Center for Urban Studies-February 2002 Working Paper Series, No. 8

African Americans in the United States, Michigan and Metropolitan Detroit



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Introduction

Data on race has been collected since the first U.S. decennial census in 1790 (see Table 1). Blacks have been enumerated in every census. According to the Census, the term "Black or African American" refers to people having origins in any of the black race groups of Africa. It includes people who reported "Black, African Am., or Negro" or wrote in entries such as African American, Afro American, Nigerian, or Haitian.¹

Census Year 1860 Black Mulatto 1870 ¹ Black Mulatto 1880 Black Mulatto 1890 Black Mulatto Quadroon Octoroon 1900 Black (of Negro decent) 1910 Black Mulatto 1920 Black Mulatto 1930 Black 1940 Black 1950 Negro 1960 Negro 1970 Negro or Black 1980 Black or Negro 1990 Black or Negro 2000 Black, African American, or Negro

Source: 200 Years of U.S. Census Taking: Population And Housing Questions 1790-1990. U.S. Department of Commerce. U.S. Bureau of the Census.

National Perspective

Let us first look at how blacks identified themselves with regard to the single and multiple race options. In the total population, 34.7 million people, or 12.3 percent, reported only black. An additional 1.8 million people reported black and at least one other race. Within this group, the most common combinations were "Black and White" (45 percent), "Black and Some other race" (24 percent), "Black and American Indian and Alaska Native" (10 percent), and "Black and White and American Indian and Alaska Native" (6 percent). Thus, 36.4 million, or 12.9 percent of the total population, reported black alone or in combination with one or more other races. [Unless specifically noted, the 2000 counts of blacks used in the remainder of this paper will be that of blacks alone. This is generally regarded to be more comparable for comparison purposes with previous censuses.]

Blacks increased in number from 29,980,996 in 1990 to 34,658,190 in 2000. This represented a gain of 15.6 percent, slightly above the 13.2 percent growth that the nation experienced in total population. "Blacks ended the 20th century by returning to the region that they spent most of the century leaving. Their return reinforces the South's distinct racial profile as a mostly white-black region." Census 2000 numbers show that the non-Hispanic black population of the South surged in the 1990s by 3,575,211 people—more than in the other three regions of the United States combined. As shown in Table 2, the South, while containing just fewer than 36 percent of the nation's population, accounted for almost 55 percent of the country's blacks, and 58 percent of the total increase in the country's black population. The South's gain during the 1990s was roughly double the number of blacks that the South gained in the

Table 1
Categories for Collecting Data on
Blacks in the Census: 1860-2000

¹ In 1890, mulatto was defined as a person who was three-eighths to five-eighths black. A quadroon was one-quarter black and an octoroon one-eighth black.

1980s (1.7 million) and well above the gain for the 1970s (1.9 million), when blacks began returning to the South.

Black or Percent of Percent of **Total** African **Population American** U.S. Total **Black Total** UNITED STATES 281,421,906 34,658,190 53,594,378 6,099,881 19.0% 17.6% Northeast New England 13,922,517 719,063 4.9% 2.1% 39,671,861 5,380,818 14.1% 15.5% Middle Atlantic Midwest 64,392,776 22 9% 18.8% 6,499,733 East North Central 45,155,037 5,405,418 16.0% 15.6% 19,237,739 1,094,315 6.8% 3.2% West North Central 100,236,820 18.981.692 South 35.6% 54.8% 51,769,160 11,026,722 18.4% 31.8% South Atlantic 17,022,810 3,418,542 6.0% 9.9% East South Central 31,444,850 4,536,428 11.2% 13.1% West South Central West 63,197,932 8.9% 3,076,884 22.5% 18,172,295 523,283 6.5% 1.5% Mountain 45,025,637 2,553,601 16.0% 7.4% **Pacific**

Table 2 2000 Black Population by Region and Division

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000 Redistricting Data (P.L. 94-171) Summary File for states and Census 2000 Redistricting Summary File for Puerto Rico, Tables PL1 and PL2.

The strength of the South is clearly evident when one looks at the state level. Table 3 provides a listing of the top 15 states for blacks, with their associated ranking on total population. It is apparent that the rankings of southern states are very different for blacks than for totals. Georgia, which ranks 10th overall, has the third largest count of black residents. The largest differences show for Louisiana (22nd and 9th), South Carolina (26th and 14th) and Alabama (23rd and 15th).

