

OVERVIEW OF DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS AND CHARACTERISTICS BY COLOR

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The current social revolution in the United States may be related in a more significant sense than is generally recognized to demographic trends and characteristics of black Americans. These trends and characteristics—which include population growth, mobility and geographic distribution, and other social or economic characteristics—have important implications for the educational, economic and political development of the Negro population. An attempt will be made in this paper to sketch the highlights of these trends and characteristics, paying special attention to those not covered by other presentations at this conference.

POPULATION GROWTH AND AGE CHANGES

Regional Distribution and Metropolitan Residence

Since the decennial census of 1960, the population of the United States has grown by over 22 million persons. That increase is six million persons less than the record increase of over 28 million during the 1950's. This decade has witnessed the continuation of the movement of the Negro population away from the South to the industrial and urban areas of the North and West. In 1860, 92 per cent of the Negro population lived in the South and by 1910, approximately 90 per cent still lived there. However, by 1950, the percentage of Negroes living in the South had dropped to 68 and, in 1960, it had decreased to 60 per cent. In 1965, 54 per cent of the Negro population was living in the South. The North Central region contained about one-

fifth of the Negro population, the Northeast about one-sixth, and the West only one-twelfth. The white population was more evenly distributed among the regions, the percentage ranging from 17 per cent residing in the West to 29 per cent in the North Central region.

The growth of the Negro metropolitan population has been quite different in its distribution as compared with the white population. In March, 1967, about three-fourths of the 4.5 million Negro families was living in metropolitan areas. Of the 3.2 million metropolitan Negro families, the overwhelming majority, 2.6 millions, or approximately 81 per cent, were residing in the central cities. This is in contrast to the residential pattern of the metropolitan white families. About two-thirds of the 44.0 million white families resided in the metropolitan areas. Within the metropolitan areas, the proportion of white families living in central cities was only 42 per cent, or about half of the comparable percentage for Negro families.¹

In a comprehensive statement presented to the House Committee on Banking and Currency on June 3, 1969, Conrad Taeuber, Associate Director, Bureau of the Census, pointed out that significant shifts have occurred in the characteristics of the residents of the central cities of the metropolitan areas.² A gain of about a half million persons in the population of the central cities between 1960 and 1968 resulted from a loss of approximately two million in the white population and an increase of approximately 2.5 million in Negro population and persons of other races.

Taeuber points out that the exodus of white families from the central cities reached extraordinary proportions during the past two years. Nearly one million whites left the central cities during that period, and black migration into these cities dropped to 111,000 per year. Thus, whites appear to be leaving the cities far more rapidly than ever before while blacks are replacing them at a slower rate than at any time in the past 20 years.

Age

The Negro population has relatively more young people and fewer older people than does the white population. In March, 1967, 36 per cent of the Negro population was under 14 years of age, compared with 28 per cent of the white population.³ This concentration in the younger age group largely reflects the higher level of fertility of the Negro population. On the other hand, relatively fewer Negroes than whites were at the upper age level. In 1967, 13 per cent of the Negro

population and 19 per cent of the white population were 55 years and over. Only six per cent of the Negro population was 65 years and over as compared with ten per cent of the white population.

The median ages of both the white and Negro population are declining, but that of the Negro population appears to be declining at a more rapid rate. The median age of the white population in 1960 was 30.3 years as compared with 23.5 years for the Negro population. In 1967, the median age of whites was 29.0 years compared with 21.2 years for Negroes. During that year the median ages of 18.9 years for Negro males and 22.4 years for Negro females were nine years lower than the median age of 27.9 for white males, and 7.6 years lower than the median age of 30.0 years for white females. In 1960, the median age of Negroes was seven years lower than whites and in 1965, it was eight years lower.

The implications of a much larger percentage of Negro youth than white youth under 14 years of age for the educational needs of Negro youth are being seen in the urgent social and economic problems confronting state and local school systems, especially those of the larger cities to which Negroes have migrated in large numbers.

Selected Special Censuses, 1965-1968

The results of special censuses conducted by the Bureau of the Census during the period January 1, 1965, to June 30, 1968, give some indication of the recent growth and redistribution of the Negro population. From the results of the 1,491 special censuses taken since January 1, 1965, figures for 49 urban places with a population of 50,000 or more reveal some interesting developments.

Of the 49 urban places of 50,000 or more covered by special censuses since 1965, Cleveland, Ohio, showed the largest average annual numerical increase since 1960 in the Negro population. Costa Mesa, California, registered the greatest rate of change. Cleveland had an average annual increase of 5,112 Negroes, increasing from 250,818 in 1960, to 276,376 in 1965. In Costa Mesa, the Negro population increased at a rate of 14.5 per cent annually. However, the Negro population in Costa Mesa totaled 158 and composed only 0.2 per cent of the total population at the time of the special census. The Negro population of Cleveland increased at a rate of 1.9 per cent annually, but composed 34 per cent of the total population, a 5.5 per cent point increase since 1960.⁴

Only five of the 49 urban places of 50,000 or more covered by urban

censuses between 1965 and 1968 showed a decline in the Negro population. All five were below 100,000 population at the time of the special census, and only one of these cities was in the South. The five were: Penn Hill, Pennsylvania; Mesa, Arizona; New Rochelle, New York; Skokie, Illinois; North Little Rock, Arkansas.

Since 1960, the Negro population has increased considerably in the four cities of a quarter of a million or more that were covered by special censuses (Buffalo, Cleveland, Memphis and Phoenix); however, the average annual number and rate of change on the whole has not been as large as that in earlier periods. For example, the Negro population in Buffalo showed a 6.6 average annual rate of change (increase) between 1950 and 1960, but only a 2.4 rate of increase between 1960 and 1965. Phoenix showed an average annual rate of increase of 13.9 during the 1950's, but only 3.0 between 1960 and 1965. The average number and rate of change for the four cities are shown in Table 1.

