Heumann, 1979). Indeed, this trend of racial transition of neighborhoods has been so pervasive that some urban demographers conclude that the phenomenon is “inevitable” (e.g., Farley & Colasanto, 1980; Taeuber & Taeuber, 1965).

While the creation of ghetto spaces was largely the result of White flight, the perpetuation of these areas is the result of White avoidance (Ford & Griffin, 1979). Indeed, ghettos are not defined by blight and deteriorated living conditions, but by White avoidance of predominantly Black areas (Ford & Griffin, 1979). Such anti-Black prejudice therefore results in Whites having to pay a “premium” to live in all-White neighborhoods (Vandell, 1981). The cost of prejudice may be substantial. Ford and Griffin (1979) compared comparable housing prices in all-White vs. all-Black neighborhoods in San Diego and estimated the premium to be $20,000.00. Follain and Malpezzi (1981) estimated that Blacks receive a 15% “discount” in purchasing homes (and 6% in renting). (It must be noted, however, that Blacks pay a higher proportion of their income for housing, are more likely to live in older and/or inadequate residences, and are less likely to own their own homes, according to Harris, 1979.)

It is evident that the contemporary phenomenon of White avoidance of integrated neighborhoods presents something of an enigma. Segregation characterizes American living arrangements despite the fact that recent surveys have shown marked increases in the willingness of both Blacks and Whites to live in racially mixed neighborhoods (for reviews, see Farley & Colasanto, 1980; Herman & Farley, 1973). It may be that “self-fulfilling prophecy” effects are operating as recent surveys also reveal that Whites “expect” an invasion-succession process (e.g., Farley & Colasanto, 1980).

Public Policy

The flight of Whites to the suburbs was directly aided by federal housing policies. An early factor in the segregation of the American living space was the federally sponsored suburbanization developments of the 1950s and 1960s. Early suburban development was associated with racially restrictive covenants that were approved by the Federal Housing Administration (Denowitz, 1980; Houseman, 1981; Kushner, 1980; Vils, 1981). Indeed, in an historical and legal analysis of residential segregation, Kushner (1980) concludes that “Government action is the proximate and essential cause of urban apartheid” (p. 130). Moreover, federal policies of urban renewal had the effect of “Negro removal” as large numbers of Blacks were displaced from one Black area to another (cf. Ford & Griffin, 1979). Similarly, federal public housing projects were geographically placed in ways that maintained racial and socio-economic homogeneity (Kushner, 1980).

At the local level, several policies served to create and maintain segregated living patterns. Zoning practices were typically designed to regulate socio-economic spatial arrangements, and therefore had the perhaps indirect effect of creating racially segregated spatial arrangements (Shlay & Rossi, 1981). Shlay and Rossi (1981), in a longitudinal analysis conducted in Chicago, found that zoning ordinances that regulated the size of dwelling, size of lot, single vs. multiple family dwelling, and commercial vs. noncommercial character of urban spaces, had the effect of segregating the population in terms of socio-economic-status and race.

The gerrymandering of school boundaries in order to achieve racially isolated schools was also pertinent to the establishment of segregated living environments (cf. Ford & Griffin, 1979). Local officials often based decisions regarding highway and freeway construction in ways that served to keep residential neighborhoods spatially separate (cf. Ford & Griffin, 1979; Schoenberg, 1980). Finally, the placement of public-service agencies in low SES minority communities has led to a “locational interdependence” which has furthered the maintenance of segregated patterns (Wolch, 1980).
Housing Market Discrimination

