

# Negro-White Differences In Geographic Mobility\*

*The geographic mobility of workers in the United States was the subject of a study issued by the University of Michigan Survey Research Center in 1966.<sup>1</sup> The major findings of the study were the subject of an article in the March issue of the Bulletin; the following article, also drawn from the study, outlines Negro-white differences in this important mechanism of economic adjustment and suggests methods by which existing racial disparities may be alleviated.*

POSTWAR ADVANCES in technology have helped to bring about an era of economic opportunity for American workers, but the benefits of change have not been shared equitably by all groups within the labor force. The most outstanding example of this employment inequality is provided by America's Negroes, whose economic progress has been frustrated by discrimination, undereducation, and the lack of marketable skills.

Despite the general prosperity enjoyed today, Negroes continue to lag far behind white persons in both income and rate of employment. In addition, this racial group has lately demonstrated an increasingly low propensity to move geographically—a tendency that is further weakening its already disadvantaged position in the labor force.

Many of the moves Negroes do make are misdirected, at least from an economic standpoint. In many respects the Negro who relocates resembles the typical European emigrant of the last century: he usually gravitates to the ghetto of a large central city, frequently because relatives already live there; quite often he seeks not a better job but merely the means of making a

livelihood; and the job he obtains is usually a low-paying one for which the competition is nevertheless keen, thus making him a prime candidate for periodic unemployment.

In the absence of savings or other resources, prolonged unemployment or work at extremely low pay leads inevitably to poverty, and this in turn often leads to dependence on public assistance or private charity. For this reason, the Social Security Administration has long been interested in mobility studies that seek to answer the riddle of why many workers remain unemployed even though their skills are in demand in other geographic areas. A special source of concern has been the high proportion of Negroes currently unemployed and on the welfare rolls who are physically and mentally capable of gainful employment.

In addition to their treatment in the Survey Research Center report, Negro-white mobility rates have also been compared within the framework of another, recent study, by Lowell E. Gallaway.<sup>2</sup> The two studies are much too dissimilar to compare the findings closely. As its title implies, the Gallaway report focuses on both theoretical and empirical aspects of the movement of workers between industries for a specified period of time. In contrast, the Survey Research Center project is concerned with mobility to and from regions and between types of work such as farming and industrial employment. There are also marked differences in the size of the samples, the data obtained, and the conclusions that can be drawn from them.

The Gallaway study is based on a statistical evaluation of the 1-percent continuous work-history sample from the earnings records of the Social Security Administration, which, in 1957-

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<sup>1</sup> The report of the study, which was supported in part by the Social Security Administration, was prepared under the direction of John B. Lansing and Eva Mueller with the assistance of Nancy Barth, William Ladd, and Jane Lean. Appreciation is extended to the authors for their help in readying this article for publication.

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<sup>2</sup> Lowell E. Gallaway, *Interindustry Labor Mobility in the United States, 1957 to 1960*, Social Security Administration, Office of Research and Statistics (Research Report No. 18), in press. The report was begun while the author, now with the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce at the University of Pennsylvania, was a staff member of the Office of Research and Statistics, Social Security Administration. For an article abstracted from the study, "Interindustry Labor Mobility Among Men, 1957-60," see the *Bulletin*, September 1966.

60, included more than 300,000 individuals. The University of Michigan researchers based their findings on in-depth interviews with fewer than 4,000 persons. The large size of the sample enabled Gallaway to perform econometric analysis of gross shifts of workers between major industry groups with a precision impossible to achieve through interviews. The techniques employed by the Survey Research Center enabled it to measure a far greater number of variables, including social, psychological, and demographic factors, and to achieve a more detailed, if less precise, picture of today's migrant worker.

### SCOPE OF THE SRC STUDY

To obtain the basic data for its study the Survey Research Center conducted six sample surveys of adults living in private households during the period August 1962–November 1963. Three waves of interviews with cross-sections of the United States population yielded information from 3,991 respondents, each of whom was either a male household head or the wife of such a person, selected on a random basis. Three special sample surveys were also conducted, with the respondents selected on the same basis. In the first of these, 433 families living in redevelopment areas in September–October 1962 were interviewed (in addition to the families in such areas included in the national cross-sections). Another special sample included 189 families who reported in the 1962 or 1963 Survey of Consumer Finances that they had moved in the year before the interview. Finally, in the late summer and early fall of 1963, reinterviews were conducted with 1,750 persons who had been interviewed by the Survey researchers a year earlier to determine the accuracy of predictions of annual mobility made on the basis of variables measured in the first interview.

Of the nearly 4,000 interviews, about 3,570 were with white respondents, 350 with Negroes, and 50 with other nonwhites. Because of the relatively small number of Negroes involved, the Survey Research Center cautions that figures relating to Negro subgroups are merely indicative of orders of magnitude and should therefore not be read too closely.

For the purposes of the study a move was con-

sidered to be a change of residence between labor-market areas, and these were defined as standard metropolitan statistical areas, or, outside of them, counties. A person was not considered to have moved if he had merely changed his place of residence within a labor-market area.

### RACIAL DISPARITIES IN GEOGRAPHIC MOVEMENT

Although the differences in Negro-white mobility have been most pronounced since the end of World War II, a racial disparity in geographic movement has been observed to a lesser degree over a much longer period of time. A brief review of the general pattern of Negro migration is given in order that recent movements can be viewed in proper historical perspective.

