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ABSTRACT

The movement of middle-class residents, especially blacks, out of inner-city neighborhoods has been hypothesized to contribute to the decay of the inner city and the growth of an underclass by increasing social isolation and depriving youth of role models. This study examines changes in patterns of racial and class segregation in the residential structure of Milwaukee (Wisconsin) between 1970 and 1980 and their effect on poor, black children living in the inner city. Statistical data from the 1970 and the 1980 censuses were analyzed using segregation indexes and measures, after adjusting for data suppressed by the Census Bureau for reasons of confidentiality. The following summary conclusions are discussed: (1) racial residential segregation clearly decreased, especially for high status blacks; (2) blacks displayed higher levels of intragroup class segregation than whites in 1970; (3) black intragroup class segregation increased more than white intragroup class segregation; (4) changes in the class isolation of poor black children were due to changes in the aggregate population rather than to changes in class segregation patterns; and (5) racial residential segregation is the predominant influence on patterns of class isolation. A discussion of the suppression of data in the census tape files, a list of 34 references, and 9 tables of statistical data are appended. (FMW)

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A CASE STUDY OF MILWAUKEE

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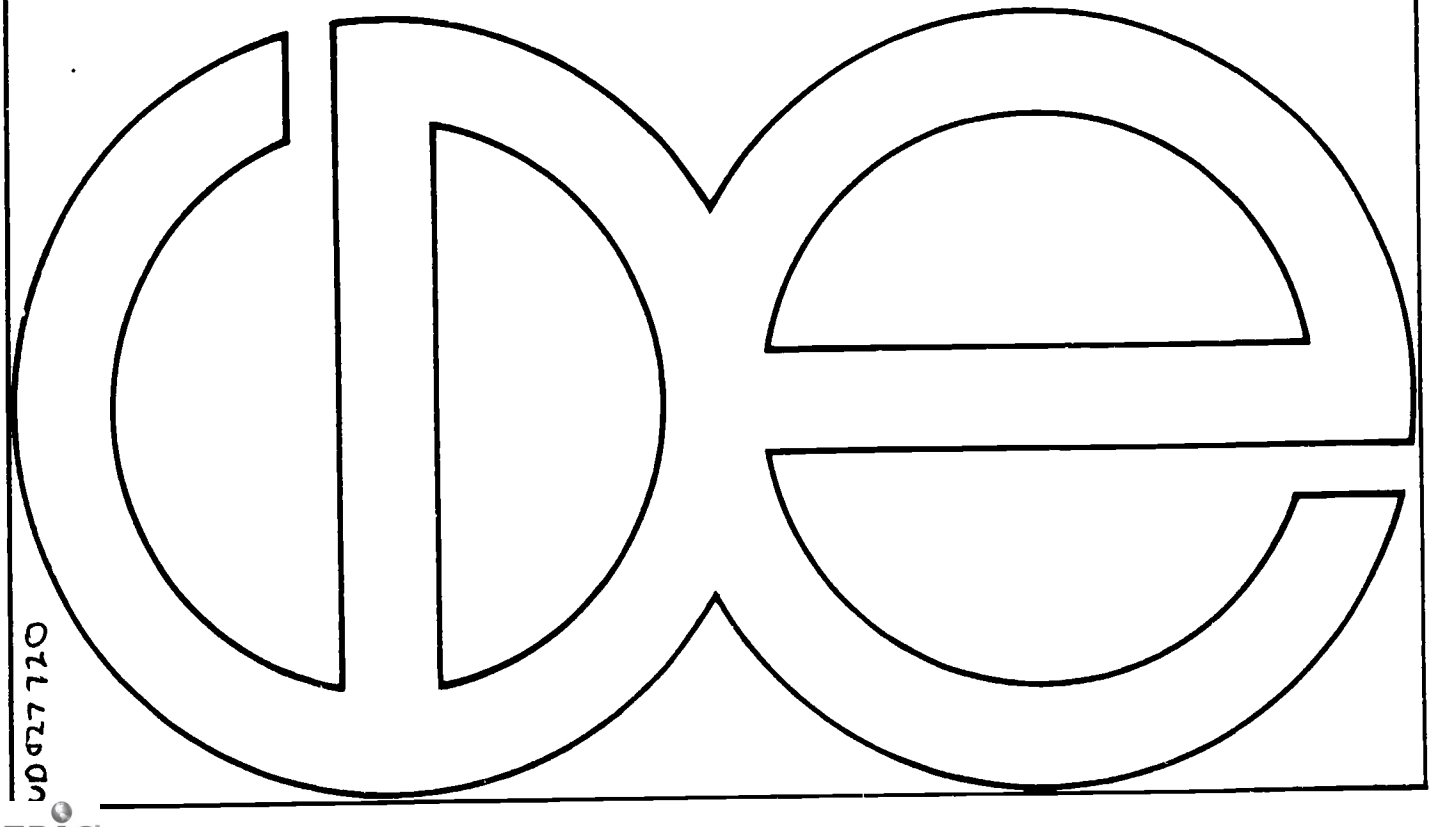

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ABSTRACT

Contributing to worsening inner-city problems and growth of the underclass, according to W. J. Wilson and others, is out-movement of middle-class residents, especially blacks. Poor blacks, the argument proceeds, are increasingly isolated from middle-class role models. Because cultural milieu and socialization are crucial to formation of an underclass, these arguments should be examined with particular attention to changes in the social environs of poor children.

We examine these processes using segregation indexes and measures of the average composition of neighborhoods calculated from 1970 and 1980 Census data for the Milwaukee metropolitan area. In Part I, we examine between-race segregation. A key question is whether middle-class blacks have become less segregated from whites of equivalent status. In Part II the focus is on class segregation within racial groups. A key question is whether low-status blacks have become substantially more residentially segregated from high-status blacks. In Part III, we look for changes in the residential environments of poor and non-poor children of each race. Are poor black children becoming more isolated from non-poor children of either race? Are the nieghborhoods of poor black children losing the educated and employed adults who could provide role models of success in the mainstream economy and society?

The SOCIAL CLASS ISOLATION of POOR CHILDREN

A CASE STUDY of MILWAUKEE

Elaine L. Fielding and Karl Taeuber

This study links two strands of social research that are currently receiving scholarly attention. One strand is concerned with changes in metropolitan residential structure. The other strand seeks explanations for the recent expansion of areas of concentrated poverty in many central cities.

One of the salient and enduring features of American metropolitan residential structure is residential segregation by race, ethnicity and class. Segregation of social class groups by race coexists with extensive class segregation within racial groups. Thus the interaction of racial segregation with class segregation produces complex patterns. Scholarly studies have emphasized the persistence over time of residential separation by class and especially by race, despite many decades of massive demographic, economic, and social change (Farley, 1977; Massey and Denton, 1987; Simkus, 1978; Sorensen, Taeuber and Hollingsworth, 1975; Taeuber, 1983).

The other strand of research has documented a recent striking increase in the number of central city "poverty areas" and has produced various indicators of worsening social conditions in these areas. These trends have been explicitly linked to changing metropolitan residential structure by Richard Nathan (1987) and William Julius Wilson (1987). In The Truly Disadvantaged, he asserts that a principal cause of worsening problems of the central

city poor, especially the black poor, is a recent outward flow of middle-class blacks from inner-city ghetto communities to non-ghetto city areas and suburbs. The result, according to Wilson, is that poor inner-city blacks are increasingly isolated from middle-class role models and from social institutions supportive of the general mainstream culture. This reduces the social and economic opportunities for those left behind, with the effects being particularly debilitating for poor youths. Wilson's provocative interpretation is based on his observations in Chicago and other areas and is consistent with some general demographic trends. However, his hypotheses about changes in the race and class structure of metropolitan areas have not been subjected to systematic empirical analysis.

We seek to shed light on the connections between metropolitan structure and the social environment of poor youths through a detailed examination of recent changes in one metropolitan area. If Wilson's interpretation is an accurate representation of what has happened in American metropolitan areas since about 1970, it should be reflected empirically by the following demographic patterns:

1) decreased segregation of higher status blacks from whites;
2) initially low or moderate levels of residential segregation among social classes for blacks;
3) increased segregation of higher status blacks from lower status blacks; and

4) a sharp increase in the spatial isolation of poor black children from middle-class black adults and children.