Several studies have examined the micro-mediational processes associated with housing discrimination. Saltman (1975), for example, looked at discriminatory processes on the part of realtors and managers of large apartment complexes in Akron, Ohio. In her first study, Saltman (1975) sent two sets of confederates (six Black couples and six White couples) to thirteen real estate firms in order to explore the possibility of purchasing single-family housing. Saltman (1975) reported considerable discrimination of a "subtle" nature. These discriminatory practices included the "steering" of Black couples to Black and integrated neighborhoods (and Whites to all-White neighborhoods); requiring more forms and credit checks for the Black couples; giving Whites more access to viewing homes; quoting higher prices to Blacks; and displaying less courtesy to Blacks. In the second study, Saltman (1975) sent five similar sets of confederates to thirty large apartment complexes. Nineteen (63%) of the thirty complexes displayed clearly discriminatory practices. Despite the fact that each set of confederates made phone appointments that ascertained the availability of units, the White couples were more likely to: be shown an apartment, be shown an apartment within their desired price range (Blacks were shown larger and more expensive units than they requested), receive courteous treatment, need fewer forms and credit checks, and have access to better quality units in better locations. These findings have received a number of empirical verifications elsewhere (e.g., Brown, 1976; Lake, 1981a; McGrew, 1967; Pearce, 1979; Villemez, 1980).

Another pervasive discriminatory practice in the housing market was identified by Lake (1981a). In a survey of 1,004 New Jersey homebuyers, Lake (1981a) found that there were significant Black/White differences in the amount of investment incurred by homebuyers in searching for a new home. In addition, he reported inequalities in the access to market information channels for homebuyers. Lake's (1981a) research illustrates the pervasiveness of race discrimination in the housing market for both Black homebuyers and Black homemakers.

Other studies document racial discrimination in the patterns of mortgage lending, a practice referred to as "redlining" (Herzlein & Farley, 1973; Lake, 1981b; Listokin & Casey, 1980; Taggart & Smith, 1981). Taggart and Smith (1981) provide figures which demonstrate the extent of redlining in central cities, and, in turn, favoritism in suburban areas. While central city areas receive between 3% and 33% of reinvestment in mortgages (based on savings dollars deposited), the suburban ring receives reinvestment levels of 108% to 543%. These data suggest that savings dollars deposited in low-SES-minority communities are being used to provide loans in high-SES-White communities (Taggart & Smith, 1981).

Black Mobility

The bulk of our analysis to this point has been on factors that are external to African American communities. There are, of course, a number of internal factors—attitudes, values, customs, culture—that act to sustain homogeneous Black communities. A number of investigations document Blacks' "willingness to stay," in spite of upwardly mobile economic status (e.g., Ford & Griffin, 1979). Indeed, if all forms of racial discrimination were to suddenly end, it is likely that American communities would retain their racial character for the foreseeable future (cf. Lambert & Filkin, 1971; Taylor, 1979).

There are several areas of Blacks' attitudes and behaviors which are pertinent to this point. Bounded residential areas for Blacks led to two outcomes: the development and maintenance of African-American cultural forms; and an "esprit de corps" or group identity (Barnes, 1980; Nobles, 1980). This community identity, or "ethnogenesis" (Taylor, 1979), or "experiential communality" (Nobles, 1980), or "attachment to place" (Rivlin, 1982; Stokols & Shumaker, 1982), has led to several outcomes in addition to the maintenance of ethnically homogeneous communities. With the development of churches and other social organizations, social networks were established that provided cohesion and stability to the communities (cf. Sivanandan, 1981; Taylor, 1979). As such, Blacks, especially low-income urban Blacks, typically report satisfaction with their residential environments (West, 1981), and a lack of a desire for integrated residential areas (Farley & Colasanto, 1980). In addition, Black communities provide a context for collective political and social action (cf. Barnes, 1980; Gilroy, 1981; Sharp, 1981; Sivanandan, 1981).

Some authors, however, argue that Blacks' choice to live in Black areas is illusory. Lambert and Filkin (1971), for example, posit that generations of segregation and discrimination have socialized Blacks and other minority groups to avoid facing discrimination by restricting their residential choices to non-White areas. Survey data tend to support this observation: A majority of Blacks expect hostilities from Whites if they were to move into an all-White neighborhood (Farley & Colasanto, 1980).