#### The Migratory Patterns

In a general sense, the geographic mobility pattern of American Negroes in this century has been the same as that for the population as a whole: The flow has been from agricultural to metropolitan areas. But when movement between specific regions is considered, an entirely different picture emerges: While the general population has continued to shift westward, Negroes have moved from the Deep South<sup>3</sup> to all other parts of the country, chiefly to the North.

All regions except the Deep South have gained population through Negro migration. Over three-fourths of present Negro family heads were born in the Deep South, but only 42 percent remain there now. Conversely, 6 percent of Negro family heads were born in the North Central States, but 22 percent now live there. (By contrast, only the West shows a net gain in white population in the sense that a higher proportion of the present white adult population lives there than was born there.)

The rapid decline of employment opportunities in southern agriculture, once the principal source of livelihood for Negroes, explains only part of this movement. Historically, southern Negroes

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<sup>3</sup> Here defined as Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

have had an incentive to move that has had no exact counterpart among white families anywhere—the racial barriers confronting them. Much of their out-migration has therefore been socially as well as economically motivated.

These rural-to-urban, South-to-North migrations were accelerated during the two World Wars when the pressures of mobilization helped relax existing job discrimination against Negroes in other parts of the country. Available data indicate that during these conflicts and the years immediately thereafter Negro Americans were at least as mobile as the white population.

### Recent Differences

Considered in the light of this vast geographic redistribution of the Negro population, the Survey Research Center finding that Negroes are now much less mobile than the white population may be a surprising one, but it is fully confirmed both by the 1960 Census and annual surveys conducted by the Bureau of the Census. The latter surveys, available since 1947, have registered a lower rate of intercounty moves for the Negro population<sup>4</sup> than for the white every year since 1948. Furthermore, in recent years the gap seems to have widened.

The Census surveys show, for example, that during the 3 years 1948–51 the average annual intercounty migration rate for the nonwhite was 5 percent and that in 1959–62 it fell to 4.1 percent. In these same periods the migration rate for white persons increased from 6.3 percent to 6.6 percent. The 1960 Census found an even greater discrepancy: 16.8 percent of the white population over age 5 then lived in a different county than they had 5 years previously, compared with 8.5 percent for the nonwhite. Survey Research Center data for 1957–62 show a similar differential in 5-year migration rates: 17 percent for white family heads and 7 percent for heads of Negro families.

After analyzing both the 10-year Census migration data for 1950–60 and the 5-year data for

<sup>4</sup> Some of the Census data relate to all nonwhite persons, not solely to Negroes. The discrepancy is hardly significant, however, since, according to the 1960 Census, more than 90 percent of all nonwhite persons in the United States are Negroes.

1955–60 and adjusting for differences in coverage, C. H. Hamilton concluded that “the migration rate for nonwhites from the South must have slowed down substantially during the latter half of the 1950–60 decade.”<sup>5</sup>

Recent differences in Negro-white mobility rates have been apparent, not only in the pattern of movement between labor market areas but also in movements within these areas and between places; in multiple, return, and temporary moves; in long-distance commuting—even in plans and attitudes toward moving.

A 1958 study by the Bureau of the Census found that moves between places (cities, towns, etc.) were less frequent among the nonwhite population than among the white. After studying the data on which this finding was based, Karl Taeuber characterized the racial differences as “quite pervasive.” For example, the proportion of white men aged 45–64 who reported having lived in their present places of residence less than 10 years was higher in that year than that for nonwhite men in every region of the country, in places of every size, and in urban as well as rural areas.<sup>6</sup>

The Survey Research Center study also found these specific examples of lower relative Negro mobility in recent years:

1. Since 1950, white workers have been twice as likely as Negroes to work away from home on a temporary basis<sup>7</sup> or to commute long distances (50 miles or more) to a place of employment. The ratios of white and of Negro workers who had made such moves during the period were the same in both cases—approximately 8 percent and 4 percent, respectively.

2. Among those who had moved since 1950, white persons made multiple moves far more often than did Negroes. Fifteen percent of white family heads were found to have moved four or more times since 1950, compared with only 4 percent of Negro family heads. Of those who had

<sup>5</sup> C. Horace Hamilton, “The Negro Leaves the South,” *Demography*, 1964, vol. 1, No. 1, page 285.

<sup>6</sup> Karl Taeuber, “Duration of Residence Analysis of Internal Migration in the United States,” *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, January 1961, pages 116–131.

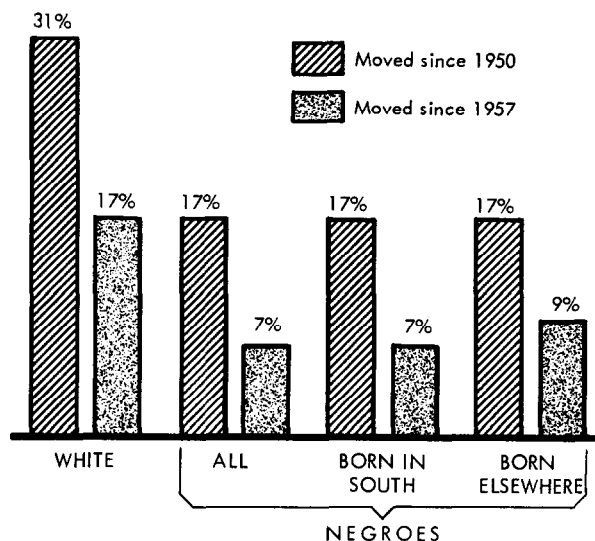
<sup>7</sup> Migratory workers were not fully covered by the survey since the sample excluded people housed in temporary dwellings and those living in large rooming or boarding houses.

moved at least once in the period, there were considerably more moving plans among those who were white than among those who were Negro. Though multiple moves per se do not guarantee economic gains, they do indicate the absence of inhibitions regarding mobility.