Studies using census data through 1980 have revealed support for some of these trends. An accelerated dispersal and suburbanization of blacks during the 1970s is well documented (Fielding, 1987; Logan and Schneider, 1984; Long and DeAre, 1981; Stahura, 1988). These movements were led by relatively high status blacks (Frey, 1985; Nelson, 1980; Spain and Long, 1981). Studies of earlier periods observed high racial segregation within all classes (Farley, 1977; Massey, 1979; Simkus, 1978), but Darden, studying two metropolitan areas as of 1980 (1986, 1987) found that segregation from whites was lower for high-status blacks than for low-status blacks. Residential concentration of poor blacks, as indicated by the number of census tracts with high proportions of residents in poverty, increased, especially in large, older metropolitan areas (Danziger and Gottschalk, 1987; Massey and Eggers, 1990; Ricketts and Mincy, 1988; White, 1988). One study reports a broad test of Wilson's thesis (Massey and Eggers, 1990); an analysis of summary indicators for many metropolitan areas supports the conclusion that changes in the general prevalence of poverty rather than changes in class segregation patterns account for the increased concentration of black poverty between 1970 and 1980.

We believe the processes under review are complex and require multifaceted analyses. They are not susceptible to a single test nor to a single conclusion. We chose a case study of one

metropolitan area as a way to take a closer look at the multiple demographic facets of changing residential structure and its manifestations in segregation and concentration of blacks and whites by social class. We examine several measures of class--educational attainment, labor force attachment, and poverty status. We proceed from this general analysis to a specific examination of the consequences for children. Because of class differentials in fertility, family structure, and household organization, patterns for children may differ from those for the general adult population.

The first two parts of our analysis examine changes in metropolitan residential structure by race and class over the 1970-80 decade. The focus in Part I is on between-race segregation. A key question is whether there has been a change in patterns of residential segregation between blacks and whites such that middle-class blacks have become less segregated from whites of equivalent status. In Part II, the focus is on class segregation within racial groups. One of the questions this allows us to answer is whether residential segregation between high- and low-status blacks has increased substantially over the seventies.

In the third part we consider the consequences of these changes for the residential environments of poor and non-poor children by race. Here we ask whether the neighborhoods of poor black children are losing the educated and employed adults who could provide role models of success in the mainstream economy and society?

DATA

A detailed case study of one urban area is needed so that the complexities of the analysis can be considered and new ways of presenting results can be introduced. Wilson's ideas were formed in large part from close observation of large cities, and he is finishing an extensive case study in Chicago. For independent assessment of these ideas it is desirable to choose another locale. For convenience of analysis we chose a middle-sized metropolitan area, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, that has been identified as among the nation's most racially segregated (Massey and Denton, 1989). Milwaukee's black population has high levels of poverty and of social problems such as infant mortality. Because Milwaukee has very few residents of minority groups other than blacks, our analysis is simplified; we examine black-white comparisons and ignore other racial and ethnic groups.

The geographic unit used for analyses of segregation and characteristics of neighborhoods is the census tract. Tracts are areas of a few thousand population specially delineated for statistical purposes. For each census year, we use the tract system for that year. Boundaries of most tracts remained constant from 1970 to 1980 in the Milwaukee area, but some tracts were split in suburban areas and a few other changes were made.

The Milwaukee metropolitan area for both 1970 and 1980 includes four counties: Milwaukee, Ozaukee, Washington, and Waukesha. Data for the analyses were obtained from the Summary Tape Files of the 1970 and 1980 Censuses (U.S. Bureau of the

Census, 1972, 1983). These files provide information at the census-tract level on a wide range of complete count and sample items, cross-classified by race. For race, we use whites without subtracting out those of Hispanic origin. For education, we use years of school completed for persons age 25 and over. For labor force status, persons age 16 and over are included. For youths in poverty, children are classified according to whether their family's income in the year prior to the Census was above the government-defined poverty line. Data are available only for "related children"--those who are the householder's natural and adopted children under 18 years old; foster children are not included.

Our labor force status variable is a mixture of traditional labor force attachment and occupational status measures. It consists of five categories: not in the labor force, unemployed, and three levels for employed persons--blue collar, lower white collar and upper white collar. To maximize comparability, we adjusted some 1980 occupational categories to approximate 1970 categories. Our blue collar category also includes those in the armed forces and those in farming or service occupations. The upper white collar category consists of professionals, technicians, managers and administrators while the lower white collar category contains sales and clerical workers.

Adjustments were made to the census data to reduce the effects of institutional populations. People in institutions are not part of the regular economy and are not part of the social environment

to which children are exposed on a daily basis. Tracts in which more than 20% of the population lived in institutions (e.g. prisons, hospitals, and nursing homes) were excluded from the analysis. The excluded tracts (4 in 1970 and 5 in 1980) are all central city tracts with relatively few non-institutional residents.

Some data are suppressed (omitted from the Summary Tape Files) by the Census Bureau to reduce the likelihood that data users can identify specific individuals. In the 1980 files, data were suppressed for a large number of whites in tracts containing small numbers of one other racial group. We developed a procedure to substitute estimated numbers whenever this could be done without significant effect on data quality (see Appendix). We believe the magnitude of the biases remaining in the adjusted data to be small and the net direction to be an under-representation of high-status blacks living in predominantly white tracts and of low-status whites living in predominantly black tracts.

I. RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION between BLACKS and WHITES

One way to describe residential structure is to compare the distribution of one group relative to another--that is, to examine patterns of segregation. Changes in structure can then be gauged by how segregation levels change over time. Most studies of residential structure in this tradition have considered either racial or class segregation; few have looked at the intersection between the two types of segregation.

We adopt the practice of most previous researchers in using the index of dissimilarity to evaluate patterns and trends in racial and class segregation. The index of dissimilarity, when used for residential segregation, measures the degree to which two groups are differentially distributed across a set of areas (Duncan and Duncan, 1955b). It ranges from 0 (no segregation) to 100 (total segregation). Index values have a straightforward (although unrealistic) interpretation: a value of 90 indicates that 90% of one of the groups would have to move in order to eliminate residential segregation.

The segregation index (index of dissimilarity) for total residential segregation between black and white adults in the Milwaukee metropolitan area in 1970 is 89.8. The index for 1980 is 83.3. These high values, near the maximum possible score, document a high degree of racial residential segregation. Some metropolitan areas, such as Chicago, had slightly higher scores in both years, but most had lower scores. Declines in segregation of 6.5 points or greater were quite common among metropolitan areas between 1970 and 1980 (Massey and Denton, 1987; Wilger, 1988), but it would take many decades of such declines before racial segregation reached the relatively low levels found for segregation among European ancestry groups.

In examining the intersection of racial and class segregation, we first look at racial segregation between blacks and whites classified by social class. Previous investigations of this topic have emphasized the ubiquitousness of racial segregation; even

high-status blacks were found to be highly segregated from whites (of any status). This pattern was consistent across various status measures and many urbanized areas in 1960 (Simkus, 1978) and 1970 (Farley, 1977; Simkus, 1978). By 1980, there was some evidence of lower racial segregation between high-status blacks and whites than among those of lower-status. However, this trend did not hold for all status measures in the two metropolitan areas studied by Darden (1986, 1987).

For a more in-depth picture of the changes between 1970 and 1980 in black-white segregation by class, we present indexes of dissimilarity for three status indicators (education, labor force status, and poverty status of children).

Educational attainment (for persons age 25 and over), is arrayed in 6 levels from 0-7 years to 4 or more years of college. The segregation indexes are shown in Table 1, with separate panels for 1970, 1980, and the change (1980 score minus 1970 score). The first entry in Panel A, 88.1, is the segregation score for 1970 comparing the distribution among census tracts of black adults with 0-7 years of schooling to the distribution of whites of the same educational level. One feature of this panel is that all the segregation scores are high and close to the aggregate black-white segregation score of 89.8. There is little variation by educational level. Blacks and whites with less than an 8th grade education were just as segregated from each other in 1970 as were college-educated blacks from college-educated whites. This illustrates that racial segregation is a dominant form of

segregation in American society. The modest class pattern in Panel A is for segregation indexes to be highest when comparing blacks of the lower educational levels with whites of the higher educational levels.