	Total Popul	ation	Black Population			
_	Number	Rank	Number	Rank		
New York	18,976,457	3	3,014,385	1		
Texas	20,851,820	2	2,404,566	2		
Georgia	8,186,453	10	2,349,542	3		
Florida	15,982,378	4	2,335,505	4		
California	33,871,648	1	2,263,882	5		
Illinois	12,419,293	5	1,876,875	6		
North Carolina	8,049,313	11	1,737,545	7		
Maryland	5,296,486	19	1,477,411	8		
Louisiana	4,468,976	22	1,451,944	9		
Michigan	9,938,444	8	1,412,742	10		
Virginia	7,078,515	12	1,390,293	11		
Ohio	11,353,140	7	1,301,307	12		
Pennsylvania	12,281,054	6	1,224,612	13		
South Carolina	4,012,012	26	1,185,216	14		
Alabama	4,447,100	23	1,155,930	15		

Table 3 Top 15 States Ranked by Black Population in 2000

While the largest counties in the United States tend to be the leaders in terms of numbers of black residents, with only Prince George's County, Maryland, having a total population of less than one million, it is small southern counties that are the leaders when it comes to the black share of total

population (see Table 4). Alabama and Mississippi account for eight of the top 10—each having two counties with shares over 80 percent.

Rank	County	State	Total Population	Black Population	Percent Black	
Naiik			NUMBER OF BL		Diack	
1	Cook County	IL	5,376,741	1,405,361	26.1%	_
2	Los Angeles County	CA	9,519,338	930,957	9.8%	
3	Kings County	NY	2,465,326	898,350	36.4%	
4	Wayne County	MI	2,061,162	868,992	42.2%	Table 4
5	Philadelphia County	PA	1,517,550	655,824	43.2%	Top 10 Counties Ranked By Number
6	Harris County	TX	3,400,578	628,619	18.5%	and Percent of Blacks, 2000
7	Prince George's County	MD	801,515	502,550	62.7%	
8	Bronx County	NY	1,332,650	475,007	35.6%	
9	Miami-Dade County	FL	2,253,362	457,214	20.3%	
10	Dallas County	TX	2,218,899	450,557	20.3%	
	RANKII	NG BY I	PERCENT OF BL	ACKS		
1	Jefferson County	MS	9,740	8,424	86.5%	
2	Macon County	AL	24,105	20,403	84.6%	
3	Claiborne County	MS	11,831	9,951	84.1%	
4	Greene County	AL	9,974	8,013	80.3%	
5	Petersburg city	VA	33,740	26,643	79.0%	
6	Holmes County	MS	21,609	16,997	78.7%	
7	Hancock County	GA	10,076	7,835	77.8%	
8	Lowndes County	AL	13,473	9,885	73.4%	
9	Sumter County	AL	14,798	10,827	73.2%	
10	Bullock County	AL	11,714	8,564	73.1%	

As with counties, the largest cities tend to lead in black population as well. New York comes in first on both measures, while Los Angeles, ranked 2nd overall, falls to number 7 for blacks, due to its large Hispanic and Asian populations. Chicago ranks second in number of blacks, while Detroit, ranked 10th overall, moves up to number 3 in number of blacks, due to its high concentration. In fact, Detroit ranks second in its share of black residents (81.6 percent for black alone) among all cities in the United States with populations of 100,000 or greater. Only Gary, Indiana, has a higher share (84.0 percent).

Michigan, Its Metropolitan Areas and Counties

The 2000 Census found Michigan to have a black population of 1,402,742, which constitutes 14.1 percent of the state's total population (see Table 5). During the 1990s Michigan gained 119,303 blacks. This represented a greater gain than that of the 1980s, when Michigan's population increased by less than 0.5 percent overall, but much less than previous decades (see Table 6). Metropolitan areas house 82 percent of the state's total population, but 98 percent of the state's black population (see Table 7). The Detroit Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area (PMSA)³ accounts for 72 percent of the state's metropolitan black population, and, within the Detroit PMSA, Wayne County holds 85 percent of the PMSA total, with a black population of 864,627, representing 42 percent of its total population. Oakland County runs a distant second to Wayne County with 119,708 blacks, followed by Genesee County. No other county in the state has more than 50,000 blacks (see Table 8).