GHETTOIZATION OUTCOMES

Of course, the ghettoization process is not monolithic in nature, nor does it always lead to the same outcomes. Several investigators have identified several mediators of the outcomes of Black ghettoization. Perhaps most importantly, T. Clark (1979) points to the differentiation of Black urban clusters in terms of socioeconomic status. While ghetto areas are often
characterized by poverty conditions, a significant number of Black urban areas are predominantly middle and upper middle class "enclaves" (T. Clark, 1979). Our concern, however, is not so much with outcomes of the "suburbanlike" ghettos described by Ford and Griffin (1979), but with the plurality of Black urban areas that are marked by deteriorating physical structures and debilitating economic situations (Rose, 1976).

In addition to the physical deterioration of the built environment, a number of other consequences of ghettoization have been identified. Wheeler (1976), for example, documents significant differences in access to public transportation that relate to access to employment opportunities. In his study of racial differences in "journey-to-work" patterns in Tulsa, Oklahoma, Wheeler (1976) found that the suburbanization of the work place led to longer trips for Blacks (especially Black women) than for Whites, and he concludes that Blacks' work places are more geographically dispersed than their residences. Similarly, Lopez (1981) notes that residential segregation in the urban Southwest relates to diminished access to employment, income, educational opportunities, and social services.

Other investigators have established a relation between residential segregation in economically impoverished areas and indices of health and disease (Cotter & Patrick, 1981), and even mortality (Pendleton & Chang, 1979). The finding that there are mortality differences in racially segregated and economically impoverished areas demonstrates the "life-and-death" nature of residential segregation and impoverishment.

Several researchers examined the role of ghettoization and Black deprivation on urban rebellions or "riots." Morrill and Donaldson (1976), for example, point to segregation and deprivation effects in explaining the riots of 1919 that occurred in Washington, Chicago, East St. Louis, Omaha, and Knoxville. Other researchers draw similar conclusions for the urban rebellions of the 1960s (e.g., Morris, 1981; Spierman, 1971). Although some analyses of these urban rebellions do not point to housing issues as a contributing factor (e.g., Sears & McConahay, 1973), the factors that are identified (police/community relations, merchant exploitation, discrimination by social agencies, etc.), are aspects of "multiple parallel" inequalities (Blau & Blau, 1982) that are concomitants of residential segregation.

Some researchers, after controlling for race, conclude that these residential characteristics are connected to the prevalence of crime and violence in these communities (Blau & Blau, 1982; Roncek, 1981; Rose, 1979). Crime and violence is another way that inhabitants of ghettos are victimized by institutionalized segregation and racism (Watts & Watts, 1981).

Finally, several investigations have found that the pattern of middle-class emigration from the central cities, and lower-class immigration to those areas, has resulted in the erosion of the tax base of urban areas to the detrimet of the provision of important public services (e.g., Frey, 1980). And this is despite evidence that suggests that low-income neighborhoods pay proportionally more in property taxes than middle- or upper-income neighborhoods (cf. Baar, 1981).

In sum, there are multiple processes and multiple outcomes associated with residential segregation. Federal and local policy makers, urban planners, realtors, lending institutions, and individuals and groups, act in concert to produce contemporary patterns of social (i.e., racial) geography. In like manner, outcomes of housing quality, education, employment, morbidity and mortality, and crime and violence form an interwoven and interdependent matrix of living conditions.

The Hough District of Cleveland

Snow and Leahy's (1980) historiography reported on the processes of racial transition in a middle-class neighborhood in Cleveland known as the Hough District. These researchers were especially concerned with explaining the apparently sudden deterioration of the area within a few years after the beginning of the transition process. In combining qualitative and quantitative data, Snow and Leahy (1980) concluded that the deterioration of the Hough District began long before the initiation of racial transition. They showed that poor planning during the initial development of the district led to a situation where the public facilities (e.g., parks and recreation areas) were quickly exhausted by an increasing White population. This situation was exacerbated by the depression years, during which homeowners were slow or unable to conduct adequate maintenance and repairs on their property. In addition, the district was designed for horse-and-buggy transportation, with thoroughfares too narrow for the subsequent development of the automobile. Therefore, when Blacks first moved into the Hough District, they inherited an already obsolete infrastructure.