The general pattern of black-white segregation is very similar in 1980 (Table 1, Panel B), but the levels are somewhat lower in line with the 6.5 point drop in aggregate racial segregation. The changes during the decade are shown in Panel C. All comparisons show decreases in racial segregation between 1970 and 1980, with the degree of change generally increasing as black education goes up. College educated blacks experienced the largest decreases in segregation from whites (ranging from 9 points to 14 points). Panel B thus has a stronger class pattern than Panel A. Reading down each column, in 1980, each increment of education beyond 8th grade for blacks is associated with lessened segregation from whites. The changes during the 1970s and the pattern in 1980 are consistent with the idea that middle-class blacks are newly able to reduce their segregation from whites of lower status. The changes in one decade, however, cannot undo the general pattern of racial segregation; the lowest index in Panel B is still a relatively high 74.9.

Our second status indicator is the labor force status for persons age 16 and over. To simplify, we report data only for males; segregation patterns for females are similar. (The order of listing of the first two labor force categories, not in the labor force and unemployed, is arbitrary and not based on an implicit

social distance ordering.) Segregation indexes between blacks and whites, by labor force status, are presented in Table 2. In broad outline, the patterns parallel those for educational level. In 1970 (Panel A), all five labor force status groups of whites maintained high residential segregation from all five labor force status groups of blacks. There was only a modest pattern for the highest status black group (upper white collar) to be less segregated than other blacks from whites of each level. From 1970 to 1980 (Panel C), decreases in racial segregation were greatest for blacks in the highest status groups, and in 1980 (Panel B) these blacks have distinctly lower segregation from whites than do lower status blacks.

Our third status indicator is poverty status of children. Black children above and below poverty are highly segregated from white children above and below poverty (Table 3). In both 1970 (Panel A) and 1980 (Panel B), segregation is particularly high between below-poverty black children and above-poverty white children. Consistent with the change scores for adult social classes, declines in segregation from whites (Panel C) were greater for black children above the poverty level than for those below.

II. CLASS SEGREGATION SEPARATELY for BLACKS and WHITES

In the 1920s, Burgess (1925) developed a model of urban structure in which there was a gradation of social class ranging from the immigrant and transient areas clustered near the city center to the outlying high-status suburbs. Many variations of

this model have been proposed, but all entail differential distribution--segregation--of social classes throughout a metropolitan area. For large ethnic subgroups within a metropolis, and especially for blacks, a parallel pattern of class segregation was identified. Looking at the mainly black residential areas, status increased with distance from the center of the group's territory (Frazier, 1932, 1937).

Such a "two societies" pattern has been noted in several studies of within-race patterns of class segregation. Both pattern and levels were roughly similar for blacks and whites by income in New York, 1960 (Kantrowitz, 1973), by occupation in ten cities in 1960 and 1970 (Simkus, 1978), by education in many urbanized areas in 1970 (Farley, 1977), and by education, occupation and income in Chicago, 1970 (Erbe, 1975). Changes from 1960 to 1970 in occupational segregation in ten cities were small for both blacks and whites (Simkus, 1978).

Thus, up to 1970, black and white class segregation patterns were consistently similar across several status measures. Between 1970 and 1980, they diverged, with income segregation generally increasing among blacks and decreasing among whites in the 55 metropolitan areas studied by Massey and Eggers (1990). This finding is in accord with Wilson's idea that over the 1970s, blacks of higher status became more segregated from lower-status blacks. We expect to observe this trend in Milwaukee as we turn to the second way of analyzing the intersection of racial and class segregation, an investigation of class segregation separately for

blacks and whites. In addition to looking at the direction of change, we are also interested in the levels for each year and possible differences among status measures. How segregated are the lower class groups from the middle class groups (and hence, presumptively, from middle class role models and institutions)?

The within-race indexes of dissimilarity among Milwaukee adults of varying educational levels are presented in Table 4. The general pattern is evident in Panel A, showing education segregation indexes for blacks in 1970. The score in the upper left corner, 17.7, signifies that about 18% of blacks with less than an 8th grade education would have to move in order to eliminate their segregation from blacks with an 8th grade education. Scores are lowest near the diagonal and increase along rows and columns toward the top right corner. This indicates that segregation increases regularly with increased status distance. (This method of analyzing class segregation was developed by Duncan and Duncan, 1955a.)

Wilson's exposition of the idea of recently increasing class segregation is not phrased in quantitative terms, nor does it include specific comparisons of class segregation among blacks with class segregation among whites. A reasonable inference, however, is that at an earlier date, such as 1970, blacks of middle class status were not able to effect much spatial segregation from blacks of lower class status. An additional inference is that patterns of discrimination in housing, employment, and other spheres, made the levels of class segregation much lower for blacks than for whites.

The educational segregation scores for whites for 1970 (Table 4, Panel D) have a very similar pattern to those for blacks (Panel A). Levels of class segregation are not lower for blacks than for whites; in fact, the average score in Panel A is slightly higher than in Panel D. In particular, scores for blacks are higher in the lower right portion of the table. In 1970, Milwaukee's small numbers of highly educated blacks were quite segregated from the less-well educated blacks.

The 1980 educational segregation scores for blacks are in Panel B and the 1970-80 changes are in Panel C. The corresponding data for whites are in Panels E and F. In 1980, we again find the standard class segregation patterns for blacks and whites. Class segregation in 1980 is sharply higher among blacks than among whites, especially for the segregation of college graduates from those with less education.

Between 1970 and 1980, class segregation increased for most black educational groups (Panel C). Increases are largest in the first two rows; blacks with an 8th grade education or less became more segregated from blacks with more education. Among whites, segregation increased among low education groups and decreased among high education groups, but the amount of change was less than among blacks (Panel F).

The evidence from this analysis of changes in class segregation (as measured by educational segregation) is mixed in its fit with our expectations based on inference from Wilson's exposition. Blacks of lower status did become more segregated

during the 1970s from blacks of higher status. However, levels of class segregation among blacks were already high in 1970, and the levels in 1980 do not represent a dramatic change from previous circumstances. The increasing class segregation among blacks, while expected from Wilson's observations, did not serve to bring class segregation levels among blacks up to the levels among whites, but to move them even farther above white levels.

Did these same patterns hold for other status indicators? Class segregation indexes for labor force status of males are presented in Table 5. Patterns for females, not shown, are similar. The expected pattern of association of residential segregation with class distance appears for both racial groups for both census years. Segregation is highest between the two white-collar groups and the lower status groups, especially for blacks.

Changes in segregation between labor force status groups over the 1970-80 decade are mixed in sign and relatively low in magnitude for blacks (Panel C); thus the 1980 indexes are very similar to those for 1970. For this status variable, then, evidence of increasing class segregation among blacks is less clear. Among whites, the changes are generally very small or negative (Panel F). In 1980, for labor force status as for education, the segregation of the highest status group from lower status groups is much more pronounced among blacks than among whites (compare Panels B and E).

In Table 6, we present analogous segregation indexes for the poverty status of children. Among blacks, the index of

dissimilarity between children in poverty and children not in poverty is 23.3; only one-quarter of black children would have to move for there to be no segregation by poverty status. Between 1970 and 1980, this segregation increased by 7 points, to 30.2. For both years, the segregation of poor children from non-poor was greater for whites. The poverty status of children is the only one of our three indicators of class for which we find lower class segregation among blacks than among whites. This pattern is most evident in 1970, with the black score being 13 points lower than the white score.

III. CLASS ISOLATION OF CHILDREN

We have examined changes in residential segregation by class and race. How have these changes in metropolitan structure affected the mix of races and classes in neighborhoods? We are particularly interested in poor and non-poor children of each race. Are the neighborhoods of poor black children losing their middle class adults? Are these neighborhoods bereft of role models who illustrate the possibility of success in the mainstream through schooling and employment?

To describe the residential environments of children in 1970 and 1980 and the changes that occurred during the decade, we calculate average census tract compositions. To illustrate, consider a black child whose family has an income below the poverty line. That child lives in a census tract; characteristics of that tract are reported by the census. The census tally might show that

of all adults in the tract, 19% are white adults who did not graduate from high school, 9% are white adults who did graduate from high school, 51% are black adults who did not graduate, 20% are black adults who did graduate, 0.5% are adults of other races who did not graduate and 0.2% are other-race adults who did graduate from high school. This is a percentage distribution of the race-by-education composition of the tract; it sums to 100% (with rounding error). For each black below-poverty child, there is such a percentage distribution by race and education. For our measure, we average all these compositions. In practice, this is done by calculating a weighted average of tract compositions, using the number of black children below poverty as the weights.