Census Year	Total Population	Black Population	Percent Black
1900	2,420,982	15,816	0.7%
1910	2,810,173	17,115	0.6%
1920	3,668,412	60,082	1.6%
1930	4,842,325	169,453	3.5%
1940	5,256,106	208,345	4.0%
1950	6,371,766	442,296	6.9%
1960	7,823,194	717,581	9.2%
1970	8,875,083	991,066	11.2%
1980	9,262,044	1,190,682	12.9%
1990	9,295,287	1,282,744	13.8%
2000	9,938,444	1,402,047	14.1%

Table 5 Michigan Black Population, 1900-2000

	Total	Percent
Decade	Change	Change
1900 - 1910	1,299	8.2%
1910 - 1920	42,967	251.0%
1920 - 1930	109,371	182.0%
1930 - 1940	38,892	23.0%
1940 - 1950	233,951	112.3%
1950 - 1960	275,285	62.2%
1960 - 1970	273,485	38.1%
1970 - 1980	199,616	20.1%
1980 - 1990	92,062	7.7%
1990 - 2000	119,303	9.3%

Table 6 Michigan Black Population Change, 1900-2000

Area	Total Population	Black Population	Percent Black
Ann Arbor PMSA	578,736	42,075	7.3%
Lenawee County	98,890	2,033	2.1%
Livingston County	156,951	716	0.5%
Washtenaw County	322,895	39,326	12.2%
Benton Harbor MSA	162,453	25,729	15.8%
Berrien County	162,453	25,729	15.8%
Detroit PMSA	4,441,551	1,012,262	22.8%
Lapeer County	87,904	709	0.8%
Macomb County	788,149	21,151	2.7%
Monroe County	145,945	2,686	1.8%
Oakland County	1,194,156	119,708	10.0%
St. Clair County	164,235	3,381	2.1%
Wayne County	2,061,162	864,627	41.9%
Flint PMSA	436,141	88,356	20.3%
Genesee County	436,141	88,356	20.3%
Grand Rapids-Muskegon-Holland MSA	1,088,514	77,660	7.1%
Allegan County	105,665	1,315	1.2%
Kent County	574,335	49,994	8.7%
Muskegon County	170,200	23,971	14.1%
Ottawa County	238,314	2,380	1.0%
Jackson MSA	158,422	12,396	7.8%
Jackson County	158,422	12,396	7.8%
Kalamazoo-Battle Creek MSA	452,851	41,819	9.2%
Calhoun County	137,985	14,912	10.8%
Kalamazoo County	238,603	22,968	9.6%
Van Buren County	76,263	3,939	5.2%
Lansing-East Lansing MSA	447,728	35,510	7.9%
Clinton County	64,753	401	0.6%
Eaton County	103,655	5,397	5.2%
Ingham County	279,320	29,712	10.6%
Saginaw-Bay City-Midland MSA	403,070	40,875	10.1%
Bay County	110,157	1,343	1.2%
Midland County	82,874	857	1.0%
Saginaw County	210,039	38,675	18.4%

