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The Effects of Income Inequality on Racial Residential Segregation in the Portland Metropolitan Area

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THE EFFECTS OF INCOME INEQUALITY ON RACIAL
RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION IN THE
PORTLAND METROPOLITAN AREA

by

KATAYOUN AIDINEZHAD

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE
in
SOCIOLOGY

Portland State University

1985

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF Katayoun Aidinezhad for the
Master of Science in Sociology presented November 25, 1985.

Title: The Effects of Income Inequality on Racial
Residential Segregation in the Portland
Metropolitan Area.

APPROVED BY MEMBERS OF THE THESIS COMMITTEE:

Lee J. Haggerty, ~~Chairperson~~ -----

Robert W. Shotola -----

Don C. Gibbons

Changes in the patterns of income and residential
segregation were examined in the Portland Metropolitan Area.
The 1970 and 1980 Census of Population and Housing
were used in calculating the indexes of dissimilarity
between black and white populations. The data indicated a
significant decrease in the residential segregation of
blacks in suburban areas between 1970 and 1980. The central
city area still remained highly segregated with a
segregation index of 69.5.

Taeuber's index of dissimilarity was used in calculating the unevenness in the distribution of income between blacks and whites. Suburbia showed a significant decrease in income segregation compared to the central city area. Overall, both residential and income segregation were dropping at a much faster rate in the suburban areas than the central city areas.

To examine the effects of socio-economic status on residential segregation, a sample of 138 blacks was drawn from the population of higher status blacks in the city of Portland. Residential choices of the influential blacks were examined to determine whether or not their influential status was accompanied by a tendency toward greater integration as opposed to greater segregation. The 1980 Census Tract Street Index was used in this analysis. The data show that despite the improvement in socio-economic status, a majority of these blacks still lived in the "ghetto" area (59%) and only 14% lived in suburbia. Therefore, the data show no significant relationship between the gains in the status and the tendency toward more integration. This tendency bears directly upon the issue of voluntary segregation.

The data shows strong support for hypothesis two holding that change in income inequality results in change in residential segregation. That is, if we reduce the

income differentials between black and white populations,
racial residential segregation will be minimized.

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TO THE OFFICE OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH :

The members of the Committee approve the thesis of
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The race riots of the 1960's captured the attention of millions of people throughout the nation. Racial unrest brought fear and bewilderment to the leaders of the country. For the first time in the history of the nation, political leaders took the nature of race relations very seriously. Fears of racial division and anarchy brought black Americans to the center of attention of the federal government. The political leaders turned to race relation experts for answers to the dilemmas confronting them. They wanted to know : "What happened?" "Why did it happen?" and "what can be done to prevent it from happening again?".

On July 27,1967, President Lyndon B. Johnson appointed an advisory commission to report on the status of blacks, most of whom resided in ghettos in American cities. The commission was to uncover the social,economic, and political factors that led the blacks to revolt,and to devise actions that could be taken to stop the violence.

After several months of intense investigation, the National Advisory Commission came to the conclusion that "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black one

white- separate and unequal." According to the Riot Commission, racial division came about through discrimination and segregation, the result of over 300 years of inequities between blacks and whites.

The National Advisory Commission reported (1968:8) :

Social and economic conditions in the riot cities constituted a clear pattern of severe disadvantage for negroes compared with whites, whether the negroes lived in the area where the riot took place or outside it. Negroes had completed fewer years of education and fewer had attended high school. Negroes were twice as likely to be unemployed and three times as likely to be unskilled and in service jobs. Negroes averaged 70 percent of the income earned by whites and were more than twice as likely to be living in poverty. Although housing cost negroes relatively more, they had worse housing three times as likely to be overcrowded and substandard, when compared to white suburbs, the relative disadvantage is even more pronounced.

Through discriminatory practices blacks were excluded from white residential areas. "Just as significant is the withdrawal of white families from, or their refusal to enter neighborhoods where negroes are moving or already residing." (NAC, 1968:244) Racial segregation also came about through (1968:204):

The massive and growing concentration of impoverished negroes in our cities resulting from negro migration from the rural south, rapid population growth and the continuing movement of white middle class to the suburbs.

As a result, "Central cities are becoming more heavily black while the suburban fringes around them remain almost entirely white." (NAC, 1968:243)

According to the NAC (1968:203):

The continuing exclusion of great numbers of negroes from the benefits of economic progress through discrimination in employment and education, and their enforced confinement in segregated housing and schools.

The reports by the National Advisory Commission indicated that racial discrimination was the main cause of the turmoil of the 60's. They argued that racial problems can be "solved only if white Americans comprehend the rigid social, economic, and educational barriers that have prevented negroes from participating in the mainstream of American life." (NAC,1968:207)

The civil rights movement of the 60's brought some major changes in the status of blacks in America. Blacks protested against oppression and inequality and sought recognition in the society. Black leaders demanded justice and equal opportunities for their people. After a few years of struggle their needs were responded to through some major changes in the laws of the nation. As a result, some blacks were able to advance themselves socially, economically, and politically. But, despite the advancement of some, the majority still remain in their disadvantaged position. Today, after two decades, a majority of blacks are still exposed to high levels of unemployment and poverty in the central cities. According to Blackwell and Hart (1982:3):

The black unemployment rate is still close to

double the white unemployment rate. The black labor force remains largely employed in lower level occupational roles, and the median black family income is less than three-fifths of the median family income of white Americans.

The election of Ronald Reagan in 1980, and the shift to the political right in the American Congress "signaled" a turning point in American race relations. Cuts in social programs (welfare, food stamps, medicare, public housing, etc.) make it "extremely difficult for any number of poor people to maintain a reasonable semblance of decent living." (Blackwell, Hart, 1982:190)

Black Americans have become increasingly disenchanted and fearful of the policies of the Reagan administration. According to a poll taken in February 1981 by the Gallup organization for Newsweek magazine, "62 percent of the blacks and only 9 percent of all whites in the sample expected things to worsen for them under the Reagan administration." (Blackwell, Hart, 1982:186)

A 1981 report of the NAACP indicates that the economic status of blacks in America is approaching a state of "disaster." Are we approaching another racial crisis in the 1980's? Did the racial protests of the 1960's fail in bringing justice and equality for black people?

Blackwell and Hart argue that frustration caused by the economic disadvantages "boils over in destruction and

violence." They argue (1982:194):

Although no one in America would like to witness the conflagrations that occurred in the nation's cities during the 1960's, it may very well happen again if voiceless, powerless poor people of all races begin to ventilate their increasing hostilities against Reaganomics in violent acts. If their concerns are not addressed, even greater strains in race relations are ahead.

This thesis explores two major aspects of racial discrimination, income inequality and residential segregation, and examines their inter-relationship.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Income inequality has been viewed as one of the main factors contributing to the separation of the black and white population in American cities. According to Eunice and George Grier, economic status of blacks "posed a giant barrier to the free dispersal of the growing negro population." (Grier & Grier, 1966:535) They state further, "with legal barriers lowered, economic differentials between the races remain a major obstacle" in desegregation. (Grier & Grier, 1964:17) Similarly, racial income inequality according to Michael Reich, "is still very much with us. Instead of narrowing, important racial income differentials in the United States have persisted throughout the Twentieth century." (Reich, 1981:19)

To what degree does economic status of blacks influence the existing patterns of residential segregation between blacks and whites? What are the main reasons for high degrees of residential segregation between blacks and whites?

Causes of Segregation

Two popular themes have been developed by sociologists

with regard to residential segregation of blacks in American cities. Segregation is sometimes viewed as voluntary and sometimes as involuntary on the part of minorities in relation to the majority. Voluntary segregation is when the minority group chooses to live among "compatriots." Banfield contends (1974:90), "many negroes prefer black neighborhoods, and would live in them even if their opportunities to live in white areas were excellent." Such a view according to Farley, Bianchi, and Colasanto (1979) is not supported by empirical investigations. (1979:101):

A national study conducted in 1969, for instance, found that three-quarters of black respondents wished to live in integrated neighborhoods, while only one black in six expressed a preference for an all black area.

A majority of sociologists, on the other hand, argue that racial segregation has been imposed on blacks in the U.S. through discriminatory practices. For example, Lieberman and Carter argue (1982:512):

In the case of black-white residential segregation, researchers have been obliged to assume that it is largely involuntary on the part of blacks, with the high levels reflecting a white distaste for living near blacks coupled with the ability of whites to impose their will through various discriminatory forces.

There have been three prominent explanations for non-voluntary racial residential segregation : housing discrimination, white racism, and economic disadvantages of the blacks.

Housing Discrimination

Karl Taeuber (1965:9) claims that discrimination in housing is the major cause of black segregation in cities.

Neither free choice nor poverty is a sufficient explanation for the universally high degree of segregation in American cities. Discrimination is the principle cause of negro residential segregation, and there is no basis for anticipating major changes in the segregated character of American cities until patterns of housing discrimination can be altered.

John Denton in Apartheid American Style argued that the members of minority races don't have free choice of residence in any part of the country. Through discrimination, private groups bar the entry of minorities into white neighborhoods. According to Denton (1967:1):

National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB) working through state and local boards, have been the undisputed leader of the private groups. NAREB has used economic, social, political and legal power to fashion the American style of apartheid.

The theory of separate but equal was reflected in the attempts made by some legislators to establish residentially segregated areas for blacks and other minorities. (Forman, 1971:53):

Some cities in the South and on the West Coast actually passed ordinances stating that non whites could only live in certain specified areas in the city. San Francisco was the first, in 1890, with a law that Chinese could live only in a certain part of the city and requiring those who lived elsewhere to move to the area designated for Chinese. Legislation in southern cities attempted to establish either all-negro or all-white blocks or to establish segregated districts in which it was

illegal for members of the prohibited race to live (this could force whites to move if they lived in area designated for blacks). Despite the fact that such legislation was declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court by 1917, attempts were still made to establish segregated areas by law as late as 1935 in Oklahoma City and 1949 in North Carolina.

In the North, segregation was enforced through institutional means (property laws) to keep blacks segregated in the cities. For example, according to Forman (1971:53), "the restrictive covenant was placed on property owned by whites to keep it from being sold to undesirables." Restrictive covenants in the cities "had a profound effect upon the racial residential patterns" and "contributed immensely to increasing the tensions and hatreds in both races." (Forman, 1971:54) In 1948 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the practice of restrictive covenants was unconstitutional.