The individual percentages in the composition are exposure indexes or contact indexes. Suppose a black below-poverty child is chosen at random, and all the adults in the child's census tract are assembled outside in some central place. The child could be exposed to, or be in visual contact with, a group of adults of varying race and education. If repeated random samples of such children were taken, the average composition of the adults to whom they are exposed is given by our calculation.

In Table 7, we summarize for poor and non-poor children the average composition, by race and education level, of the census tracts in which they live. The fourth column of Panel A shows the average neighborhood composition, in 1970, for black children below poverty. The first six numbers in the column are the ones we used to illustrate the measure above. They are not the composition of

any actual census tract. They are the average for all black children below poverty.

The data presented in Table 7 permit speculations about within-race and cross-race role modeling. For example, the neighborhoods of above-poverty black children contain (on average) a substantial number of white adults--22% white non-graduates and 13% white graduates, along with 44% black non-graduates and 21% black graduates in 1970 (Panel A). White children, on the other hand, tend to live in neighborhoods with very few blacks of either educational status. Thus, if we consider adult high school graduates to be role models, black children in Milwaukee generally had neighborhood access to white adult role models, but white children did not have access to black role models. Although the themes around which our analysis is organized require that we focus on the role models available to poor black children, this example illustrates that the method could be used in assessment of patterns of socialization of white children and other topics.

The bottom 2 rows of each panel in Table 7 report the average composition by education (ignoring race) and the average composition by race (ignoring education). Some class isolation of poor children is evident in these summary measures. Poor children of each race, as compared to non-poor children of the same race, live among a smaller percentage of high school graduates and a higher percentage of blacks.

The stronger pattern of differentiation is by race rather than by class. For poor white children in 1970, about 50% of adults in

the neighborhood are high school graduates, and 4% are blacks. For poor black children, the ratios are 29% high school graduates and 70% blacks. The environments of black children below poverty are much closer to those of black children above poverty than to those of below-poverty white children.

The aggregate metropolitan distribution of the adult population by race and educational attainment is shown in the far-right column of Table 7. This distribution can be thought of as a standard neighborhood composition. If there were no residential segregation by race and class, all children (and all adults) would live in environments like this standard. Comparing this aggregate column with the other columns in Panel A illustrates the wide black-white difference in neighborhood environment and emphasizes how skewed the compositions black children's neighborhoods are. Black children are not only surrounded mainly by other blacks. The whites they live near are not typical of all whites. For example, the majority of white adults in Milwaukee had graduated from high school in 1970, yet two thirds or more of the white adults in the neighborhoods of black children were non-graduates.

Residential environments for 1980 (Table 7, Panel B) display roughly similar patterns to those for 1970, with racial differences greater than class differences. There is one large difference of 1980 from 1970. The percentages of high school graduates, however, are sharply higher for both blacks and whites. The trends are apparent in the change scores presented in Panel C. The last column provides the aggregate changes for the metropolitan area.

The percentage of adults who are high school graduates increased by 14.7 percentage points during the decade. Older, less-educated cohorts passed on and were replaced by younger better-educated cohorts. For white children, whether above or below poverty, increases in the neighborhood prevalence of white adult high school graduates matched the increases for the metropolitan area. For black children, the increases were greater, with large increases in the prevalence of both white and black high school graduates. The total change for poor black children is an increase of 18 percentage points in high school graduates.

Return to Panel B and examine the 1980 compositions for black children below poverty. Of neighborhood adults, 14% are white high school graduates and 32% are black high school graduates. The total percentage of high school graduates in 1980 is 47%, compared to 29% in 1970. If high school graduation is an indicator of middle-class status, poor black children had more middle-class role models, white and black, in 1980 than in 1970. Focusing on same-race role models for black children below poverty, the ratio of high school graduates to total black adults increased from .28 (19.8 / 70.4) in 1970 to .44 (32.0 / 72.1) in 1980.

Labor force attachment is the second social class variable for which we present average neighborhood distributions. These data are presented in Table 8. The general format of the table is the same as Table 7. For each of the four groups of children (white above or below poverty; black above or below poverty), we characterized the average residential environment by presenting a

percentage distribution of adults by race (3 groups) and labor force status (3 categories). The table contains separate panels for adult males and adult females. This facilitates analysis of the availability of same-sex role models and opposite-sex role models.

The patterns for labor force attachment of adult males in 1970 are presented in of Panel A (Table 8). Black children, whether above or below poverty, lived among adult males who were most likely to be black blue-collar workers and next most likely to be blacks not holding jobs (unemployed, discouraged worker, retired, or otherwise not in the labor force). Only about 10% of the adult males held white-collar jobs, and among these upper-status workers roughly equal numbers were white and black.

The average neighborhood labor force distribution (1970, male) for white children (Panel A) includes much higher percentages of same-race adults, many more with white-collar jobs, and fewer with blue-collar jobs or not working. Poor/non-poor differences are greater among whites than among blacks in 1970, but these within-race differences are small compared to the between-race differences. In this general way, the 1970 patterns for male labor force status parallel the 1970 patterns for educational attainment.

The 1980 pattern and 1970-1980 changes for labor force status are not parallel to those for education. While educational attainment shifted sharply upward, aggregate shifts in labor force status were small and not unidirectional. Consider the changes for total metropolitan adult males (shown in the last column of Panel

C). There was a increase in the percentage not working (for each racial group), but among those with jobs there was a relative shift from blue collar to white collar (among whites and blacks).

These aggregate compositional changes, when put together with changes in residential segregation, produced only small changes in the neighborhood environments for white children (Panel C, first two columns), but large changes for black children (Panel C, second two columns). For black children below poverty, the distribution of neighborhood adult males had an increase of 10 percentage points in blacks not working and a decrease of 12 percentage points in blacks holding blue-collar jobs. There were small percentage-point increases in white-collar workers (black and white). In role-model terms, black children (poor and non-poor) experienced large increases in negative role models (non-working males) and small increases in positive role models (white collar males).

The distribution of females by labor force status (Table 8, Panels D through F) differs from that for males. In quick summary, the biggest changes occurring from 1970 to 1980 were a decline for the aggregate metropolitan area in the percentage of adult females not in the labor force and an increase in employed women, mainly in white-collar jobs. These changes were greater for white women, and hence resulted in more change in the neighborhoods of white children than of black children. In 1980 (Panel E), the neighborhoods of poor black children included relatively more white-collar females (18%) than white-collar males (12%), but blue-collar and not-working women predominated.

In Part III of our analysis, we have considered two indicators of the social class milieu of children: the educational attainment and labor force status of neighborhood adults. We looked especially for changes in the prevalence of middle-class role models in the neighborhoods of poor children. We now consider one more variable, this one describing the social class distribution of the other children. Children learn from their peers as well as from the adults in the community. Unfortunately, available census tract data provide little information specifically about children. However, we can use the same information that we have been using about race and poverty status of children. Each child lives in a census tract that has some number of children who can be placed into one of six categories: white below or above poverty, black below or above poverty, other race below or above poverty.

In the first two columns of Table 9, Panel A, the average residential environment of white children in 1970 is described. For non-poor white children, 93% of the neighborhood children were white and above poverty; for poor white children the figure is still high, 82%. For poor white children, the other 18% of neighborhood children included mostly poor white children and a few black children, poor and non-poor.

The 1970 residential environments of black children were quite different (Panel A, columns 3 and 4). Black children had more white children as neighbors than white children had black neighbors. Still, reflecting racial segregation, more than 80% of the other children were black. Among these children, not being in

poverty was more common than being in poverty. For black children who were themselves below poverty, 63% of neighborhood children were above poverty. For non-poor black children, the neighborhood environment differed only slightly from that for poor blacks; 71% of other children were above poverty.

In the Milwaukee metropolitan area in 1970, 3.4% of all children were black children living in poverty. In the residential environs of black children, however, black children in poverty comprised 1/4 to 1/3 of all children, whereas in the neighborhoods of white children, only 1/20 to 1/8 of children were poor. Again, neighborhood environment of a child is determined more by his or her race than by poverty status.