3. Even a disposition to move in the near future was found less frequently among Negro family heads than among white family heads. In their responses to the question, "If you could do as you please, would you like to stay in \_\_\_\_\_ or would you like to move?" 84 percent of Negroes indicated they would prefer to stay, 1 percent were not sure, and 15 percent said they would prefer to move. The corresponding ratios for white persons were 77, 3, and 20 percent.

4. When respondents were subsequently asked whether there was any chance that they might move out of their area of residence in the following year, 96 percent of Negroes saw no possibility of doing so in the 12 months following the 1962 interview. On the other hand, 11 percent of white adults interviewed thought they would or might move to another area in the following year. Negroes born outside the Deep South, who constitute the younger and better-educated part of the Negro population, expressed moving plans four times as often as did southern-born Negroes, although since 1950, in contrast to earlier periods, the two groups did not differ significantly in mobility rates (chart 1).

Chart 1.—Mobility of white and Negro heads of families, 1950-64



The study found that there was little difference between the Negro and the white population in the proportion of moves that were returns to a previous place of residence, usually the place of birth or a place of residence during childhood. Approximately one-fourth of the moves made by Negroes were returns, compared with one-fifth of those made by the white population.

In only one major category—intracounty mobility—was the Negro found to be more mobile than the white in 1948-64. Table 1 reveals that nonwhite adults consistently moved more frequently between residences within labor-market areas, and white adults annually showed a greater degree of mobility between the labor-market areas themselves.

The high residential mobility of the Negro population may be explained at least in part by the fact that only 38 percent of Negroes are homeowners, compared with 64 percent of the white population. Renters generally make local moves much more frequently than do homeowners.

#### Differential Impact of the Rural-to-Urban Shift

Perhaps no migratory movement in American history has made its effect felt more quickly than the one touched off by the mechanization of

TABLE 1.—Mobility status of the civilian population aged 1 and over, by color, 1948-64

Period	[Percent]			
	Intercounty movers		Intracounty movers	
	White	Non-white	White	Non-white
April 1948 to April 1949.....	5.9	4.7	13.0	13.6
March 1949 to March 1950.....	5.7	4.7	12.9	15.2
April 1950 to April 1951.....	7.2	5.6	13.7	16.1
April 1951 to April 1952.....	6.8	5.1	13.0	15.5
April 1952 to April 1953.....	6.7	6.2	12.4	21.7
April 1953 to April 1954.....	6.6	4.8	11.8	16.0
April 1954 to April 1955.....	6.8	4.4	12.7	18.0
March 1955 to March 1956.....	7.0	4.9	13.0	19.9
April 1956 to April 1957.....	6.5	4.4	12.5	17.8
March 1957 to March 1958.....	6.9	5.3	12.3	19.8
April 1958 to April 1959.....	6.4	4.2	12.3	19.6
March 1959 to March 1960.....	6.8	4.0	12.2	18.4
March 1960 to March 1961.....	6.6	4.3	13.1	18.4
April 1961 to April 1962.....	6.4	4.0	12.2	18.8
March 1962 to March 1963.....	7.1	4.3	11.9	18.1
March 1963 to March 1964.....	6.9	4.7	12.2	19.3

Source: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 141.

southern agriculture. In a scant 50 years, the Negro population—once composed primarily of sharecroppers, tenant farmers, farm laborers, and their families—has become more urban than the white population. The 1960 Census was the first to register this fact: 73.2 percent of Negroes were then found to be living in cities, compared with 69.5 percent for white persons. To state it another way, the Census of Agriculture indicates that in 1920 about 29 percent of all American farmers were Negroes and that, by 1959, the figure had fallen to 16 percent.

The differential impact of the rural-to-urban migration on the two racial groups is illustrated in the following tabulation, which shows the origin of family heads living in metropolitan areas at the time of interview. It reveals that about one-third of the white adults living in metropolitan areas were born on a farm or had lived on one for at least a year. Among metropolitan-area Negroes born in the Deep South, 52 percent had farm backgrounds, but the corresponding figure for metropolitan Negroes born outside the South was only about 18 percent. The tabulation also reveals that about 46 percent of the white adults who have lived in agricultural areas remain rural residents and that the corresponding proportion for Negro adults is only 32 percent.

[Percent]

Race	Family heads	
	All with rural background, still living in rural area	Lived on farm for year or more, now living in metropolitan area
Negro.....	32	42
Born in Deep South.....	33	52
Born elsewhere.....	(1)	18
White.....	46	34

<sup>1</sup> Percentage not computed; too few cases in sample.

The fact that Negro adults are more likely than white adults to have taken part in the off-the-farm migratory movement creates something of an anomaly when lifetime mobility of the two groups is compared. Though they are currently less mobile than their white contemporaries in virtually all respects, Negro adults nevertheless show a greater degree of geographic movement over their lifetime.