Blockbusting was applied by real-estate agents who specialized in expanding the black neighborhoods by selling property to blacks around white blocks. Blockbusting was used to pressure whites into selling their property to blacks. The blockbuster acts as a medium in the selling process and profits by his actions. The legal definition of blockbusting is in the 1968 Fair Housing Act (Forman, 1971:84):

For profit, to induce or attempt to induce any person to sell or rent any dwelling by representations regarding the entry or prospective entry into the neighborhood of a person or persons of

a particular race, color, religion, or national origin.

Michael Reich asserts that racial inequality was reinforced by government housing policies. Blacks were excluded from the housing subsidized by the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) programs. FHA permitted racial covenant clauses. These clauses "constituted agreements not to admit blacks to predominantly white neighborhoods." The FHA helped to form the patterns of residential segregation in the metropolitan areas. (Reich, 1981:71)

Racial Prejudice

Racial segregation was maintained through social disapproval by whites. According to McEntire (1960:74):

In most all-white neighborhoods, to sell or rent to a non-white would be considered a serious offense to the neighborhood. An owner, consequently, who is considerate of his neighbors or who values their good opinion would not wish to introduce a non-white into the neighborhood.

Myrdal in An American Dilemma argued that informal social pressure from whites was perhaps the chief force maintaining residential segregation of negroes. He noted that (1944:622):

Few white property owners in white neighborhoods would ever consider selling or renting to negroes; and even if a few negro families did succeed in getting a foothold, they would be made to feel the spontaneous hatred of the whites both socially and physically.

Physical threats were made against blacks residing in

white areas. In June of 1945, the Chicago Defender reported that 30 homes of blacks had been attacked by stoning, bombing, and burning. Similarly, in 1957, the New York Times reported that (McEntire 1960:76):

In Pennsylvania, when the first family bought a house in all-white Levittown, crowds numbering in the hundreds gathered nightly in front of the house shouting about and occasionally throwing stones.

The U.S. Riot Commission observed that the concentration of blacks in central cities is largely due to the negative attitudes of whites towards blacks. (1968:247):

The concentration of negroes in central cities results from a combination of forces. Some of these forces, such as migration and initial settlement patterns in older neighborhoods, are similar to those which affected previous ethnic minorities. Others, particularly discrimination in employment and segregation in housing and schools—are a result of white attitudes based on race and color. These forces continue to shape the future of the central city.

Robert K. Merton's concept of the "self-fulfilling" prophecy has been used by some urban sociologists to explain the fear of integration among the white population. (Forman, 1971:74):

One can see the self-fulfilling prophecy at work on the residential segregation scene. The white indentifies the social pathology of the slum with blacks and fears that if one black family moves into his area it will go all black and become a slum.

Poverty and Segregation

Low socio-economic status has been viewed by some as the determining factor in segregation of blacks in central

cities. Davis McEntire in Residence and Race (1960:71) observed that, the segregation of a group may result from economic weakness. The segregation of negroes, like that of other groups, is traceable to low incomes, group cohesion, and external pressures.

White suburbanization in the period after World War II has also contributed to the segregation of blacks in central cities. William Frey argued (1980:1396):

City directed in migration of low skilled southern blacks and white suburbanization process, led to high concentration of those blacks and their low per capita incomes within central boundaries.

Similarly, Eunice and George Grier observed that white suburbanization resulted in the concentration of low income blacks in the central city areas. (1966:525):

The great majority of new postwar suburban housing was built for those who could afford to pay the full economic price. The private enterprise system operated to reinforce existing trends which concentrated the low income families in cities, and encouraged the movement of the more wealthy to the outskirts of the city.

Poverty of blacks was viewed by Charles Silberman as the main cause of blacks settlements in the central city areas. He explained (1964:32):

Like all previous immigrant groups, the negroes have settled in the traditional 'port of entry'-the oldest, least desirable sections of the city, generally in or around the central business district. That is where the cheapest housing usually is to be found; more important, that is the only place the newcomers can find a place to live, since prejudice as well as income keeps them out of

the 'better' neighborhoods.

Major causes of residential segregation were discussed in this chapter. Housing discrimination, white racism, and economic disadvantages of blacks were among the most common explanations for involuntary residential segregation. Voluntary segregation was also reviewed as a plausible explanation. My main concern in this thesis was to examine the relationship between income inequality and residential segregation between blacks and whites. The economic status of blacks was considered as a major contributing factor to the separation of blacks in the cities. The specific hypotheses guiding this analysis were:

Hypotheses

- (1) The economic status of blacks shapes their pattern of residential segregation.
- (2) Gains in the economic status of blacks result in changes in the patterns and degrees of residential segregation.
- (3) Higher status blacks are less segregated from whites than are lower status blacks.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study was to examine the effects of racial income inequality on residential segregation in the Portland SMSA. The 1970 and 1980 census data were used to examine changes in the degrees and patterns of income and residential segregation between blacks and whites during that time period.

Measurement of Segregation

Taeuber's index of dissimilarity was used to measure the unevenness in the residential distribution of black and white populations in the Portland Metropolitan Area. The same index was used to measure the unevenness in income distribution between the two groups. The index of residential and income segregation can assume values between 0 and 100. The higher the value, the higher the degree of segregation, the lower the value, the greater the degree of "inter-mixture." The symbol used to represent the index is the Greek Delta. Taeuber explained (1968:8):

The index is calculated from census data showing the distribution of negro and non-negro households among the census tracts of the city (or metropolitan area). If each neighborhood (census tract) is all white or all negro, the index will be 100. If each neighborhood is racially mixed to the same degree as every other, each with the same percentage of

negroes as the entire city—the index will be 0. The specific index indicates the minimum percentage of the city's white household (or alternatively of the city's negro households) that would have to be shifted from tracts of over representation to tracts of under representation to effect complete residential desegregation.

The index of income dissimilarity was calculated from census data showing the distribution of black and white households across different income categories. Each index (Delta) represents the amount of inequality in the distribution of income between blacks and whites. For example an index of 20 indicates that in order to bring about equal distribution of income between the two groups, 20 percent of blacks or whites would need to be placed in different income categories.

Procedure

The 1970 and 1980 Census of Population and Housing were used in calculating the indexes of dissimilarity between black and white populations. Tracts with 400 or more blacks ("ghetto"), within the city of Portland contained a large concentration of the total black metropolitan population within them. The Delta was calculated separately for the "ghetto", Portland, Multnomah county (excluding Portland), Clackamas county, Washington county, Clark county, and SMSA respectively. Central city and suburban areas showed different racial compositions. Blacks were more concentrated in the central city than in

suburbia. By using areal units, one can determine which areas show less segregation in comparison to the other areas in the SMSA. By comparing suburbs, central city, and ghetto--patterns of similarity and differences in the effect of change in income inequality upon residential segregation were detected. Tables I thru VII of appendix A show the indexes of residential segregation for 1970. Tables VIII thru XIV of appendix A show the Delta for 1980. These tables were used to compare and contrast the changes in residential segregation between 1970 and 1980.

In computing the indexes of dissimilarity for various income groups, Tables p-4 and p-6 of the 1970 Census of Population and Housing were used. The tables describe the economic characteristics of the population for the "ghetto", the City of Portland, Multnomah County (excluding City of Portland), Clackamas County, Washington County, Clark County, and the SMSA respectively (tables XV thru XXI, appendix A). For 1980, tables p-13 and p-15 of the census data were used in measuring the unevenness in the income distribution between the two groups. (tables XXII thru XXVIII, appendix A)

To examine the effects of socio-economic status on residential segregation, a sample of 281 blacks was available from the population of higher status blacks in the city of Portland. The data was obtained from Dr. William A.

Little's study, "Black leadership: Structure and Styles in Portland, Oregon". The objective of the study was to identify black leaders in Portland; develop a profile of the leaders; and to identify organizational bases of these leaders. For the purpose of this thesis (hypothesis 3) only 138 of the higher status blacks were analyzed, because the home addresses of the remaining 143 blacks were not available. Residential locations of the influential blacks were examined to determine whether or not their high status was accompanied by greater integration as opposed to greater segregation, when compared to the entire black population. In calculating the index of dissimilarity for this sample, the 1980 Census Tract Street Index was used to determine the census tract in which each influential black lived. Delta was calculated separately for higher status blacks versus all other blacks, higher status blacks versus all whites, and all blacks versus all whites.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

In 1970, blacks comprised 2.3 percent of the total population of the Portland Metropolitan Area. By 1980, the percentage had increased only slightly to 2.8 percent. Thus, while the Portland Metropolitan Area was certainly not becoming more significantly black in its population composition throughout the 1970's, there were noticeable and interesting changes occurring in the distribution of blacks in the Metropolitan area. As of 1980 there were over 33,000 blacks living in the Metropolitan area, over 10,000 more than lived in the area in 1970. This 43.4% increase in the total black population was matched by a fairly equal increase in white population so that black-white composition didn't change very much. What did change was the distribution of black populations within the Metropolitan area, especially a visible and marked suburbanization of blacks.

Table 1 shows black population and percentage of black population for suburbs and the city of Portland. Tracts which had 400 or more blacks living in them are treated here as the "ghetto". In 1970, 76% of all blacks in the Metropolitan area were concentrated in the 13 tracts of the

"ghetto", 17% lived in the balance of the central city of Portland (mostly in areas adjacent to the ghetto), and only 7% or less than 2000, lived in the suburbs. The same pattern of central city concentration was evident in 1980, but with much lower density. The percentage of all blacks residing in the ghetto dropped from 76% to 64%, even though the ghetto boundary expanded by four additional tracts.

The most important change occurred in suburbia. The rapid growth of suburban black population a 231% increase, far outstripped the 21 percent increase in the black population in the ghetto and the 28 percent increase in the central city of Portland. By 1980, 17 percent of the black population lived in the suburbs compared to only 7 percent in 1970. Suburban Washington county had the greatest increase(480.3%). Suburban Multnomah county, Clark, and Clackamas counties showed 264.3, 195.6, and 106.4 percentage points increase in their black populations.