According to Snow and Leahy (1980), the most significant factor in the ghettoization of the Hough District was the widespread "urban renewal" program advanced by federal and local governments during the 1950s. The displacement of large numbers of Blacks in various redeveloped sections of Cleveland led to a tremendous increase in the demand for housing, a demand that was to be largely filled in the Hough District.

The in-migration of Blacks into the Hough District was aided by the actions of real estate agents and investors. The realtors were shown to have encouraged White flight by raising fears and prejudices of the coming wave of Black in-migrants. The resulting "buyers market" led to a decline in pro-
property values, the taking over of residential places by investors, and the turnovers of huge profits for the realtors themselves. Finally, the demand for housing in the district led to a number of unscrupulous practices by investors and landlords which Snow and Leahy (1980) referred to as a "conversion mania." Here, residences intended for a single family were converted into highly dense multiple family dwellings. The manifolds increase in population density contributed to the accelerated deterioration of the living spaces. This pattern of racial transition and urban decline has been noted often enough in different metropolitan areas to be considered universal (e.g., Daniel, 1980; Ford & Griffin, 1979; Schoenberg, 1980; Vandell, 1981).

Black Residency in Britain

Additional insight into the processes and outcomes of ghettoization may be obtained from an examination of the international literature. A brief examination of British race relations and the constraints to Black residential mobility which operate in that country reveals a number of parallels to the U.S. situation.

There are, of course, a number of important historical and cultural differences between Great Britain and the United States. Kushnick (1981) identified two of these distinguishing features as they relate to race relations: (1) The U.S. developed a slave labor source early in its history; while Britain never had a domestic slave labor force, and only experienced a massive immigration of Afro-Caribbeans during the reconstruction after World War II. (2) Unlike patterns of racially separate living environments in the U.S., poor Whites and Blacks live "cheek by jowl" (Kushnick, 1981) in Britain's blighted inner cities.

Prior to the massive immigration to England's cities, Blacks were relatively few in number and residentially dispersed. The immigration during the 1940s and 1950s, however, led to "steering" of the new immigrants into the older, less desirable sections of central cities (Sivanandan, 1981). For Whites who were economically able, there was an accompanying White flight. Racial discrimination in housing, in the form of exclusionary practices, was also given official sanction (Sivanandan, 1981).

There was a suburbanization of industry during the 1950s and 1960s. This left the immigrants stranded without viable employment opportunities (Kushnick, 1981). Increases in the density of the inner cities were largely the result of a "web of racism" in housing market conditions and practices (Kushnick, 1981; Lambert & Filkin, 1971). These practices included disinvestment activities by business, exclusionary practices by labor unions, discriminatory practices of realtors, and racially motivated policies and actions by politicians, city officials, the police, and the judicial system (Kushnick, 1981). These constraining forces on Black residential mobility resulted in conditions of urban blight, density, poverty, morbidity and mortality, and chronic conditions of un- and under-employment (Bridges, 1981; Kushnick, 1981; Lambert & Filkin, 1971; Sivanandan, 1981).

These conditions then led to the development of a strong sense of community and collective action. Struggles over ameliorating their living conditions led the residents of British cities to band together in an effort to redress them (Gilroy, 1981). In April, 1981, Black and White youth joined forces in a series of U.S.-style "riots" (Gilroy, 1981). Assessments of these rebellions parallel assessments of the U.S. riots. As in the U.S. (cf. Sears & McConahay, 1973), Britain's rebellions were fundamentally a "symbolic political protest" against marked economic deprivation and environmental degradation (Bridges, 1981; Gilroy, 1981; Kushnick, 1981).

RECENT TRENDS

Black Suburbanization

In recent years there has been a significant migration of Blacks to suburban areas (cf. Lake, 1981a). The percentage of Blacks in suburban areas nearly doubled between 1960 and the late 1970s (T. Clark, 1979), and demographic data indicate that this trend is quickly accelerating (Farley, 1976; Lake, 1981b). Two issues are pertinent in an assessment of these more recent trends: the extent to which segregation continues in the suburbs, and the extent to which discriminatory practices lead to that segregation (cf. Logan & Stearns, 1981).

