

Residential Integration in the Suburbs: What Happened in Metropolitan Detroit and Why?

Reynolds Farley
University of Michigan
Population Studies Center
renf@umich.edu

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Abstract

Following the July 1967 violence in Detroit that led to 43 deaths; President Johnson appointed the Kerner Commission and they quickly and famously observed - that if present policies continued, the nation's metropolises would soon consist of a central city with an overwhelmingly low-income minority population and a largely white and much more prosperous suburban ring. Their conclusions were based, in large part, upon their analysis of Detroit and similar Rust Belt cities. Fifty years later, the city of Detroit has an 80% minority population with a high poverty rate of 35%. However, the middle class African-American population, since 1990, has moved to the suburban ring where segregation levels – in both neighborhoods and schools – are moderate to low. This analysis describes what happened in Detroit and explores why.

Note: If this paper is accepted for presentation at the 2019 meetings, I will update the analysis with the recently released 2017 data and will analyze similar trends in two other highly segregated metropolises: Chicago, and Cleveland. The figures and tables in this draft reflect an earlier analysis of 2015 and 2016.

Introduction

Fifty years ago the bloodiest urban racial violence of the 1960s cost the lives of 43 Detroit residents. Two days after federal paratroopers, the Michigan National Guard and local police forces put down the bloody conflict, President Johnson, established a Commission to investigate the causes of urban violence and to propose strategies that would prevent further urban racial violence, a committee chaired by Illinois Governor Kerner with New York Mayor Lindsay as co-chair. Working with surprising alacrity they issued the strongest and most encompassing call for racial integration ever made by a federal official or group.

Kerner Commissioners, strongly influenced by their analysis of Detroit, boldly asserted that the United States faced a crucial choice: either racially integrate the major urban areas or face a future of racial riots and bloodshed every summer (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968: Chapter 16.) Has anything changed in metropolitan Detroit? Frankly, a great deal has changed. Metropolitan Detroit can no longer be described as “Chocolate City, Vanilla Suburbs” metropolis. The suburbs are now open to African-Americans and residential integration is increasing even though more than eight-tenths of the city’s residents are African-Americans.

Detroit and its Historic role in the American Apartheid System

Detroit was not racially segregated until World War I. A small group of prosperous African-Americans resided where they wished while a larger number of low-income African Americans lived on the near East Side alongside immigrants from Eastern Europe (Katzman, 1973). With the massive flows of southerners to Detroit to fill defense jobs during World War I, a thorough system of Jim Crow emerged (Zunz, 1982). Many whites feared that if African Americans came to their neighborhoods, property values would plummet, women and daughters would be at risk of violence and school quality would decline sharply. Real estate practices and restrictive covenants created a thorough American Apartheid system in Detroit. The most famous civil rights trial of the 1920s concerned Dr. Ossian Sweet – an African American physician who purchased a home on the East Side, ironically from a light skinned black man who passed for white. When hostile crowds attacked his home in 1925 and the police did not protect it. Dr. Sweet defended his home and one white man died from gunfire. With the help of the NAACP and Clarence Darrow, Dr. Sweet won a Pyrrhic victory. He was exonerated but African-Americans were reminded that moving into a white neighborhood was dangerous. (Boyle, 2004; Vine, 2004)

In the 1930s, federal housing agencies introduced redlining to insure the residential isolation of whites from blacks. By the time of World War II most of Detroit’s 172,000 African Americans resided in an east side ghetto along Hastings Street, a west side ghetto and a small pocket in northwest Detroit separated from white neighbors by a wall (Schwartz, 2017). The guidelines of real estate brokers played a role since they stressed they it was unethical to introduce a minority family to a white neighborhood. And, by the 1920s, restrictive covenants were written into the property deeds of most all newly constructed housing in Detroit preventing African-Americans from living in those homes. The first racial riot of World War II occurred in Detroit in February 1942. The federal government built housing for defense workers on a segregated basis and designated the Sojourner Truth Homes in northern Detroit for blacks. But those

homes were close to white neighborhoods whose residents fiercely opposed the housing and used force to keep blacks out. After six weeks, the federal and state governments mobilized police forces to allow African Americans to enter the homes they rented (Thomas, 1992: 143-148; Jenkins, 1991: 408-417).

Thomas Sugrue (1995 and 1996) describes the battles for racial dominance in Detroit neighborhoods shortly after World War II. Detroit's African-Americans, by national standards, were affluent since the vehicle and defense industries paid high wages. And during World War II, workers were less forced to save since durable goods and new homes were not for sale. This set the stage for racial contentions throughout the city. Many African-Americans in Detroit had the resources to purchase homes commensurate with their economic status but many whites fought diligently to preserve the racial purity of their neighborhoods. In 1947, the Supreme Court had overturned the use of restrictive covenants in a case whose plaintiffs, Orsel and Minnie McGhee, were from Detroit. (Helper, 1969: 227; Vose, 1959)

African-American attorneys and numerous civil rights groups sought equal opportunities in the Detroit's housing market but faced great resistance. Some real estate brokers saw an opportunity and thus block busting became a common practice. Brokers would tell white residents that their block would soon be invaded by African-Americans and then buy their homes for a low price from the threatened residents. The brokers could then flip the homes and sell them for much more to African Americans. More than 200 acts of violence directed at blacks moving into Detroit white neighborhoods were recorded in the years after World War II and the Michigan Civil Rights Commission, in 1968, concluded that most black families who attempted to move into Detroit's white suburbs were harassed (Rothstein, 2017: 146).