Both the Survey Research Center findings and Bureau of the Census data show this to be true.

According to the most recent Census, 58 percent of white adults were still living in 1960 in the State in which they were born, compared with only 52 percent of nonwhite adults. Data on lifetime mobility from the Survey study differ from the Census data in that they refer to family heads rather than to all persons aged 20 or over and, more importantly, in that they measure the proportion of the population who still live in the same labor-market area, rather than in the same State. Under the Census criterion the proportions are 36 percent for white adults and 33 percent for Negro adults. By contrast, the proportion of children living in 1960 in the State of their birth was higher for Negro children than for white children—a reflection of the low Negro mobility of recent years.

The study researchers found the Negro population to be far from homogeneous with respect to lifetime mobility. Of the three-fourths of Negro adults who were born in the Deep South, only slightly more than 1 in 4 were found to be currently living in the labor-market area in which they were born. This group has a considerably higher rate of lifetime mobility than the white population. For the much smaller group of Negro family heads born outside the Deep South, about one-half were found to be still living in the area in which they were born. The northern-born Negro thus represents a particularly immobile group in the population.

## THE CAUSES OF LOWER NEGRO MOBILITY

Has the relatively low geographic mobility of Negro workers observed in recent years been due entirely to socio-economic factors such as education, occupation, and income level? Or are there social-psychological factors or differences in motivation at work in addition? The Survey Research Center examined these two questions in turn.

### The Influence of Demographic Factors

Negro and white family heads were compared with respect to age, occupation, education, and

type of place of residence—the four demographic factors known to account for a large part of the difference in mobility among individuals. On the first count—age distribution—white and Negro family heads were found to resemble each other closely. On the basis of this finding it was concluded that the observed racial differences in mobility appear to have nothing to do with the factor of age.

When education and occupation were considered, however, extensive differences were found between white and Negro family heads. Data for the population as a whole indicate that a person with a college education is at least three times as likely to have moved in the past 5 years as a person who has attended only grammar school. It was therefore considered highly relevant that 26 percent of white family heads but only 12 percent of their Negro counterparts have had some college training. Conversely, only 28 percent of white family heads, compared with 55 percent of Negroes, have had only 8 years of schooling or less.

Since education and occupation are closely related, occupational differences between Negro and white family heads were also considered as a possible cause of the lower relative mobility of Negroes. In the adult population as a whole the proportion of movers was found to be about twice as high in the preceding 5-year period among families headed by managerial and professional workers as among those headed by operatives, laborers, and service workers. Negroes are found predominantly in the less mobile occupations: 51 percent of them are operatives, laborers, and service workers, and only 6 percent are professional workers or salaried managers. The corresponding percentages for white family heads are 19 and 18.

Persons engaged in professional, managerial, or skilled technical work are highly mobile because their talents are in demand over a wide area and the compensation offered them makes moves practical. They sometimes may have to move across county or even State lines to find the most suitable job opening, and this movement often takes place within large companies that “transfer” personnel from one location to another. Since only a small proportion of Negroes are in highly specialized or skilled occupations, this reason for geographic mobility does not apply to most

of them.<sup>8</sup> Transfers, for example, accounted for 20 percent of all recent moves by white family heads, but only 5 percent of those made by Negro family heads.

The educational and occupational differences between the races, though they are quite marked, do not fully account for the observed differences in recent geographic mobility, as the following tabulation suggests. When adults with the same education or occupation are compared, the Negro groups still appear considerably less mobile than do the corresponding white groups.

Demographic characteristic	Percent in each group who moved in 5 most recent years	
	White	Negro
Education:		
8 grades or less.....	8	4
9-12 years.....	15	11
College.....	30	10
Occupation:		
Professional, managerial.....	31	5
Laborers, service workers, operatives.....	16	6
Other.....	13	8

The number of cases of Negro migrants in the Survey Research Center study was not large enough to warrant comparison of the socio-economic status of Negro migrants and Negro non-migrants. Karl and Alma Taeuber have made such an analysis, however, on the basis of Census data.<sup>9</sup> They found that in 1955-60 Negro migrants into large nonsouthern areas were of “substantially higher socio-economic status” (defined in

<sup>8</sup> Not only are Negroes less likely than whites to be in the higher paying jobs, but there apparently is a tendency for a lower proportion of them to return to such positions after losing them during a downswing of the business cycle. Gallaway found signs of this phenomenon in his study of interindustry labor mobility for the period 1957-60, a time span selected because it represented a full business cycle (measured from peak to peak) for the national economy. This conclusion was suggested by the fact that the proportion of Negro “stayers” tended to be relatively high in comparison with that for all workers in the low-income industries and relatively low in the high-income industries. This systematic shifting of Negro workers toward industries at the lower earnings level, he feels, has a depressing effect on their income levels and accounts in part for the observed difference between earnings of Negro workers and other workers. See Lowell E. Gallaway, op. cit., *Social Security Bulletin*, September 1966, pages 14-15. (Editor's note.)

<sup>9</sup> Karl E. Taeuber and Alma Taeuber, “The Changing Character of Negro Migration,” *American Sociological Review*, January 1965, pages 429-441.

terms of education and proportion in white-collar occupations) than the resident Negro population. This conclusion parallels findings that white mobility is positively related to socio-economic status.