Table 7 Michigan Metropolitan Area Black Population, 2000

Table 8 Ranking of Michigan Counties by Total Black Population, 2000

County	Total Population	Black Population	Percent Black	County	Total Population	Black Population	Percent Black
MICHIGAN	9,938,444	1,402,047	14.1%				
	0.064.460	067.607	(4.00)		0/ 507	200	4 60/
Wayne County	2,061,162	864,627	41.9%	Manistee County	24,527	388	1.6%
Oakland County	1,194,156	119,708	10.0%	Houghton County	36,016	334	0.9%
Genesee County	436,141	88,356	20.3%	Arenac County	17,269	309	1.8%
Kent County	574,335	49,994	8.7%	Gogebic County	17,370	299	1.7%
Washtenaw County	322,895	39,326	12.2%	Grand Traverse County	77,654	295	0.4%
Saginaw County	210,039	38,675	18.4%	Crawford County	14,273	213	1.5%
Ingham County	279,320	29,712	10.6%	Mason County	28,274	200	0.7%
Berrien County	162,453	25,729	15.8%	Hillsdale County	46,527	197	0.4%
Muskegon County	170,200	23,971	14.1%	Iron County	13,138	144	1.1%
Kalamazoo County	238,603	22,968	9.6%	Emmet County	31,437	142	0.5%
Macomb County	788,149	21,151	2.7%	Schoolcraft County	8,903	140	1.6%
Calhoun County	137,985	14,912	10.8%	Barry County	56,755	137	0.2%
Jackson County	158,422	12,396	7.8%	Shiawassee County	71,687	135	0.2%
Eaton County	103,655	5,397	5.2%	Sanilac County	44,547	120	0.3%
Van Buren County	76,263	3,939	5.2%	Iosco County	27,339	106	0.4%
St. Clair County	164,235	3,381	2.1%	Clare County	31,252	100	0.3%
Cass County	51,104	3,107	6.1%	Roscommon County	25,469	81	0.3%
Ionia County	61,518	2,759	4.5%	Keweenaw County	2,301	79	3.4%
Monroe County	145,945	2,686	1.8%	Osceola County	23,197	79	0.3%
Ottawa County	238,314	2,380	1.0%	Oceana County	26,873	77	0.3%
Chippewa County	38,543	2,088	5.4%	Alpena County	31,314	73	0.2%
Lenawee County	98,890	2,033	2.1%	Huron County	36,079	69	0.2%
St. Joseph County	62,422	1,561	2.5%	Cheboygan County	26,448	62	0.2%
Gratiot County	42,285	1,554	3.7%	Wexford County	30,484	54	0.2%
Mecosta County	40,553	1,450	3.6%	Leelanau County	21,119	49	0.2%
Bay County	110,157	1,343	1.2%	Benzie County	15,998	43	0.3%
Allegan County	105,665	1,315	1.2%	Antrim County	23,110	42	0.2%
Montcalm County	61,266	1,308	2.1%	Otsego County	23,301	42	0.2%
Lake County	11,333	1,252	11.0%	Charlevoix County	26,090	42	0.2%
Isabella County	63,351	1,211	1.9%	Presque Isle County	14,411	37	0.3%
Branch County	45,787	1,187	2.6%	Delta County	38,520	35	0.1%
Midland County	82,874	857	1.0%	Kalkaska County	16,571	34	0.2%
Marquette County	64,634	846	1.3%	Gladwin County	26,023	32	0.1%
Livingston County	156,951	716	0.5%	Dickinson County	27,472	32	0.1%
Lapeer County	87,904	709	0.8%	Ogemaw County	21,645	28	0.1%
Tuscola County	58,266	613	1.1%	Missaukee County	14,478	27	0.2%
Alger County	9,862	595	6.0%	Montmorency County	10,315	25	0.2%
Newaygo County	47,874	519	1.1%	Menominee County	25,326	25	0.1%
Luce County	7,024	505	7.2%	Mackinac County	11,943	23	0.2%
Baraga County	8,746	432	4.9%	Alcona County	11,719	19	0.2%
Clinton County	64,753	401	0.6%	Oscoda County	9,418	8	0.1%
conton county	0+,133	I 401	0.0 /0	Ontonagon County	7,818	2	0.1%
				ontonayon county	7,010	ı '	0.0 /0

While Detroit leads the second largest city in the state (Grand Rapids) by an almost 5 to 1 ratio in total population, its lead over second place Flint in black population is almost 12 to 1. In third place is Southfield, which experienced an increase of more than 20,000 blacks during the decade, followed by Grand Rapids and Pontiac (see Table 9). When the city ranking is based on black share of the total population, as seen in Table 10, Highland Park (93 percent) and Benton Harbor (92 percent) move ahead of Detroit.

Black Total Percent **Population** Rank Area **Population** Black 951,270 771,966 81.2% 1 Detroit city 124,943 66,231 53.0% 2 Flint city 78,296 42,259 54.0% 3 Southfield city 4 Grand Rapids city 197,800 39,401 19.9% 66,337 31,416 47.4% 5 Pontiac city 61.799 42.8% 26,440 6 Saginaw city 119,128 25,498 21.4% 7 Lansing city 30,115 20,267 67.3% 8 Inkster city 77,145 15,757 9 Kalamazoo city 20.4% 10 Highland Park city 16,746 15,598 93.1% 11 Oak Park city 29,793 13,622 45.7% 12.582 31.4% 12 Muskegon city 40,105 10,303 13 Benton Harbor city 11.182 92.1% 114,024 9,906 8.7% 14 Ann Arbor city 53,364 9,440 17.7% 15 Battle Creek city

Table 9
Ranking of Michigan Cities by Total
Black Population, 2000

		Total	Black	Percent
Rank	Area	Population	Population	Black
1	Highland Park city	16,746	15,598	93.1%
2	Benton Harbor city	11,182	10,303	92.1%
3	Detroit city	951,270	771,966	81.2%
4	Muskegon Heights	12,049	9,315	77.3%
5	Buena Vista	7,845	5,384	68.6%
6	Inkster city	30,115	20,267	67.3%
7	Beecher	12,793	8,394	65.6%
8	Benton Heights	5,458	3,569	65.4%
9	Southfield city	78,296	42,259	54.0%
10	Flint city	124,943	66,231	53.0%
11	Lathrup Village city	4,236	2,106	49.7%
12	Vandalia village	429	204	47.6%
13	Pontiac city	66,337	31,416	47.4%
14	Fair Plain	7,828	3,705	47.3%
15	Oak Park city	29,793	13,622	45.7%