By the early 1950s, whites realized there was an attractive alternative to defending their Detroit neighborhoods from a racial invasion. Fearing a resumption of the Great Depression, the federal government developed housing policies after World War II that greatly stimulated the economy. Moderate and low-income households could purchase a new home for small down payments and modest monthly fees using a government insured loan. Veterans could purchase new homes for even smaller cash outlays. These policies may not have been designed to maximize segregation but that is what happened in Detroit and other large cities described (For a discussion of evidence on this point, see: Rothstein, 2017). At the end of World War II, there were eight isolated black neighborhoods in the suburban ring. African-Americans resided in Royal Oak Township, Inkster, Pontiac, Westland and several World War I industrial suburbs: Ecorse, Hamtramck, Highland Park and River Rouge. When the federal housing policies funded home building in the Crabgrass Frontier (Jackson, 1985) suburban leaders made sure that the booming suburban would remain white. Orville Hubbard served as mayor of Dearborn for three decades and became a national symbol of suburban resistance to African-Americans. He thwarted federal government attempts to build defense worker housing in his suburb during World War II and prevented Metropolitan Life from constructing a large residential-commercial development since he feared they would be "soft" on segregation (Good, 1989; Freund, Chap. 7). The Grosse Pointes became nationally known for their effective and highly organized point system. Beginning in 1945, anyone seeking to live in those five prosperous suburbs had to apply to the Grosse Pointe Brokers Association. That organization hired a detective to investigate the applicant. Using the detective's dossier and other information, a three-person secret committee from the Brokers Association assigned points to an applicant on five dimensions: country of origin, education, occupation, appearance, and whether their

way of living was sufficiently “American.” To buy a property in the Grosse Pointes, Poles had to score 55 points; Greeks, 65; Italians, 75 and Jews, 85. There is uncertainty about whether any Jews ever had a sufficient number of points. A half-Jewish doctor married to a Gentile was, eventually, allowed to buy a home, perhaps because his mother was a descendent of a signer of the Declaration of Independence (Loewen, 2005:263). Asians, blacks and Mexicans were excluded without consideration. Michigan’s liberal governor, Soapy Williams, filed suit in 1960. Grosse Pointe officials defended the point system in the Michigan legislature and courts, but the system became unenforceable after Congress enacted the Fair Housing act of 1968 (Maraniss, 2015: 224). The federal government’s National Defense highway system also played a role in maximizing segregation since they made it easy for whites to move to the suburbs while retaining their jobs in the city.

African-Americans who dared to enter suburbs realized they might face trouble. In June 1967 – just a month before the start of the violence, Carado Bailey, an African-American Vietnam veteran with a white wife, moved into Warren. For three nights hostile crowds surrounded their home reminiscent of the Dr. Sweet’s situation. Finally, on the fourth night, the police sealed the area. The white press hardly covered the incident, but the African-American media did. And in the African-American community there was consensus that the Warren police, instead of controlling and arresting hostile white protestors, abetted them (Fine, 1989: Chap. IV).

Figure 1. Population Trends in Metropolitan Detroit by Race and City-Suburban Residence: 1940 to 2015.

Figure 1 shows population trends in metropolitan Detroit from 1940 to the present. The first panel illustrates the rapid growth of the metropolis as migrants came to work in the “Arsenal of Democracy” (Baime, 2014). The area’s population reached a peak in 1980 and has stagnated since then. The white population attained its maximum in 1970 but much lower birth rates and out-migration mean that the white population, by 2017, was about one million – or 28 percent - smaller than it was at the time of the Kerner Report. The African-American population peaked about 2000 and is now about 5 percent smaller.

The second panel reports population trends in the city of Detroit, a municipality that has annexed no area since 1926. The peak census count was in 1950 when Detroit, with just fewer than two million residents, was the nation’s fourth largest city, behind New York, Chicago and Philadelphia. The federal government’s housing policies encouraged an out-migration of whites and, in 2017, the city’s white population was only 3 percent as large as in 1950. The African-American population of the city grew rapidly until 1970, then slowly reaching a peak in the mid-1990s. After that, African-American out-migration accelerated and, by 2017, the number of black residents in the city had declined by one-quarter million from the peak count 20 years earlier.