The findings clearly show a dramatic process of black suburbanization in the Portland Metropolitan Area between 1970 and 1980, contrary to the national city-directed black migration. Employment opportunities and development of industry in suburbia helped in accelerating the suburbanization process of blacks in the metro area.

The median family income of blacks(table II) improved greatly in suburban Clackamas, Washington and Clark

counties. The income position of blacks relative to whites declined slightly in the SMSA, but improved greatly in Clackamas county (table IV). Black population grew larger mostly in the areas where noticeable gains occurred in the median family incomes. However, the median family income does not show the variance in the income distribution of blacks within different areas, but using tract analysis does show the relationship between income distribution and residential segregation across different areas.

Indexes of income segregation (table V) indicate that suburban Clark, Clackamas, and Washington counties were most affected by changes in income inequality. Wealthiest suburbs show biggest declines in segregation while the blue collar suburbs of east Multnomah county actually show an increase in income segregation.

A comparison of indices of income and residential segregation (table VII) demonstrates that decreases in income inequality were accompanied by reductions in residential segregation in the Portland Metropolitan Area between 1970 and 1980. Those areas which experienced the greatest decline in income segregation generally tended to also have the largest decline in residential segregation. Pearsonian correlation (r) calculated across the seven subareas shown in table VIII indicates that change in income inequality was directly related to change in residential

segregation($r=.82$). Hypothesis two was therefore confirmed. Figure I illustrates the clear pattern of relationship between change in income inequality and change in residential segregation.

Table IX depicts the deltas for influential blacks versus all other blacks, influential blacks versus all whites, and all blacks versus all whites (for detailed calculations see tables XXIX to XXXI of appendix). This table shows that influential blacks were much less segregated from whites($\text{delta}=51$) than were the rest of blacks($\text{delta}=71$). However they were more similar in their residential pattern to blacks as a group ($\text{delta}=35$) than to whites ($\text{delta}=51$). Also, influential blacks were more segregated from other blacks ($\text{delta}=35$) than were blacks from whites in suburban areas(maximum suburban delta in '80 was 31). Of this sample of 138 blacks, about 59 percent lived in the ghetto areas, 26 percent in the balance of the city of Portland and 14 percent lived in suburban areas. This is very similar to the distribution of all blacks in 1980 shown in table I. Of all blacks, 64 percent lived in the ghetto, 19 percent in the balance of the city of Portland and 17 percent lived in suburbia. Despite their status, a majority of these influential blacks still lived in predominantly black areas. As Banfield argued earlier(1974:8)this could be the result of voluntary segregation on the part of this sample of influential

blacks. My assumption is that these 'leaders' had political interest in Portland's black community. In fact the research director, Dr. Little, intended to identify these people as representatives of the black community. Therefore it was not a surprise to find these influentials more concentrated in the black community than in the white neighborhoods. Quite clearly, influential status for blacks was not a sufficient condition for their integration into white areas.

Two decades ago Grier and Grier (1965:17) asked whether Metropolitan areas could ever be desegregated as long as the majority of blacks remain poor. They stated that the economic status of blacks posed a barrier to free dispersal of black population. Housing discrimination (Taeuber, Denton) and white attitudes (Myrdal) were also suggested as major barriers to desegregation of blacks. These data lend strong support to the argument that change in one variable, income inequality, is strongly associated with change in residential segregation. In suburban areas residential segregation was greatly reduced with the great reduction in income inequality. However, possession of influential status in the black community did not have the same recognizable impact upon desegregation.

The central city remained highly segregated throughout the nation. Low socio-economic status of blacks has been

argued by McEntire(1960) and Silberman(1964) to be a determining factor in the segregation of blacks in central city. Housing discrimination and negative white attitudes may also play some role in keeping blacks segregated. According to Farley(1979:100), a department of housing and Urban development study conducted in 1977 discovered that in about one quarter of the instances where prospective black renters or buyers approached a realtor, they were subject to discrimination. Richard Taub(1984:8) suggested that middle class whites are somewhat more likely to accept middle class black neighbors than are working class whites to accept black neighbors of their own class. Comparison of the more heavily blue collar east Multnomah county with the white collar suburbs of Washington and Clackamas counties yields conclusions consistent with this argument. The negative attitudes of whites are derived from the assumption that if blacks move into their neighborhoods the property values go down and the crime rate rises. According to Farley, fear of white hostility prevents blacks from seeking housing in white neighborhoods. Farley(1979:97) claimed that blacks overwhelmingly prefer mixed neighborhoods but are somewhat reluctant to move into a neighborhood where they would be the only black family, because they fear the hostile reactions of whites.

There is little doubt that residential segregation of blacks to some extent was shaped by the negative attitudes

of whites toward blacks and by housing discrimination. But, as legal barriers have been lowered and blacks have become more acceptable to whites, improvement in the economic status of blacks has played an important role in desegregation of neighborhoods.

TABLE I
BLACK POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN
1970 AND 1980 SMSA

Area	Black Pop.		% Black		Change 1970 - 1980
	1970	1980	1970	1980	
SMSA	23,284	33,385	100	100	43.4
Suburbs	1,712	5,665	7.0	17.0	231.0
Clark	569	1,682	2.0	5.0	195.6
Clackamas	372	768	2.0	2.0	106.4
Washington	188	1,091	1.0	3.0	480.3
Multnomah	583	2,124	2.0	6.0	264.3
Portland	21,572	27,720	93.0	83.0	28.4
Ghetto	17,623	21,322	76.0	64.0	21.0
Balance	3,949	6,398	17.0	19.0	62.0

TABLE II
BLACK MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME
1970 TO 1980

Area	1970	1980
SMSA	\$ 6,922	\$11,707
Clark	\$ 8,130	\$15,554
Clackamas	\$ 9,571	\$26,705
Washington	--- *	\$17,803
Multnomah	\$10,250	\$11,077
Portland	\$ 6,844	\$10,968

* Census does not report the median family income of blacks in Washington county.

TABLE III
 WHITE MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME
 1970 TO 1980

Area	1970	1980
SMSA	\$10,463	\$18,703
Clark	\$10,195	\$19,051
Clackamas	\$10,680	\$21,208
Washington	\$11,476	\$21,766
Multnomah	\$10,774	\$16,388
Portland	\$ 9,794	\$15,112

TABLE IV
 RATIO OF BLACK MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME
 TO WHITE FAMILY INCOME

Area	1970	1980
SMSA	.66	.62
Clark	.80	.82
Clackamas	.90	1.26
Washington	?? *	.82
Multnomah	.95	.67
Portland	.70	.72

* Data is not available for
 Washington county.

TABLE V
INDEXES OF INCOME SEGREGATION
1970 AND 1980

Area	1970	1980	% diff
-----	----	----	-----
SMSA	27.0	19.5	- 7.5
Clark	31.5	15.5	-16.0
Clackamas	35.0	16.5	-18.5
Washington	46.0	20.0	-26.0
Multnomah	18.0	20.0	+ 2.0
Portland	23.0	12.5	-10.5
"Ghetto"	18.5	12.5	- 6.0

TABLE VI
INDEXES OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION
1970 AND 1980

Area	1970	1980	diff
-----	----	----	-----
SMSA	57.5	43.5	-14.0
Clark	54.0	31.0	-23.0
Clackamas	48.5	28.0	-20.5
Washington	44.5	24.5	-20.0
Multnomah	33.5	29.5	- 4.0
Portland	75.5	69.5	- 6.0
"Ghetto"	45.0	38.5	- 6.5

TABLE VII
INDEXES OF INCOME AND RESIDENTIAL
SEGREGATION 1970 AND 1980

Area	1970		1980	
	Inc.	Res.	Inc.	Res.
SMSA	27.0	57.5	19.5	43.5
Clark	31.5	54.0	15.5	31.0
Clackamas	35.0	48.5	16.5	28.0
Washington	46.0	44.5	20.0	24.5
Multnomah	18.0	33.5	20.0	29.5
Portland	23.0	75.5	12.5	69.5
"Ghetto"	18.5	45.0	12.5	38.5

TABLE VIII
PERCENTAGE POINT DECLINES IN
SEGREGATION, 1970 - 1980

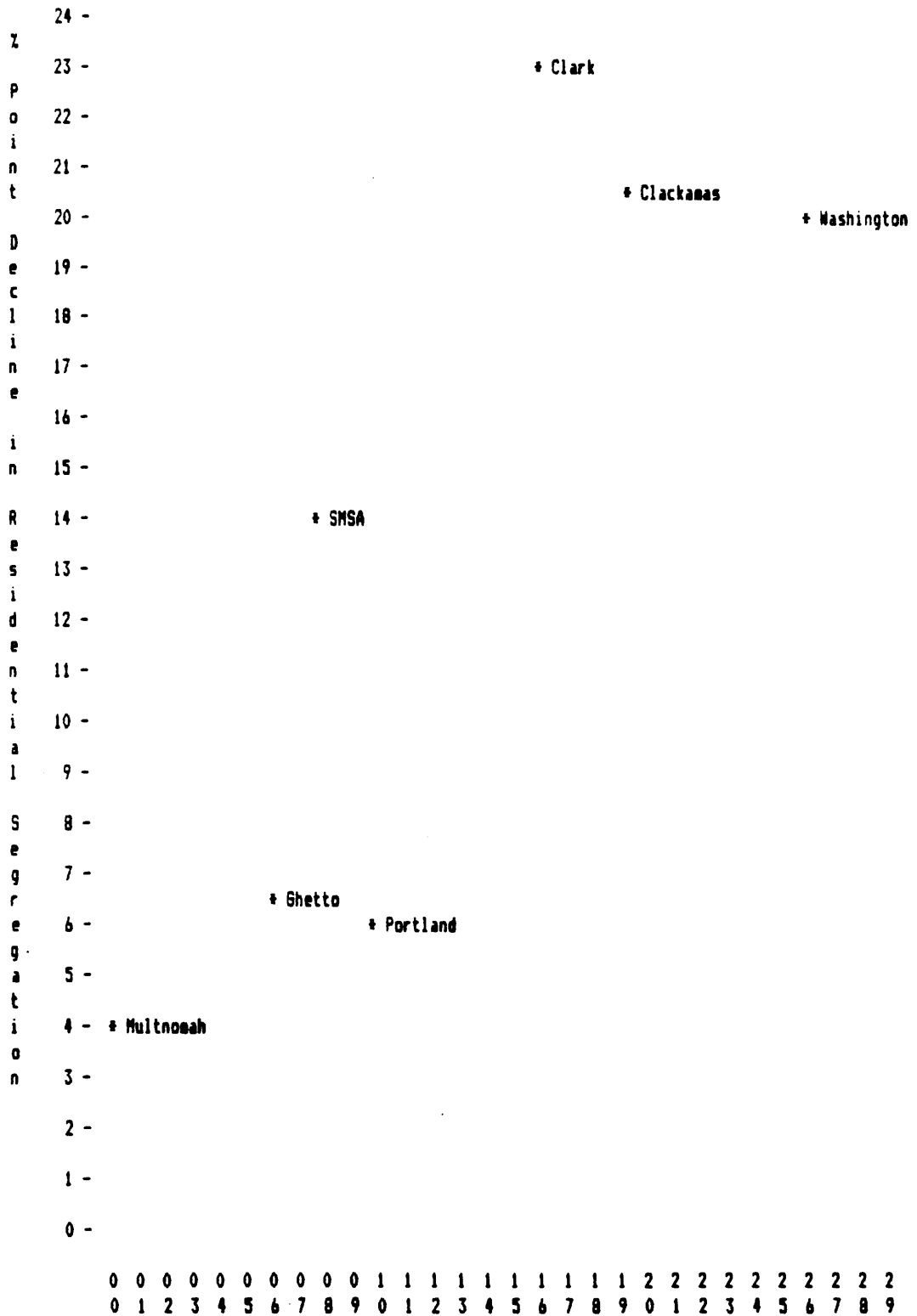
Area	Income	Residential
SMSA	7.5	14.0
Clark	16.0	23.0
Clackamas	18.5	20.5
Washington	26.0	20.0
Multnomah	- 2.0	4.0
Portland	10.5	6.0
Ghetto	6.0	6.5