Since 1930, the Negro population as a percentage of the total population has shown a steady increase at each census in Buffalo and Cleveland. In Phoenix and Memphis, however, the Negro population has remained near the current level of five and 39 per cent, respectively.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Educational attainment of the Negro population in 1967 lagged behind that of the white population by more than two years. The median years of schooling completed by Negroes 14 years old and over in 1967 was 9.7 as compared with 12.0 for whites.

Comparable figures by sex show that white males had completed

TABLE I. AVERAGE ANNUAL CHANGE IN NEGRO POPULATION

<i>City</i>	<i>1960 to Special Census</i>		<i>1950 to 1960</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Rate of Change</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Rate of Change</i>
Buffalo, New York	1,852	2.4	3,426	6.6
Cleveland, Ohio	5,112	1.9	10,297	5.3
Memphis, Tennessee	4,008	2.0	3,718	2.3
Phoenix, Arizona	3,672	3.0	15,729	13.9

TABLE 2. LEVEL OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY PERSONS 25 YEARS OLD AND OVER, BY METROPOLITAN RESIDENCE AND RACE, MARCH, 1967

<i>Residence and Race</i>	<i>Total Population (thousands)</i>	<i>Per Cent by Level of School Completed</i>			
		<i>Less than 5 Years of Elemen- tary School</i>	<i>4 Years of High School or More</i>	<i>4 Years of College or More</i>	<i>Median School Years Completed</i>
Total					
All races	104,864	6.1	51.1	10.1	12.0
White	94,257	4.8	53.4	10.6	12.1
Negro	9,660	17.4	29.5	4.0	9.1
Other races	947	17.0	52.3	15.2	12.1
Metropolitan in central cities					
All races	32,822	6.4	49.4	9.8	11.9
White	26,978	5.3	52.2	10.7	12.1
Negro	5,420	10.8	35.1	4.2	10.2
Other races	424	19.3	55.4	20.3	12.2
Metropolitan outside central cities					
All races	35,466	3.5	59.8	12.9	12.3
White	33,865	3.0	60.9	13.2	12.3
Negro	1,318	15.3	32.8	4.2	9.7
Other races	283	8.1	57.6	16.3	12.2
Nonmetropolitan					
All races	36,576	8.4	44.3	7.6	11.0
White	33,414	6.3	46.6	8.0	11.4
Negro	2,922	30.6	17.7	3.4	7.3
Other races	240	23.3	40.4	5.0	10.5

Source: Current Population Reports, POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS, Series P-20, No. 169, February 9, 1968; Educational Attainment, March, 1967, p. 2.

12.0 years as compared to 9.3 for Negro males; white females had completed 12.0 years compared to 10.0 for Negro females.

Reflecting past history and current gains, the most extreme difference in average educational attainment was noted at ages above 35 years where, in 1967, Negroes had completed 8.4 years of school as compared with 11.7 years for whites. Recent advances in educational attainment are reflected in statistics for persons under 35 years of age. Among Negro men 25 to 34 years old, the percentage who had not completed elementary school dropped from 30 per cent in 1960, to 16 per cent in 1966, and among Negro females of the same age, the decline was from 22 to ten per cent. The educational level in 1967 for Negroes 14 years and over in the South was about two years lower than for the rest of the country. The median school years completed for Negro males was 10.4 in the North and West and 8.4

in the South; for Negro females it was 10.7 in the North and West and 7.3 in the South.

The educational attainment of Negroes 25 years old and over living in metropolitan areas exceeds that for those living in the nonmetropolitan areas. The proportion in 1967 who had completed at least four years of high school was 35 per cent in the metropolitan areas, compared to 18 per cent in the nonmetropolitan areas. Negroes living in metropolitan areas had a median of 10.1 years of school completed compared to 7.3 years in nonmetropolitan areas (Table 2).

It is of interest to note that although Negroes had low educational attainment relative to the white population, persons of other non-white races (nonwhites who are not Negro) had an average attainment level similar to that of the white population. The median school years completed for other nonwhites 25 years old and over was 12.1, the same as for whites of the same age. However, a higher percentage of persons of other nonwhite races had completed at least four years of college than had whites, the respective percentage being 15.2 per cent for other nonwhites as compared to 10.6 per cent for whites. Only four per cent of Negroes 25 years old and over had completed four years of college or more. At the other extreme of the educational attainment scale, only 4.8 per cent of whites 25 years old and older had completed less than five years of elementary school, as compared to 17.4 per cent of Negroes and 17.0 per cent of other races of this age category. An examination of the 1960 census indicates that Japanese and Chinese account for the high level of college completion among those of other races, whereas American Indians report a large proportion of other nonwhite races with only little schooling.

An examination of educational attainment of persons 25 years old and over by regions indicates some interesting differences (Table 3). Although less than ten per cent (9.5 per cent) of persons of this age group had completed one to three years of college for the country as a whole, about 15 per cent (14.7 per cent) persons of this age group in the Western region had completed one to three years. This situation was consistent for each racial group, with a higher proportion of persons 25 years old and over of each racial group in the West having completed one to three years of college than was true of any other region. It is worth speculating that the accessibility of junior or community colleges in the West, especially in California, may account for this difference.