The third panel describes the suburban population: very rapid growth from 1950 to 1980 followed by slow growth or stagnation. Most important in terms of the Kerner Commission is the opening of Detroit’s suburbs to African-Americans. To be sure, there was some growth of the suburban black population before 1990 but that population was concentrated in a few segregated suburban enclaves. Since 1990, the suburban African-American population has grown rapidly. Indeed, the total suburban population

would now be declining rapidly were it not for the in migration of African Americans, primarily from the city of Detroit. While the city's African-American population dropped by 250,000; the number of blacks living in the suburban ring rose by 180,000.

Shortly the Kerner Report was published, Anthony Downs (1975) wrote Opening Up the Suburbs, a widely cited and influential volume. He argued that ending the barriers that kept African-Americans out of suburbs would greatly facilitate their economic and social mobility. The final panel in Figure 1 shows the percent of the metropolitan population living in the suburbs. At the outset of World War II, one-third of the metropolitan residents lived in the suburbs. This grew to two-thirds at the time of the Kerner Report and continues to rise, albeit at a slow rate. But the pattern of suburbanization differed greatly by race. By 1970 three-quarters of whites were in the suburbs growing to a peak of 98 percent in 2010. At the time of the Detroit violence about one metropolitan black in eight lived in a suburb and this hardly changed until 1990. Then the suburbs became open and African-Americans moved from the city to the ring in substantial numbers just as whites did in the 1960s and 1970s. By 2017, 44 percent of metropolitan African Americans were suburban residents. A Wayne State urban planner predicted that by the 2020 census, the majority of metropolitan area African-Americans will reside in the suburbs (Hulette, 2012)

Traditional Measures of Racial Residential Segregation

Figure 2. Measures of Racial Residential Segregation for Metropolitan Detroit, the City and the Suburban Ring: 1940 to 2015

Figure 2 presents traditional measures of racial residential segregation using census tract data. The first panel presents indexes of dissimilarity measuring the segregation of white residents from African-Americans from 1940 to the present for the entire metropolis, for the city of Detroit and for the suburban ring. A score of 100 would indicate that every census tract was either exclusively white or exclusively African-American. The data refer to blacks and whites from 1940 to 1970 and non-Hispanic whites and African Americans since then. The most recent data for census tracts were gathered by the Census Bureau's American Community Survey in the 2011-2016 interval.

Segregation reached a peak in 1970 when the score for the metropolis was 89. That means that either 89 percent of whites or 89 percent of blacks would have to move from one tract to bring about an even residential distribution of the races. Segregation has declined moderately since 1970, especially after African-Americans moved into the suburbs. The city of Detroit was maximally segregated in 1940 and has slowly become more integrated. As African American moved into formerly white neighborhoods in Detroit following the demise of restrictive covenants, the city's segregation score dropped. But the secular trend toward more integration continued and the city's score fell to 60 at present.

Racial segregation in the suburban ring peaked in 1970 when the score was 92 but then started to fall, especially after 1990 as middle-class African Americans bought homes and rented apartments in the suburbs. For the most recent period, the segregation score for the ring was 57. Douglas Massey described scores of lower than 60 as indicating moderate segregation. Detroit's suburban ring went from hypersegregation to moderate segregation in the five decades since the Kerner Report.

The second panel of Figure 2 suggests that segregation has certainly not disappeared. It reports the average percent of residents African-American living in the census tract of the typical white. Since the mid-1980s, African Americans made up one-quarter of the metropolitan population. Whites who remained in the city of Detroit witnessed sharp rises in their percent of their neighbors who were African Americans as the city became predominantly black. But there has been a change in the suburbs also. In 1970, the typical suburban white lived in a neighborhood where fewer than 1 percent of the residents were African-Americans. Forty-six years later, it is up to 8 percent.

The final panel of Figure 2 shows the average percent white living in the census tract of the typical black. As whites left the city of Detroit for the suburbs, this measure of segregation increased rapidly, and blacks came to live in overwhelming African-American census tracts in the city. But there was and is a major city-suburban difference. In the city, African-Americans have few white neighbors but the 44 percent of metropolitan blacks who now live in the suburban ring are, typically, residents of majority white neighborhoods. That is, African-Americans now residing in the suburbs have many white neighbors.

The Suburban Migration of Middle-Class African Americans

The exodus of whites from the city occurred on a selective basis: the most prosperous moved out first followed later by those with middle or lower incomes. The same economic selectivity characterizes African American suburbanization. Figure 3 classifies white and African-American households into six economic groups ranging from impoverished- less than \$ 24,600 for a household of four - to those with household incomes five or more times the poverty line or \$124,000 for a household of four in 2016. Data show the percent of households in each economic category living in the suburbs rather than in the city of Detroit. Data are shown for 1980 and 2014.

Figure 3. Percentage of Detroit Metropolitan Area Whites and Blacks, Classified by Economic Status, Living in the Suburban Ring Rather than in the City: 1980 and 2014.

By 1980, virtually all economically successful white households resided in the suburbs but among whites below the poverty line, more than one-in-four lived in the city. A generation later, in 2016, almost all whites – 97% -lived in the ring regardless of their economic well-being. In 1980, the American Apartheid system firmly closed suburbs to African-Americans so blacks lived in the city regardless of their income (Massey and Denton, 1993). That changed dramatically and, by 2016, the majority of middle income and economically comfortable African Americans had suburban addresses. This out-migration will likely continue as Detroit blacks seek to live in places that are perceived to have more effective schools, are safer, have better city services and much lower tax rates.