Table 10 Ranking of Michigan Cities by Percentage of Black Population, 2000

Tri-County Area

Black population growth in the tri-county area can be divided into several time periods. The first stage of growth occurred between 1910 and 1930 and was followed by a brief period of stagnation during the Depression years. The 1940s signified the growth of Detroit into the "Arsenal of Democracy" and a subsequent population boom. Following the war, the mass suburbanization of the Detroit metropolitan area began and Detroit's black population grew. Finally, the period from 1970 through 2000 represents the suburbanization of blacks in the tri-county area.

The First Great Migration, 1910 to 1930

Prior to World War I, Detroit was the 13th largest city in the United States and had a small black population of roughly 4,000 people, constituting only 1 percent of its total population (see Table 11). The economy of Detroit was similar to that of many other Midwest industrial cities in that it was mostly

manufacturing. However, according to Detroit Divided (2000), it was the technological advances and venture capital of rich Detroit families that set Detroit apart from many other cities and eventually made Detroit the "Motor City." World War I had a drastic and unimagined impact on Detroit. The war effort required large amount of chemicals, steel, motor vehicles and industrial products which Detroit had been producing for years (Farley et al.). The demand for manufacturing products created an even larger demand for workers. However, the war had halted European immigration, thus requiring that jobs be filled from within the United States. Detroit became a mecca for those looking to prosper in the war economy. Between 1910 and 1930, Detroit's population grew by 236 percent, making it the nation's fourth largest city. Detroit's black population went from under 6,000 people to more than 120,000 in the same time period, as the first black migration from the South began. In 1920, 87 percent of black residents were born outside of Michigan, mostly in the South (Farley et al.). This wave of black migrants from the southern United States constituted Detroit's Great Migration.

Census	Total	Black	
<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>	Population	Percent
1820	1,422	67	4.7%
1830	2,222	126	5.7%
1840	9,102	193	2.1%
1850	21,019	587	2.8%
1860	45,619	1,402	3.1%
1870	79,577	2,235	2.8%
1880	116,340	2,821	2.4%
1890	205,876	3,431	1.7%
1900	285,704	4,111	1.4%
1910	465,766	5,741	1.2%
1920	993,678	40,838	4.1%
1930	1,568,662	120,066	7.7%
1940	1,623,452	149,119	9.2%
1950	1,849,568	300,506	16.2%
1960	1,670,144	482,223	28.9%
1970	1,511,482	660,428	43.7%
1980*	1,203,339	754,274	62.7%
1990*	1,027,974	774,529	75.3%
2000**	951,270	771,966	81.2%

Table 11 Detroit Population Change, 1820-2000

The Great Depression, 1930 to 1940

With the crash of the stock market in 1929, America's economy came to a halt and Detroit's growth slowed. Detroit's total population grew by a mere 54,000 people, much less than the half million gained in the previous decade (see Table 12). The suburbs also suffered, as their growth was but half that of the previous decade. As for the black population, the tri-county experienced its smallest growth since 1910. In conjunction with the slowing of population growth in the city and suburbs, there was a significant population shift occurring. For the first time, Detroit's suburbs experienced greater population growth than the city of Detroit, signaling the beginnings of the suburbanization of Detroit. However, bleak times for Detroit and its suburbs would not last long as World War II thrust Detroit's manufacturing and automobile industries once again into high gear and created the "Arsenal of Democracy."

^{*} Non-Hispanic Black

^{**} Non-Hispanic Single Race Black

Total Population Black Population Percent Total Percent Decade Total Change Change Change Change 39.6% 1900 - 1910 63.0% 1,630 527,312 113.2% 35,097 611.3% 1910 - 1920 1920 - 1930 575,584 58.0% 79,228 194.0% 29,053 54,790 3.5% 24.2% 1930 - 1940 13.9% 151,387 226,116 101.5% 1940 - 1950 -179,424 -9.7% 181,717 60.5% 1950 - 1960 -158,662 -9.5% 178,205 37.0% 1960 - 1970 -308,143 93,846 1970 - 1980 -20.4% 14.2% 1980 - 1990 -175,365 -14.6% 20,255 2.7% 1990 - 2000 -76,704 -7.5% -2,563 -0.3%

Table 12 Detroit Population Change, 1900-2000

The Second Great Migration, 1940 to 1950

The tri-county grew by more than 600,000 people between 1940 and 1950, and blacks accounted for nearly one-third of that growth. As was the case with the population growth brought about by World War I, over two-thirds of the blacks living in Detroit in 1940 and 1950 were born in the southern United States (Farley et al.). However, much of the population growth occurring during this period was in the suburbs, almost twice that of the city of Detroit. This represented a continuation of the trend that began in the 1930s, but at an accelerated pace. This period signaled the second great migration and mass suburbanization of Detroit.

