

## **EXTENDED ABSTRACT - ANDERSON\_BLACKS HEAD SOUTH FOR A NEW EL DORADO**

### **1. Introduction**

The Black reverse migration has received greater attention over the last decade especially as it relates to the individual motivations for migration (Hunt et al 2012), the institutional forces promoting migration (Pendergrass 2013) and the changes in occupational prestige among migrants (Flippen 2013). Movement to the Promised Land has become a distant memory as Blacks continue to head South in increasing numbers since the end of the Civil Rights Movement (Tolnay 2003). Fleeing declining cities in the Frostbelt, Blacks have relocated to the South which has become a more attractive region with burgeoning industries, developing urban areas, and broadening diversity (see Frey 2004, 2006). If the North was once referred to as the Promised Land for Black Americans, then the South would be their new El Dorado.

The share of Black population in the U.S. is growing at a faster rate in the South than in any other region in the United States, while more than half of America's Black population now resides in the South. The South is being reclaimed by Blacks, but not just through retirees (Stack 1996; Beale and Fuguitt 2011), but also through the "smartest and brightest" of the Black population (Frey 2004; Hunt et al 2012, 2013). The first wave of Black migrants to the South could be characterized as Black return migrants, individuals born in the South, recently living in the non-South, but presently returning to the South (Stack 1996; Falk et al 2004). Black return migrants were largely retirees and moving in significant numbers to non-metropolitan areas in the region. The subsequent waves soon reflected reverse migrants--primary migrants headed South who did not have ties of birth to the region--who would outpace and overtake the a finite number of return migrants (Adelman 2000; Hunt et al 2008). This El Dorado challenges old conceptions of a region stained by Jim Crow that now reflects a new, transforming South which offers unique opportunities that Blacks can now seek and benefit from.

In this article, I address the gaps in the research of Black southern migration and mobility and its relationship with locational attainment by making use of restricted-use Census micro-data and public use Decennial Census data. My analysis contributes to the understanding of micro- and macro-level factors in explaining locational attainment among Southern movers.

### **2. Background on Black Southern Migration**

With the majority of Blacks (55%) residing in the South in 2010, a focus on this emerging region will be key to understanding Black's ability to access opportunity in the region (Rastogi 2011). Although Blacks comprise only 14% of the total U.S. population, they make up 20% of the Southern regional population which highest of all U.S. regions (Rastogi 2011). The Black population has also grown at a faster rate in the South and West than other parts of the U.S. And Black return and reverse migrations have constituted much of this growth in the South (Frey 2006).

Blacks are not only more likely to move South from the non-South than their White counterparts, but fewer Blacks are leaving the Southern region (Hunt et al 2004). Previous research has focused on the Black return migration--Blacks born in the South and now returning to the South from the non-South--as this first-wave migrants made up the majority of non-South to South movement (Robinson 1986; Fuguitt et al 2001; Stack 1996). The next wave constituted a growing proportion of reverse migrants under Black primary migration. Reverse migrants were identified as migrants not born in the South but headed South from the non-South (Falk et al 2004). In 1970, 54% of Blacks heading South were return migrants, but by 2000 that number was reduced to 29.4% with the largest majority of migrants now being reverse migrants (Hunt et al 2008). Blacks who migrate South are generally of higher

socioeconomic status than Southern stayers and are locating to both urban and rural parts of the region (Falk et al 2004). And reverse migrants have exhibited higher socioeconomic status than return migrants (Hunt et al 2008), as return migrants' primary motivation for moving was to return home (Stack 1996).

The majority of Black reverse migrants are moving to metropolitan locations (Falk et al 2004) and these migrants have generally been identified as the "best and the brightest" (Frey 2004). The two MAs with the largest Black populations are Chicago and New York who experienced the majority of its growth under the Great Migration. Yet, Southern MAs hold larger shares of the Black population with 58 percent of the Black population gain between 2000-2004 occurring in the largest Southern MAs with populations greater than 500,000 (Frey 2006). Eight of the top ten MAs that have experienced Black population gains are located the South (see Frey 2006); and all have been along the South's Atlantic coast and in Texas. One notable example of Black population growth has been in Atlanta which has ascended from having the 7th largest Black population in 1990 of all U.S. MAs to the 3rd largest in 2004 (Frey 2006).