Changes during the 1970-80 decade (Panel C, bottom rows) are clearly in the direction asserted by Wilson: poor black children experienced a decrease of 7.5 percentage points in the percentage of neighborhood children who were above poverty. The change for poor white children was in the same direction but of smaller magnitude, -3 percentage points. White and black children above poverty also had a decrease in the percentage of neighborhood above-poverty children. These changes can be traced in part to increases in the residential segregation of poor and non-poor children (as shown in Table 6), but even more strongly to an increase in the prevalence of poverty among Milwaukee's children. The poverty rate among black children increased from 34% in 1970 to 40% in 1980 (calculated from the numbers in the final columns of Panels A and B). The number of poor black children increased by

8,000, while the number of non-poor black children increased by 4,000. The number of white children declined during the decade, and in 1980 there were more poor black than poor white children in Milwaukee.

In 1980 (Table 9, Panel B), poor black children lived in neighborhoods that on average had 44% of children in poverty. The overall prevalence of poor children was much greater for poor black children than for non-poor blacks (32%), poor whites (16%), or non-poor whites (6%).

SUMMARY

Our analyses of segregation by race and class in Milwaukee were organized around four anticipated patterns that we formulated from Wilson's discussion of demographic structural causes of increased poverty concentration.

In Part I, we asked whether high status blacks became less segregated from whites. Our analyses have demonstrated a clear trend toward lessened racial separation between 1970 and 1980, a trend that was especially strong for high status blacks (college graduates, white collar workers and children above poverty).

In Part II, we addressed expectations about levels and trends in class segregation within the racial groups. We did not find the expected pattern of initially low levels of class segregation among blacks. Class segregation among blacks was not low in 1970. Indeed, for two of our three class indicators, blacks displayed higher levels than whites.

We anticipated and found increased class segregation among blacks, particularly for comparisons of the highest status group with others. This pattern was most clear for the children's poverty and educational status measures. Changes between 1970 and 1980 for whites were smaller in magnitude and less clearly patterned.

Although we found evidence for both of the patterns of change in segregation predicted from Wilson's discussion, the magnitude of change was modest compared to initial levels. Recent changes were not large enough to change the basic racial and class residential structure of the Milwaukee metropolitan area.

In Part III of our analysis, we addressed the fourth expectation, that the consequence of the segregation changes would be an increased spatial isolation of poor children. Specifically, we asked whether the proportion of middle-class role models increased or decreased between 1970 and 1980. Our findings on this point are complicated, and we shall summarize the findings only for the neighborhoods of poor black children.

The results for educational status are clear. We found a sharp increase in the neighborhood presence of high school graduates. The results for labor force status are mixed. The data show a small increase in the presence of white-collar workers, but such employment was still uncommon in 1980. At the same time, there was a noticeable decrease in the proportion of males who were working. For the third indicator, the poverty status of children, the potential for contact with middle-class peers decreased. In

the neighborhoods of poor black children, there was a decreased presence of children whose family incomes were above the poverty line. Only the results for male adults not working and children's poverty status support the increased spatial isolation hypothesis.

What these compositional changes for poor black children have in common is that they all mirror changes in the aggregate population. Between 1970 and 1980, older less-educated cohorts died out and younger better-educated cohorts replaced them. There were many more high school graduates to spread around, and the census tracts of poor black children gained a proportionate share of them. In 1980 there were relatively more non-working adults than there had been in 1970, and the neighborhoods of poor children gained a share of the increase. For poverty also, there was more to spread around, especially for blacks.

We conclude that changes between 1970 and 1980 in the class isolation of poor black children were due more to changes in the aggregate population composition than to changes in class segregation patterns.

Another conclusion from our analysis is that neighborhood compositions are determined more by a child's race than by his or her social class. For all three indicators, racial residential segregation is the predominant influence on the observed patterns of class isolation. Most black children live in majority-black neighborhoods. Hence, the social class milieu for black children is largely determined by the social class traits of the black population. Similarly, the social class milieu for white children

is determined by the social class traits of the white population. Neighborhood differences between poor and non-poor white children or between poor and non-poor black children are quite small compared to the general differences between all white children and all black children. This finding is at variance with a literal extrapolation from Wilson's earlier hypotheses (1978) about the declining influence of race and the dominance of class in determining the social conditions of poor blacks.

DISCUSSION

Our analyses of a single metropolitan area were not undertaken as a test of Wilson's ideas. Those ideas served as a convenient basis for organizing and interpreting data on changing metropolitan structure. Still, our results for adult segregation by race and class in Milwaukee are in accord with the findings of previous studies for various places (Erbe, 1975; Farley, 1977; Massey and Eggers, 1990; Simkus, 1978; White, 1987). Two of these studies considered not just segregation but also class composition of neighborhoods and the links between them. In an analysis of 1970 census tract data for Chicago, Erbe (1975) noted that the neighborhoods of middle-class blacks contained a much higher proportion of poor persons than those of middle-class whites, even though indexes of dissimilarity by class were similar for blacks and whites. She concluded, as we do, that the neighborhood compositions of blacks were determined mainly by the skewed class distribution of the black population. Massey and Eggers (1990),

using data for 55 metropolitan areas for 1970 and 1980, examined the link between changes in residential segregation by race and income and increased concentration of black poverty. They concluded that the increased prevalence of poverty since 1970, along with persistent racial segregation, was more important than changes in class segregation in causing increased poverty concentration.

Our study sharpened the focus of this type of research by looking on the class isolation of children, whereas previous papers looked at the total or adult population. If changes in cultural milieu and socialization are crucial to growth of an underclass, the effects should be strongest on children. Ethnographic accounts of low-income neighborhoods suggest that the socio-economic outcomes of older relatives and other nearby adults have a strong influence on the aspirations and high-school completion rates of teenagers (e.g. Glasgow, 1980; MacLeod, 1987). Thus, children are especially sensitive to changes in the class composition of their neighborhoods. A focus on children is also appropriate because most definitions of an underclass incorporate the idea of intergenerational transmission of poverty (Danziger, 1989; Jencks, 1989) or evidence of dysfunctional behavior among teenagers (Ricketts and Mincy, 1988; Ricketts and Sawhill, 1988; Wilson, 1987).

Like Erbe (1975), we chose to do an intensive study of one metropolitan area and to use multiple indicators of social class. This approach illustrated the complexities of testing hypotheses

about trends in segregation by race and class. Conclusions about trends in segregation differed across the range of statuses examined and also across the three status indicators. For instance, we found class segregation to be lower for blacks than whites when looking at poverty status of children, but higher for blacks when considering educational and labor force status of adults.

Focusing on one area also allowed us to present data on the composition of children's neighborhoods in a new, flexible format. For each status indicator, we were able to examine many aspects of average neighborhood composition--each class category for three racial groups, race alone, and class alone. This arrangement permitted analysis of both within-race and cross-race role modeling. In addition, it facilitated direct comparisons between the neighborhood compositions of black and white children and between those and the aggregate population composition.

The most striking finding of our case study was the wide variance in composition results across our three status indicators. Each indicator produced a distinct view of trends in the social class isolation of poor children. In fact, the differences were so large that we can give no one answer to the question of whether poor black children became more isolated from middle-class role models over the seventies. Instead, our conclusion is that it depends on what type of role model one feels is most important in children's development. If the primary concern is with the loss of blue collar jobs and increasing rates of joblessness among black

men, then the situation of poor black children worsened between 1970 and 1980. Similarly, the proportion of peer role models who were poor increased in the neighborhoods of poor black children. However, on average, the majority of children in these neighborhoods were above poverty, even in 1980. If the focus is on educational attainment or white-collar employment, the conclusion is that poor children, like non-poor children, experienced an increase in the availability of this type of role model.

At this point, it is important to re-emphasize that neighborhood compositional changes for all four types of children parallel those for the aggregate population. Although poor children experienced greater increases or smaller decreases in their class spatial isolation (than non-poor children of the same race), the differences were generally small. The strongest differentials were between blacks and whites. Compositional changes were more dramatic in the neighborhoods of black children. This too can be traced to aggregate compositional effects, since population changes occurred at a more rapid rate for blacks than whites over the 1970-80 decade. For instance, the increase in the proportion of black male adults not working was greater for blacks than for whites (data not shown) and this was reflected in the compositional changes of black children's neighborhoods.