Briefly, several recent investigations of Black residential mobility patterns in suburbs have shown that these areas are a microcosm of the larger urban situation: Patterns of residential segregation are the norm; there are dual housing markets; social relations are race-based; and the "web of discrimination" that typifies housing market conditions in urban areas is pervasive in the suburbs as well. It has been observed that the movement of Blacks into suburban areas is characterized by movement into the older and deteriorating (declining) neighborhoods that are already residentially segregated, or that are undergoing White-to-Black racial transition (Logan & Stearns, 1981). In the words of Lake (1981b), "...a somber picture of Black suburbanization emerges from the data" (p. 240).

Just as racial distribution in large cities is characterized by all-White, all-Black, and transitional residential areas, so too are suburban neighborhoods. Similarly, just as there are variations in urban spaces, suburban living spaces for Blacks are also varied (Farley, 1976). T. Clark
(1979), for example, identifies three distinct types of Black suburbanization patterns: communities that are in relatively close proximity to Black urban centers (which develop as population "spillovers"); communities that are racially mixed, and may be undergoing transition; and, those which are referred to as "outlying enclaves," that may be either new segregated developments or areas that were developed prior to the growth of the metropolitan area.

**Gentrification**

Gentrification is a newly emergent mobility pattern that has caught many urban demographers by surprise (Henig, 1980). It is characterized by the resettlement of the inner cities by higher income groups (i.e., the "gentry"), who, some speculate, have grown bored with suburban life, are attempting to lower transportation costs, and/or desire proximity to the cultural and recreational offerings of the urban centers (cf. Henig, 1980). This pattern has generated considerable controversy and attention in the popular press because of its alleged "displacement" effects on the Black poor (e.g., Davis & Van Horne, 1975; Laska & Spain, 1979; Morris, 1981; Newman & Owen, 1982; O'Loughlin & Munksi, 1979; Johnson, Note 1).

In an analysis of demographic trends in 967 census tracts in nine cities, Henig (1980) found that 6.5% of the tracts fit the gentrification pattern during the mid to late 1970s. Henig (1980) notes that gentrification has a characteristic pattern: It occurs in somewhat higher SES areas, consisting mainly of owner-occupied dwellings (rather than "hard-core" ghetto areas). The process is therefore marked by a degree of "caution" (cf. Henig, 1980). Gentrification is occurring on a national level, and at an accelerating pace: In 1975, 65% of large U.S. cities were experiencing some level of reinvestment activity; in 1979, 86% of large cities experienced such activities (Black, 1980). Pushed by contemporary housing market conditions, the gentrification pattern is increasing in importance in determining the social geography of urban areas.

**Latino/Black Residential Integration**

Another recent development is the influx of Puerto Ricans (particularly in New York and elsewhere on the East Coast) and Mexican-Americans (in the Southwest and West) into previously all-Black residential areas (Lopez, 1981; Rosenberg & Lake, 1976; Vils, 1981; McGee, Note 2). This emergent residential pattern has not been without important consequences.

Several investigators have found that Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans occupy a somewhat higher status position vis a vis that of African Americans (Lopez, 1981; Matre & Mindiola, 1981). From an analysis of trends in 35 urban centers in the American Southwest, Lopez (1981) concludes that Mexican-Americans are more assimilated into American society. This status differential between Mexican-Americans and Blacks has been associated with historical and contemporary conflicts between these groups (Lopez, 1981). It is possible to examine the processes and consequences of this recent phenomenon by an analysis of the situation in the Watts District of Los Angeles.

The extent of movement by Mexican-American (and other Latino groups) into Watts may be inferred from the school ethnic survey data conducted in the Los Angeles city schools on an annual basis (Los Angeles Unified School District, 1979). In one elementary school, the ethnic population shifted dramatically from 69% Black in 1974, to 75% Mexican-American in 1979.