TABLE 3. YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY PERSONS 25 YEARS OLD AND OVER, BY RACE AND REGIONS

Area and Race	Years of School Completed							College 4 Years	5 Years or More	Median School Years Com- pleted	
	Total	None	Elementary School		High School		1 to 3 Years				
			1 to 4 Years	5 to 7 Years	8 Years	1 to 3 Years					
Total United States	100.0	1.6	4.5	10.2	14.8	17.8	31.6	9.5	6.4	3.6	12.0
Northeast	100.0	1.5	3.3	9.3	16.2	18.5	33.0	7.9	6.5	3.9	12.0
North Central	100.0	0.9	2.9	7.9	19.3	18.0	33.3	8.8	5.9	3.0	12.0
South	100.0	2.5	8.0	15.2	11.5	17.4	27.3	8.6	6.4	3.2	11.2
West	100.0	1.4	3.0	6.1	11.0	17.1	34.5	14.7	7.5	4.8	12.3
White											
United States	100.0	1.3	3.5	9.3	15.1	17.4	32.8	9.9	6.8	3.8	12.1
Northeast	100.0	1.4	3.0	8.9	16.3	18.1	33.5	8.1	6.7	4.0	12.1
North Central	100.0	0.7	2.6	7.5	19.7	17.3	34.0	8.9	6.2	3.2	12.1
South	100.0	1.9	5.7	13.5	11.7	17.2	29.8	9.5	7.1	3.6	12.0
West	100.0	1.0	2.4	5.7	11.2	17.0	34.9	15.0	7.8	4.9	12.4
Negro											
United States	100.0	3.8	13.7	19.3	12.3	21.5	20.2	5.4	2.6	1.3	9.1
Northeast	100.0	1.9	7.4	14.7	15.2	24.9	27.8	5.0	2.6	0.6	10.3
North Central	100.0	2.3	6.6	14.3	13.7	27.2	25.7	7.1	1.9	1.2	10.4
South	100.0	5.2	19.6	24.3	10.8	18.2	14.0	3.7	2.8	1.3	8.1
West	100.0	2.3	7.2	10.0	11.5	21.1	29.1	11.8	3.2	3.7	11.7
Other races											
United States	100.0	7.4	9.6	8.5	7.3	14.6	28.3	8.6	7.0	8.2	12.1
Northeast	100.0	4.9	4.9	7.3	7.3	13.8	17.1	3.3	13.0	26.8	12.7
North Central	100.0	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
South	100.0	3.7	13.9	8.3	8.3	13.9	30.6	7.4	7.4	4.6	12.1
West	100.0	8.6	10.0	8.8	7.4	14.6	31.5	9.8	4.8	4.5	12.0

B: Base less than 75,000.

Source: Current Population Reports, Population Characteristics, Series P-20, No. 169, February 9, 1968; p. 22.

TABLE 4. OCCUPATION OF THE EMPLOYED WHITE AND NEGRO POPULATION 18 YEARS AND OVER, BY LEVEL OF SCHOOL COMPLETED AND SEX

<i>Occupation and Sex</i>	<i>Total, 18 Years and Over</i>	<i>Elementary School, 8 Years or Less</i>	<i>High School</i>		<i>College, 1 Year or More</i>	
			<i>1 to 3 Years</i>	<i>4 Years</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>4 Years or More</i>
Male						
Total employed	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White-collar workers	42.3	14.8	15.7	4.0	23.5	11.8
Professional, technical and managerial except farm	28.8	7.0	9.4	2.2	13.0	4.2
Clerical, sales and kindred workers	13.5	7.9	6.4	1.8	10.4	7.6
Manual workers	45.8	63.7	61.7	70.0	64.5	69.2
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers	20.6	10.3	24.2	10.1	27.3	9.2
Operatives and kindred workers	20.2	31.0	28.2	29.6	30.2	39.8
Laborers, except farm and mine	5.0	22.4	9.3	30.2	7.1	20.1
Service workers	5.9	15.0	8.0	13.1	7.3	17.0
Farm workers	6.0	6.5	14.5	12.9	4.8	2.0
					4.6	1.6
					1.1	0.8
					0.5	1.1
					1.3	0.8
					0.7	1.1
					1.1	0.2
					5.0	1.7
					1.1	0.2
					2.9	0.7
					12.6	4.6
					1.3	0.8
					0.5	1.1

TABLE 4. (CONTINUED)

Occupation and Sex	Total, 18 Years and Over		Elementary School, 8 Years or Less		High School		College, 1 Year or More		
					1 or 3 Years	4 Years	Total	4 Years or More	College, 4 Years or More
Female									
Total employed	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White-collar workers	63.0	23.2	20.1	2.3	41.5	11.2	72.6	30.4	96.9
Professional, technical and managerial except farm	20.2	9.9	5.3	0.7	7.9	2.0	11.7	4.2	83.9
Clerical, sales and kindred workers	42.9	13.3	14.8	1.5	33.6	9.2	60.9	26.2	13.0
Manual workers	17.6	16.8	40.2	15.3	30.5	21.8	12.0	19.7	1.1
Craftsmen, foremen, opera- tives and kindred workers	17.3	15.8	39.6	14.7	29.9	20.2	11.7	18.6	1.1
Labors, except farm and mine	0.3	1.0	0.6	0.6	0.6	1.6	0.2	1.1	—
Service workers	17.4	58.5	34.7	79.5	25.8	65.5	14.1	49.5	1.6
Private household workers	3.5	30.8	10.5	52.9	5.3	31.9	1.8	15.7	0.5
Other service workers	13.8	27.7	24.1	26.5	20.5	33.6	12.2	33.8	1.1
Farm workers	2.0	1.5	5.0	3.0	2.3	1.6	1.4	0.4	—
Rounds to zero.									

OCCUPATION

The vast majority of employed Negro men and women are engaged in blue-collar occupations and in significantly greater proportion than for whites. During March, 1966, approximately 79 per cent of Negro men and 75 per cent of Negro women were either manual workers or service workers (Table 4). The comparable figures for whites were 51 per cent for males and 35 per cent for females. Approximately 43 per cent of white females, but only 13 per cent of Negro females were employed as clerical, sales and kindred workers. Negro females were heavily concentrated in service work, with 58.5 per cent so employed as compared with only 17.4 per cent of white females. Overall, 42 per cent of the white males and 63 per cent of the white females were white-collar workers as compared with 15 per cent of the Negro males and 23 per cent of the Negro females.