$r = .82$
 $r^{**2} = .67$

TABLE IX
INDICES OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION
FOR TRACTS CONTAINING ANY INFLUENTIAL BLACKS

	Influential Blacks	All Blacks	All Whites
	-----	-----	-----
Influential Blacks	0	35	51
All Blacks	35	0	71
All Whites	51	71	0

FIGURE I



Z Point Decline in Income Segregation 1970 to 1980

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The civil rights movement of the 1960's brought about some major changes in the status of blacks in America. The legal prohibition of discrimination in employment and housing expanded opportunities available to blacks.

Blackwell and Hart argue (1982:3):

Blacks can legally rent and purchase housing in areas formerly off limits, if they can afford such locales. Housing ordinances have made it possible for more blacks to move into formerly all-white urban and suburban enclaves. Without question, the Omnibus housing bill or the Civil Rights Act of 1968 spurred the movement of some 800,000 blacks into suburbia between 1970 and 1977.

According to Farley, Bianchi, and Colasanto (1979:98), "There is ample documentation that blacks have made significant gains since 1960 in the economic and political spheres."

To what extent have the social and legal changes since the 1960's affected the black population in the city of Portland? Have income differentials decreased or increased between 1970 and 1980 and have segregation patterns changed any over the past decade? What is the relationship between the economic status of blacks and their patterns of residential segregation? The data suggest that there has

been a major decrease in income inequality and in residential segregation between blacks and whites from 1970 thru 1980. In suburban areas, decreases in income inequality were accompanied by reduction in residential segregation. In 1980, 17% of the black population in the metropolitan area lived in suburbia compared to only 7% a decade earlier. The data indicate that suburban blacks were in higher income brackets and less segregated residentially as compared to the central city blacks. In the central city area and the ghetto blacks were in lower income categories and more segregated residentially. Overall residential segregation decreased at a much faster rate in suburbia than the central city area. The central city experienced only a 14 percentage point decrease in segregation in the past forty years.

Data support the argument that economic status of blacks is a barrier to desegregating central city areas. According to Taub, Taylor, and Dunham (1984:12): "The shortage of blacks with adequate resources in cities is heightened by the fact that many of those with middle class incomes have followed their white counterparts to the suburbs." A similar suburbanization pattern occurred in the Portland Metropolitan Area between 1970 and 1980. Gain in economic status and reduction in income inequality resulted in rapid suburbanization of blacks. Residential segregation was greatly reduced with the settlement of upper and middle

income blacks in suburbia. Comparison of central city and suburban areas clearly indicates the economic disadvantage of blacks in the central city was a major factor contributing to the high degree of residential segregation between blacks and whites. Housing discrimination and racial attitudes may still play some role in residential segregation of blacks but economic inequality remains the major obstacle in desegregation.

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APPENDIX

TABLE I

INDEX OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION FOR
TRACTS WITH 400 OR MORE BLACKS
1970

TRACT	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
22.01	612	3	598	2	1
23.01	1731	10	471	2	8
23.02	563	3	663	2	1
24.01	1616	9	2060	8	2
32	1008	6	3460	13	7
33.01	1853	11	1127	4	6
33.02	1676	10	984	4	6
34.01	2301	13	1181	4	9
34.02	2403	14	424	2	12
36.01	1678	10	2797	10	1
36.02	897	5	5899	22	16
37.02	490	3	2350	9	6
39.01	795	5	5359	20	15

TOTAL BLACKS : 17623 TOTAL WHITES : 27373
 AVERAGE BLACKS : 1356 AVERAGE WHITES : 2106
 TOTAL TRACTS : 13 DELTA : 45

TABLE II
 INDEX OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION FOR
 PORTLAND
 1970

TRACT	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
1	32	0	5949	2	2
2	9	0	5631	2	2
3.01	22	0	3107	1	1
3.02	14	0	7688	2	2
4.01	4	0	3647	1	1
4.02	26	0	3372	1	1
5.01	11	0	3597	1	1
5.02	11	0	3841	1	1
6.01	49	0	4468	1	1
6.02	6	0	4084	1	1
7.01	23	0	4234	1	1
7.02	3	0	4493	1	1
8.01	15	0	4852	1	1
8.02	26	0	4468	1	1
9.01	76	0	4378	1	1
9.02	16	0	3408	1	1
10	88	0	5731	2	1
11.01	22	0	2182	1	1
11.02	39	0	1601	0	0
12.01	24	0	4589	1	1
12.02	3	0	3287	1	1
13.01	6	0	3828	1	1
13.02	25	0	3211	1	1
14	41	0	5054	1	1
15	3	0	3773	1	1
16.01	25	0	6006	2	2
16.02	6	0	3861	1	1
17.01	85	0	6612	2	1
17.02	8	0	3709	1	1
18.01	9	0	3745	1	1
18.02	17	0	3079	1	1
19	7	0	6304	2	2
20	75	0	5555	2	1
21	23	0	2394	1	1
22.01	612	3	598	0	3
22.02	251	1	205	0	1
23.01	1731	8	471	0	8
23.02	563	3	663	0	2
24.01	1616	7	2060	1	7
24.02	266	1	2542	1	1

TABLE II, CONT.

INDEX OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION FOR
PORTLAND
1970

TRACT	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
25.01	46	0	5589	2	1
25.02	13	0	4039	1	1
26	12	0	3127	1	1
27.01	15	0	3648	1	1
27.02	19	0	2646	1	1
28.01	8	0	3484	1	1
28.02	3	0	3369	1	1
29.01	3	0	4206	1	1
29.02	11	0	5946	2	2
29.03	4	0	4197	1	1
30	35	0	4961	1	1
31	222	1	4638	1	0
32	1008	5	3460	1	4
33.01	1853	9	1127	0	8
33.02	1676	8	984	0	7
34.01	2301	11	1181	0	10
34.02	2403	11	424	0	11
35.01	285	1	3397	1	0
35.02	376	2	2064	1	1
36.01	1678	8	2797	1	7
36.02	897	4	5899	2	2
36.03	24	0	1863	1	0
37.01	236	1	3830	1	0
37.02	490	2	2350	1	2
38.01	20	0	3162	1	1
38.02	22	0	3023	1	1
38.03	58	0	3745	1	1
39.01	795	4	5359	2	2
39.02	18	0	3256	1	1
40.01	343	2	5365	2	0
40.02	54	0	5146	1	1
40.99	0	0	21	0	0
41.01	27	0	4943	1	1
41.02	24	0	4714	1	1
41.99	13	0	126	0	0
42	24	0	2889	1	1
43	1	0	865	0	0
44	0	0	70	0	0
44.99	0	0	8	0	0
45	31	0	1978	1	0

TABLE II, CONT.

INDEX OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION FOR
PORTLAND
1970

TRACT	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
46.01	2	0	2727	1	1
46.02	7	0	2007	1	1
47	15	0	4015	1	1
48	15	0	3171	1	1
49	38	0	3207	1	1
50	15	0	739	0	0
51	125	1	1176	0	0
52	17	0	3424	1	1
53	28	0	1938	1	0
54	31	0	817	0	0
55	13	0	1182	0	0
56	51	0	2566	1	0
57	17	0	975	0	0
58	76	0	5476	2	1
59	62	0	2599	1	0
60.01	4	0	922	0	0
60.02	2	0	2321	1	1
61	1	0	1974	1	1
62	1	0	2789	1	1
63	27	0	2844	1	1
64	1	0	1435	0	0
65.01	1	0	1638	0	0
65.02	8	0	2106	1	1
66.01	2	0	1868	1	1
66.02	7	0	3995	1	1
67.01	10	0	2568	1	1
67.02	10	0	4484	1	1
68.01	3	0	1257	0	0
68.02	11	0	2653	1	1
69	0	0	992	0	0
70	3	0	256	0	0
72	4	0	580	0	0
73	2	0	279	0	0
74	11	0	853	0	0
75	13	0	942	0	0
82.01	0	0	57	0	0
83	1	0	1072	0	0
85	0	0	584	0	0
87	2	0	140	0	0
88	0	0	50	0	0

TABLE II, CONT.