Recent analyses from the 1980 census indicate an emerging pattern of racial population shifts. The Black population, historically concentrated in South Central Los Angeles (and a variety of enclaves elsewhere in the city), has been rapidly moving into surrounding, previously all-White areas. Gardena, California, to the south of South Central, witnessed a 593% growth in the Black population between 1960 and 1970 (Dembart, 1981). Similarly, Lynwood, California, to the east of South Central (and also previously almost all-White), witnessed an increase in the Black population that approached 10,000! This exodus of the Black population from the inner cities has left room for the influx of low socio-economic Mexicans and Mexican-Americans, who often inherit the poorest housing in the city.

Much of this Mexican-American immigration comes more or less directly from Mexico, in the form of "illegal" or "undocumented" aliens (Overend, 1979). Estimates of the number of "undocumented" Hispanics in the Los Angeles area run from a "conservative" low of 500,000 to a not-too-exaggerated one million (Overend, 1979). While this tremendous influx of Mexican immigrants is concentrated in East Los Angeles and South Central Los Angeles (including Watts), it is evident in many dispersed areas of the city (McGee, Note 2). Hernandez and Scott (1980) note that the rate of Mexican immigration has been increasing rapidly since 1977.

While trends in the Watts area are reminiscent of the phenomenon of Black/White racial transition, economic and institutional constraints on Black and Hispanic mobility have resulted in a degree of Black/Mexican-American residential equilibrium (Hernandez & Scott, 1980). Despite this residential stability, however, the social lives of Blacks and Mexican-Americans are polarized along ethnic/racial/cultural lines (Hernandez, 1981). Because of language and cultural differences, tensions between Blacks and Mexican-Americans have been "undeniable" (Hernandez, 1981).
Associated with these cultural and language differences has been the perception by both Blacks and Latinos that they are in competition for jobs and housing (Hernandez, 1981; Sobel, 1979). In addition, the prevalence of gangs in the area has also raised fears of potential conflicts between Black and Latino youth groups (Arila, Note 3).

Reports of open violence or conflict between Blacks and Mexican immigrants are rare. Perhaps the relations between these groups has remained on a non-combatant level because of the development of neighborhood organizations that were expressly created to develop a sense of unity between Blacks and Mexican-Americans (Hernandez, 1981), a condition pointed to by Heumann (1979) as crucial in maintaining the stability of Black/White neighborhoods. Although data on this phenomenon are thin, we know of at least one other city (San Diego, California) that has experienced parallel transitions (Ford & Griffin, 1979).

The dynamics of this new phase of residential transition deserve close attention for several reasons. First, it presents an opportunity to determine whether theories of ethnic residential succession developed on the basis of Black/White (“minority”/“majority”) patterns apply to Black/Latino (“minority”/“minority”) transitions. Second, we can ascertain whether the residential experiences of Latinos conform more closely to the experiences of White ethnics or to that of Blacks. Grebler, Moore, & Guzman (1970) have suggested that darker, compared to lighter, skinned Latinos suffer more discrimination so that color-specific patterns may emerge. Third, the variety of ethnic situations to be examined will permit the development of more refined theories of ethnic succession. That is, relevant ethnic residential combinations include: Black-American/Mexican-American transition in Southern California and Texas; Black-American/Black-West-Indian/Haitian/Cuban patterns in Southern Florida; and Black-American/Black-West-Indian/Puerto Rican succession in New York City. It is necessary that theory and research in the area of ethnic residential transition move beyond the limited Black/White dichotomy to address other patterns of ethnic heterogeneity of contemporary American society.

DISCUSSION

When we began compiling the bibliography for this article, we were immediately impressed with the diversity of social science disciplines that have contributed to the literature. This multi-disciplinary character of the Black residential mobility literature has led to a rich, albeit fragmented, picture of Black mobility. Throughout these bodies of literature has emerged a common denominator and focus: The spatial arrangements of races in American communities have been established over decades of public and private discriminatory actions.