One of the most striking differences between the Negro population and the white population is the larger proportion of Negroes with very low incomes and no savings or reserve funds. Thirty-three percent of Negro families in 1962-63, compared with 12 percent of white families, were found to be earning less than \$2,000 a year. Those in the bottom income bracket are less mobile than others: in the population as a whole 10 percent moved in the 5 years preceding the interview, compared with 17 percent of families with annual incomes above \$2,000. The researchers recognized, however, that low income is associated with low levels of education and occupational skills and with old age and can therefore reflect primarily the low mobility associated with these factors.

Surprisingly, research uncovered no evidence for the population as a whole or for racial groups that lack of financial reserves reduces geographic mobility significantly. Although one might suppose that poverty would make it difficult for persons to meet the expenses and financial risks involved in moving, the survey data do not indicate that the relatively low income and reserve funds of the Negro population constitute a barrier to mobility per se. Some of the movers among low-income Negroes studied in the survey reported that their moving expenses involved nothing more than a bus ticket and that they had nothing to take with them but their clothes.

Dependence on some form of public assistance was also shown to have little or no effect on mobility. Among white families with incomes of less than \$4,000, 11 percent of those that had recently received financial assistance moved in the 5 years before the survey; the corresponding figure for families that did not receive aid was 12 percent. Among Negro families in this income category, mobility was, if anything, more frequent for recipients of aid than for nonrecipients: The 5-year mobility rates were 6 percent and 4 percent, respectively. These percentages are based on small numbers of cases and therefore need to be reexamined in future studies.

Since none of the social-economic characteristics mentioned above adequately explained the relatively low Negro mobility of recent years, the

Survey Research Center also examined the joint effect of several of these variables. Table 2 shows the results of a multivariate analysis. In the second column the proportions of Negroes and white family heads who had moved in the 5 years before the survey appear without any adjustments. In the fourth column, some of the major factors other than race that affect mobility have been adjusted by statistical means—that is, the effect of factors like education and occupation have been removed.

TABLE 2.—Relationship between race and mobility status, 1957-62

Age, residence, and race	Number of cases	Mean proportion who moved	Deviations from the mean	
			Unadjusted	Adjusted
			[Percent]	
Age:				
Under 35.....	947	28.3		
Negro.....	81	9.9	-18.4	<sup>1</sup> -11.3
Other.....	866	30.0	+1.7	+1.1
35 and over.....	3,027	8.9		
Negro.....	266	4.1	-4.8	-3.5
Other.....	2,761	9.2	+3	+3
Residence:				
In metropolitan areas.....	2,465	11.3		
Negro.....	247	3.6	-7.7	<sup>1</sup> -6.0
Other.....	2,218	12.2	+9	+7
In nonmetropolitan areas.....	1,468	17.6		
Negro.....	102	9.8	-7.8	-3.5
Other.....	1,366	18.2	+6	+3

<sup>1</sup> Significant at the 5-percent level.

Even after allowance is made for an array of socio-economic factors, Negroes are shown to be less mobile than the white population. Parallel analyses of moves in the year following the initial survey and of moving plans reveal similar mobility differentials between the Negro population and the white population.

### Negro-White Social-Psychological Differences

The next step was to examine social and psychological factors in an attempt to explain the residual mobility differential. Psychological differences between the Negro population and the white population and differences in their respective relations to the social environment are rooted in the discrimination and poverty problems, and in the generally disadvantaged position of the American Negro. The problem was to discover

how and to what extent these factors constitute barriers to mobility.

Two psychological variables were measured in the study: the respondent's sense of personal effectiveness and his "security versus achievement" orientation.

The "sense of personal effectiveness" was measured by the appropriateness of the responses to the following questions: (1) Have you usually felt pretty sure your life would work out the way you want it to, or have there been more times when you haven't been very sure about it? (2) Are you the kind of person that plans his (her) life ahead all the time, or do you live more from day to day? (3) When you make plans ahead, do you usually get to carry out things the way you expected, or do things usually come up to make you change your plans? (4) Some people feel that other people push them around a good bit. Others feel that they run their lives pretty much the way they want to. How is it with you? (5) Would you say you nearly always finish things once you start them, or do you sometimes have to give up before they are finished?

Respondents were deemed to be security- or achievement-oriented on the basis of their replies to this question: "Would you please look at this card and tell me which things on this list about a job (occupation) you would most prefer (would want most for your husband); which comes next, which third, and so forth?" The card cited "an occupation or job in which: A. income is steady, B. income is high, C. there is no danger of being fired or unemployed, D. working hours are short, lots of free time, E. chances for advancement are good, and F. the work is important, gives a feeling of accomplishment." Those who numbered both A and C as 1, 2, or 3, or who ranked both A and C higher than E and F, were classified as security-oriented. Those who numbered both E and F as 1, 2, or 3, or who ranked both E and F higher than A and C, were classified as achievement-oriented. All other combinations were treated as unclassifiable.

Table 3 shows that these two variables are distributed differently for Negro and for white Americans. As would be expected, the Negroes in the study registered a lesser sense of personal effectiveness than did white persons and a greater preoccupation with security, rather than chance for advancement, in evaluating jobs. Both the

sense of personal effectiveness and achievement orientation are low among the less-educated, those in occupations requiring few skills, and among those with low income—categories in which the vast majority of Negroes find themselves.