White Suburbanization, 1950 to 1970

A number of large population shifts occurred during the 1950s and 1960s. First, Detroit began its population decline by losing more than 300,000 residents. Second, suburban Detroit experienced its largest total growth (in any 20-year period) by gaining more than 1,500,000 residents. This was more than its total growth over the previous 50 years (see Table 13). Third, Detroit experienced its largest growth in black population, picking up 360,000. Fourth, the suburbs surpassed Detroit in share of the total tri-county population. Finally, the black share of suburban growth fell. Averaging over 5 percent of the total during the previous three decades, black population growth accounted for only 2.7 percent during this period. As a result of these factors, this period truly marks the segregation of metropolitan Detroit, with the growth of the primarily white suburbs and the decline of an increasingly black city of Detroit.

	Total Pop	ulation	Black Population			
Decade	Total Change	Percent Change	Total Change	Percent Change		
1900 - 1910	6,882	4.9%	-63	-8.3%		
1910 - 1920	164,713	111.3%	3,573	512.6%		
1920 - 1930	295,961	94.6%	13,184	308.8%		
1930 - 1940	145,196	23.9%	4,193	24.0%		
1940 - 1950	412,752	54.8%	35,647	164.7%		
1950 - 1960	925,587	79.3%	19,353	33.8%		
1960 - 1970	600,745	28.7%	20,008	26.1%		
1970 - 1980	147,936	5.5%	30,653	31.7%		
1980 - 1990	43,808	1.5%	30,601	24.0%		
1990 - 2000	207,492	7.2%	75,611	47.9%		

Table 13 Suburban Detroit Population Change, 1900-2000

Black Suburbanization, 1970 to 2000

The 1970s brought a decrease in the overall tri-county population, primarily due to the heavy population loss in Detroit. The 1.5 million-person gain of the previous two decades was reduced to a meager gain of 399,000 between 1970 and 2000. However, increases in the black suburban population constituted 34 percent of total suburban growth. While the black numerical gain (75,611) was greatest during the 1990s, its share of total growth was greatest during the 1980s when it reached 70 percent. The decade of the 1970s ushered in the beginning of black suburbanization in the tri-county area. While the suburbs of Detroit grew by 14.8 percent between 1970 and 2000, the black population in the suburbs grew by 142 percent.

In 1970, the tri-county black population made up 18 percent of the total population and only six communities, besides Detroit, had shares greater than the area average percentages (see Table 14). These communities (Ecorse, Highland Park, Inkster, Pontiac, River Rouge and Royal Oak Township) housed 78.5 percent of the suburban black population. By 2000, this share had fallen to 34 percent, as other suburbs experienced significant gains in their black population.