The relatively low segregation score for the Detroit suburban ring in 2016 surprised me given the long history of bitter racial hostility. I wondered if the suburbs with substantial African American populations at present were really residentially integrated or if they primarily consisted of some pockets of largely black neighborhoods surrounded by many exclusively white neighborhoods. I calculated segregation scores using the most recent data – 2012 to 2016 – for those 13 suburbs of Detroit with 50,000 or more residents and at least 5 percent African-American residents. Two suburbs that became notorious for their

strenuous efforts to bar African-American – Dearborn and the five Grosse Pointes – were added. Table 1 reports the findings.

Table 1 Racial Change in Large Detroit Suburbs: 1970 to 2015 and Racial Residential Segregation Scores for 2015

The strategies that kept blacks out were very effective as shown in the population figures for 1970; Dearborn with more than 100,000 residents but only 12 African-Americans; Farmington Hills with 62,000 residents was home to 84 blacks and in Warren where only 129 of the 178,000 residents were African-Americans. That changed. Dearborn now has about four thousand black residents, 15,000 in Farmington Hills and 21,000 in Warren. Southfield, a very prosperous suburb contiguous to Detroit, underwent the demographic change some demographers predicted would happen with African-American suburbanization. Its black population rose to 51,000 and African American now make up 70 percent of the residents.

The indexes of black-white residential segregation shown in Table 1 for Detroit suburbs for 2015 are revealing. They are all relatively low, indeed, very low in the Detroit context where, for decades after World War II segregation scores were 85 to 90 (Massey and Denton, 1989). Southfield, with the largest African American population had a score of 29; Warren in the heart of Macomb Country where the Reagan Democrats propelled Ronald Reagan to the presidency in 1980: 37 and Farmington Hills: 22. Even Dearborn and the Grosse Pointes had segregation scores under 50.

Following the violence of 1967 and the election of Coleman Young as mayor of Detroit in 1973; suburban communities increased their effort to maintain American Apartheid, particularly those that shared a border with Detroit. Oakland County prosecutor, L. Brooks Patterson (Williams, 2014) argued often and consistently that most of the robberies and car thefts in his county were done by Detroit residents and that 90 percent of those arrested in Southfield were from Detroit. Dearborn voters, in 1985, enacted an ordinance that restricted use of its parks to city residents (Barrow, 1986). Other suburbs posted monitors at their parks in the summers asking to see evidence that those who used the parks lived in the suburb rather than in Detroit. Southfield's Mayor Francesci asserted few outsiders used parks in that city since they were "tucked away and hardly visible." At the end of the school year, basketball hoops were removed from playgrounds in Livonia; in an effort to prevent black youngsters from Detroit from playing three-on-three with white Livonia youth. Grosse Pointe Park proposed building a wall along its border with Detroit, ostensibly to prevent flooding from sleepy Fox Creek. They did not build that wall but several Grosse Pointe streets that crossed the border into Detroit were blocked and turned into cul-de-sac. (Wilkinson, 1986). Voters in the blue-collar suburb, East Detroit, voted in 1991 to change the name of their city to Eastpointe, perhaps, with hopes that prospective residents would think the community was much more similar to the almost all white Pointes (0.4 percent African American in Census 1990) rather than the largely black (75.4 percent African-American) Detroit (Higgins, 2017). Long after Congress passed the Open Housing Law, many Detroit suburbs adopted policies to unambiguously tell African-Americans they were not welcome.

Given the history of racial exclusion, could the suburbs now be no more than moderately segregated? The segregation indexes for Detroit's large suburbs were so low I did not trust them. I wondered if it were inappropriate to use census tracts since, in the Detroit suburban ring they average 3,770 residents. Perhaps within these suburbs there are many block or block groups which are exclusively black scattered within the larger census tracts. If so, using smaller geographic units such as blocks groups (1), will produce much higher segregation scores. Block groups in the Detroit ring average 1,367 residents. For the entirety of Oakland County, the segregation score computed from census tracts data for 2011-2015 was 64; when computed from the smaller block groups, it was 67. For Oakland County, the census tract index of segregation was 47; the block group index: 56. Apparently there is no "Dalmatian" pattern of segregation in those suburban counties. The block group segregation scores gave me confidence that there has been a surprising and large decline in racial segregation in the Detroit suburbs, but I remained skeptical.

School districts in Michigan seldom have boundaries that correspond to municipal boundaries, but some districts have catchment areas roughly similar to a suburb. Sometimes several municipalities share one school district, but other suburbs spread across two or more school districts. There are 82 suburban public-school districts in the three county Detroit metropolis. I considered the 10 largest suburban districts - and Grosse Pointe -and their enrollment data by race from the Common Core of School Data for the 2015-2016 academic year. The index of dissimilarity was used to assess racial segregation with individual public schools as units.