When occupations are distributed by education, a direct relation is revealed. Negroes and whites with the least amount of education are concentrated in the blue-collar and farm occupations and those with some college education are more likely to be employed in white-collar occupations. However, some interesting variations occur at the lower educational levels. For example, 23 per cent of white males with one to three years of high school education are white-collar workers as compared to slightly less than 12 per cent of Negro males. Almost 40 per cent of white males with four years of high school education are white-collar workers as compared to 18 per cent of Negro males. For white females, 41 per cent with one to three years of high school and 73 per cent with four years of high school are white-collar workers. The comparable percentages for Negro females are 11 per cent with one to three years of high school and 30 per cent with four years of high school. For women college graduates, little difference is found between the occupational distribution of white and Negro women. At this educational level, 97 per cent of Negro women and the same percentage of white women were engaged in white-collar occupations.

INCOME AND POVERTY

Family income continued its upward trend in 1967, according to the Census Bureau's March, 1968, Current Population Survey. The median income for all families rose to \$7,974 in 1967, up by 6.5 per

TABLE 5. PERSONS LIVING IN POVERTY

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total (in thousands)</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>Nonwhite (in thousands)</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
1967	26,146	13.4	8,283	35.4
1966	28,781	14.9	9,286	40.0
1965	31,908	16.7	10,535	46.4
1964	34,290	18.1	10,879	48.6
1963	35,290	18.9	11,169	50.9
1962	37,036	20.1	11,630	54.2
1961	38,095	21.0	11,594	55.4
1960	30,090	22.3	11,384	55.1
1959	38,940	22.1	10,709	54.6

TABLE 6. FAMILIES BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL, BY SIZE OF FAMILY AND SEX AND COLOR OF HEAD

<i>Size of Family</i>	<i>Male Head</i>		<i>Female Head</i>	
	<i>White</i>	<i>Nonwhite</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Nonwhite</i>
Total	8.2	27.0	27.7	60.2
2 persons	11.3	21.7	21.2	42.6
3 persons	5.0	18.3	25.2	48.7
4 persons	4.6	19.9	36.6	62.1
5 persons	6.0	26.7	43.9	76.0
6 persons	8.4	34.7	30.9	83.8
7 persons or more	18.3	47.6	62.3	83.9

TABLE 7. CHANGES IN CONDITIONS OF NEGROES IN HOUGH, THE POVERTY AREAS OF CLEVELAND, AND THE REMAINDER OF CLEVELAND, 1965 AND 1960

	<i>Poverty Area*</i>				<i>Remainder of Cleveland</i>	
	<i>Total</i>	<i>Hough</i>				
	<i>1965</i>	<i>1960</i>	<i>1965</i>	<i>1960</i>	<i>1965</i>	<i>1960</i>
Population (in thousands)	202	203	52	53	75	48
Per cent change	**	X	-2	X	+55	X
Per cent of families below the poverty level	31	29	39	31	13	15
Per cent of families with female head	27	22	32	23	12	13
Median family income***	\$4,772	\$4,756	\$3,966	\$4,732	\$6,929	\$6,199
Male unemployment	12.1	13.8	14.3	15.7	7.5	8.8

* Includes Glenville neighborhood, partially in the poverty area. In 1960, about 65 per cent of the total population of Glenville was in the poverty area.

** Less than 0.5 per cent.

*** Income in 1959 and 1964, adjusted for cost-of-living changes in 1964 dollars.

X Not applicable.

cent from \$7,500 the previous year. For white families, the median income was \$8,274 and for nonwhite families it was \$5,141.

The relative decline in families as well as individuals living in poverty has been more rapid among nonwhites than among whites, but still a wide disparity exists between the two groups. The number of nonwhite families living in poverty has been reduced from slightly over two million in 1959 to 1.5 million in 1967. However, in 1967, three out of every ten nonwhite families were still living at the poverty level.⁵ The incidence of poverty in the nation as a whole was reduced from 18 per cent of families in 1959, to 11 per cent in 1967. The proportion of poor families among whites declined from 15 per cent to eight per cent and among nonwhites from 49 per cent to 31 per cent.

In terms of individuals, 26,146,000 persons were found to be living in poverty in 1967, or 13.4 per cent of the population—10.3 per cent of all whites and 35.4 per cent of nonwhites. The decline in the number of individuals living in poverty from 1959 to 1967 is shown in Table 5.

In 1967, among all families, 12.5 per cent had median incomes under \$3,000. The Current Population Survey in 1967 counted 12.8 per cent as having \$3,000 to \$4,999; 16.1 per cent with \$5,000 to \$6,999; 24.3 per cent with \$7,000 to \$9,999; 22.4 per cent with \$10,000 to \$14,999, and 12.0 per cent with \$15,000 and over.

For Negroes, approximately 29 per cent had an income below \$3,000 and 22 per cent between \$3,000 and \$5,000. Approximately 34 per cent had an income between \$5,000 and \$10,000; 11 per cent between \$10,000 and \$15,000, and four per cent \$15,000 and over.

It is worth noting that, although the general impression is that nonwhite families are poor because of the absence of a male head and the presence of too many children, an analysis of the facts does not altogether support this impression. Within each sex of head and size of family group, the incidence of poverty among nonwhite families far exceeds that of white families (Table 6). Of perhaps greater importance are other factors such as the low earning power of the nonwhite males, their concentration in low-paying occupations, their lower differential earnings than whites within the same occupation groups and their less-stable employment experience. These factors are strongly reflected in neighborhoods such as Watts in Los Angeles and Hough in Cleveland, which were the subjects of special studies in 1965. These studies showed that the percentage of families below the poverty level increased in Hough from 31 per cent in 1960 to 39 per cent in

TABLE 8. CHANGES IN CONDITIONS OF NEGROES IN WATTS AND SOUTH LOS ANGELES, AND CHANGES IN CONDITIONS OF THE WHITE POPULATION WITH SPANISH SURNAME IN EAST LOS ANGELES: 1965 AND 1960

	<i>South Los Angeles</i>				<i>East Los Angeles</i>	
	<i>Total</i>		<i>Watts</i>		<i>Los Angeles</i>	
	1965	1960	1965	1960	1965	1960
Population (in thousands)	260	248	27	30	135	127
Per cent change	5	X	-10	X	6	X
Per cent of families below the poverty level	28	27	43	44	24	22
Per cent of families with female head	29	23	39	36	20	17
Median family income*	\$4,669	\$4,497	\$3,771	\$3,410	\$5,052	\$5,089
Male unemployment rate	11	12	14	16	8	9

* Income in 1965 for the year December, 1964, to November, 1965. Income in 1960 for the calendar year 1959.