As a whole, past literature suggests that the majority of Black population growth is occurring in the Southern region fueled by population gains through migration into Southern MAs. Yet, some of the variation found among Southern MAs may be found in subregional differences. The majority of scholars analyze the South as one uniform region although there has been some discussion on the necessity of establishing Southern subregions and how to appropriately construct them. For example, the Census Bureau distinguishes the Greater Southern region into three distinct parts defined as the South Atlantic, East South Central and West South Central<sup>1</sup>. These distinctions are seldom used, and when used, distinct differences between the subregions are rarely found (e.g. Iceland et al 2013). Falk et al (2004) have defined the South as two regions which they labelled the Deep South and Border States<sup>2</sup>. Essentially the Border States surround the states in the Deep South that make up the Southern core. Using these regions, it was found that 65% of Blacks were moving to the Deep South states while 62% of Whites were moving to the Border States (Hunt et al. 2012). Still, Hunt et al (2012) suggest that new definitions of Southern subregions should be constructed to capture the complexity of Black southern migration. Frey found that Blacks were moving in smaller numbers to the "Old South", states in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama compared to the "New South", emerging states in Texas, North Carolina, Georgia and Florida (Frey 2006). The "New South" locations are attractive to Black migrants due to their "high-tech development, knowledge-based industries, recreation, and new urban and suburban communities" (Frey 2004). Based on these findings, I construct three distinct subregions including the South Atlantic which I define as those U.S. Southern states along the Atlantic Coast; the Inner South, as comprising all states in the middle of the Southern region; and Texas, defined as both characteristically different from the Inner South--economically and historically and a large enough subregion to stand on its on--due to number of large metropolitan areas in the one State.<sup>3</sup> I argue that these three subregions will capture distinctions found between the Greater Southern region as it relates to Black migration patterns.

---

1. South Atlantic: DE, WV, VA, NC, SC, GA, FL; East South Central: KY, TN, MS, AL; West South Central: TX, OK, AR, LA.

2. Deep South: VA, NC, SC, GA, AL, MS, LA, and AR and Border States: DE, MD, WV, KY, TN, TX, FL, and DC.

3. South Atlantic: DE, VA, NC, SC, GA, FL; Inner South: WV, KY, TN, MS, AL, OK, AR, LA; and Texas.

### **3. Theoretical Background**

Studies on the Black reverse migration have paid little attention to micro- and macro-level factors in predicting locational attainment. The focus has generally been individual-level determinants (micro-level influences). Hunt et al (2013) studied the motivations of Blacks who moved South and found that housing reasons have been the primary reason for Black males and family the primary reason for Black females. Scholars have generally found that Black reverse migrants tend to be younger, more educated, more likely to be married and less likely to be living with a child. The focus in the Black reverse migration literature has been on individual- and household-level determinants, but little attention has been paid to metropolitan-level influences that might shape the reverse migration experience.

The housing availability perspective finds that MAs with significant recent housing construction allows greater opportunity for residential mobility, and reduces levels of residential segregation (Farley and Frey 1994). This perspective also suggests that the racial/ethnic composition of the MA population will impact attraction and retention of in-migrants and stayers. The size of a racial/ethnic group in the MA would determine the availability of that group within its various types of neighborhoods (Crowder et al 2012; South and Crowder 1997). Thus, the likelihood that in-migrants and stayers would have access to other racial/ethnic groups would depend on that group's relative size in the MA (Crowder and South 2005). For Black and White Southern in-migrants and stayers, the size of these shares of racial/ethnic groups would determine relative levels of diversity or segregation in MAs.