INDEX OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION FOR
 PORTLAND
 1970

TRACT	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
89	0	0	1176	0	0
91	0	0	49	0	0

TOTAL BLACKS : 21572 TOTAL WHITES : 352076
 AVERAGE BLACKS : 177 AVERAGE WHITES : 2886
 TOTAL TRACTS : 122 DELTA : 75.5

TABLE III
 INDEX OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION FOR
 MULTNOMAH COUNTY
 1970

TRACT	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
6.01	0	0	462	0	0
6.02	0	0	149	0	0
16.02	4	1	668	0	0
17.02	3	1	187	0	0
29.01	1	0	683	0	0
29.03	0	0	281	0	0
41.01	0	0	32	0	0
41.99	3	1	38	0	0
43	11	2	261	0	2
63	5	1	1526	1	0
64	6	1	3286	2	1
65.01	0	0	1649	1	1
65.02	11	2	926	1	1
68.01	1	0	646	0	0
68.02	0	0	46	0	0
69	4	1	1291	1	0
70	19	3	1634	1	2
71	6	1	1740	1	0
72	9	2	1986	1	0
73	7	1	1758	1	0
74	14	2	1491	1	2
75	16	3	3208	2	1
76	14	2	3313	2	0
77	10	2	2083	1	1
78	79	14	2273	1	12
79	8	1	3872	2	1
80.01	13	2	3431	2	0
80.02	3	1	3126	2	1
81	13	2	6509	4	2
82.01	31	5	2544	1	4
82.02	16	3	5112	3	0
83	4	1	5316	3	2
84	8	1	2616	2	0
85	12	2	3060	2	0
86	2	0	3201	2	2
87	17	3	3959	2	1
88	22	4	3674	2	2
89	4	1	2981	2	1
90	16	3	4354	3	0
91	15	3	4977	3	0

TABLE III, CONT.

INDEX OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION FOR
MULTNOMAH COUNTY
1970

TRACT	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
92.01	4	1	5311	3	2
92.02	5	1	3917	2	1
93	21	4	6480	4	0
94	29	5	5891	3	2
95	20	3	4091	2	1
96.01	21	4	5200	3	1
96.02	0	0	5010	3	3
97.01	0	0	4206	2	2
97.02	8	1	6469	4	2
98.01	11	2	2109	1	1
98.02	7	1	6155	4	2
99	2	0	3597	2	2
100	6	1	4611	3	2
101	2	0	3470	2	2
102	1	0	915	1	0
103	21	4	3258	2	2
104.01	7	1	5230	3	2
104.02	7	1	2473	1	0
105	4	1	2704	2	1

TOTAL BLACKS : 583 TOTAL WHITES : 171446
 AVERAGE BLACKS : 10 AVERAGE WHITES : 2906
 TOTAL TRACTS : 59 DELTA : 33.5

TABLE IV
 INDEX OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION FOR
 CLACKAMAS COUNTY
 1970

TRACT	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
201	7	2	3693	2	0
202	6	2	4803	3	1
203	0	0	3852	2	2
204	7	2	7757	5	3
205	11	3	6253	4	1
206	2	1	3097	2	1
207	3	1	1486	1	0
208	3	1	3551	2	1
209	4	1	4186	3	1
210	5	1	4578	3	1
211	2	1	4534	3	2
212	1	0	3124	2	2
213	8	2	4547	3	1
214	10	3	3252	2	1
215	1	0	2662	2	1
216	10	3	6857	4	1
217	3	1	4042	2	2
218	0	0	5206	3	3
219	1	0	2432	1	1
220	6	2	4043	2	1
221	6	2	6743	4	2
222	12	3	5466	3	0
223	6	2	4100	2	1
224	2	1	4085	2	2
225	0	0	4409	3	3
226	0	0	2921	2	2
227	36	10	4075	2	7
228	1	0	2345	1	1
229	10	3	3778	2	0
230	9	2	2395	1	1
231	11	3	2498	2	1
232	16	4	3319	2	2
233	4	1	3264	2	1
234	1	0	5143	3	3
235	16	4	2698	2	3
236	0	0	1761	1	1
237	8	2	2648	2	1
238	1	0	4190	3	2
239	0	0	3431	2	2
240	0	0	1275	1	1

TABLE IV, CONT.

INDEX OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION FOR
 CLACKAMAS COUNTY
 1970

TRACT	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
241	1	0	2503	2	1
242	134	36	3266	2	34
243	8	2	3920	2	0
TOTAL BLACKS : 372		TOTAL WHITES : 164188			
AVERAGE BLACKS : 9		AVERAGE WHITES : 3818			
TOTAL TRACTS : 43		DELTA : 48.5			

TABLE V
 INDEX OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION FOR
 WASHINGTON COUNTY
 1970

TRACT	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
301	0	0	4556	3	3
302	2	1	6080	4	3
303	3	2	4937	3	2
304	4	2	6624	4	2
305	5	3	5550	4	1
306	1	1	3210	2	2
307	0	0	1716	1	1
309	8	4	4521	3	1
309	1	1	3349	2	2
310	6	3	7761	5	2
311	1	1	2334	1	1
312	1	1	4417	3	2
313	13	7	4219	3	4
314.01	17	9	10571	7	2
314.02	9	5	1059	1	4
315	7	4	9140	6	2
316	4	2	5162	3	1
317	1	1	4859	3	3
318	13	7	3093	2	5
319	2	1	7379	5	4
320	0	0	1817	1	1
321	2	1	3407	2	1
322	1	1	2187	1	1
323	3	2	1930	1	0
324	4	2	7291	5	3
325	0	0	3566	2	2
326	9	5	8389	5	1
327	0	0	2656	2	2
328	0	0	1465	1	1
329	3	2	3922	3	1
330	0	0	4019	3	3
331	6	3	4244	3	0
332	47	25	2507	2	23
333	8	4	3519	2	2
334	3	2	1499	1	1
335	2	1	1614	1	0
336	2	1	1613	1	0

TABLE V, CONT.

INDEX OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION FOR
 WASHINGTON COUNTY
 1970

<u>TRACT</u>	<u>NUM</u> <u>BLACK</u>	<u>%</u> <u>BLACK</u>	<u>NUM</u> <u>WHITE</u>	<u>%</u> <u>WHITE</u>	<u>DIFF</u>
TOTAL BLACKS :	188		TOTAL WHITES :	156182	
AVERAGE BLACKS :	5		AVERAGE WHITES :	4221	
TOTAL TRACTS :	37		DELTA :	44.5	

TABLE VI
 INDEX OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION FOR
 CLARK COUNTY
 1970

TRACT	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
401	8	1	2557	2	1
402	3	1	3436	3	2
403	0	0	2620	2	2
404	11	2	7474	6	4
405.01	0	0	2043	2	2
405.02	0	0	1926	2	2
405.03	2	0	4399	3	3
406	8	1	4095	3	2
407	10	2	4911	4	2
408	2	0	5774	5	4
409	0	0	6482	5	5
410.01	6	1	9481	7	6
410.02	6	1	3749	3	2
411.01	8	1	5577	4	3
411.02	0	0	3520	3	3
412	20	4	9638	8	4
413	25	4	5641	4	0
414	1	0	3082	2	2
415	13	2	2523	2	0
416	0	0	1652	1	1
417	27	5	2523	2	3
418	21	4	3649	3	1
419	8	1	2242	2	0
420	1	0	1760	1	1
421	4	1	2257	2	1
422	0	0	1586	1	1
423	51	9	2699	2	7
424	10	2	845	1	1
425	4	1	1543	1	1
426	37	7	3470	3	4
426.99	8	1	47	0	1
427	32	6	1742	1	4
428	121	21	3123	2	19
429	12	2	2165	2	0
430	41	7	2250	2	5
431	69	12	4484	4	9

TOTAL BLACKS : 569 TOTAL WHITES : 126965
 AVERAGE BLACKS : 16 AVERAGE WHITES : 3527
 TOTAL TRACTS : 36 DELTA : 54

TABLE VII

INDEX OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION FOR
TRACTS WITH 400 OR MORE BLACKS
1980

TRACT	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
23.01	1446	7	708	2	5
24.01	1197	6	1825	5	0
31	687	3	3876	12	8
32	1596	7	2447	7	0
33.01	1802	8	810	2	6
33.02	1883	9	814	2	6
34.01	2300	11	849	3	8
34.02	2167	10	374	1	9
35.01	534	3	2644	8	5
36.01	2063	10	1814	5	4
36.02	2176	10	3735	11	1
37.01	758	4	2815	8	5
37.02	842	4	1644	5	1
39.01	910	4	4583	14	9
40.01	961	5	4749	14	10

TOTAL BLACKS : 21322 TOTAL WHITES : 33687
 AVERAGE BLACKS : 1421 AVERAGE WHITES : 2246
 TOTAL TRACTS : 15 DELTA : 38.5

TABLE VIII
 INDEX OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION FOR
 PORTLAND
 1980

TRACT	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
1	46	0	4996	2	1
2	46	0	5197	2	1
3.01	70	0	4161	1	1
3.02	18	0	6465	2	2
4.01	18	0	3202	1	1
4.02	21	0	3155	1	1
5.01	18	0	3247	1	1
5.02	29	0	3579	1	1
6.01	42	0	3762	1	1
6.02	28	0	3837	1	1
7.01	56	0	3960	1	1
7.02	24	0	3951	1	1
8.01	52	0	4084	1	1
8.02	54	0	4003	1	1
9.01	78	0	3574	1	1
9.02	87	0	3578	1	1
10	174	1	4928	2	1
11.01	36	0	1483	0	0
11.02	44	0	1229	0	0
12.01	140	1	3878	1	1
12.02	27	0	2972	1	1
13.01	59	0	3314	1	1
13.02	34	0	2692	1	1
14	69	0	4340	1	1
15	33	0	3284	1	1
16.01	64	0	5036	2	1
16.02	17	0	2781	1	1
17.01	94	0	5708	2	1
17.02	46	0	3449	1	1
18.01	45	0	3269	1	1
18.02	26	0	2922	1	1
19	43	0	5054	2	1
20	188	1	4787	2	1
21	65	0	1832	1	0
22.01	145	1	177	0	0
22.02	78	0	94	0	0
23.01	1446	5	708	0	5
23.02	308	1	662	0	1
24.01	1197	4	1825	1	4
24.02	264	1	2327	1	0

TABLE VIII, CONT.