Table 14 Suburban Detroit Population Change, 1970-2000

Table 14. Suburban Detroit Population Change, 1970-2000

Table 14. Sub	1970			1980			I	1990		2000		
	Total Population	Black	Percentage	Total Population	Black	Percentage	Total Population	Black	Percentage	Total Population	Black	Percentage
Clinton Township	48,865	1,296	2.7%	72,400	2,489	3.4%	85,866	2,578	3.0%	95.648	4,424	4.6%
Dearborn	104,199	13	0.0%	90,660	83	0.1%	89,286	490	0.5%	97,775	1,225	1.3%
Dearborn Heights	80,069	12	0.0%	67,706	63	0.1%	60,838	274	0.5%	58,264	1,224	2.1%
Detroit	1,511,482	660,428	43.7%	1,203,339	758,939	63.1%	1,027,974	774,529	75.3%	951,270	771,966	81.2%
East Detroit	45,920	13	0.0%	38,280	26	0.1%	35,283	87	0.2%	34,077	1,594	4.7%
Ecorse	17,515	6,716	38.3%	14,447	5,676	39.3%	12,180	4,760	39.1%	11,229	4,533	40.4%
Farmington Hills	48,933	83	0.2%	58,056	310	0.5%	74,652	1,421	1.9%	82,111	5,681	6.9%
Ferndale	30,850	89	0.3%	26,227	117	0.4%	25,084	340	1.4%	22,105	754	3.4%
Garden City	41,864	10	0.0%	35,640	24	0.1%	31,846	74	0.2%	30,047	330	1.1%
Hamtramck	27,245	3,270	12.0%	21,300	2,751	12.9%	18,372	2,573	14.0%	22,976	3,430	14.9%
Harper Woods	20,186	2	0.0%	16,361	11	0.1%	14,903	132	0.9%	14,254	1,449	10.2%
Highland Park	35,444	19,889	56.1%	27,909	23,443	84.0%	20,121	18,594	92.4%	16,746	15,598	93.1%
Inkster	38,595	17,189	44.5%	35,190	19,994	56.8%	30,772	19,144	62.2%	30,115	20,267	67.3%
Lincoln Park	52,984	5	0.0%	45,105	226	0.5%	41,832	381	0.9%	40,008	810	2.0%
Livonia	110,199	41	0.0%	104,814	108	0.1%	100,850	263	0.3%	100,545	945	0.9%
Madison Heights	38,599	15	0.0%	35,375	240	0.7%	32,196	291	0.9%	31,101	559	1.8%
Oak Park	36,762	72	0.2%	31,537	3,814	12.1%	30,462	10,385	34.1%	29,793	13,622	45.7%
Pontiac	85,279	22,760	26.7%	76,715	28,532	37.2%	71,166	29,712	41.8%	66,337	31,416	47.4%
Redford Township	71,901	17	0.0%	58,441	87	0.1%	54,387	362	0.7%	51,622	4,383	8.5%
River Rouge	15,974	5,094	31.9%	12,912	4,218	32.7%	11,314	3,957	35.0%	9,917	4,144	41.8%
Roseville	60,529	606	1.0%	54,311	569	1.0%	51,412	511	1.0%	48,129	1,247	2.6%
Royal Oak Twp.	6,326	4,237	67.0%	5,784	3,358	58.1%	5,011	3,267	65.2%	5,446	3,870	71.1%
Royal Oak	85,499	26	0.0%	70,893	116	0.2%	65,410	330	0.5%	60,062	910	1.5%
Southfield	69,285	102	0.1%	75,568	6,976	9.2%	75,728	21,871	28.9%	78,296	42,259	54.0%
St. Clair Shores	88,093	167	0.2%	76,210	181	0.2%	68,107	139	0.2%	63,096	434	0.7%
Sterling Heights	61,385	38	0.1%	108,999	204	0.2%	117,810	466	0.4%	124,471	1,602	1.3%
Taylor	70,020	20	0.0%	77,568	1,266	1.6%	70,811	2,956	4.2%	65,868	5,721	8.7%
The Pointes*	58,708	96	0.2%	52,099	89	0.2%	49,300	181	0.4%	47,780	588	1.2%
Troy	39,419	1	0.0%	67,102	642	1.0%	72,884	974	1.3%	80,959	1,678	2.1%
Warren	179,260	132	0.1%	161,134	297	0.2%	144,864	1,033	0.7%	138,247	3,676	2.7%
Westland	86,749	2,234	2.6%	84,603	2,200	2.6%	84,724	2,802	3.3%	86,602	5,823	6.7%

^{*} Grosse Pointe Park, Grosse Pointe Farms, Grosse Pointe Shores, Grosse Pointe Woods and Grosse Pointe

Detroit

According to Sugrue (1996), residential racial division occurred during the first great migration. Prior to this time, blacks frequently lived among other races in Detroit's small but growing population. It was after World War I and the influx of blacks from the South that black "ghettos" formed. These residents, along with new arrivals, were confined to the most run-down, over-crowded areas of the city, predominantly the lower east side, commonly referred to as the "Black-bottom." As time passed and Detroit's black population grew, their geographic distribution within the city grew as well (see Appendix 1). Unfortunately, blacks were still confined to the most dense and dilapidated areas of the city through a variety of discriminatory maneuvers (Farley et al., Sugrue). Many of the most dilapidated areas were slated for demolition during the "Urban Renewal" programs of the 1950s and 1960s, further exacerbating the housing dilemma of blacks. It was not until after the 1970s that blacks were able to gain greater access to suburban neighborhoods.