Most of the studies that we have reviewed point to a continuation, and perhaps increase, in residential segregation. According to one policy analyst, “…the housing needs of Black America are as pressing now as they were at the beginning of the century” (Morris, 1981, p. 5). Although recent analyses demonstrate some improvements in the quality of housing for Blacks (e.g., Bianchi, Farley, & Spain, 1982), relative deprivation of Blacks remains and may even be increasing (cf. Bianchi, et al., 1982).

Constraints on employment opportunities is, in part, one of the negative consequences of residential segregation. The unemployment rate of Black Americans has climbed steadily during the early 1980s, setting all-time records on an almost monthly basis. At this writing, the unemployment of Black Americans stood at an astound 18%, accounting for over 500,000 individuals (based on an extrapolation from data provided by Powell, 1982). When added to the number of “discouraged” workers, there were over two and a half million Black unemployed in the spring of 1982 (based on an extrapolation from data provided by Powell, 1982). And these unemployment trends are but a single aspect of the “multiple parallel” deprivations affecting Black communities (Blau & Blau, 1982). For at least the short run, we expect a continuation of these trends. A prediction of a resurgence of protest activities in the form of violent confrontations in urban areas, therefore, is easy to make (cf. Sears & McConahay, 1973).

Prospects for Residential Integration

Although the bulk of the research suggests that desegregation of residential environments often leads to a heightening of inter-racial tension, hostilities and eventual White flight, there have been a number of investigations that have demonstrated positive intergroup outcomes as the result of residential integration. Interracial residential stability has been achieved in situations where the immigrant Blacks were of a relatively high socio-economic-status (Hamilton & Bishop, 1976), when they were few in number and dispersed (Rose, Aetse, & McDonald, 1953), and in certain situations in public housing projects (Wilner, Walkley, & Cook, 1952).

Perhaps most important in this connection is the report by Heumann (1979), who identified 151 inter-racial neighborhood associations (as part of “National Neighbors”). Heumann (1979) notes that the neighborhood associations were formed largely in reaction to fears of racial transition processes. Formed after the initial desegregation, these neighborhood organizations exemplify many of the conditions of the “contact hypothesis”
that was originally posited by Allport (1954) and modified by Amir (1976). Specifically, the members of the neighborhood associations were in an equal status relationship, in working toward a common goal (the slowing of transition, and the eventual stabilization of the neighborhood). The residents were cooperatively interdependent, had the sanction of authority, and were well within the laws and customs of their communities. Heumann (1979) demonstrates that these contact conditions, coupled with direct actions against realtors and mortgage institutions, were effective in stabilizing those communities.

Research Directions

We have illustrated the vast array of issues confronting researchers who study Black residential mobility. Black locational behavior is but one result of a complex interplay of a number of external constraints and individual actions. Indeed, the array is so complex, and the reciprocal influences of variables so pervasive, that no single study could encompass all of the relevant elements or issues. Therefore, future research in this area probably must continue in a rather piece-meal fashion, attempting to untangle the causes on the one hand, and effects on the other.

There are a large number of issues for which researchers may carry out a monitoring function: patterns and effects of continued segregation, suburbanization, gentrification, Latino/Black residential forms, discrimination practices in the housing market, and cases of positive interracial residential experiences. It is necessary that research be sensitive to the complex interplay of urban living conditions. Issues of housing, residential mobility, education, employment, and health are all closely inter-related.

Concerning studies of individual choice in residence, it is important to recall the caveat offered by Lambert & Filkin (1971) who noted that discriminated groups “scale down” their aspirations, and therefore tend to provide survey results that indicate contentment, thus reinforcing the status quo. As Woods (1981) recently noted, there is a “…spuriousness of the idea of choice for members of the coloured population. Choice is for the wealthy and the white” (p. 1431).

Concerning studies of housing market discrimination, it is necessary to be sensitive to the “vanishing quality” (Lambert & Filkin, 1971) of discriminatory forces. While there currently are proscriptions against housing discrimination, it remains evident that many Blacks do not seek housing in certain areas. In this respect, studies of realtor or apartment manager discrimination against Blacks (e.g., Saltman, 1975) lack a degree of

external validity: Only acting, not real, Blacks willingly face discriminatory treatment (Lambert & Filkin, 1971).