INDEX OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION FOR
PORTLAND
1980

TRACT	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
25.01	147	1	4650	1	1
25.02	175	1	3447	1	0
26	34	0	2640	1	1
27.01	31	0	3076	1	1
27.02	35	0	2358	1	1
28.01	24	0	2907	1	1
28.02	39	0	2697	1	1
29.01	23	0	3657	1	1
29.02	44	0	4848	2	1
29.03	42	0	3804	1	1
30	175	1	4015	1	1
31	687	2	3876	1	1
32	1596	6	2447	1	5
33.01	1802	7	810	0	6
33.02	1883	7	814	0	7
34.01	2300	8	849	0	8
34.02	2167	8	374	0	8
35.01	534	2	2644	1	1
35.02	301	1	1608	1	1
36.01	2063	7	1814	1	7
36.02	2176	8	3735	1	7
36.03	248	1	1357	0	0
37.01	758	3	2815	1	2
37.02	842	3	1644	1	3
38.01	101	0	2312	1	0
38.02	137	0	2587	1	0
38.03	319	1	3444	1	0
39.01	910	3	4583	1	2
39.02	51	0	2979	1	1
40.01	961	3	4749	2	2
40.02	68	0	4454	1	1
40.99	0	0	0	0	0
41.01	161	1	5048	2	1
41.02	50	0	4062	1	1
41.99	1	0	27	0	0
42	63	0	2620	1	1
43	4	0	846	0	0
43.99	1	0	71	0	0
44	1	0	19	0	0
44.99	18	0	146	0	0

TABLE VIII, CONT.

INDEX OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION FOR
 PORTLAND
 1980

TRACT	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
45	31	0	1413	0	0
46.01	10	0	2617	1	1
46.02	4	0	1847	1	1
47	34	0	3587	1	1
48	45	0	2577	1	1
49	76	0	2653	1	1
50	23	0	479	0	0
51	100	0	1140	0	0
52	84	0	3248	1	1
53	76	0	1781	1	0
54	8	0	410	0	0
55	67	0	1171	0	0
56	138	0	2269	1	0
57	13	0	1296	0	0
58	28	0	5025	2	1
59	51	0	2678	1	1
60.01	7	0	1129	0	0
60.02	14	0	1919	1	1
61	1	0	1701	1	1
62	26	0	2682	1	1
63	34	0	2572	1	1
64.01	26	0	2501	1	1
64.02	13	0	2714	1	1
65.01	36	0	4356	1	1
65.02	26	0	2827	1	1
66.01	5	0	2136	1	1
66.02	110	0	4073	1	1
67.01	20	0	2637	1	1
67.02	16	0	2423	1	1
68.01	13	0	1337	0	0
68.02	13	0	3216	1	1
69	7	0	1068	0	0
70	4	0	417	0	0
71	0	0	24	0	0
72	5	0	1243	0	0
73	4	0	418	0	0
74	94	0	944	0	0
75	146	1	720	0	0
82.01	0	0	45	0	0
83.01	0	0	415	0	0

TABLE VIII, CONT.

 INDEX OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION FOR
 PORTLAND
 1980

TRACT	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
83.02	0	0	334	0	0
85	0	0	24	0	0
86	2	0	35	0	0
87	0	0	323	0	0
88	0	0	97	0	0
89	9	0	2888	1	1
91	0	0	10	0	0

TOTAL BLACKS : 27720 TOTAL WHITES : 315754
 AVERAGE BLACKS : 218 AVERAGE WHITES : 2486
 TOTAL TRACTS : 127 DELTA : 69.5

TABLE IX
 INDEX OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION FOR
 MULTNOMAH COUNTY
 1980

TRACT	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
6.01	0	0	382	0	0
6.02	0	0	127	0	0
16.02	0	0	445	0	0
17.02	0	0	159	0	0
29.01	11	1	623	0	0
29.03	0	0	146	0	0
41.01	0	0	8	0	0
43	0	0	44	0	0
63	1	0	1405	1	1
64.01	14	1	1721	1	0
64.02	0	0	366	0	0
65.02	3	0	674	0	0
68.01	0	0	743	0	0
68.02	0	0	31	0	0
69	1	0	1209	1	1
70	5	0	1502	1	1
71	9	0	2072	1	1
72	16	1	1657	1	0
73	3	0	668	0	0
74	159	7	1288	1	7
75	201	9	2913	2	8
76	51	2	2713	1	1
77	10	0	1741	1	0
78	79	4	1644	1	3
79	19	1	3301	2	1
80.01	21	1	2869	2	1
80.02	18	1	2748	1	1
81	53	2	5351	3	0
82.01	37	2	2224	1	1
82.02	15	1	4419	2	2
83.01	4	0	1319	1	1
83.02	20	1	2486	1	0
84	19	1	2472	1	0
85	10	0	2919	2	1
86	46	2	2786	1	1
87	23	1	3353	2	1
88	26	1	3229	2	0
89	10	0	2237	1	1
90	64	3	4946	3	0
91	68	3	6610	4	0

TABLE IX, CONT.

INDEX OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION FOR
 MULTNOMAH COUNTY
 1980

TRACT	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
92.01	26	1	5064	3	1
92.02	25	1	3483	2	1
93	33	2	6312	3	2
94	54	3	5074	3	0
95	192	9	6349	3	6
96.01	70	3	5918	3	0
96.02	57	3	6280	3	1
97.01	38	2	4500	2	1
97.02	45	2	6046	3	1
98.01	88	4	2546	1	3
98.02	27	1	6460	3	2
99	87	4	10354	5	1
100	25	1	4995	3	1
101	54	3	4681	2	0
102	5	0	1569	1	1
103	97	5	7234	4	1
104.02	24	1	3936	2	1
104.03	110	5	12429	7	1
104.04	18	1	3979	2	1
105	33	2	3600	2	0

TOTAL BLACKS : 2124 TOTAL WHITES : 188359
 AVERAGE BLACKS : 35 AVERAGE WHITES : 3139
 TOTAL TRACTS : 60 DELTA : 29.5

TABLE X
 INDEX OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION FOR
 CLACKAMAS COUNTY
 1980

TRACT	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
201	12	2	3676	2	0
202	16	2	4780	2	0
203.01	25	3	3727	2	2
203.02	0	0	2461	1	1
204.01	14	2	5421	2	0
204.02	18	2	5833	2	0
205.01	9	1	3126	1	0
205.02	55	7	6928	3	4
206	8	1	4076	2	1
207	14	2	2354	1	1
208	23	3	3652	2	1
209	14	2	3731	2	0
210	8	1	4659	2	1
211	30	4	5043	2	2
212	10	1	3556	2	0
213	11	1	5063	2	1
214	15	2	4008	2	0
215	2	0	3617	2	1
216.01	35	5	3854	2	3
216.02	13	2	3544	2	0
217	6	1	4630	2	1
218	29	4	8436	4	0
219	8	1	2597	1	0
220	16	2	6025	3	0
221.01	28	4	5762	2	1
221.02	16	2	4546	2	0
222.01	0	0	1476	1	1
222.02	39	5	5330	2	3
223	20	3	5679	2	0
224	3	0	3735	2	1
225	13	2	6230	3	1
226	15	2	8246	3	2
227.01	16	2	3930	2	0
227.02	12	2	2583	1	0
228	0	0	2334	1	1
229	9	1	9354	4	3
230	18	2	6101	3	0
231	19	2	4940	2	0
232	15	2	6148	3	1
233	11	1	4406	2	0

TABLE X, CONT.

INDEX OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION FOR
CLACKAMAS COUNTY
1980

TRACT	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
234.01	2	0	3811	2	1
234.02	7	1	4392	2	1
235	14	2	4995	2	0
236	7	1	3167	1	0
237	5	1	4315	2	1
238	2	0	6601	3	3
239	1	0	4660	2	2
240	3	0	2137	1	1
241	2	0	4384	2	2
242	91	12	4256	2	10
243	9	1	7372	3	2

TOTAL BLACKS : 768 TOTAL WHITES : 235687
 AVERAGE BLACKS : 15 AVERAGE WHITES : 4621
 TOTAL TRACTS : 51 DELTA : 28

TABLE XI
 INDEX OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION FOR
 WASHINGTON COUNTY
 1980

TRACT	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
301	41	4	5541	2	1
302	31	3	5702	2	0
303	12	1	4711	2	1
304.01	16	1	3786	2	0
304.02	16	1	3190	1	0
305	39	4	6817	3	1
306	9	1	3918	2	1
307	5	0	1345	1	0
308	11	1	7593	3	2
309	18	2	3405	1	0
310.01	31	3	8370	4	1
310.02	93	9	8199	4	5
311	13	1	2079	1	0
312	56	5	4963	2	3
313	69	6	4713	2	4
314.01	41	4	9517	4	0
314.02	19	2	876	0	1
315.01	2	0	1304	1	0
315.02	26	2	7694	3	1
315.03	44	4	9149	4	0
316.01	9	1	4094	2	1
316.02	76	7	10468	4	2
317.01	48	4	9153	4	0
317.02	25	2	4006	2	1
318	23	2	8861	4	2
319.01	13	1	5673	2	1
319.02	27	2	6604	3	0
320	68	6	5883	3	4
321.01	5	0	2962	1	1
321.02	6	1	3922	2	1
322	12	1	3077	1	0
323	1	0	2087	1	1
324.01	45	4	9797	4	0
324.02	13	1	2870	1	0
325	2	0	4843	2	2
326	40	4	11922	5	1
327	3	0	3225	1	1
328	2	0	1503	1	0
329	14	1	5150	2	1
330	1	0	4802	2	2

TABLE XI, CONT.