TABLE 3.—Occupational preferences and personal effectiveness score, by race

[Percentage distribution]		
Subject	White	Negro
Occupational preference		
Number of heads of families.....	2,222	219
Total percent.....	100	100
Achievement-oriented.....	33	19
Security-oriented.....	45	52
Other responses.....	22	29
Number of effective responses		
Number of heads of families.....	2,215	223
Total percent.....	100	100
None.....	1	5
One.....	8	22
Two.....	16	18
Three.....	26	23
Four.....	26	18
Five.....	23	14

In another part of the study the Survey Research Center concluded that the existence of these two psychological variables had little or no measurable effect on the mobility rate of the population as a whole. On the assumption that psychological factors might operate differently in the Negro environment, the analysis was repeated for Negroes alone. It was found that these factors do not make a significant contribution of their own toward explaining the Negro migration rate, once education, occupation, and income have been taken into account by multivariate analysis.

One of the ways Negroes compensate for the discrimination that confronts them is by maintaining a close attachment to relatives and friends in their immediate surroundings. Despite the mass movements of the Negro population from South to North and from rural to urban areas within the South during the first half of the twentieth century, Negroes on the whole seem to have somewhat stronger emotional and family ties to their current place of residence than is true for the white population.

As noted earlier, given a hypothetical choice of remaining where they were or moving to another



locality, 84 percent of Negro adults, compared with 77 percent of white adults, indicated a decided preference for staying in their present community. It is interesting to note that for those who preferred to move, economic or job disadvantages were cited more frequently by Negroes than by white persons. In contrast, criticisms of the community—its size, climate, schools, traffic congestion—were voiced more often by white respondents, as the following tabulation shows.

Reason for preference	[Percent]	
	Respondents who would prefer to move	
	White adults	Negro adults
All reasons.....	100	100
Economic.....	15	21
Family.....	3	2
Community.....	28	16
Other.....	1	1
None.....	53	60

The Negro's ties to the community seem to be largely family and friendship ties. Apparently, the Negro migrant from the rural South, like the immigrant from Europe before him, often sent for or was followed by other members of his family. As a consequence, even though only 33 percent of Negro adults were still living in the county in which they were born, 57 percent said that all or most of their relatives were living near them in the same community. Most of the remaining Negro families reported that "some" relatives were living in the same community as they were.

The survey found that only 8 percent of Negro families, in contrast to 20 percent of white families, had no relatives in the community in which they were residing. Conversely, 52 percent of Negro families, compared with only 40 percent of the white families, reported that all their close friends were living in their current place of residence. These contrasts between the Negro population and the white population are important since both past geographic mobility and moving plans have been found to be particularly low among families that have all or most of their relatives and friends living near them.

When a family does decide to move, relatives may play a further role in facilitating and guiding the move. In discussing their most recent

move across labor-market lines, Negro and white families alike most frequently mentioned job or economic factors as the primary reason for moving. Among Negroes who were born in the South and had moved North or West, however, family reasons were mentioned with considerable frequency. One-third of this group said that they moved in order to be closer to a relative who had moved earlier. A study of intercounty moves conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1962-63 found that "marriage and family" was designated as the major reason for moving by 14 percent of white men in the 18-64 age group but by 21 percent of the nonwhite men in that group.<sup>10</sup>

A closer look at the data for recent Negro migrants in the Survey Research Center study suggests that job and family considerations tend to be inseparable in many instances, since relatives are the major source of job information and often help the migrant to find work. Some instances follow.

- A 51-year-old Negro and his wife moved from Arkansas to California where their daughter and her family lived. The daughter's spouse told his father-in-law he could get work there as a common laborer and in fact helped him to locate his first job as a janitor.
- A young Negro moved from Louisiana to the West Coast to join a brother who had urged him to come. The brother then helped him to find a job in a shipyard by sending him to the appropriate union.
- A 30-year-old Negro had moved from Kansas to California and had made several moves within that State in an attempt to find suitable work. Then he heard that his father was in San Francisco and he joined him there. The father, who had an apartment, gave him a place to stay until he could find work and also took him around in his car to look for a job. The son is now a waiter.

Similarly, among Negro migrants returning to the South the influence of relatives is clear.

- A young Negro woman, a domestic worker who had been living in New York with her mother, returned to North Carolina when her mother died. All her other relatives were living in North Carolina.
- A middle-aged Negro born in the South had migrated to New York City in the early 1950's. In 1959 his employer died and he lost his job. He

<sup>10</sup> Samuel Saben, "Geographic Mobility and Employment Status, March 1962-March 1963," *Monthly Labor Review*, August 1964, pages 873-881.

and his family returned to his wife's hometown in the South. A friend there hired him as a farm laborer.

These individual case histories illustrate the tendency of Negroes to cluster in certain communities. A 1957 study that analyzed 1935-40 migration data for metropolitan areas from the Bureau of the Census found that the higher the proportion of Negroes in a metropolitan area in 1935, the higher the percentage of Negroes among in-migrants from 1935 to 1940.<sup>11</sup> The Survey Research Center found this relationship to be significant in multiple correlation after holding constant such factors as age, educational level, size of the metropolitan area and its unemployment rate, percentage in urban areas, and population growth from 1930 to 1940. Indeed, none of the other variables was significant in explaining the destination of Negro moves after the proportion of Negroes in the area of destination had been taken into account.