Policy Issues

While public policies were central in the creation of ghetto residential areas, it is doubtful that public policy can do much to enhance the quality of residential life for the urban poor or the urban Black or Latino. Federal and local proscriptions against racial discrimination have not been successful in overcoming the overwhelming patterns of racial segregation in American cities. Moreover, we recognize that social science data and theory typically have little bearing on policy issues for a variety of political and psychological reasons (W. Clark, 1981). Perhaps the most we can hope to accomplish by our review is an articulation of the central issues in the “interconnected nature of residential mobility, housing, and segregation” (W. Clark, 1981).

Given the conflict nature of race relations, it is virtually impossible to be value free, and therefore “policy statements” in the race relations area should be viewed as “political standpoints” (Lambert & Filkin, 1971). What are our political standpoints? We see racial segregation as a violation of our sense of democratic ideals. Most important, however, we recognize that policy recommendations directed to housing and residential mobility are more or less meaningless if they don’t address the broader issues of undereducation, unemployment and underemployment, and virtually every other aspect of urban life.

In the contemporary context of massive cutbacks in federal funding for “social programs,” including housing, nutrition, and employment programs (Jordan, 1981; Marshall, 1981; McCormick, 1981), alternative forms of social redress must be utilized if the quality of life in inner cities is to improve, or even retain its present level of habitability.

Perhaps the best recommendation we can offer is to further efforts toward “incumbent upgrading,” where community members form collectivities to improve their residential environments (Johnson, Note 1). Although political and policy initiatives are necessary and useful, urban Blacks must now take action to improve the quality of inner city life. Such actions may include forming financial pools to help others purchase residences (cf. Silvanandan, 1981); “time sharing” or “service-for-service” economic cooperation; improving the quality of education in urban areas; “retooling” for high technology industries (Johnson, Note 4); and forming neighborhood associations with the purpose of upgrading or renewing the built environment. Potential consequences of these activities are several:
Efforts toward reversing inner city deterioration would benefit lower income groups and "minorities," rather than occur at their expense. The stereotypical association between Black or Latino residents and "urban decay" (i.e., that these groups are the cause of such decline), may be dissolving (see Choldin & Hanson, 1982). More attractive urban living environments would increase the value of city land, perhaps encouraging investments, and help to regain the metropolitan tax base.

We end on a note of irony. It may well be that the present state of the economy (particularly the distressed housing market) will have a significant positive influence on equal housing opportunity. The current scarcity of affordable housing may induce whites to consider buying into less expensive "minority" neighborhoods. Likewise, sluggishness in the housing market may provide Black buyers with easier access to areas that were previously "off limits" to them. "Curiouser and curiouser!" cried Alice..." (Carroll, 1895, p. 26).

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Group Membership and Place Meanings in an Urban Neighborhood

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The changing nature of cities has raised serious questions concerning the quality of neighborhood and community life. It is essential to reflect on the meaning of neighborhoods and their function for urban dwellers. The role of group membership in place meanings is considered, using an environmental perspective that acknowledges the importance of places to an individual's sense of identity. A small case study of a Hasidic sect with a distinctive life style provides an opportunity to assess the contribution of group affiliation to connections to a neighborhood. Sources of commitment to an area are discussed as are the qualities of group affiliations that affect this commitment. A conception of generic and specific place meanings, based on individual and group experiences, is proposed.

In his book, The Collective Memory, Maurice Halbwachs (1980) wrote:

The place a group occupies is not like a blackboard, where one may write and erase figures at will. No image of a blackboard can recall what once was written on it before, and new figures may be freely added. But place and group have each received the imprint of the other. Therefore, every phase of the group can be translated into spatial terms, and its residence is but the juncture of these terms. Each aspect, each detail, of this place has a meaning intelligent only to members of the group, for each portion of its space corresponds to various and different aspects of the structure and life of their society, at least of what is most stable in it. (pp. 130-131)

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