Table 2 Large Suburban Detroit School Districts: Enrollment by Race in 2015 and Racial Segregation Scores

I conclude that, since 1990, middle class African-Americans have moved into Detroit's traditionally all-white suburbs and many now live in what most people would define as racially integrated neighborhoods. And, it appears, that they send their children to racially integrated school. The Farmington District, where a quarter of the students are African-Americans had a segregation score of 12; Warren where 13 percent of the students were black had a score of 17. The highest segregation score in Table 2 was 38 for the Grosse Pointe schools where 18 percent of the students were African-Americans.

I do not wish to suggest that most suburban school districts are thoroughly integrated. Race is still a salient issue in suburban schools. Strongly influenced by the beliefs and financial contributions of the current Secretary of Education, Betsy DeVos, Michigan adopted policies that greatly increased freedom of choice about schooling. Perhaps no state has fewer barriers to establishing charter schools than Michigan, schools that are supported by those state funds that would have gone to public schools. In addition, Michigan has a public-school choice law. If a school district has empty seats they have the option to accept qualified students from other school districts. The receiving district receives about \$7500 for each student they accept, funds taken from the district where the student resides. Fertility rates have fallen steadily for decades in Michigan and there has been substantial out-migration, so most school districts have surplus space and very strong financial incentives to fill that space. The choice options provide African-American students from Detroit the prerogative to attend more integrated suburban schools. A 2015 report found that 25,000 children from the city of Detroit attended suburban schools; 8,000 in traditional public schools and 17,000 in suburban charters. (Chambers, 2015). But suburban white parents who find

the racial composition of their local district unattractive may shop around for a nearby district with few minority students. Since the suburban migration of African Americans began in the 1990s, the Southfield and East Detroit districts have lost much of their white enrollment as parents selected other school districts. (Dawsey and Wilkinson, 2017; Dawsey, 2017). An analysis of trends across the state found that school choice and charter schools contributed to an increase in the segregation of white students from blacks. (Wilkinson, 2016). And in the Grosse Pointes there has been frequent controversy about “border hoppers,” that is, students who live in Detroit or another suburb but use the address of a friend or relative to enroll in the Grosse Pointe district. In the spring 2017 state assessment tests, 8 percent of student in Detroit schools were judge proficient in science, 48 percent in the Grosse Pointe schools (Chambers, 2017). Parents in Grosse Pointe prodded school officials, in 2006, to spend \$90,000 to verify the address of every student. They found that 40 or 9,000 were border hoppers (Martin, 2012).

This suburbanization trend suggests increasing geographic segregation within the metropolitan African-American community. With the strict American Apartheid system, most Africans – rich and poor – lived in the city of Detroit. Now the large suburban black population is more prosperous than those remaining in the city.

The suburbanization of the middle class was clearly described in Figure 3. In 1980, the American Apartheid system kept blacks out of the suburbs except for eight enclaves that had African American residents before World War II. As Erbe (1975) pointed out, during the era of segregation prosperous black families could not move far away from impoverished black families but this changed as the Fair Housing Act of 1968 became effective. By 2016, the majority of middle-class African Americans, and two-thirds of comfortable blacks, lived in the ring rather than the city.

What explains the opening of the suburbs and the shift toward residential integration? There are five linked causes. The racial attitudes of whites liberalized. We conducted studies of the causes of racial residential segregation in metropolitan Detroit three times. Alas, the last one was 14 years ago. Nevertheless, the percent of a random selection of whites who said they would try to move out if a single black family moved into their neighborhood, declined from 24 percent in 1976 to 8 percent in 2004. The percent who said that, if they were searching for a new home and found an attractive, affordable one; they would consider purchasing it in a neighborhood that was one-third black; increased from 50 percent in 1976 to 79 percent in the most recent study (Farley, 2011). This is linked, I think, to a changing white perception of black invasion. Chicago Alderman Francis X. Lawler gave a most succinct definition for integration; namely that short span between the time the first Negro moved into a neighborhood and the time the last white moved out. That describes what happened in many Detroit neighborhoods from the 1950s to 1970s. But suburban residents began to realize that such change was not occurring in the suburbs and that the African-Americans who purchased or rented a home in their suburb were the social and economic peers of white residents. The Census Bureau’s 2017 survey support this claim since they report that the economic characteristics of African-Americans and whites in the larger suburbs are roughly similar. In Sterling Heights, the per capita income of adult blacks was 92 percent that of whites; in Westland, 90 percent and in Warren, 85 percent.

Second, the attitudes of African-Americans also apparently changed. Our studies found that Detroit area blacks strongly preferred racially integrated neighborhoods, but many were reluctant to pioneer in a white neighborhood. In 1992, 69 percent of black respondents said they would be reluctant or unwilling to pioneer if they found an attractive, affordable home in an all-white neighborhood. By 2004, that had decreased to 60 percent (Farley, Couper and Krysan, 2006, 37). And with the suburbanization of African-Americans there are more suburban neighborhood with sufficiently large black population to make them appealing, perhaps, to those African Americans who are hesitant to “pioneer”. In 2015, there were 859 census tracts in the Detroit suburbs. Fifty three percent of them had population at least 5 percent African-American.