The place stratification model helps explain macro-level determinants. Diversity is associated with a significant presence of multiple minorities in the MA (Reibel and Regelson 2011), which is key in a South that historically operated under a Black-White racial dichotomy. Since MAs are becoming increasingly diverse (Fong and Shibuya 2005) and more so in the South (Iceland 2012), diversity may increase the number of available integrated spaces within the MA, increasing the MAs ability to attract and retain residents. For example, if Black in-migrants equate diverse spaces with greater opportunities and access to more resources than historically segregated Southern spaces, then a diverse metropolitan area should be more attractive. For Whites, the place stratification model suggests that greater diversity, large proportions of Blacks, Latinos, or Asians in a MA may threaten a more familiar way of life in Southern MAs. Thus, increased diversity in a MA would motivate Whites to avoid these spaces (Iceland et al 2013; Blalock 1967).

Additionally, the levels of Black-White residential segregation may inversely impact Black in-migration, and act in ways counter to diversity. Blacks Southern in-migrants and stayers may avoid MAs with high levels of Black-White residential segregation due to the constraints that racially stratified MAs may play in denying quality residential options (Massey and Denton 1993; Charles 2003). Minorities in highly segregated metropolitan areas live in neighborhoods that are at a greater risk of being disadvantaged--concentrated poverty, higher levels of crime, and underperforming schools. Since the size of the MA is related to residential separation--compared to smaller MAs, larger MAs experience higher levels of racial residential segregation--MA population size may negatively affect an MAs ability to attract and retain Black residents.

### **4. Data and Methods**

To test these hypotheses, I draw on two sources of data, including restricted-use Census micro-data and public-use Decennial data, both for 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000. The Census micro-data provides a rich source of individual-level census data down to the neighborhood level. I append this data with public use data in order to construct metropolitan-level variables. For this study, I focus on Black and White migrants between 1970 and 2000. In

selection, I characterize Black and White migrants by type including those residents that migrated to a Southern MA from the non-South, distinguishing those that were born in the South (return migrants) compared to those not born in the South (reverse migrants); those residents that moved within the South between MAs (intra-regional migrants), those residents that moved within a Southern MA (intra-metropolitan migrants), and those residents that lived in a Southern MA but did not move (stayers).

*Dependent Variables.* My analysis uses three independent proxies for locational attainment at the neighborhood-level: 1) proportion White residents, 2) median neighborhood income, and 3) proportion college-educated.

*Independent Variables.* There are several metropolitan characteristics that have been associated with migration and mobility (Crowder et al 2012; Iceland et al 2013). I include measures to capture Race+Space which include the proportions of non-Hispanic Black, non-Hispanic Asian and Hispanic, as well as the MAs Black-White dissimilarity index and the diversity index (see the American Communities Project for information regarding these measures). The dissimilarity index captures the level of Black-White racial residential segregation in the MA. However, the diversity index measures how well the MA moves toward an even representation of the following five racial-ethnic categories: non-Hispanic White, non-Hispanic Black, Hispanic, Asian and other. Measures for Metropolitan Economic Contexts include the poverty rate, and the proportions of the MA's labor force that are employed in the military and the manufacturing, public sector, and professional, management, and technical (PMT) industries. I also include measures for the Black Middle Class based on Lacy (2009) definitions. In order to define the stable Black middle class, I include measures for the proportion of Black residents with a college education, and the proportion of Black residents with a household income of \$50,000 or more. I also measure the Black Middle Class by including a ratio variable that measures the number of Blacks in the PMT industry by the relative number of Whites in the same industry in a given MA. The Black-White PMT ratio provides a middle class measure related to employment type to capture the relative number of Blacks to Whites employed in white-collar positions.

My analysis includes various control measures that have been noted to act as metropolitan constraints to mobility (Crowder et al 2012; Iceland et al 2013). I include the logged form of the MA population to reduce skewness. My analysis includes the proportions of residents aged 65 and over, urban population, new housing, high school dropouts, and owner occupied housing. I include variables for the proportion suburban population and rate of municipal fragmentation. These latter measures derive from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development's State of the Cities Data Systems (2009). The municipal fragmentation variable captures the probability that two individuals will live in different municipalities in the same MA (Crowder et al 2012). A score of 0 represents a MA that functions as a single municipality while a score of 1 represents a MA under compete fragmentation. I also include a variable to capture the subregional differences in the South, and a variable to distinguish the survey year.