In conclusion, we assert that the strongest factors contributing to changes in the class isolation of poor blacks over the 1970s are continued racial segregation and general social and economic change, as manifested in changes in aggregate population

composition. Differential residential mobility by class among blacks, which is reflected in changes in class segregation, is clearly a less important factor.

APPENDIX:
SUPPRESSION

Some data in the Census Summary Tape Files are suppressed in order to maintain confidentiality (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1983). In general, data for areas with very small populations are not shown to prevent identification of individuals. Some data, such as population figures (by race) and the number of housing units, are never suppressed. Suppression takes two forms, primary and complementary. The 1970 files are affected only by primary suppression, whereas the 1980 files are affected by both types. In addition, the application of suppression rules occurs independently for three unit-of-analysis types: population, households, and housing units by tenure.

Primary suppression applies whenever there are fewer than 30 persons in the area of interest. In the case of household characteristics (such as family income), the suppression cutoff is 10 households; for owner or renter household characteristics, the cutoff is ten of the relevant type of household. In tables cross-classified by race or Spanish-origin, the suppression cutoffs are applied to each group. For instance, if there are between 1 and 30 blacks in a particular area, no data will be shown for the characteristics of the black population, although data will be available on the total size of the black population.

Complementary suppression applies whenever suppressed data (under the primary suppression criteria) could be derived by subtraction. This type of suppression occurs most often in tables cross-classified by race or Spanish-origin. For example, if a census tract contains 4500 white persons and 25 black persons, both black and white characteristcs data would be suppressed. Otherwise, one could access the characteristics of those 25 blacks by subtracting the white data from that for the total population. In some cases, the situation is more complicated, since there are five racial groups identified in the 1980 file (white, black, American Indian, Asian, and Other). If one of these five groups is small enough to be affected by primary suppression, data for the next largest group will also be suppressed. If a tract had 4000 whites, 100 blacks and 20 Asians, the characteristics of both blacks and Asians would be suppressed. In some areas, complementary suppression can lead to a significant loss of race-specific characteristics data. For the Milwaukee metropolitan area in 1980, suppression resulted in the loss of characteristics data for 8% of the white population and 6% of the black population.

This situation motivated us to find a method of correcting for the loss of data due to suppression. We found that it was possible in most cases to substitute data from a larger population for the population affected by complementary suppression. Such a substitution was imposed only when the suppressed group comprised more than 80% of the population group used for substitution. This

substitution process was carried out separately for the three types of data units: population, households, and housing units. In no case were substitutions made for groups affected by primary suppression, i.e. if there were fewer than 30 persons (or 10 households). In the current analysis, we are interested only in blacks and whites; therefore, no substitutions were made for other races. The following examples illustrate how the substitution rules were applied.

Population		Type of Suppression	Potential Substitution Source
Example 1:			
Total	4525	None	
White	4500	Complementary	Total Pop.
Black	25	Primary	None
Example 2:			
Total	4120	None	
White	4000	None	
Black	100	Complementary	Total - White
Asian	20	Primary	
Example 3:			
Total	3230	None	
White	75	Complementary	(Total - Black)
Black	3100	None	
Asian	55	Primary	None

Example 1: In this case, whites constitute over 99% of the total population, so we expect little bias in substituting total population characteristics for whites. Since there are fewer than 30 blacks in this area, they would have to be dropped from <u>any</u> analysis of population characteristics.

Example 2: Here, blacks are 83% of the non-white population, suggesting that subtracting the white characteristics from those for the total will give a good approximation of black characteristics.

Example 3: In this situation, no subsitution would be made since whites comprise only 58% of the non-black, non-Asian population. These 75 whites would be dropped from analysis involving population characteristics.

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Table 1. Segregation between Blacks and Whites, by Educational Attainment, Persons 25 and Older, Milwaukee Metropolitan Area, 1970 and 1980

	Education, Whites						
Educ., Blacks	0-7	8	HS 1-3	HS 4	C 1-3	C 4+	Total
A. 1970							
0-7	88.1	90.5	91.4	93.5	94.6	95.7	
8	88.3	90.7	91.5	93.9	94.9	96.0	
HS 1-3	87.7	89.8	90.6	92.6	94.0	95.3	
HS 4	87.0	88.9	89.5	91.6	92.9	94.4	
C 1-3	85.3	87.1	87.3	90.2	91.4	92.9	
C 4+	86.1	87.3	87.3	87.8	89.8	87.5	
Total							89.8
B. 1980							
0-7	86.9	87.8	87.9	90.5	90.2	91.7	
8	86.8	87.8	87.6	91.7	91.8	92.6	
HS 1-3	85.1	85.9	85.3	89.2	89.5	91.6	
HS 4	81.2	81.7	81.0	85.0	85.3	87.8	
C 1-3	79.0	79.9	79.2	82.5	82.3	85.0	
C 4+	74.9	76.5	76.6	78.6	75.8	76.9	
Total							83.3
C. Change 1970 to 1980							
0-7	- 1.2	- 2.7	- 3.5	- 3.0	- 4.4	- 5.0	
8	- 1.5	- 2.9	- 3.9	- 2.2	- 3.1	- 3.4	
HS 1-3	- 2.6	- 3.9	- 5.3	- 3.4	- 4.5	- 3.7	
HS 4	- 5.8	- 7.2	- 8.5	- 6.6	- 7.6	- 6.6	
C 1-3	- 6.3	- 7.2	- 8.1	- 7.7	- 9.4	- 7.9	
C 4+	-11.2	-10.8	-10.7	- 9.2	-14.0	-10.5	
Total							- 6.5

Table 2. Segregation between Blacks and Whites, by Labor Force Status, Males 16 and Older, Milwaukee Metropolitan Area, 1970 and 1980

Labor Force Status, Blacks	Labor Force Status, Whites: Not in LF	Unemp.	Blue C.	Lower Wh. C.	Upper Wh. C.
A. 1970					
Not in Labor Force	87.2	88.8	91.4	92.2	93.5
Unemployed	91.4	91.7	94.0	95.2	97.1
Blue Collar	87.7	88.5	91.4	91.4	93.7
Lower White Collar	86.3	87.2	90.1	90.3	92.1
Upper White Collar	84.5	84.3	87.7	86.6	87.7
B. 1980					
Not in Labor Force	82.8	85.7	87.5	87.8	88.9
Unemployed	85.8	87.3	89.0	90.1	91.5
Blue Collar	81.7	82.1	84.4	85.5	87.2
Lower White Collar	81.8	83.8	85.9	85.1	86.6
Upper White Collar	74.6	77.4	79.8	76.8	78.3
C. Change 1970 to 1980					
Not in Labor Force	- 4.4	- 3.1	- 3.9	- 4.4	- 4.6
Unemployed	- 5.6	- 4.4	- 5.0	- 5.1	- 5.6
Blue Collar	- 6.0	- 6.4	- 7.0	- 5.9	- 6.5
Lower White Collar	- 4.5	- 3.4	- 4.2	- 5.2	- 5.5
Upper White Collar	- 9.9	- 6.9	- 7.9	- 9.8	- 9.4

Table 3. Segregation between Blacks and Whites, by Poverty Status, Related Children Under 18, Milwaukee Metropolitan Area, 1970 and 1980

Poverty Status, Blacks	Poverty Status, Whites: Below Pov.	Poverty Status, Whites: Above Pov.
A. 1970		
Below Poverty	89.1	95.2
Above Poverty	87.4	92.5
B. 1980		
Below Poverty	86.8	94.2
Above Poverty	80.9	87.0
C. Change 1970 to 1980		
Below Poverty	- 2.3	- 1.0
Above Poverty	- 6.5	- 5.5

Table 4. Segregation between Educational Attainment Groups, Separately for Blacks and Whites, Milwaukee Metropolitan Area, 1970 and 1980

	Education					
Education	0-7	8	HS 1-3	HS 4	C 1-3	C 4+
A. Blacks, 1970						
0-7	--	17.7	17.4	27.4	41.1	51.6
8		--	14.9	21.8	34.0	48.6
HS 1-3			--	16.3	32.2	44.8
HS 4				--	24.1	40.6
C 1-3					--	34.5
C 4+						--
B. Blacks, 1980						
0-7	--	20.8	22.8	30.4	37.8	55.8
8		--	21.8	28.7	37.2	56.0
HS 1-3			--	17.5	26.1	46.8
HS 4				--	18.1	39.7
C 1-3					--	32.6
C 4+						--
C. Blacks, Change 1970 to 1980						
0-7	--	+ 3.1	+ 5.4	+ 3.0	- 3.3	+ 4.2
8		--	+ 6.7	+ 6.9	+ 3.2	+ 7.4
HS 1-3			--	+ 1.2	- 6.1	+ 2.0
HS 4				--	- 6.0	- 0.9
C 1-3					--	- 1.9
C 4+						--

(table continued on next page)

Table 4. (cont.)