T. R. Balakrishnan replicated Bogue's analysis for the period 1940-50, using a larger number of variables to measure economic opportunity factors.<sup>12</sup> He found that for metropolitan counties outside the South the proportion of Negroes in the population in 1940 had a significant influence on net in-migration between 1940 and 1950, after allowance is made for such economic opportunity variables as median family income in the county, retail sales and service expenditures per capita, age of the city, and percentage of the population in growth industries.

As a result of these analyses, it appears not only that family and emotional ties to a place and to friends are greater barriers to mobility among Negro families than among white families but also that such moves among labor-market areas as do occur among Negroes, particularly among unskilled workers, appear to be guided as much, or more, by the location of relatives as by job opportunities. Employment counseling by relatives is generally undesirable because, even though

it may simplify the problems of adjustment to a new environment, it is hardly an effective mechanism for guiding people into areas of new opportunities or expanding employment.

One might assume from the foregoing that Negro migration is somewhat insensitive to economic incentives. The Survey Research Center cautions against this conclusion, pointing out that, at least at the time of the survey, when unemployment among unskilled Negroes was high, the economic advantage of moving was stated most often in terms of available jobs. For many Negroes the economic incentive that persuaded them to move during the period might not have been a higher wage somewhere else but simply the prospect of steady work.

A more meaningful measure of the relationship of unemployment to mobility, the survey suggests, might be obtained by classifying people according to long-term, rather than short-term, unemployment status. Among the white population, both recent mobility and moving plans were found to be only moderately higher for those who reported that they were often unemployed than for those who had never or rarely been unemployed, especially if other characteristics were not taken into account. Among Negro families, the mobility differential between those with and those without unemployment experience appears to be much larger than in the white population, as indicated by the data below for family heads in the labor force who moved within the previous 5 years.

	Percent
White:	
Occasional or frequent unemployment .....	23
Steady employment .....	21
Negro:	
Occasional or frequent unemployment .....	12
Steady employment .....	3

Given a strong economic stimulus, large numbers of Negroes do move, as a review of their migratory pattern for the past 50 years indicates. According to Census data, there was a net migration of more than 700,000 Negroes from the South in the 1920's when the growing inadequacy of employment opportunities in southern agriculture coincided with prosperity in the urban sector of the economy. This number was halved during the depression decade of the 1930's but increased to an unprecedented 1.2 million in the 1940's, when

<sup>11</sup> Donald J. Bogue, Henry S. Shryock, Jr., and Siegfried A. Herman, *Subregional Migration in the United States, 1935-40*, Scripps Foundation, 1957, volume 1, pages 69-75.

<sup>12</sup> T. R. Balakrishnan, "Migration and Opportunity: A Study of Standard Metropolitan Areas in the United States," unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1963, pages 101-120.

TABLE 4.—Net migration, by color, 1950–60

[Percent]

County groupings	Migration rates <sup>1</sup>	
	White	Nonwhite
	Relation to county income level and degree of urbanization	
1959 median family income:		
Under \$2,000.....	-19.4	-31.3
\$2,000-2,999.....	-19.3	-27.9
\$3,000-3,999.....	-11.0	-19.9
\$4,000-4,999.....	-2.2	-6.1
\$5,000-5,999.....	-1.8	+12.6
\$6,000 and over.....	+11.7	+25.2
	Relation to degree of urbanization	
Percent urban in 1950:		
None.....	-12.7	-26.1
1-29.....	-9.9	-25.0
30-49.....	0	-15.5
50-69.....	+7.1	+3
70 and over.....	+4.4	+17.1

<sup>1</sup> Change due to net migration expressed as a percentage of persons expected to survive to the end of the decade.

Source: Special tabulations based on Bureau of the Census data and prepared by Gladys K. Bowles, Department of Agriculture, for the Area Redevelopment Administration.

World War II created large numbers of job openings for virtually all workers at rising rates of pay. During the war, the migration rate was actually higher for Negro men than for white men, and it was particularly high for unskilled Negro workers.

White workers once again became more mobile in the 1950's, when the net number of Negro moves out of the South declined slightly to about 1 million. Even so, the net shift from lower to higher income counties and from rural to urban areas was more pronounced for Negroes in this decade (table 4). The difference between overall migration level and net shifts resulted from the fact that white migration into and out of given counties largely canceled out in the net figures, but Negro migration flowed one way to a greater extent. The predominant movement of the Negro population from the rural South to the industrial centers of the North and West, where incomes are higher, resulted no doubt from a combination of economic and noneconomic factors.

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In reviewing its findings, the Survey Research Center concluded that emotional or family ties to a place and uneasiness about unfamiliar surroundings are the principal barriers to Negro mobility, particularly when economic incentives

to move are weak. Family and friends, it found, can have either a positive or a negative influence on mobility: if most of them are in the same area in which a Negro resides, he may be reluctant to move; if they have moved, knowing that he will join them may lower his reluctance to leave accustomed surroundings. The general reluctance to move away from relatives and friends was traced to the discrimination problem.

The migration of Negroes off southern farms to northern cities was found to be the result of twin pressures, both of them strong—the push of rapidly declining opportunities in southern agriculture and the pull of sometimes ephemeral industrial opportunities in the North. Because their training does not qualify them for the better jobs that often motivate their moving, large numbers of Negroes now find themselves eking out a bare existence in urban ghettos.

In view of these factors, researchers concluded that the geographic mobility of the Negro population will remain below that of the white unless (1) the demand for unskilled labor is more insistent than it was during the late 1950's and the early 1960's, (2) racial discrimination is reduced, and (3) the educational and skill level of the Negro population becomes more comparable to that of the white population.