*Analytic Strategy.* In order to predict locational attainment among Black and White reverse migrants while controlling for micro- and macro-level influences, I use a random effects model. In this case, the random effects model is specifically useful in providing generalized inferences for the study's migrant populations within and between Southern metropolitan areas.

$$y_{1it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_{1it} + \alpha_i + \mu_{it} + \epsilon_{it}$$

I estimate separate models for each for Black and White migrants across the three types of dependent variables in order to compare rates of locational attainment across race and migrant status.

## 5. Expected Findings

Generally, I predict that although Blacks are experience a large amount of mobility, which is the precursor to locational attainment, they will not experience locational attainment at the same rate as Whites (place-stratification). However, Black locational attainment will increase over time between 1970 and 2000 in the South (spatial assimilation).

As it relates to a subregional effect under the three southern subregions, I predict that Blacks and Whites will experience greater locational attainment in the South Atlantic and Texas compared with the Inner South. In fact, preliminary analysis shows that Blacks are experiencing greater locational attainment in the South Atlantic living in neighborhoods with larger number of White residents over time, higher median incomes and larger shares of college-educated residents.

I hope to show in this paper that the Blacks moving under the reverse migration does not preclude locational attainment. Blacks are largely moving South but they have not been finding themselves in neighborhoods that best reflect their socioeconomic status.

## 7. References

- Adelman, R. M., C. Morett, and S. E. Tolnay. 2000. "Homeward Bound: The Return Migration of Southern-born Black Women, 1940–1990." *Sociological Spectrum* 20:433–463.
- Beale, Calvin L. and Glenn V. Fuguitt. 2011. "Migration of Retirement-Age Blacks to Nonmetropolitan Areas in the 1990s," *Rural Sociology* 76(1): 31-43.
- Blalock, Hubert M. 1967. *Toward a Theory of Minority Group Relations*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Charles, Camille Zubrinsky. 2003. "The Dynamics of Racial Residential Segregation." *Annual Review of Sociology* 29:167–207.
- Crowder, Kyle, Stewart Tolnay, and Robert Adelman. 2001. "Intermetropolitan Migration and Locational Improvement for African American Males, 1970–1990." *Social Science Research* 30:449–72.
- Crowder, Kyle and Scott J. South. 2005. "Race, Class, and Changing Patterns of Migration between Poor and Nonpoor Neighborhoods." *American Journal of Sociology* 110:1715–63.
- Crowder, Kyle, Jeremy Pais and Scott South. 2012. "Neighborhood Diversity, Metropolitan Constraints, and Household Migration," *American Sociological Review*, 77(3): 325-353.
- Falk WW, Hunt LL, Hunt MO. 2004. "Return migrations of African-Americans to the South: reclaiming a land of promise, going home, or both?," *Rural Sociology*, 69: 490–509.
- Farley, Reynolds and William H. Frey. 1994. "Changes in the Segregation of Whites from Blacks During the 1980s: Small Steps Toward a More Integrated Society." *American Sociological Review* 59:23–45.
- Flippen, Chenoa. 2013. "Relative Deprivation and Internal Migration in the United States: A Comparison of Black and White Men," *American Journal of Sociology*, 118(5): 1161-1198.
- Fong, Eric and Kumiko Shibuya. 2005. "Multiethnic Cities in North America." *Annual Review of Sociology* 31:285–304.
- Frey, William H. 2004. *The New Great Migration: Black Americans Return to the South, 1965–2000*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, Living Cities Census Series.
- Frey W. 2006. *Diversity spreads out: metropolitan shifts in Hispanic, Asian, and Black populations since 2000*. The Brookings Institution: Living Cities Census Series. The Brookings Institution Press: Washington D.C.