Education	Education 0-7	8	HS 1-3	HS 4	C 1-3	C 4+
D. Whites, 1970						
0-7	--	15.7	18.2	28.5	37.7	49.2
8		--	13.2	19.6	30.3	43.8
HS 1-3			--	14.8	28.0	42.1
HS 4				--	17.8	33.2
C 1-3					--	19.1
C 4+						--
E. Whites, 1980						
0-7	--	19.9	21.5	29.3	34.9	45.2
8		--	14.7	19.8	27.0	39.5
HS 1-3			--	16.0	24.8	38.7
HS 4				--	14.9	30.6
C 1-3					--	18.4
C 4+						--
F. Whites, Change 1970 to 1980						
0-7	--	+ 4.2	+ 3.3	+ 0.8	- 2.8	- 4.0
8		--	+ 1.5	+ 0.2	- 3.3	- 4.3
HS 1-3			--	+ 1.2	- 3.2	- 3.4
HS 4				--	- 2.9	- 2.6
C 1-3					--	- 0.7
C 4+						--

Table 5. Segregation between Labor Force Status Groups, Separately for Blacks and Whites, Males 16 and Older, Milwaukee Metropolitan Area, 1970 and 1980

Labor Force Status	Labor Force Status				
	Not In LF	Unemp.	Blue Collar	Lower White Collar	Upper White Collar
A. Blacks, 1970					
Not In Labor Force	--	27.8	21.0	34.0	47.1
Unemployed		--	22.7	37.6	44.1
Blue Collar			--	29.2	37.9
Lower White Collar				--	33.8
Upper White Collar					--
B. Blacks, 1980					
Not In Labor Force	--	26.0	25.9	35.8	47.2
Unemployed		--	21.7	32.6	44.1
Blue Collar			--	28.4	35.9
Lower White Collar				--	38.3
Upper White Collar					--
C. Blacks, Change 1970 to 1980					
Not In Labor Force	--	- 1.8	+ 4.9	+ 1.8	+ 0.1
Unemployed		--	- 1.0	- 5.0	0.0
Blue Collar			--	- 0.8	- 2.0
Lower White Collar				--	+ 4.5
Upper White Collar					--

(table continued on next page)

Table 5. (cont.)

Labor Force Status	Labor Force Status				
	Not In LF	Unemp.	Blue Collar	Lower White Collar	Upper White Collar
D. Whites, 1970					
Not In Labor Force	--	24.3	19.5	21.2	29.3
Unemployed		--	21.8	29.2	35.8
Blue Collar			--	21.7	30.2
Lower White Collar				--	17.0
Upper White Collar					--
E. Whites, 1980					
Not In Labor Force	--	24.8	20.4	21.4	26.9
Unemployed		--	17.0	26.2	30.2
Blue Collar			--	20.9	27.0
Lower White Collar				--	13.6
Upper White Collar					--
F. Whites, Change 1970 to 1980					
Not In Labor Force	--	+ 0.5	+ 0.9	+ 0.2	- 2.4
Unemployed		--	- 4.8	- 3.0	- 5.6
Blue Collar			--	- 0.8	- 3.2
Lower White Collar				--	- 3.4
Upper White Collar					--

Table 6. Segregation between Children in Poverty and Children Not in Poverty, Separately for Blacks and Whites, Milwaukee Metropolitan Area, 1970 and 1980

	White Children	Black Children
1970	35.9	23.3
1980	38.0	30.2
Change 1970 to 1980	+2.1	+6.9

Table 7. Average Neighborhood Composition by Race and High School Graduation of Adults, for Black and White Children by Poverty Status, Milwaukee Metropolitan Area, 1970 and 1980

Neighborhood Composition	White Children Above Pov.	White Children Below Pov.	Black Children Above Pov.	Black Children Below Pov.	Percent in Adult Population
A. 1970					
White					
< HS Grad.	38.8%	46.5%	21.5%	19.4%	39.1%
HS Grad.	59.6	48.9	12.8	9.4	54.9
Black					
< HS Grad.	0.6	2.5	43.8	50.6	3.6
HS Grad.	0.5	1.3	21.2	19.8	1.8
Other					
< HS Grad.	0.2	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.3
HS Grad.	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.3
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0
Summary					
% HS Grad.	60.3	50.5	34.2	29.4	57.0
% Black	1.1	3.8	64.0	70.4	5.4

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Table 7. (cont.)

Neighborhood Composition	White Children Above Pov.	White Children Below Pov.	Black Children Above Pov.	Black Children Below Pov.	Percent in Adult Population
B. 1980					
White					
< HS Grad.	23.9%	30.6%	13.1%	11.2%	23.9%
HS Grad.	72.9	61.6	22.0	14.5	66.3
Black					
< HS Grad.	0.6	2.1	31.8	40.1	3.6
HS Grad.	1.2	2.6	31.4	32.0	4.1
Other					
< HS Grad.	0.5	1.8	0.9	1.2	0.7
HS Grad.	0.9	1.4	0.8	0.9	1.3
Total	100.0	100.1	100.0	99.9	99.9
Summary					
% HS Grad.	75.0	65.6	54.2	47.4	71.7
% Black	1.8	4.7	63.2	72.1	7.7
C. Change 1970 to 1980					
White					
< HS Grad.	-14.9	-15.9	- 8.4	- 8.2	-15.2
HS Grad.	+13.3	+12.7	+ 9.2	+ 5.1	+11.4
Black					
< HS Grad.	0.0	- 0.4	-12.0	-10.5	0.0
HS Grad.	+ 0.7	+ 1.3	+10.2	+12.2	+ 2.3
Other					
< HS Grad.	+ 0.3	+ 1.3	+ 0.3	+ 0.7	+ 0.4
HS Grad.	+ 0.7	+ 1.1	+ 0.6	+ 0.7	+ 1.0
Summary					
% HS Grad.	+14.7	+15.1	+20.0	+18.0	+14.7
% Black	+ 0.7	+ 0.9	- 0.8	+ 1.7	+ 2.3

Table 8. Average Neighborhood Composition By Race and Labor Force Status of Male Adults, for Black and White Children by Poverty Status, Milwaukee Metropolitan Area, 1970 and 1980

Neighborhood Composition	White Children Above Pov.	White Children Below Pov.	Black Children Above Pov.	Black Children Below Pov.	Percent in Adult Population
A. Males, 1970					
White					
Not Working	19.0%	21.8%	11.1%	10.1%	20.0%
Blue Collar	46.2	47.8	14.7	12.5	43.1
White Collar	33.1	25.5	5.7	4.0	30.4
Black					
Not Working	0.3	1.1	19.7	23.9	1.7
Blue Collar	0.7	2.6	42.0	43.4	3.6
White Collar	0.2	0.4	6.1	5.5	0.6
Other					
Not Working	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Blue Collar	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.3
White Collar	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0
Summary					
% Not Working	19.4	23.1	31.0	34.2	21.9
% Blue Collar	47.1	50.9	57.1	56.3	47.(
% White Collar	33.4	26.0	11.9	9.6	31.1
% Black	1.2	4.1	67.8	72.8	5.9

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Table 8. (cont.)