Greater geographic mobility on the part of Negroes, it is felt, would contribute toward lowering their unemployment level and raising their earnings. Furthermore, a more mobile Negro population would have a beneficial effect on the general economy in that it would make for a more efficient use of the labor force generally.

To achieve these objectives, the Survey Research Center recommends three broad goals of national policy. Of first importance is the maintenance of a high level of aggregate demand; the pull of available job openings for unskilled labor is essential if Negroes are to achieve greater geographic mobility. And of only slightly less importance to the researchers are the twin goals of overcoming racial discrimination and upgrading the educational and vocational qualifications of the Negro population.

Since the sheer volume of migration is of less importance than its effectiveness in shifting workers to places where they will be most useful economically the researchers further suggest that direct steps be taken to reduce the dependence of

potential Negro migrants on relatives and friends in connection with the migration and job-seeking process. These efforts would grow out of a recognition that the transmission of job information is at present a haphazard process, especially at the lower educational and skill levels, and also that, until racial discrimination has been overcome, it is more difficult for Negroes than for other workers to find jobs, housing, and to settle down successfully in a strange community.

Specifically, the Survey Research Center calls for the establishment of a single office, which could provide information about job openings and housing, aid in filling out job applications, and furnish information about community and

religious organizations that would welcome the newcomer. The arrangement of transportation for job-hunting trips within the new labor-market area and temporary housing for the Negro migrant while he is seeking work are also recommended as important steps in a successful resettlement program.

In implementing such a program, close cooperation would be sought between public agencies and Negro community organizations, which could be particularly useful in transmitting information about job openings. Such personal help, the Survey Research Center concludes, might well be far more effective than financial subsidies in the form of moving or resettlement allowances.

## Notes and Brief Reports

### Aged Persons Receiving Both OASDI and PA, Early 1966\*

Data on the extent to which aged persons receive money payments under both the OASDI program and public assistance and on the changes

\*Data from *Tabular Release on Concurrent Receipt of Public Assistance and Old-Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance by Persons Aged 65 and Over, Early 1966* (Welfare Administration, Bureau of Family Services), 1966.

that occur in this insurance-assistance relationship are important for the evaluation, interpretation, and planning of the programs. The Bureau of Family Services of the Welfare Administration has collected information from the States annually since 1948 on the incidence of the concurrent receipt of monthly payments under old-age assistance (OAA) and old-age, survivor, and disability insurance (OASDI) and on the amounts of such payments. Similar data about recipients of medical assistance for the aged have been collected since February 1962.

The data in the accompanying tables were derived from reports for February 1966 sub-

TABLE 1.—Total number of OASDI beneficiaries aged 65 or over, OAA recipients, and MAA recipients and number and percent receiving public assistance payments and OASDI cash benefits, specified month, 1948-66

Month and year	OASDI beneficiaries aged 65 or over			OAA recipients			MAA recipients		
	Total number <sup>1</sup>	Percent receiving		Total number	Receiving OASDI benefits		Total number <sup>2</sup>	Receiving OASDI benefits	
		OAA	MAA <sup>2</sup>		Number	Percent		Number	Percent
June 1948.....	1,457,000	10.0		2,365,000	146,000	6.1			
September 1950.....	2,192,000	12.6		2,810,000	276,000	9.8			
August 1951.....	3,174,000	11.9		2,728,000	377,000	13.8			
February 1952.....	3,404,000	12.0		2,653,000	406,000	15.1			
February 1953.....	4,010,000	10.7		2,571,000	426,000	16.3			
February 1954.....	4,801,000	9.7		2,574,000	463,000	18.0			
February 1955.....	5,640,000	8.7		2,550,000	489,000	19.2			
February 1956.....	6,490,000	8.0		2,534,000	516,000	20.4			
February 1957.....	7,127,000	7.8		2,505,000	555,000	22.2			
February 1958.....	8,420,000	7.1		2,470,000	597,000	24.2			
March 1959.....	9,379,000	6.9		2,430,000	648,000	26.7			
February 1960.....	10,135,000	6.7		2,369,000	676,000	28.5			
February 1961.....	10,870,000	6.6		2,310,000	715,000	31.0			
February 1962.....	11,668,000	6.5	0.4	2,236,000	754,000	33.7	89,500	50,800	56.8
February 1963.....	12,488,000	6.5	.5	2,196,000	816,000	37.2	118,000	68,000	57.6
February 1964.....	13,123,000	6.7	.7	2,166,000	881,000	40.7	161,000	93,700	58.2
February 1965.....	13,580,000	7.1	1.1	2,150,000	<sup>3</sup> 961,000	<sup>3</sup> 44.7	232,000	147,000	63.1
February 1966.....	14,246,000	7.1	1.1	2,084,000	1,014,000	48.7	235,000	155,000	66.3

<sup>1</sup> Estimated by the Social Security Administration.

<sup>2</sup> Number of recipients represents persons for whom one or more vendor payments were made during report month. Since MAA is exclusively a medical care program, the average period of care is relatively short compared with that for receipt of payments under income-maintenance programs. The

total number of MAA recipients during a year is estimated to be about two and one-half times as large as the average monthly total.

<sup>3</sup> Data on concurrent receipt of OAA and OASDI estimated on national basis. State reporting waived for February 1965.