Third, the Open Housing Act of 1968 had an impact primarily by changing standard operating procedures in the real estate industry. Brokers gradually came to realize that it was their ethical duty to treat all prospective customers identically and that they could be punished for blatant racial discrimination. The studies of discrimination in the Detroit and 27 other real estate markets conducted by the Department of Housing and Urban Development in 1977, 1989, 2000, and 2012 confirm a consistent and substantial decline in racial discrimination by brokers involving the rental or sale of advertised properties. The 2012 study in Detroit used paired testers to measure 39 possible types of discrimination against blacks who sought to rent advertised units. There was no significant racial difference on 33 of the 39 dimensions (Turner et al, 2013: Appendix F).

Fourth, market forces greatly abetted the suburban migration of African Americans. After the 1970s, the demand for housing in the suburbs fell sharply: that is the white population of the ring dropped by two hundred from 1970 to 2017. This led suburban officials and real estate brokers to appreciate the influx of new residents from the city who had the funds to purchase or rent suburban homes, apartments and condos. That in-migration helped to stave off the painful process of laying off police and fire officers and closing schools. African-American are replacing whites in the ring thereby decreasing segregation.

Finally, Bill Frey and others, have observed that the presence of additional minority groups is correlated with lower black-white residential segregation scores. Detroit is certainly not a very diverse metropolis compared to the many places that now have large Asian and Hispanic population. Nevertheless, diversity has increased in the suburban ring. In 2017, about 13 percent of the residents were African-Americans, about 6 percent Middle Eastern and North African (MENA) by ancestry, 5 percent Asian, 4 percent Hispanic, 2 percent biracial black and white and 69 percent whites who were not Hispanic or MENA.

Conclusion

The Kerner Commission’s warnings were dire since they foresaw that a continuation of trends would lead to metropolitan areas where a largely minority low income central city would be surrounded by about the city of Detroit. The changing structure of employment, that is the disappearance of high paying blue-collar jobs in manufacturing greatly reduced the economic status of many in the Detroit area. Between 1970 and 2016, the median income of white household fell by 14% but that of African-American household by 34%, largely because African-American men held the industrial jobs that disappeared. But the suburbs opened up to integration and, for a variety of reasons cited above, middle-class and

prosperous Detroit area African-American now have the option of living in racially integrated neighborhoods and sending their children to racially integrated schools.

Figures and Tables for “New Patterns of Residential Integration: What is Happening in Metropolitan Detroit

Reynolds Farley (renf@umich.edu)