INDEX OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION FOR
WASHINGTON COUNTY
1980

TRACT	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
331	9	1	4961	2	1
332	39	4	3769	2	2
333	3	0	4709	2	2
334	10	1	2071	1	0
335	4	0	2399	1	1
336	1	0	1939	1	1

TOTAL BLACKS : 1091 TOTAL WHITES : 233622
 AVERAGE BLACKS : 24 AVERAGE WHITES : 5079
 TOTAL TRACTS : 46 DELTA : 24.5

TABLE XII
 INDEX OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION FOR
 CLARK COUNTY
 1980

TRACT	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
401	4	0	3578	2	2
402	1	0	6134	3	3
403	1	0	2957	2	2
404.01	31	2	4783	3	1
404.02	9	1	5858	3	3
405.01	15	1	5611	3	2
405.02	2	0	3092	2	2
405.03	2	0	4602	2	2
406	20	1	7040	4	3
407.01	49	3	8283	4	2
407.02	2	0	3243	2	2
408.01	38	2	5172	3	1
408.02	41	2	4631	3	0
409.01	112	7	9028	5	2
409.02	15	1	4114	2	1
410.02	8	0	4327	2	2
410.03	22	1	3267	2	0
410.04	53	3	7770	4	1
410.05	28	2	1980	1	1
411.01	115	7	8713	5	2
411.03	4	0	2301	1	1
411.04	13	1	1789	1	0
412.01	53	3	3193	2	1
412.02	134	8	9235	5	3
413.01	162	10	6366	3	6
413.02	135	8	9258	5	3
413.03	75	4	8402	5	0
414	12	1	3017	2	1
415	5	0	2380	1	1
416	21	1	2118	1	0
417	31	2	2752	1	0
418	24	1	3144	2	0
419	13	1	1803	1	0
420	10	1	1418	1	0
421	38	2	2328	1	1
423	56	3	2566	1	2
424	12	1	657	0	0
425	14	1	1152	1	0
426	41	2	3237	2	1
427	68	4	2967	2	2

TABLE XII, CONT.

INDEX OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION FOR
CLARK COUNTY
1980

TRACT	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
428	76	5	2748	1	3
429	18	1	2273	1	0
430	39	2	1799	1	1
431	60	4	3741	2	2

TOTAL BLACKS : 1682 TOTAL WHITES : 184827
 AVERAGE BLACKS : 38 AVERAGE WHITES : 4201
 TOTAL TRACTS : 44 DELTA : 31

TABLE XV

INDEX OF INCOME SEGREGATION FOR
TRACTS WITH 400 OR MORE BLACKS
1970

FAMILY INCOME	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
UNDER 1000	205	5	179	2	3
1,000 - 1,999	294	7	249	3	4
2,000 - 2,999	300	7	480	6	1
3,000 - 3,999	300	7	371	5	2
4,000 - 4,999	349	9	416	6	3
5,000 - 5,999	332	8	427	6	2
6,000 - 6,999	356	9	518	7	2
7,000 - 7,999	303	7	461	6	1
8,000 - 8,999	277	7	547	7	0
9,000 - 9,999	252	6	582	8	2
ABOVE 10,000	1108	27	3323	44	17

TOTAL BLACKS : 4076 TOTAL WHITES : 7553
 AVERAGE BLACKS : 371 AVERAGE WHITES : 687
 DELTA : 18.5

TABLE XVI

INDEX OF INCOME SEGREGATION FOR
PORTLAND
1970

FAMILY INCOME	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
UNDER 1000	244	5	1557	2	3
1,000 - 1,999	343	7	2107	2	5
2,000 - 2,999	325	7	4039	4	2
3,000 - 3,999	366	8	4204	5	3
4,000 - 4,999	418	9	4450	5	4
5,000 - 5,999	389	8	4865	5	3
6,000 - 6,999	403	8	5367	6	2
7,000 - 7,999	363	7	6050	7	1
8,000 - 8,999	353	7	6897	8	0
9,000 - 9,999	290	6	6818	7	1
ABOVE 10,000	1356	28	45563	50	22

TOTAL BLACKS : 4850 TOTAL WHITES : 91917
 AVERAGE BLACKS : 441 AVERAGE WHITES : 8356
 DELTA : 23

TABLE XVII

INDEX OF INCOME SEGREGATION FOR
MULTNOMAH COUNTY
1970

FAMILY INCOME	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
UNDER 1000	0	0	702	2	2
1,000 - 1,999	5	5	1001	2	3
2,000 - 2,999	0	0	1205	3	3
3,000 - 3,999	5	5	1704	4	2
4,000 - 4,999	5	5	1791	4	2
5,000 - 5,999	12	13	1855	4	9
6,000 - 6,999	6	7	2235	5	2
7,000 - 7,999	0	0	2673	6	6
8,000 - 8,999	4	4	3445	7	3
9,000 - 9,999	6	7	3549	8	1
ABOVE 10,000	48	53	25892	56	3
TOTAL BLACKS : 91		TOTAL WHITES : 46052			
AVERAGE BLACKS : 8		AVERAGE WHITES : 4187			
DELTA : 18					

TABLE XVIII

INDEX OF INCOME SEGREGATION FOR
CLACKAMAS COUNTY
1970

FAMILY INCOME	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
UNDER 1000	10	18	739	2	16
1,000 - 1,999	0	0	887	2	2
2,000 - 2,999	5	9	1363	3	6
3,000 - 3,999	0	0	1561	4	4
4,000 - 4,999	4	7	1676	4	3
5,000 - 5,999	0	0	1720	4	4
6,000 - 6,999	5	9	2109	5	4
7,000 - 7,999	0	0	2827	7	7
8,000 - 8,999	0	0	3299	8	8
9,000 - 9,999	7	13	3129	7	5
ABOVE 10,000	25	45	23964	55	11
TOTAL BLACKS : 56		TOTAL WHITES : 43274			
AVERAGE BLACKS : 5		AVERAGE WHITES : 3934			
DELTA : 35					

TABLE XIX

INDEX OF INCOME SEGREGATION FOR
WASHINGTON COUNTY
1970

FAMILY INCOME	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
UNDER 1000	0	0	457	1	1
1,000 - 1,999	0	0	619	1	1
2,000 - 2,999	0	0	1035	2	2
3,000 - 3,999	0	0	1139	3	3
4,000 - 4,999	6	25	1422	3	22
5,000 - 5,999	0	0	1478	4	4
6,000 - 6,999	0	0	1850	4	4
7,000 - 7,999	4	17	2528	6	11
8,000 - 8,999	0	0	2528	6	6
9,000 - 9,999	5	21	2928	7	14
ABOVE 10,000	9	38	25462	61	24
TOTAL BLACKS : 24 TOTAL WHITES : 41446					
AVERAGE BLACKS : 2 AVERAGE WHITES : 3768					
DELTA : 46					

TABLE XX

INDEX OF INCOME SEGREGATION FOR
CLARK COUNTY
1970

FAMILY INCOME	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
UNDER 1000	7	5	600	2	3
1,000 - 1,999	7	5	766	2	2
2,000 - 2,999	8	5	1210	4	2
3,000 - 3,999	21	14	1241	4	10
4,000 - 4,999	4	3	1421	4	2
5,000 - 5,999	13	9	1361	4	5
6,000 - 6,999	8	5	1900	6	0
7,000 - 7,999	4	3	2303	7	4
8,000 - 8,999	27	18	2738	8	10
9,000 - 9,999	0	0	2714	8	8
ABOVE 10,000	52	34	17284	52	17
TOTAL BLACKS : 151 TOTAL WHITES : 33538					
AVERAGE BLACKS : 14 AVERAGE WHITES : 3049					
DELTA : 31.5					

TABLE XXI

INDEX OF INCOME SEGREGATION FOR
THE SMSA
1970

FAMILY INCOME	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
UNDER 1000	261	5	4055	2	3
1,000 - 1,999	355	7	5380	2	5
2,000 - 2,999	338	7	8858	3	3
3,000 - 3,999	392	8	9854	4	4
4,000 - 4,999	437	8	10772	4	4
5,000 - 5,999	414	8	11285	4	4
6,000 - 6,999	422	8	13461	5	3
7,000 - 7,999	371	7	16381	6	1
8,000 - 8,999	384	7	18907	7	0
9,000 - 9,999	308	6	19156	7	2
ABOVE 10,000	1490	29	138272	54	25

TOTAL BLACKS : 5172 TOTAL WHITES : 256381
 AVERAGE BLACKS : 470 AVERAGE WHITES : 23307
 DELTA : 27

TABLE XXII

INDEX OF INCOME SEGREGATION FOR
TRACTS WITH 400 OR MORE BLACKS
1980

FAMILY INCOME	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
UNDER 5000	1460	23	1997	14	8
5,000 - 7,499	754	12	1258	9	3
7,500 - 9,999	679	11	1308	9	1
10,000 - 14,999	976	15	2251	16	1
15,000 - 19,999	784	12	2065	15	3
20,000 - 24,999	667	10	1774	13	2
25,000 - 34,999	704	11	2009	15	4
35,000 - 49,999	270	4	845	6	2
ABOVE 50,000	74	1	279	2	1

TOTAL BLACKS : 6368 TOTAL WHITES : 13786
AVERAGE BLACKS : 708 AVERAGE WHITES : 1532
DELTA : 12.5

TABLE XXIII

INDEX OF INCOME SEGREGATION FOR
PORTLAND
1980

FAMILY INCOME	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
UNDER 5000	2402	24	21087	15	9
5,000 - 7,499	1182	12	13354	9	2
7,500 - 9,999	1051	11	13242	9	1
10,000 - 14,999	1609	16	23081	16	0
15,000 - 19,999	1385	14	20104	14	0
20,000 - 24,999	908	9	16062	11	2
25,000 - 34,999	924	9	19640	14	5
35,000 - 49,999	400	4	10372	7	3
ABOVE 50,000	130	1	5566	4	3

TOTAL BLACKS : 9991 TOTAL WHITES : 142508
AVERAGE BLACKS : 1110 AVERAGE WHITES : 15834
DELTA : 12.5

TABLE XXIV

INDEX OF INCOME SEGREGATION FOR
MULTNOMAH COUNTY
1980

FAMILY INCOME	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
UNDER 5000	142	23	6591	9	14
5,000 - 7,499	82	13	5064	7	6
7,500 - 9,999	27	4	5135	7	3
10,000 - 14,999	79	13	10759	15	2
15,000 - 19,999	64	10	10745	15	5
20,000 - 24,999	69	11	10469	14	3
25,000 - 34,999	93	15	13834	19	4
35,000 - 49,999	51	8	6734	9	1
ABOVE 50,000	14	2	3088	4	2