- Fuguitt, Glenn V., John A. Fulton and Calvin L. Beale. 2001. "The Shifting Patterns of Black Migration From and Into the Nonmetropolitan South, 1965-1995. Economic Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture. Rural Development Research Report No. 93.
- Hunt, Matthew O., Larry L. Hunt, and William W. Falk ~2008!. Who is Headed South? U.S. Migration Trends in Black and White, 1970–2000. *Social Forces*, 87~1!: 95–119.
- Hunt, Matthew O., Larry L. Hunt, and William W. Falk ~2012!. Call to Home? Race, Region, and Migration to the U.S. South. *Sociological Forum*, 27~1!: 117–141.
- Hunt, Matthew O., Larry L. Hunt and William W. Falk. 2013. "Twenty-First-Century Trends in Black Migration to the U.S. South: Demographic and Subjective Predictors," *Social Science Quarterly*.
- Iceland, John. 2009. *Where We Live Now: Immigration and Race in the United States*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Iceland, John, Gregory Sharp, and Jeffrey M. Timberlake. 2012. "Sun Belt Rising: Regional Population Change and the Decline in Black Residential Segregation, 1970-2009," *Demography*.
- Iceland, John and Gregory Sharp. 2013. "White Residential Segregation in U.S. Metropolitan Areas: Conceptual Issues, Patterns, and Trends from the U.S. Census, 1980 to 2010," *Popul Res Policy Rev*.
- Jaret, Charles, Lesley Williams Reid, and Robert M. Adelman. 2003. "Black and White Income Inequality and Metropolitan Socioeconomic Structure." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 25:305–334.
- Lacy, K.R. 2007. *Blue-Chip Black: Race, Class, and Status in the New Black Middle Class*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Landry, B. 1987. *The New Black Middle Class*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Levine RA, Campbell DT. 1972. *Ethnocentrism*. New York: Wiley.
- Logan, John R., Brian J. Stults, and Reynolds Farley. 2004. "Segregation of Minorities in the Metropolis: Two Decades of Change." *Demography* 41:1–22.
- Massey, Douglas, and Nancy Denton. 1993. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- MDC. 1998a. *Income and Wealth in the South: A State of the South Interim Report*. Chapel Hill, NC.
- MDC. 1998b. *The State of the South: A Report to the Region and its Leadership*. Chapel Hill, NC.
- MDC. 2002. *The State of the South: Shadows in the Sunbelt Revisited*. Chapel Hill, NC.
- MDC. 2010. *The State of the South: Chapter 1: Beyond the 'Gilded Age'*. Chapel Hill, NC.
- MDC. 2011. *The State of the South: Looking Ahead: Leadership for Hard Times*. Chapel Hill, NC.
- Pais, Jeremy, Scott South and Kyle Crowder. 2012. "Metropolitan Heterogeneity and Minority Neighborhood Attainment: Spatial Assimilation or Place Stratification?," *Social Problems*, 59(2): 258-281.
- Pais, Jeremy. 2013. "Individual and US County Determinants of Repeat Migration: A Comparison of Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics," *Popul. Space Place*.
- Pendergrass, Sabrina. 2013. "Routing Black Migration to the Urban US South: Social Class and Sources of Social Capital in the Destination Selection Process," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*.
- Pendergrass, S. 2013. "Perceptions of Race and Region in the Black Reverse Migration to the South", *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race*.
- Rastogi, Sonya, Tallese D. Johnson, Elizabeth M. Hoeffel, Malcolm P. Drewery, Jr. 2011. *The Black Population: 2010: 2010 Census Briefs, U.S. Department of Commerce: Economics and Statistics Administration, U.S. Census Bureau*.
- Reibel, Michael and Moira Regelson. 2011. "Neighborhood Racial and Ethnic Change: The

- Time Dimension in Segregation.” *Urban Geography* 32:360–82.
- Robinson, I. 1986. “African-Americans Move Back to the South.” *American Demographics* 8:40–43.
- South, Scott J. and Kyle D. Crowder. 1997. “Escaping Distressed Neighborhoods: Individual, Community, and Metropolitan Influences.” *American Journal of Sociology* 102:1040–84.
- Stack, Carol. 1996. *Call to Home: African-Americans Reclaim the Rural South*. New York: Basic Books.
- Steven Ruggles, J. Trent Alexander, Katie Genadek, Ronald Goeken, Matthew B. Schroeder, and Matthew Sobek. *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 5.0* [Machine-readable database]. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2010.
- U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. 2009. *State of the Cities Data Systems*. (<http://socds.huduser.org/>).
- Tolnay, Stewart. 2003. “The African American ‘Great Migration’ and Beyond.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 29:209–32.
- Wilson, William J. 1987. *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.