Neighborhood Composition	White Children Above Pov.	White Children Below Pov.	Black Children Above Pov.	Black Children Below Pov.	Percent in Adult Population
B. Males, 1980					
White					
Not Working	21.4%	23.9%	11.0%	9.2%	21.7%
Blue Collar	41.7	42.4	14.1	10.3	37.6
White Collar	33.4	25.2	8.6	4.9	30.2
Black					
Not Working	0.6	1.8	27.5	34.1	3.3
Blue Collar	0.9	2.3	30.0	32.4	3.8
White Collar	0.4	0.7	6.8	6.6	1.1
Other					
Not Working	0.4	1.1	0.7	1.0	0.6
Blue Collar	0.8	2.0	1.0	1.2	1.0
White Collar	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.7
Total	100.0	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.0
Summary					
% Not Working	22.4	26.8	39.2	44.3	25.6
% Blue Collar	43.4	46.7	45.1	43.9	42.4
% White Collar	34.2	26.4	15.7	11.7	32.0
% Black	1.9	4.8	64.3	73.1	8.2
C. Males, Change 1970 to 1980					
White					
Not Working	+ 2.4	+ 2.1	- 0.1	- 0.9	+ 1.7
Blue Collar	- 4.5	- 5.4	- 0.6	- 2.2	- 5.5
White Collar	+ 0.3	- 0.3	+ 2.9	+ 0.9	- 0.2
Black					
Not Working	+ 0.3	+ 0.7	+ 7.8	+10.2	+ 1.6
Blue Collar	+ 0.2	- 0.3	-12.0	-11.0	+ 0.2
White Collar	+ 0.2	+ 0.3	+ 0.7	+ 1.1	+ 0.5
Other					
Not Working	+ 0.3	+ 0.9	+ 0.5	+ 0.8	+ 0.4
Blue Collar	+ 0.6	+ 1.5	+ 0.6	+ 0.8	+ 0.7
White Collar	+ 0.3	+ 0.4	+ 0.2	+ 0.1	+ 0.4
Summary					
% Not Working	+ 3.0	+ 3.7	+ 8.2	+10.1	+ 3.7
% Blue Collar	- 3.7	- 4.2	-12.0	-12.4	- 4.6
% White Col.	+ 0.8	+ 0.4	+ 3.8	+ 2.1	+ 0.9
% Black	+ 0.7	+ 0.7	- 3.5	+ 0.3	+ 2.3

Table 8. (cont.)

Neighborhood Composition	White Children Above Pov.	White Children Below Pov.	Black Children Above Pov.	Black Children Below Pov.	Percent in Adult Population
D. Females, 1970					
White					
Not Working	55.6%	53.8%	19.2%	16.3%	52.3%
Blue Collar	15.3	17.2	5.3	4.5	14.3
White Collar	27.4	24.0	7.2	5.2	26.6
Black					
Not Working	0.6	2.2	34.3	39.6	3.2
Blue Collar	0.4	1.3	22.1	23.4	2.0
White Collar	0.2	0.6	11.0	10.1	1.0
Other					
Not Working	0.3	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.3
Blue Collar	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
White Collar	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1
Total	100.0	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.0
Summary					
% Not Working	56.5	56.5	53.9	56.3	55.8
% Blue Collar	15.8	18.7	27.6	28.1	16.5
% White Collar	27.7	24.8	18.4	15.5	27.7
% Black	1.2	4.2	67.4	73.3	6.2

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Table 8. (cont.)

Neighborhood Composition	White Children Above Pov.	White Children Below Pov.	Black Children Above Pov.	Black Children Below Pov.	Percent in Adult Population
E. Females, 1980					
White					
Not Working	44.9%	44.5%	17.0%	12.8%	42.0%
Blue Collar	16.9	17.6	5.8	4.2	15.0
White Collar	34.7	29.2	9.8	5.8	31.6
Black					
Not Working	0.8	2.7	34.3	42.8	4.7
Blue Collar	0.5	1.3	18.8	20.5	2.5
White Collar	0.7	1.2	12.4	11.6	2.0
Other					
Not Working	1.0	1.4	0.7	1.9	1.1
Blue Collar	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.7	0.4
White Collar	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.8	0.7
Total	99.9	99.9	99.9	99.9	100.0
Summary					
% Not Working	46.4	49.1	52.3	57.0	47.8
% Blue Collar	17.7	19.6	25.0	25.1	17.9
% White Collar	35.8	31.2	22.6	17.8	34.3
% Black	2.0	5.2	65.5	74.9	9.2
F. Females, Change 1970 to 1980					
White					
Not Working	-10.7	- 9.3	- 2.2	- 3.5	-10.3
Blue Collar	+ 1.6	+ 0.4	+ 0.5	- 0.3	+ 0.7
White Collar	- 2.7	+ 5.2	+ 2.6	+ 0.6	+ 5.0
Black					
Not Working	+ 0.2	+ 0.5	0.0	+ 3.2	+ 1.5
Blue Collar	+ 0.1	0.0	- 3.3	- 2.9	+ 0.5
White Collar	+ 0.5	+ 0.5	+ 1.4	+ 1.5	+ 1.0
Other					
Not Working	+ 0.4	+ 1.4	+ 0.6	+ 1.0	+ 0.8
Blue Collar	+ 0.2	+ 0.5	+ 0.2	+ 0.2	+ 0.2
White Collar	+ 0.3	+ 0.7	+ 0.2	+ 0.2	+ 0.6
Summary					
% Not Working	-10.1	- 7.4	- 1.6	+ 0.7	- 8.0
% Blue Collar	+ 1.9	+ 0.9	- 2.6	- 3.0	+ 1.4
% White Col.	+ 8.1	+ 6.4	+ 4.2	+ 2.3	+ 6.6
% Black	+ 0.8	+ 1.0	- 1.9	+ 1.6	+ 3.0

Table 9. Average Neighborhood Composition by Race and Poverty Status of Children, for Black and White Children by Poverty Status, Milwaukee Metropolitan Area, 1970 and 1980

Neighborhood Composition	White Children Above Pov.	White Children Below Pov.	Black Children Above Pov.	Black Children Below Pov.	Percent in Pop.	Number of Children
A. 1970						
White						
Below Pov.	4.7%	10.6%	2.8%	2.8%	4.8%	23,800
Above Pov.	93.1	82.4	15.?	11.4	84.4	416,500
Black						
Below Pov.	0.5	2.0	26.3	33.7	3.4	16,900
Above Pov.	1.2	3.9	54.9	51.3	6.7	33,000
Other						
Below Pov.	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	500
Above Pov.	0.5	0.9	0.6	0.6	0.5	2,500
Total	100.1	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	493,300
Summary						
% Above Pov.	94.8	87.2	70.8	63.3	91.6	452,100
% Black	1.7	5.9	81.2	85 0	10.1	49,900

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Table 9. (cont).

Neighborhood Composition	White Children Above Pov.	White Children Below Pov.	Black Children Above Pov.	Black Children Below Pov.	Percent in Pop.	Number of Children
B. 1980						
White						
Below Pov.	4.7%	10.6%	2.3%	2.5%	4.8%	18,500
Above Pov.	89.5	75.5	18.4	10.1	75.8	295,000
Black						
Below Pov.	0.9	3.4	29.3	40.8	6.4	25,100
Above Pov.	2.3	4.7	47.4	43.9	9.6	37,400
Other						
Below Pov.	0.5	1.7	0.7	0.9	0.7	2,800
Above Pov.	2.1	4.1	1.8	1.8	2.7	10,000
Total	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	389,100
Summary						
% Above Pov.	93.9	84.3	67.6	55.8	88.1	342,700
% Black	3.2	8.1	76.7	84.7	16.0	62,500
C. Change 1970 to 1980						
White						
Below Pov.	0.0	0.0	- 0.5	- 0.3	0.0	- 5,300
Above Pov.	- 3.6	- 6.9	+ 3.1	- 1.3	- 8.6	-121,500
Black						
Below Pov.	+ 0.4	+ 1.4	+ 3.0	+ 7.1	+ 3.0	+ 8,200
Above Pov.	+ 1.1	+ 0.8	- 7.5	- 7.4	+ 2.3	+ 4,400
Other						
Below Pov.	+ 0.4	+ 1.5	+ 0.6	+ 0.7	+ 0.6	+ 2,300
Above Pov.	+ 1.6	+ 3.2	+ 1.2	+ 1.2	+ 2.2	+ 7,500
Summary						
% Above Pov.	- 0.9	- 2.9	- 3.2	- 7.5	- 3.5	-109,400
% Black	+ 1.5	+ 2.2	- 4.5	- 0.3	+ 5.9	+ 12,600

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