BLACK MIDDLE CLASS MIGRATION:
A CRITICAL CASE STUDY OF
METROPOLITAN DETROIT

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Theoretical Framework

- William Julius Wilson
  - The Declining Significance of Race
  - The Truly Disadvantaged
  - When Work Disappears
- Massey & Denton
  - American Apartheid
- Mary Pattillo-McCoy
  - Black Picket Fences
Hypothesis

My hypothesis is that the black middle class has only been able to temporarily integrate white neighborhoods that are contiguous to the black community. Residential segregation ensures the re-incorporation of the black middle class into the black community. As a result, the black community spatially grows, which in turn increases the distance between poor and middle class blacks. In the end, blacks regardless of class still reside within the black community.
Black Middle Class Out-Migration

- Federal Policy Changes
- Economic Restructuring
- Growth of Black Middle Class
  - Increase in Concentrated Black Poverty
  - Growth of Black Middle Class
    - Out-Migration of Black Middle Class
      - Out-Migration of Whites
      - Migration of Working Class and Poor Blacks
        - Re-segregation of the Black Community
        - Spatial Expansion of the Black Community
          - Increased Spatial Distance Between Middle Class and Poor Blacks
Suppositions

- Increase in the Black middle class and Black poor
- Little or no change in Black/White residential segregation
- Increased segregation of the Black poor
- Spatial growth of the Black community
- Limited out-migration of the Black middle class
Methodology

- **Variables**
  - Black Middle Class
  - Black Poor

- **Time Frame**
  - 1970 to 2000

- **Geography**
  - Tri-County Detroit Area
  - Black Community
  - Census Tracts
Results:
Growth of the Black Middle Class and Poor in Tri-County Detroit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Change 1970-00</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>-156,464</td>
<td>-3.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Families</td>
<td>-2,803</td>
<td>-0.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Population</td>
<td>248,403</td>
<td>32.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Middle Class Families</td>
<td>21,413</td>
<td>43.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor Black Persons</td>
<td>77,078</td>
<td>47.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Results:
#### Growth of the Black Middle Class and Poor in the Black Community

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Change 1970-00</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>243,095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Families</td>
<td>61,252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Population</td>
<td>214,603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Middle Class Families</td>
<td>14,682</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor Black Persons</td>
<td>75,531</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Results:
Black/White Residential Segregation, 1970 to 2000 for Tri-County Detroit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Index of Dissimilarity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>0.892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>0.871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>0.872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>0.853</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Results:
### Black/White Residential Segregation, 1970 to 2000 for Comparable Metros

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Detroit, MI</td>
<td>88.96</td>
<td>87.19</td>
<td>87.28</td>
<td>84.02</td>
<td>-4.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milwaukee, WI</td>
<td>89.94</td>
<td>83.30</td>
<td>82.04</td>
<td>80.97</td>
<td>-8.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gary, IN</td>
<td>88.12</td>
<td>87.54</td>
<td>86.92</td>
<td>80.91</td>
<td>-7.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago, IL</td>
<td>91.12</td>
<td>86.37</td>
<td>83.58</td>
<td>77.82</td>
<td>-13.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleveland, OH</td>
<td>90.50</td>
<td>87.50</td>
<td>84.82</td>
<td>76.57</td>
<td>-13.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buffalo, NY</td>
<td>86.38</td>
<td>79.16</td>
<td>80.70</td>
<td>75.62</td>
<td>-10.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cincinnati, OH</td>
<td>81.94</td>
<td>78.20</td>
<td>76.12</td>
<td>74.24</td>
<td>-7.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York, NY</td>
<td>73.68</td>
<td>53.18</td>
<td>69.13</td>
<td>67.03</td>
<td>-6.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston, MA</td>
<td>80.73</td>
<td>76.09</td>
<td>67.65</td>
<td>62.86</td>
<td>-17.87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The Rise and Decline of the American Ghetto
**Results:**

Segregation of the Black Poor living in the Black Community

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>0.367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>0.425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>0.418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>0.451</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 3.3 The Black Poor Population in Metropolitan Detroit, 1970
Figure 3.6 The Black Poor Population in Metropolitan Detroit, 1980
Figure 3.9 The Black Poor Population in Metropolitan Detroit, 1990

[Map showing the distribution of the Black Poor Population in Detroit and its surrounding counties, with Oakland County, Macomb County, Wayne County, and Detroit highlighted.]
Figure 3.12 The Black Poor Population in Metropolitan Detroit, 2000
Results:
Segregation of the Black Poor

In 1970, 88% of the Black poor lived in the Black community. By 2000, 91% lived in the same community.
Results:
Spatial Growth of the Black Community
Figure 3.1 The Black Population in Metropolitan Detroit, 1970

Percent of Population

- 75% to 100% (16%)
- 50% to 74.9% (5%)
- 25% to 49.9% (5%)
- 0% to 24.9% (74%)
Figure 3.4 The Black Population in Metropolitan Detroit, 1980

Percent of Population
- 75% to 100%  (18%)
- 50% to 74.9%  (6%)
- 25% to 49.9%  (6%)
- 0% to 24.9%  (70%)
Figure 3.7 The Black Population in Metropolitan Detroit, 1990

Percent of Population
- 75% to 100% (22%)
- 50% to 74.9% (6%)
- 25% to 49.9% (5%)
- 0% to 24.9% (68%)

Oakland County
Macomb County
Wayne County
Detroit
Figure 3.10 The Black Population in Metropolitan Detroit, 2000
Results:
Out-Migration of the Black Middle Class
Figure 3.2 The Black Middle Class Population in Metropolitan Detroit, 1970

Total Black Middle Class*

*Black Middle Class is defined as families earning more than $12,000 in 1969.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Black Middle Class*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>600 to 934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400 to 599</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200 to 399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 to 199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 to 99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Data</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Black Middle Class is defined as families earning more than $25,000 in 1979.

Figure 3.5 The Black Middle Class Population in Metropolitan Detroit, 1980
Figure 3.8 The Black Middle Class Population in Metropolitan Detroit, 1990

*Black Middle Class is defined as families earning more than $35,000 in 1989.
Figure 3.11 The Black Middle Class Population in Metropolitan Detroit, 2000

- **Total Black Middle Class**
  - 600 to 658
  - 400 to 599
  - 200 to 399
  - 100 to 199
  - 1 to 99
  - No Data

- **Levels**
  - 600 to 658
  - 400 to 599
  - 200 to 399
  - 100 to 199
  - 1 to 99
  - No Data

*Black Middle Class is defined as families earning more than $60,000 in 1999.
Results:
Out-Migration of the Black Middle Class

In 1970, 88% of Black middle class families lived within the Black community. By 2000, 82% lived in the same community.
Conclusion

- Both the Black middle class and poor grew
- Black/White residential segregation slightly decreased
- Increased segregation between the Black poor and Black middle class
- The spatial size of the Black community grew
- Limited out-migration of the Black middle class
Implications

- Access to Resources
- Political Participation
- Previous Research
  - William Julius Wilson
  - Mary Pattillo-McCoy
- Future Research
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