Meghanon@umich.edu

Figure 1. Population Trends by Race in Metropolitan Detroit: 1940 to 2015

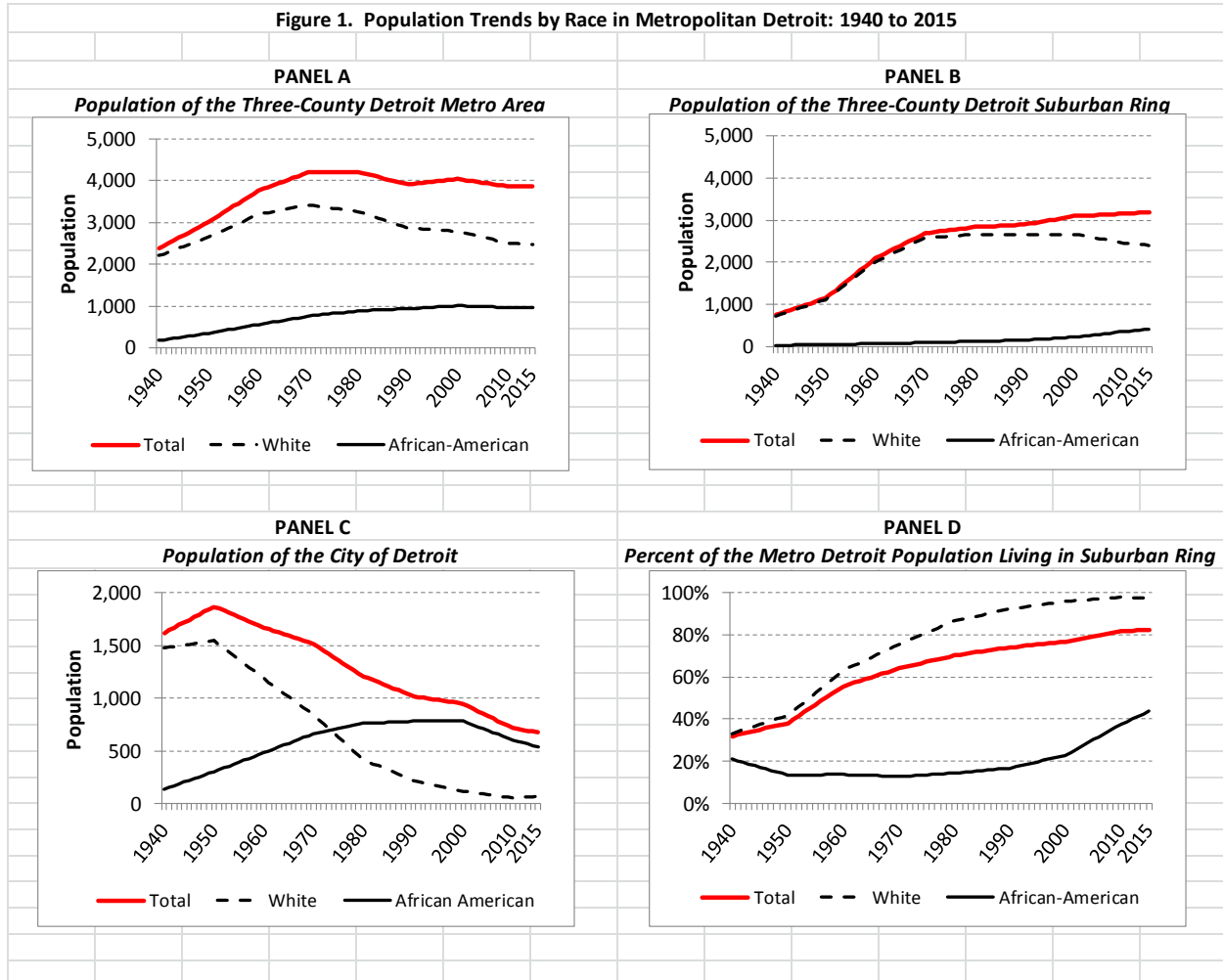
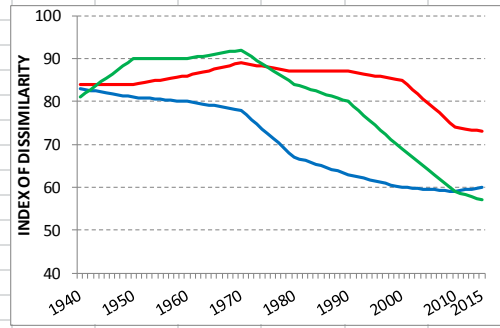
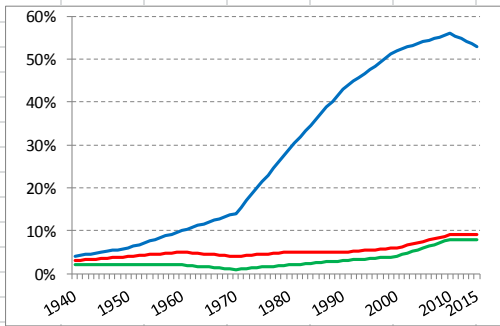


FIGURE 2. Trends in the Residential Segregation of Whites from African Americans; Metropolitan Detroit, 1940 to 2015

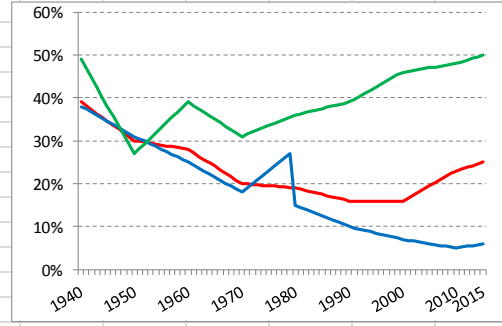
Panel A. The Residential Segregation of Whites from African-American; Index of Dissimilarity using Census Tract Data; Metropolitan Detroit: 1940 to 2015



Panel B. Average Percent of Residents African-American in the Census Tract of the Typical White



Panel C. Average Percent of Residents White in the Census Tract of the Typical African American