Conclusion

The decade of the 1990s has brought a number of interesting changes to the distribution of blacks at both the national and local level. Nationally, while the black rate of growth was slightly higher than total population growth, the significant change occurred as blacks ended the 20th Century by returning to the region that they spent most of the century leaving. In the 1990s, the black population of the South increased by more than in the other three regions of the United States combined. Locally, while the metropolitan Detroit area continues to account for the vast majority of Michigan's black population (72 percent), the distribution of blacks in the area is changing. While blacks increased their share of the city of Detroit's population from 76 to 82 percent, the actual number of blacks in the city fell for the first time in modern history (our measure goes back to 1820). The suburbs of Detroit (within the three counties of Macomb, Oakland and Wayne), however, experienced the largest numerical growth in blacks of any decade in the 20th Century. In fact, black growth accounted for almost half the total suburban growth.

Access to residential opportunities throughout metropolitan Detroit is now open to blacks. While there continue to be communities that function more as "magnets," the 1990s brought blacks to communities throughout the region. As we move into the 21st Century, the issue will move to one of economic equity. The incomes of blacks have been rising faster than that of whites nationally, and the middle and upper middle class ranks are growing. As opportunities increase, we anticipate a continuing movement of blacks throughout metropolitan Detroit.

References and Notes

- Farley, R., S. Danziger, & H.J. Holzer (2000). Detroit Divided. Russell Sage Foundation. New York, NY.
- Sugrue, T. J. (1996). The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit. Princeton University Press. Princeton, NJ.

¹For Census 2000, the question on race was asked of every individual living in the United States and responses reflect self-identification. Respondents were asked to report the race or races they considered themselves and other members of their households to be. The question on race for Census 2000 was different from that of previous censuses in several ways. Most significantly, respondents were given the option of selecting one or more race categories to indicate their racial identities. As a result, the Census 2000 data on race are not directly comparable with data from the 1990 census or earlier censuses. Unless otherwise stated, the data contained in this paper will utilize the 2000 category of "Black alone," or single race - Black, as the method for reporting 2000 totals.

- ² Frey, William H. (2001) Census 2000 Shows Large Black Return to the South, Reinforcing the Region's "White-Black" Demographic Profile. Population Studies Center, University of Michigan.
- ³ The Detroit PMSA consists of Lapeer, Macomb, Monroe, Oakland, St. Clair and Wayne counties.

Appendix I

1950 Predominant Race by Census Tracts, Detroit, MI
1960 Predominant Race by Census Tracts, Detroit, MI
1970 Predominant Race by Census Tracts, Detroit, MI
1980 Predominant Race by Census Tracts, Detroit, MI
1990 Predominant Race by Census Tracts, Detroit, MI
2000 Predominant Race by Census Tracts, Detroit, MI
2000 Census Black Population by MCD, Tri-County
2000 Census Black Population by County, Michigan

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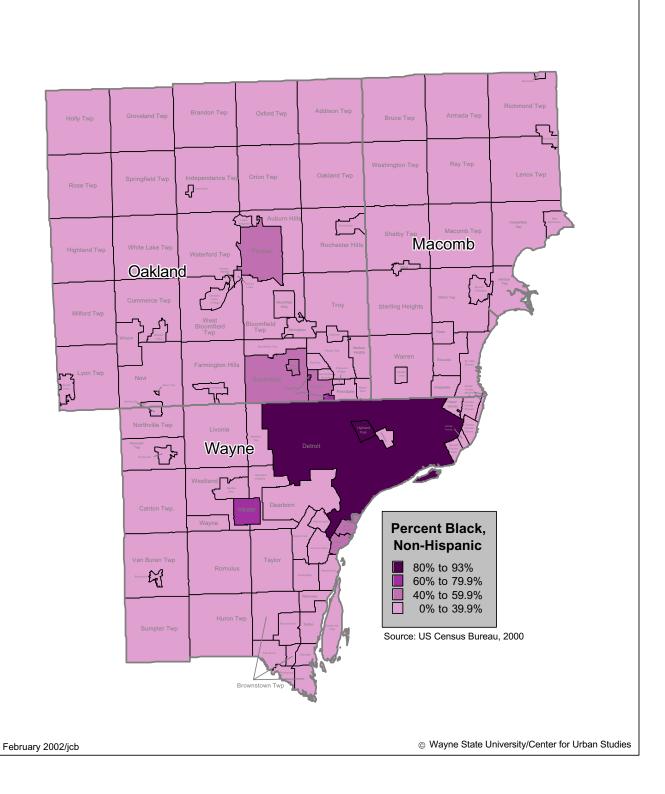
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2000 Census Black Population by MCD Tri-County Area



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