TOTAL BLACKS : 621 TOTAL WHITES : 72419
 AVERAGE BLACKS : 69 AVERAGE WHITES : 8047
 DELTA : 20

TABLE XXV

INDEX OF INCOME SEGREGATION FOR
CLACKAMAS COUNTY
1980

FAMILY INCOME	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
UNDER 5000	0	0	6255	8	8
5,000 - 7,499	4	2	4860	6	4
7,500 - 9,999	15	6	4965	6	0
10,000 - 14,999	22	9	10790	13	4
15,000 - 19,999	41	16	11269	14	3
20,000 - 24,999	37	15	12178	15	0
25,000 - 34,999	72	28	16943	20	8
35,000 - 49,999	46	18	10271	12	6
ABOVE 50,000	16	6	5297	6	0

TOTAL BLACKS : 253 TOTAL WHITES : 82828
 AVERAGE BLACKS : 28 AVERAGE WHITES : 9203
 DELTA : 16.5

TABLE XXVI

INDEX OF INCOME SEGREGATION FOR
WASHINGTON COUNTY
1980

FAMILY INCOME	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
UNDER 5000	41	10	5815	7	3
5,000 - 7,499	37	9	4410	5	4
7,500 - 9,999	26	6	5444	6	0
10,000 - 14,999	46	11	11534	13	2
15,000 - 19,999	85	21	12346	14	7
20,000 - 24,999	81	20	12268	14	6
25,000 - 34,999	63	15	18771	21	6
35,000 - 49,999	21	5	11451	13	8
ABOVE 50,000	12	3	5840	7	4

TOTAL BLACKS : 412 TOTAL WHITES : 87879
 AVERAGE BLACKS : 46 AVERAGE WHITES : 9764
 DELTA : 20

TABLE XXVII

INDEX OF INCOME SEGREGATION FOR
CLARK COUNTY
1980

FAMILY INCOME	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
UNDER 5000	94	18	7041	11	7
5,000 - 7,499	43	8	4410	7	2
7,500 - 9,999	45	9	4747	7	1
10,000 - 14,999	63	12	9179	14	2
15,000 - 19,999	103	20	9823	15	5
20,000 - 24,999	70	13	10160	15	2
25,000 - 34,999	70	13	12594	19	6
35,000 - 49,999	27	5	6341	10	4
ABOVE 50,000	10	2	2386	4	2

TOTAL BLACKS : 525 TOTAL WHITES : 66681
 AVERAGE BLACKS : 58 AVERAGE WHITES : 7409
 DELTA : 15.5

TABLE XXVIII
 INDEX OF INCOME SEGREGATION FOR
 THE SMSA
 1980

FAMILY INCOME	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
UNDER 5000	2679	23	46789	10	12
5,000 - 7,499	1348	11	32098	7	4
7,500 - 9,999	1164	10	33533	7	2
10,000 - 14,999	1819	15	65343	14	1
15,000 - 19,999	1678	14	64287	14	0
20,000 - 24,999	1165	10	61137	14	4
25,000 - 34,999	1222	10	81782	18	8
35,000 - 49,999	545	5	45169	10	5
ABOVE 50,000	182	2	22177	5	3

TOTAL BLACKS : 11802 TOTAL WHITES : 452315
 AVERAGE BLACKS : 1311 AVERAGE WHITES : 50257
 DELTA : 19.5

TABLE XXIX
RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION OF
HIGHER STATUS BLACKS
VS WHITES

TRACT	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
3.02	2	1	6465	3	2
8.01	1	1	4084	2	1
10	2	1	4928	3	1
20	1	1	4787	3	2
22.01	2	1	177	0	1
22.02	3	2	94	0	2
23.01	5	4	708	0	3
23.02	2	1	662	0	1
24.01	12	9	1825	1	8
24.02	2	1	2327	1	0
25.02	2	1	3447	2	0
26	1	1	2640	1	1
30	2	1	4015	2	1
31	4	3	3876	2	1
32	6	4	2447	1	3
33.01	5	4	810	0	3
33.02	5	4	814	0	3
34.01	10	7	849	0	7
34.02	3	2	374	0	2
35.01	2	1	2644	1	0
36.01	5	4	1814	1	3
36.02	18	13	3735	2	11
36.03	1	1	1357	1	0
37.01	3	2	2815	2	1
37.02	3	2	1644	1	1
38.02	2	1	2587	1	0
39.01	2	1	4583	2	1
39.02	1	1	2979	2	1
47	2	1	3587	2	0
53	1	1	1781	1	0
54	1	1	410	0	1
56	1	1	2269	1	0
60.02	1	1	1919	1	0
63	1	1	2572	1	1
65.02	1	1	2827	2	1
66.02	1	1	4073	2	1
72	1	1	1243	1	0
74	2	1	944	1	1
80.01	1	1	2869	2	1
95	3	2	6349	3	1

TABLE XXIX, CONT.

RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION OF
HIGHER STATUS BLACKS
VS WHITES

TRACT	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
96.02	1	1	6280	3	3
98.02	1	1	6460	3	3
201	1	1	3676	2	1
209.02	1	1	3731	2	1
222.02	1	1	5330	3	2
302	1	1	5702	3	2
310.01	1	1	8370	5	4
315.03	1	1	9149	5	4
319.02	1	1	6604	4	3
409.01	3	2	9028	5	3
411.01	1	1	8713	5	4
412.02	1	1	9235	5	4
426	1	1	3237	2	1

TOTAL BLACKS : 138 TOTAL WHITES : 185845
 AVERAGE BLACKS : 3 AVERAGE WHITES : 3507
 TOTAL TRACTS : 53 DELTA : 51

TABLE XXX

RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION OF
BLACKS VS. WHITES

TRACT	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
3.02	18	0	6465	3	3
8.01	52	0	4084	2	2
10	174	1	4928	3	2
20	188	1	4787	3	2
22.01	145	1	177	0	1
22.02	78	0	94	0	0
23.01	1446	6	708	0	6
23.02	308	1	662	0	1
24.01	1197	5	1825	1	4
24.02	264	1	2327	1	0
25.02	175	1	3447	2	1
26	34	0	2640	1	1
30	175	1	4015	2	1
31	687	3	3876	2	1
32	1596	7	2447	1	5
33.01	1802	8	810	0	7
33.02	1883	8	814	0	7
34.01	2300	10	849	0	9
34.02	2167	9	374	0	9
35.01	534	2	2644	1	1
36.01	2063	9	1814	1	8
36.02	2176	9	3735	2	7
36.03	248	1	1357	1	0
37.01	758	3	2815	2	2
37.02	842	4	1644	1	3
38.02	137	1	2587	1	1
39.01	910	4	4583	2	1
39.02	51	0	2979	2	1
47	34	0	3587	2	2
53	76	0	1781	1	1
54	8	0	410	0	0
56	138	1	2269	1	1
60.02	14	0	1919	1	1
63	34	0	2572	1	1
65.02	26	0	2827	2	1
66.02	110	0	4073	2	2
72	5	0	1243	1	1
74	94	0	944	1	0
80.01	21	0	2869	2	1
95	192	1	6349	3	3
96.02	57	0	6280	3	3

TABLE XXX, CONT.

RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION OF
BLACKS VS. WHITES

TRACT	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
98.02	27	0	6460	3	3
201	12	0	3676	2	2
209.02	14	0	3731	2	2
222.02	39	0	5330	3	3
302	31	0	5702	3	3
310.01	31	0	8370	5	4
315.03	44	0	9149	5	5
319.02	27	0	6604	4	3
409.01	112	0	9028	5	4
411.01	115	0	8713	5	4
412.02	134	1	9235	5	4
426	41	0	3237	2	2

TOTAL BLACKS : 23844 TOTAL WHITES : 185845
 AVERAGE BLACKS : 450 AVERAGE WHITES : 3507
 TOTAL TRACTS : 53 DELTA : 71

TABLE XXXI
 RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION OF
 HIGHER STATUS BLACKS
 VS. BLACKS

TRACT	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
3.02	2	1	18	0	1
8.01	1	1	52	0	1
10	2	1	174	1	1
20	1	1	188	1	0
22.01	2	1	145	1	1
22.02	3	2	78	0	2
23.01	5	4	1446	6	2
23.02	2	1	308	1	0
24.01	12	9	1197	5	4
24.02	2	1	264	1	0
25.02	2	1	175	1	1
26	1	1	34	0	1
30	2	1	175	1	1
31	4	3	687	3	0
32	6	4	1596	7	2
33.01	5	4	1802	8	4
33.02	5	4	1883	8	4
34.01	10	7	2300	10	2
34.02	3	2	2167	9	7
35.01	2	1	534	2	1
36.01	5	4	2063	9	5
36.02	18	13	2176	9	4
36.03	1	1	248	1	0
37.01	3	2	758	3	1
37.02	3	2	842	4	1
38.02	2	1	137	1	1
39.01	2	1	910	4	2
39.02	1	1	51	0	1
47	2	1	34	0	1
53	1	1	76	0	0
54	1	1	8	0	1
56	1	1	138	1	0
60.02	1	1	14	0	1
63	1	1	34	0	1
65.02	1	1	26	0	1
66.02	1	1	110	0	0
72	1	1	5	0	1
74	2	1	94	0	1
80.01	1	1	21	0	1
95	3	2	192	1	1

TABLE XXXI, CONT.

RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION OF
HIGHER STATUS BLACKS
VS. BLACKS

TRACT	NUM BLACK	% BLACK	NUM WHITE	% WHITE	DIFF
96.02	1	1	57	0	0
98.02	1	1	27	0	1
201	1	1	12	0	1
209.02	1	1	14	0	1
222.02	1	1	39	0	1
302	1	1	31	0	1
310.01	1	1	31	0	1
315.03	1	1	44	0	1
319.02	1	1	27	0	1
409.01	3	2	112	0	2
411.01	1	1	115	0	0
412.02	1	1	134	1	0
426	1	1	41	0	1

TOTAL BLACKS : 138 TOTAL WHITES : 23844
 AVERAGE BLACKS : 3 AVERAGE WHITES : 450
 TOTAL TRACTS : 53 DELTA : 35