X Not applicable.

1965; the percentage in Watts changed from 44 to 43 per cent between 1960 and 1965. Median family incomes actually decreased in Hough during that period of time and did not increase significantly in Watts, unemployment rates remained disproportionately high in both places (Tables 7 and 8).

VOTING PARTICIPATION

Voting behavior has recently become a question of considerable demographic interest. In 1964 and 1966, the Bureau of the Census conducted surveys of voter participation and registration. They found considerable variation by age, sex, color, region, residence and a number of other social and economic characteristics.

Age, Sex and Color

Voter participation was lowest among the young and increased with age for both whites and nonwhites. Reported voter participation in 1966 increased with age from a low of 31 per cent for those persons under 25 years old to a peak of approximately 65 per cent for persons 45-54 and 55-64 years old. Among Negroes, the reported participation was significantly lower than that of the nation as a whole, 42 per cent of Negroes voting as compared to 55 per cent for the nation as a whole. Negro voting also tended to peak at earlier ages than the total population, with the highest rate of Negro participation (49.2

per cent) occurring among persons 35 to 44 instead of the 55-64 age group as in the total population.

Reported voter participation rates for men were, on the average, about five percentage points higher than for women. The differences were small, however, at ages under 55 years, but increased significantly thereafter and reached a substantial 16 percentage points for persons 75 years old and over. An interesting difference is noted when white voter participation is compared with Negro voter participation. The reported voter participation of the Negro population was significantly lower than that of the white population—42 per cent for Negroes as compared to 57 per cent for whites. Voter participation rates were slightly higher for white males than for white females in each category from 25-34 to 45-54, whereas the reverse was true for Negroes with voter participation rates slightly higher for Negro females in each category from 25-34 to 55-65. Although the difference in voter participation was about five percentage points higher for white males than for white females, it was only about one per cent higher for Negro males than for Negro females. However, in the oldest age groups (65-74 and 75 and over) Negro males voted at substantially higher rates than did Negro women.

Region and Sex

The South had a much lower reported voter participation rate in the 1966 election than did the rest of the United States. Only 43 per cent of persons of voting age cast votes in the South, as compared with 61 per cent for all other regions combined. Negroes voted at lower rates than whites both in the South and in the rest of the country, but Negroes in the North and West voted at a rate seven percentage points higher than that of Southern whites. Southern whites voted at the rate of 45.2 per cent and Negroes outside of the South voted at the rate of 52.1 per cent.

The disparity in voting participation between the sexes was greater in the South than elsewhere, but again some interesting differences were seen between the Negro population and the white population. In the North and West, the male vote participation rate was 63.0 per cent as compared with a female participation rate of 59.0 per cent. In the South, on the other hand, the total male participation rate was 47.0 per cent as compared with a female participation rate of 39.5 per cent (Table 9).

Turning to the Negro voter participation rate, Negro females in

TABLE 9. REGISTRATION AND VOTER PARTICIPATION RATES FOR THE WHITE AND NEGRO POPULATION OF VOTING AGE

<i>Area and Sex</i>	<i>Per Cent of the Population of Voting Age</i>				<i>Per Cent of the Population of Voting Age Who Were not Registered¹</i>	
	<i>Registered</i>		<i>Voted</i>		<i>Registered¹</i>	
	<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>
United States	71.6	60.3	57.0	41.8	25.3	33.8
Male	73.7	60.0	59.9	42.4	22.8	32.0
Female	69.8	60.5	54.5	41.3	27.5	35.2
North and West	74.5	68.9	61.7	52.2	22.2	24.5
Male	75.7	68.7	63.8	53.8	20.7	23.2
Female	73.5	69.0	59.9	50.9	23.6	25.5
South	64.3	53.0	45.1	33.0	33.0	41.7
Male	68.4	52.7	49.9	32.9	28.1	39.4
Female	60.7	53.2	41.0	33.0	37.3	43.6

¹ "Not registered" population excludes about 3,100,000 whites and 600,000 Negroes who did not know whether they had registered or who did not report on registration.

all regions approximated Negro male participation rates. In the North and West, the Negro male rate was 53.6 per cent as compared with a Negro female rate of 50.9 per cent. In the South, the Negro male and female voter participation rates were identical—32.9 per cent.

SUMMARY

The growth and changing distribution of the Negro population have important social implications for the Nation. The percentage of Negroes in the total population has changed little since 1890, when it was 11.9 per cent. For several decades after 1890, the Negro population declined as a proportion of the total population until 1930, when it was 9.7 per cent. Since 1930, however, lower Negro mortality, relatively higher Negro birth rates and the restriction of European immigration in the 1920's combined to reverse the declining trend. In 1960, the Negro population was 10.5 per cent of the total population and in 1970 it is estimated to be slightly above 11 per cent.

The great change in Negro population has not been in numbers or in relative proportion, but in regional and urban distribution. The movement of Negroes away from the South has reduced the percentage of the Negro population living in the South from 90 per cent in 1910 to slightly over 50 per cent in the late 1960's. The movement of Negroes has been to the cities and especially to the central cities

of metropolitan areas. In 1960, the six cities with the largest Negro population were all outside the South (New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Washington and Los Angeles). These six cities, with Negro populations ranging from over one million in New York City to over 300,000 in Los Angeles, had almost a fifth of all Negroes in the United States. It is the concentration of Negroes in the central cities that heightens the visibility of Negroes in the cities and creates housing problems and pressures on urban resources and services.