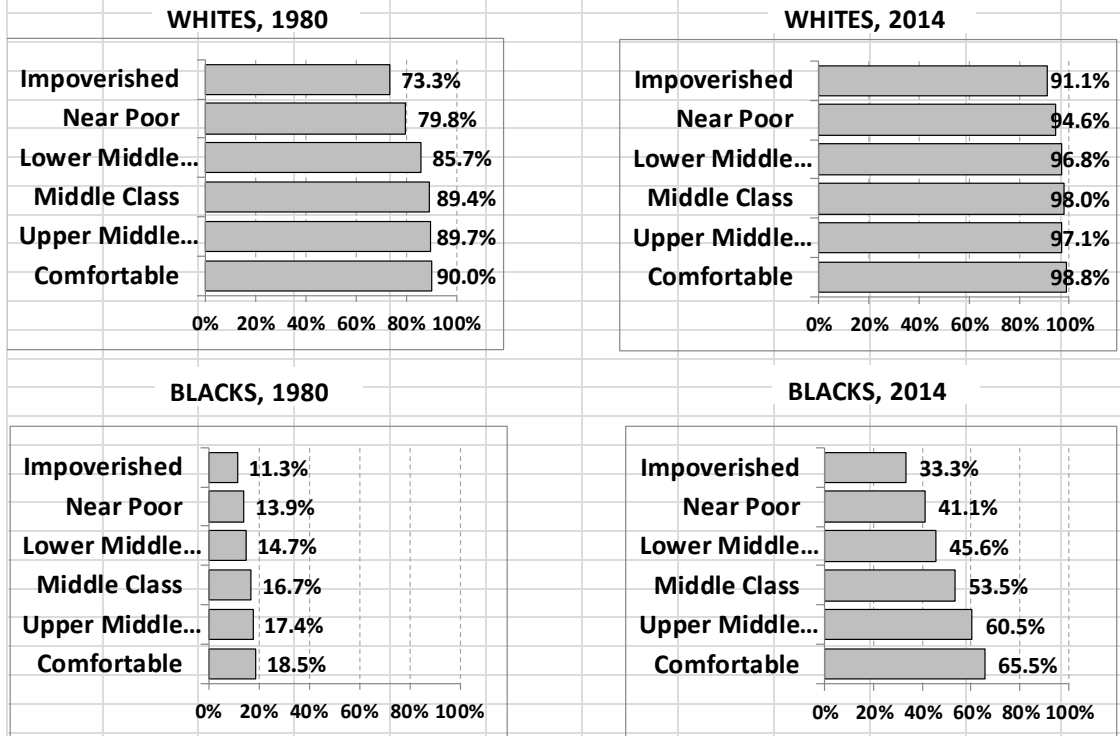
— Total Metropolitan Area — City of Detroit — Suburban Ring

Table 1 - Racial Change in Detroit Suburbs:1970 to 2015 And Segregation Scores for 2015

Suburb	Population in 1970		Population in 2015		Index of Black - White Dissimilarity 2015	Percent Black in	Percent White in
	Total	Black	Total	Black		Tract of Typical White 2015	Tract of Typical Black 2015
Canton Township	48,616	64	89,517	8,180	29	9%	65%
Clinton Township	72,400	163	48,543	14,718	34	13	71
Dearborn	104,137	13	96,069	3,521	46	3	81
Dearborn Heights	80,083	12	56,656	4,842	37	8	77
Farmington Hills	62,270	84	80,971	15,419	22	18	62
The 5 Grosse Pointes	58,708	96	44,689	2,249	46	5	83
Pontiac	76,715	22,760	59,928	30,108	40	38	22
Rochester Hills	N. A.		72,643	3,636	33	5	79
Southfield	69,129	64	72,859	51,101	29	64	22
Sterling Heights	61,530	69	131,139	6,922	32	5	79
Taylor	70,082	63	62,021	10,069	48	12	56
Warren	178,234	129	134,857	21,499	37	14	64
Waterford Township	59,123	33	71,089	4,060	31	5	81
Westland	86,655	2,255	82,642	15,583	37	15	61
West Bloomfield Twp	41,962	100	65,646	8,914	29	13	70

Data are shown for all Detroit suburbs with a population of 50,000 or more in 2015 and at least 5 percent African-American. Data are shown for places with an exceptionally strong reputation for opposition to residential segregation are from the Census Bureau's 2011-2015 American Community Survey. The city of Rochester Hills was established

FIGURE 3. Percent of Detroit Metropolitan Area Whites and Blacks, Classified by Economic Status, Living in the Suburban Ring Rather than in the City: 1980 and 2014



Impoverished: Incomes below the poverty line. **Near Poor:** Incomes 100% to 199% of poverty line.
Lower Middle Class: Incomes 200% to 299% of poverty line; **Middle Class:** Incomes 300% to 399% of poverty line;
Upper Middle Class: Incomes 400% to 499% of poverty line; **Comfortable:** At least five times the poverty line.

Source: U. S., Bureau of the Census; Public Use Microdata files from Census 1980 and the 2014 *American Community Survey*.

Table 2. Large Suburban Detroit School Districts: Enrollment by Race in 2015 and Racial Segregation Scores

School District	Total Enrollment	Percent African American	Index of School Segregation	Percent Black in School of Typical White	Percent White in School of Typical Black
Utica	27,758	5	26	5	85
Dearborn	19,757	3	45	3	87
Plymouth Canton	17,177	10	24	9	67
Chippewa Valley	16,658	10	24	9	76
Rochester	14,796	4	26	4	72
Warren	14,484	13	17	12	71
Livonia	14,215	9	31	8	72
Walled Lake	14,174	9	19	9	74
Troy	12,117	5	12	5	58
L'Anse Creuse	10,641	13	23	12	73
Farmington	9,205	25	12	25	55
Grosse Pointe	7,249	18	38	15	62

Source: Author's calculations based on data for the Common Core of School Data for the 2015–2016 year (National Center for Educational Statistics 2018).

Note: This table provides information for the dozen largest public school districts in the three-county Detroit suburban ring and for the Grosse Pointe district where there has been controversy about integration. Data pertain to enrollment in the 2015–2016 academic year.