The metropolitan distribution of the Negro population has implications for other social and economic characteristics. Negroes in metropolitan areas exceed those in nonmetropolitan areas in educational attainment and occupy better-paying and higher-status jobs. It is also well established that the nonwhite to white fertility ratio decreases with increasing income and with urbanization. Finally, voter participation of Negroes in the North and West has been greater than that of whites in the South. As pointed out, Negroes in the North and West voted at a rate seven percentage points higher than that of Southern whites. Where voting participation is combined with the spatial segregation of Negroes in central cities, the increasing political power of Negroes in densely populated urban areas comes as no surprise. This, in turn, will inevitably have long-range effects on the economic, educational, health, family and political status and ultimately upon the level of aspirations of the Negro population.

REFERENCES

¹ United States Bureau of the Census, *Negro Population*, March, 1967, Series P-20, No. 175, October 23, 1968.

² Statement by Conrad Taeuber, Associate Director, Bureau of the Census, before the House Committee on Banking and Currency, June 3, 1969.

³ United States Bureau of the Census, *loc. cit.*

⁴ ———, *Special Censuses*, Series P-28, No. 1476, December 6, 1968.

⁵ Poverty level: families and unrelated individuals were classified as being above or below the poverty level using the poverty index developed by the Social Security Administration. This index takes into account such factors as family size, number of children and farm-nonfarm residence as well as the amount of money income. The poverty level is based on a minimum nutritionally sound food plan ("economy" plan) designed by the Department of Agriculture for "emergency or temporary use when funds are low." Assuming that a poor family typically spends as much as a third of its income for food, the cost of food in-

cluded in the economy plan was used to determine the minimum total income requirements for a given type of family. A household is statistically classified as poor if its total money income falls below levels specified by the Social Security Administration. These levels are updated every year for the changing cost of the "economy food plan." For a more detailed description of the Social Security Administration's poverty-income standard, see Orshansky, M., Counting the Poor: Another Look at the Poverty Profile, *Social Security Bulletin*, January, 1965 and Who's Who Among the Poor: A Demographic View of Poverty, *Social Security Bulletin*, July, 1965.

DISCUSSION

Irene B. Taeuber: Dr. Valien begins his overview with a statement on the relation of the social revolution now occurring to the demographic trends and characteristics of black Americans. Rather than comment on an overview, I shall extend Dr. Valien's statement.

The demography of black Americans is a product of, and component in, the demography of all Americans. The most critical of our population problems today are reflected in the prevalence of demographic diversities among color and subcultural groups. The tests of future population policies, planned and unplanned, will lie in the speed and the completeness of the obliteration of those demographies that can be categorized by the colors of the skin or the subcultures of origin.

The priority accorded the full accommodation of a relatively small minority in the American population may seem peculiar in a population whose continuing formation has involved immigrants and their descendants. The historic processes are doubtfully relevant to the questions of the future of the blacks, the metropolitan areas and the national growth. Ethnic, cultural and nationality groups have differed in the types and timings of their introduction into the American area, in the barriers to acceptance among those already here, and in the difficulties of, and the receptivity to, absorption. The earliest and almost concurrent immigrants were northwestern Europeans and western Africans. Today the blacks are the most native of native parentage of all Americans, excluding only Indians, Eskimos, Aleuts and the few surviving Polynesians of Hawaii. They are not the most backward of American minorities; that honor is reserved for the reservation Indians and the Eskimos. They are not the most advanced of minorities; that honor is reserved for Chinese and Japanese. The blacks are not comparable in demographic processes to the other disadvantaged peoples

of the South whose ancestry was of lighter hue. It was blacks who became Americans in slavery and adjusted in independence under conditions approaching serfdom.

There are no standards against which to measure the extraordinary changes in the part of the century that is past or to assess the changes in the three decades that remain. There are distinctive aspects of the migrations of the blacks from agriculture and the rural areas that have intensified the economic difficulties and accentuated those aspects of the nonnuclear family structure that were adjustments in rural areas but maladjustments in cities. The migrations to metropolitan areas within the South and the dispersions to metropolitan areas outside the South occurred as mechanization and automation lessened the availability and the status of urban jobs for which the men were qualified. Advancing educational requirements made marginal not only the functionally illiterate but those with less than high school education. Social aspirations precluded the traditional service occupations. Permeating all the distinctive aspects of the black dispersion, concentration and modernization were the many roles of color in American culture.

The trends in the growth and characteristics of the black population have been summarized by Dr. Valien. The questions of the future do not concern the capabilities of the black population or its potentialities for education, economic and social mobility, the biparental small family or the life of the affluent in élite areas. The critical questions concern the speed of the still incomplete movement from, or adjustment in, the southern areas as well as the speed of the movement toward social and economic equality in metropolitan areas and the achievement of free mobility within them. Neither processes nor resolutions are solely demographic, but the population structures and dynamics that are products of the historic process are among the most critical components in the ongoing crisis. The basis for this conclusion and the depth of the crisis are alike documented in the following statements:

1. The problems of the present and the needs of the future are those of total populations rather than groups within them. The structures, the characteristics and the dynamics of the white and the black populations in metropolitan areas and in states are inter-related. This is true of educational achievement, occupational level and income as well as fertility and mortality.

2. The most sensitive and objective measure of white and black differentials lies in mortality statistics. The lowest infant mortality of blacks is in the central cities of SMSA's of 500,000 and over. The greatest convergence in white and black survival ratios occurs among youth in the ages when death rates have been reduced to very low levels by health and medical activities. The widest divergence is that for men in the ages from 45 to 65, when lifetime experiences are dominant factors.
3. The spectacular adjustment process in recent decades has been the migration to Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas. The most spectacular component has been the migration of blacks from the South. Today the major component in the increase of the black population in the SMSA's is not in-migration, but natural increase.
4. The adjustments to metropolitan life and the upward mobilities within them are braked by the high rates of reproduction that still characterize major portions of the families. In 1960, the net reproduction rates for the black population were 1.8 in the Middle Atlantic States, 2.1 in the East North Central States, and 2.3 in the deep South. Differences for populations within and outside SMSA's were slight. In the nation and the regions, the major differences in fertility were those between whites and blacks, not those between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan populations.
5. The relatively high fertility and the high proportions of illegitimacy in the black populations of SMSAs in 1960 reflected transfers of the norms and behavior patterns of the areas of origin to the areas of residence. The most striking illustration is the similarity in overall and in age-specific numbers of illegitimate births per 1,000 women in the deep South and in the East North Central States.
6. The trends in the fertility of the blacks in future years will be influenced both by the rapidity of the upward economic and social movements and by that complex of factors that influences national fertility, white or black, Puerto Rican or Appalachian, northern or southern. Whatever the trends in fertility in the future, the population moving through the various stages of life in future years will be influenced by the relatively high fertility

of the last quarter century. There will be major increases in the number of blacks aged 25 and over in the next quarter century. Increase from 1960 to 1990 will be 109 per cent for those aged 25 to 44, 42 per cent for those aged 45 to 64.

7. The problems of growth in the black population of the deep South have not been solved by the continuing exodus from the subregion. If swift declines in rates of child bearing occur along with continuing out-migration at the rates of the late 1950's and the early 1960's, numbers of infants and children may be declining by 1975. Increase in the numbers aged 18 to 24 will continue to 1975 and beyond, despite the past depletions of those in the childbearing ages and the continuing out-migrations. It will amount to 30 per cent in the decade from 1965 to 1975.
8. The major upsurges in the black population are occurring in the northern metropolitan regions as the children born to earlier migrants mature and in-migrants are added to the population in the productive ages. In the years from 1965 to 1975, numbers aged 18 to 24 will increase 75 per cent in the Middle Atlantic Division, and 92 per cent in the East North Central Division.

Migration, massive as it has been, has not eliminated increase in the deep South. The high fertility of earlier migrants and continuing immigration are yielding very high rates of increase in young adult populations in the metropolitan areas of the north. These are among the most sobering of the dimensions of the heritage of past dynamics to present and near future dynamics.

This is not a statement of demographic doom or demographic determinism. It is an affirmation of the priorities and the urgencies of those manifold transformations that will eliminate the separable demographics of color, subculture and region.

Dr. Glick: Let me add a footnote to the final point that was made in Dr. Valien's presentation. We have a new report on voting experience of the population in the 1968 election, which includes a comparison with 1964. One of the most interesting results is that whereas the nonwhites *increased* their votes between 1964 and 1968, the white vote *went down*. There is also evidence in our report of an increase in registration of Negroes, particularly in the South.

Dr. Price: I think we should keep in mind an important point Dr. Taeuber brought out, and one that Dr. Valien mentioned, in looking at these differentials. Many of the black-white differentials are accent-

uated by regional differentials by the concentration of blacks in the South. The black population takes on an undue picture of characteristics that are typical of the South as a whole, and therefore accentuates the black-nonblack differences that exist. The differences are real, but are accentuated by this regional factor.

Dr. Hauser: I want to make an observation that I think will be verified by other types of data that will be considered in the course of this conference. I think one of the great distortions likely to occur in the public mind about advances on the part of blacks in this country, based on analysis of Census data, will come from the fact that the data, for obvious reasons, do not have the qualitative characteristics that might be desired.

For example, I think it would be utterly misleading when the results of the 1970 Census are out to make the observation that blacks are close on the heels of the whites in formal education; as measured by years of schooling completed. That measure will fail utterly to convey what more intensive studies are making quite clear, that 12 years of schooling for the blacks may mean eighth grade reading ability.

Similarly, in connection with the occupational data, there may be serious distortions in interpretation of the increases in proportion of white-collar jobs among the blacks. The use of the broad occupation groups conceals the fact that the black professionals, for instance, are concentrated in a relatively small number of white-collar jobs and are in the least paid of the white-collar jobs.

I do not think that this type of distortion is too likely to occur among the sophisticated as represented around this table, but I do think that it may do much damage in exaggerating the progress that is taking place.

Dr. Irene Taeuber: May I pursue my favorite argument for the improvement of vital statistics analysis? This is also an addition to Dr. Hauser's comments. A recent study of the National Center for Health Statistics shows the age-specific death rates higher for nonwhites than for whites at each educational level. It is apparent that mortality statistics provide a significant documentation of the relative status of blacks and whites in American society. A death rate is the hardest thing there is to argue away.

Dr. Bogue: One of the items that Dr. Valien did not present is school attendance by color. There is a widely held belief that the Negro is a dropout from public school. The school attendance statistics seem to indicate that the Negro population is following the white with a

lag of about ten years, now; that school attendance rates of whites a decade ago are characteristic of Negroes today. That is an acceleration of what was a very dismal picture of two decades ago.

The school attendance rates, and the quality of education in metropolitan schools as well as nonmetropolitan schools, both in the South and in the North, are improving, so the distinctions that Dr. Hauser points out probably will be less characteristic in the younger Negro than in the older in 1970.

Dr. Price: This is a point on which Dr. Glick may have the answer. A Census publication a year and a half or two years ago showed that at ages 15-19 or thereabout the proportion of nonwhites attending school had been declining from 1955 to about 1965. I wonder whether there are more recent data on this or what is the status of this trend? Do we have any explanations for it?

Dr. Glick: I remember the trend but don't know what it implies. Between 1955 and 1965, the number enrolled in school at ages 18 to 24 years went up from 18 to 29 per cent for whites and from 14 to 21 for nonwhites, a gain of 11 percentage points for the whites, but only seven for nonwhites. However, by 1968, the rate had risen only two more percentage points for the whites, but five more for the nonwhites.

Dr. Hauser: I would like to ask Dr. Bogue what evidence there is for the improvement in the quality of education among nonwhites. I have failed to see any of it anywhere and I am delighted to know it is happening. What is the evidence?

Dr. Bogue: Among other things, migration. A Negro school in Chicago is poorer than a white school in Chicago, but it is a lot better than a Negro school in the South.

Dr. Hauser: If you are talking about the regional factor, probably yes, but even in Chicago the basic inadequacies are continuing into the next generation whether measured by basic skills, salable skills or citizenship skills. There is certainly no evidence of an improvement in the Chicago school system, or in the District of Columbia school system, and in fact both are probably getting worse.

Dr. Beasley: I would like to ask Dr. Taeuber to comment further on her statement about the age-specific rates of illegitimate births per thousand total women, whether reported as single, married or otherwise in marital status. The patterns on an age-specific basis are the same in the South as in other regions.

Dr. Irene Taeuber: That is correct, subject to the limitations of the

definitions of illegitimacy in the group. The legitimacy status of births is reported for most of the states of the deep South, including South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Arkansas. It is also reported for the Appalachian states of Kentucky, Tennessee and West Virginia, and for the states of the East North Central Division. The blacks in the East North Central Division are concentrated in the inner areas of great metropolitan centers such as Chicago, Detroit and the Ohio group.

The questions of the precision of the reported marital status are avoided by taking the number of illegitimate births per 1,000 women in an age group without reference to marital status. The rates are many times higher for the nonwhites than for the whites, but there are only slight differences among the rates for the nonwhites in the subregions. The patterns of marriage or nonmarriage and childbearing were transferred directly from the areas of origin in the South to the areas of residence in the North.

Dr. Beasley: Do you think this would then be equated to the fact that one who has a child out of wedlock, let us say, in the Eastern region of which you spoke, is as prone to be counted as having an illegitimate child in the North as when such a child would be born in a southern area?

It is very difficult to measure, for instance, whether or not there is overreporting of illegitimate births in the South, based on a racial prejudicial situation. Perhaps this case of the ratio tending to be the same in the eastern area as in the southern area would tend to make one think that prejudice is equally distributed, or that in fact perhaps southern rates of illegitimacy are not being over-reported.

Dr. Irene Taeuber: You can allow substantial error and still have a sobering indication of the instabilities of the black family. There is some plausibility in the relations of the illegitimate rates, the proportions married in the younger ages and the children ever born per 1,000 women reported as ever married. In 1960, the percentages of the girls aged 15 to 19 reported as married were quite low. The numbers of children ever born per 1,000 total women in these ages were higher in the metropolitan areas of the North than in the deep South. Also, in several instances children born to married women in the year preceding the census numbered more than 1,000 per 1,000 women.

Dr. Thompson: Dr. Valien mentioned the difference between the education of black men and women. This year, for the first time, we will have probably an equal number of Negro boys and girls graduating

from high school. Now, 62 per cent of high school graduates in the black community are women, but this trend is changing, and we think that by next year we will have about 50-50 per cent graduating from high school.

Dr. Farley: Drs. Valien and Taeuber noted something about the age distribution of the black population. This is quite important to keep in mind; we know there are cohort effects with regard to fertility and mortality. It is true that the black population is much larger at the younger age than at the older age.

In other words, the number of blacks who are entering their twenties at the present time is much larger than the number of blacks who are entering their forties or fifties.

We can also imagine that the younger black population has grown up at a time when there were various court decisions calling for equality, but our social institutions have been very slow in implementing this call. The older black population, perhaps, has different expectations for they grew up at a time when the social climate was even less favorable to equality. I think the age distribution has to be kept in mind in assessing some of the dynamics of the current racial situation.

Dr. Valien: I certainly appreciate the remarks made by Dr. Taeuber and others. I have no specific disagreement with anything that was said. I would like to make one point that I did not pick up in this paper, which might have been taken up in addition to school attendance, and that is a definition the Census uses for the Negro.

I don't presume you want to get into that, but it seems to me the Census is losing a capital opportunity to extend its cultural measurements this year by putting the Racial Identification item "Negro or Black" on the same line.

Dr. Glick: You want two lines?

Dr. Valien: Yes. I guess you are going to report all as Negro?

Dr. Glick: Yes.

Dr. Valien: This is a kind of a subterfuge, isn't it?

Dr. Glick: I can mention one thing that is happening. In the past, in cases where there has been some question as to whether a person should be reported white or Negro; the determining factor was whether either parent was Negro.

This time it is up to the individual to determine, and in case of doubt the instructions say simply to record the race of the father, which is exactly the same thing we do in our country-of-origin sta-

tistics; where both parents are of foreign origin we just classify the person by the country of origin of the father.

So if a Negro mother and a white father tell the enumerator they do not know how to classify their child, the enumerator is instructed to record the child as white.

Dr. Valien: May I ask one other question? Are you going to provide some possibilities for self-correction by giving us cross-racial marriages?

Dr. Glick: Yes, we expect to show the number of children in 1970 whose parents were of different races. We showed some data for 1960 in our report, "Women by Children Under 5 Years Old," on parents of different races. Before we introduced self-enumeration in 1960, we had been sensitive about showing any data on intermarriage of racial groups, because usually it was the enumerator at the door who was making the decision about the race of the household members.

But in 1970, as in 1960, every person in the United States will have an opportunity to indicate his own race, using a form mailed to the home.

Dr. Hauser: What about the places for direct enumeration?

Dr. Glick: They will receive a form by mail in advance of enumeration and the enumerator will simply pick it up. If the respondents choose to fill it out they can do so in their own manner. Since the same procedure was followed in 1960, we were able to show a cross-tabulation of the race of the father by the race of the mother.